THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED

together by that graue learned Philoſopher and Hiſtoriographer, Plutarke of Chæronea:

Tranſlated out of Greeke into French by IAMES AMYOT, Abbot of Bellozane, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Kings priuy counſel, and great Amner of Fraunce, and out of French into Englishe, by

Thomas North.

Ju repentiance: vemembrance

Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroullier and Iohn VVight.

1579.

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THE LIVES

OF THE NOBLE GRE-

CIANS AND ROMANES COMPARED

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TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESSE ELIZABETH,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF ENGLAND, *Fraunce, and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith: &c.*

NDER hope of your highnes gratious and accuſtomed fauor, I haue preſumed to preſent here vnto your Maieſtie, Plutarkes lyues tranſlated, as a booke fit to be protected by your highnes, and meete to be ſet forth in Engliſhe. For vvho is fitter to giue countenance to ſo many great ſtates, than ſuch an highe and mightie Princeſſe? vvho is fitter to reuiue the dead memorie of their fame, than she that beareth the liuely image of their vertues? vvho is fitter to authorize a vvorke of ſo great learning and vviſedome, than she vvhome all do honor as the Muſe of the vvorld? Therefore I humbly beſeech your Maieſtie, to ſuffer the ſimplenes of my tranſlation, to be couered vnder the amplenes of your highnes protection. For, moſt gracious Souereigne, though this booke be no booke for your Maieſties ſelfe, vvho are meeter to be the chiefe ſtorie, than a ſtudent therein, and can better vnderſtand it in Greeke, than any man can make it Engliſhe: yet I hope the common ſorte of your ſubiects, ſhall not onely profit them ſelues hereby, but alſo be animated to the better ſeruice of your Maieſtie. For amonge all the profane bookes, that are in reputacion at this day, there is none (your highnes beſt knovves) that teacheth ſo much honor, loue, obedience, reuerence, zeale, and deuocion to Princes, as theſe liues of Plutarke doe. Hovve many examples ſhall your ſubiects reade here, of ſeuerall perſons, and vvhole armyes, of noble and baſe, of younge and olde, that both by ſea & lande, at home and abroad, haue ſtrayned their vvits, not regarded their ſtates, ventured their perſons, caſt avvay their liues, not onely for the honor and ſafetie, but alſo for the pleaſure of their Princes?

Then vvell may the Readers thinke, if they haue done this for heathen Kings,

vvhat should vve doe for Chriſtian Princes? If they haue done this for glorye, vvhat shoulde vve doe for religion? If they haue done this vvithout hope of heauen, vvhat should vve doe that looke for immortalitie? And ſo adding the encouragement of theſe exſamples, to the forvvardnes of their ovvne diſpoſitions: vvhat ſeruice is there in vvarre, vvhat honor in peace, vvhich they vvill not be ready to doe, for their vvorthy Queene?

And therefore that your highnes may giue grace to the booke, and the booke may doe his ſeruice to your Maieſtie: I haue tranſlated it out of French, and doe here moſt humbly preſent the ſame vnto your highnes, beſeeching your Maieſtie vvith all humilitie, not to reiect the good meaning, but to pardon the errours of your moſt humble and obedient ſubiect and ſeruaunt, vvho prayeth God long to multiplye all graces and bleſſings vpon your Maieſtie. VVritten the ſixteene day of Ianuary. 1579.

Your Maieſties moſt humble and obedient ſeruaunt,

Thomas North.

TO

To the Reader.

THE profit of ſtories, and the prayſe of the Author, are ſufficiently declared by Amiot, in his Epiſtle to the Reader: So that I ſhall not neede to make many wordes thereof. And in deede if you will ſupply the defects of this tranſlation, with your owne diligence and good vnderſtanding: you ſhall not neede to truſt him, you may proue your ſelues, that there is no prophane ſtudye better then Plutarke. All other learning is priuate, fitter for Vniuerſities then cities, fuller of contemplacion than experience, more commēdable in the ſtudents them ſelues, than profitable vnto others. Whereas ſtories are fit for euery place, reache to all perſons, ſerue for all tymes, teache the liuing, reuiue the dead, ſo farre excelling all other bookes, as it is better to ſee learning in noble mens liues, than to reade it in Philoſophers writings. Nowe for the Author, I will not denye but loue may deceiue me, for I muſt needes loue him with whome I haue taken ſo much payne: but I beleue I might be bold to affirme, that he hath written the profitableſt ſtory of all Authors. For all other were fayne to take their matter, as the fortune of the contries whereof they wrote fell out: But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, hath choſen the ſpeciall actes of the beſt perſons, of the famoſeſt nations of the world. But I will leaue the iudgement to your ſelues. My onely purpoſe is to deſire you to excuſe the faults of my tranſlation, with your owne gentlenes, and with the opinion of my diligence and good entent. And ſo I wiſhe you all the profit of the booke. Fare ye well. The foure and twenty day of Ianuary. 1579.

Thomas North.

Amiot to the Readers.

THe reading of bookes vvhich bring but a vaine and vnprofitable pleaſure to the Reader, is iuſtly miſliked of vviſe and graue men. Againe, the reading of ſuch as doe but onely bring profit, and make the Reader to be in loue therevvith, and doe not eaſe the payne of the reading by ſome pleaſauntnes in the ſame: doe ſeeme ſomevvhat harshe to diuers delicate vvits, that can not tary long vpon them. But ſuch bookes as yeeld pleaſure and profit, and doe both delight and teache, haue all that a man can deſire vvhy they ſhould be vniuerſally liked and allovved of all ſortes of men, according to the common ſaying of the Poet Horace:

That he which matcheth profit with delight,
Doth winne the price in euery poynt aright.

Eyther of theſe yeeld his effect the better, by reaſon the one runneth vvith the other, profiting the more bicauſe of the delight, and deliting the more bicauſe of the profit. This commendacion (in my opinion) is moſt proper to the reading of ſtories, to haue pleaſure and profit matched together, vvhich kind of delight and teaching, meeting in this vviſe arme in arme, hath more allovvance then any other kind of vvriting or inuention of man. In reſpect vvhereof it may be reaſonably auovved, that men are more beholding to ſuch good vvits, as by their graue and vviſe vvriting haue deſerued the name of Hiſtoriographers, then they are to any other kind of vvriters: bicauſe an hiſtorie is an orderly regiſter of notable things ſaid, done, or happened in time paſt, to mainteyne the continuall remembrance of them, and to ſerue for the inſtruction of them to come.

And like as memorie is as a ſtorehouſe of mens conceits and deuiſes, vvithout the vvhich the actions of the other tvvo parts ſhould be vnperfect, and vvelneare vnprofitable: So may it alſo be ſayd, that an hiſtorie is the very treaſury of mans life, vvhereby the notable doings and ſayings of men, and the vvonderfull aduentures & ſtraunge caſes (vvhich the long continuance of time bringeth forth) are preſerued from the death of forgetfulnes. Hereuppon it riſeth, that Plato the vviſe ſayth, that the name of hiſtorie vvas giuen to this recording of matters, to ſtay the fleting of our memorie, vvhich othervviſe vvould be ſoone loſt, and retaine litle. And vve may vvell perceiue hovv greatly vve be beholding vnto it, if vve doe no more but conſider in hovv horrible darkenes, and in hovv beaſtly and peſtilent a quamyre of ignorance vve ſhould be plunged: if the remembrance of all the thinges that haue bene done, and haue happened before vve vvere borne, vvere vtterly drovvned and forgotten. Novv therefore I vvill ouerpaſſe the excellencie and vvorthines of the thing it ſelfe, foraſmuch as it is not onely of more antiquitie then any other kind of vvriting that euer vvas in the vvorlde, but alſo vvas vſed among men, before there vvas any vſe of letters at all: bicauſe that men in thoſe daies deliuered in their lifetimes the remembrance of things paſt to their ſucceſſors, in ſonges, vvhich they cauſed their children to learne by hart, from hand to hand, as is to be ſeene yet in our dayes, by the example of the barbarous people that inhabite the nevvfound landes in the VVeſt, vvho vvithout any records of vvritings, haue had the knovvledge of thinges paſt, vvelneare eight hundred yeares afore. Likevviſe I leaue to diſcourſe, that it is the ſureſt, ſafeſt, and durableſt monument that men can leaue of their doings in this vvorld, to conſecrate their names to immortality. For there is neither picture, nor image of marble, nor arche of triumph, nor piller, nor ſumptuous ſepulchre, that can match the durablenes of an eloquēt hiſtory, furniſhed vvith the properties vvhich it ought to haue. Again, I mind not to ſtand much vpon this, that it hath a certaine troth in it, in that it alvvayes profeſſeth to ſpeake truth, & for that the proper groūd therof is to treate of the greateſt & higheſt things that are done in the vvorld: inſomuch that (to my ſeeming) the great profit thereof is as Horace ſayth, that it is commonly called the mother of trothe & vprightnes, vvhich commendeth it ſo greatly, as it nedeth not elſvvhere to ſeeke any authoritye, or ornament of dignitie, but of her very ſelfe. For it is a certaine rule and inſtruction, vvhich by examples paſt, teacheth vs to iudge of things preſent, & to foreſee things to come: ſo as vve may knovve vvhat to like of, & vvhat to follovv, vvhat to miſlike, and vvhat to eſchevv. It is a picture, vvhich (as it vvere in a table) ſetteth before our eyes the things vvorthy of remembrance that haue

haue bene done in olde time by mighty nations, noble kings & Princes, vvise gouernors, valiant Captaines, & persons renovvmed for some notable quality, representing vnto vs the maners of straunge nations, the lavves & customes of old time, the particular affaires of men, their consultations & enterprises, the meanes that they haue vsed to compasse the vvithall, & their demeaning of themselues vvhen they vvere comen to the highest, or throvven dovvne to the lovvest degree of state. So as it is not possible for any case to rise either in peace or vvarre, in publike or priuate affaires, but that the person vvhich shall haue diligently red, vvell conceiued, & throughly remembred histories, shall find matter in them vvhereat to take light, & counsell vvherby to resolue himselfe to take a part, or to geue aduice vnto others, hovv to choose in doutfull & daungerous cases that, vvhich may be for their most profit, and in time to find out to vvhat poynt the matter vvill come if it be vvell handled: and hovv to moderate himselfe in prosperitie, and hovv to cheere vp and beare himselfe in aduersitie. These things it doth vvith much greater grace, efficacy, and speede, than the bookes of morall Philosophie doe: forasmuch as examples are of more force to moue and instruct, than are the arguments and proofes of reason, or their precise precepts, bicause examples be the very formes of our deedes, & accompanied vvith all circumstances. VVhereas reasons and demonstrations are generall, and tend to the proofe of things, and to the beating of them into vnderstanding: and examples tende to the shovving of them in practise and execution, bicause they doe not only declare vvhat is to be done, but also vvorke a desire to do it, as vvell in respect of a certaine naturall inclination vvhich all men haue to follovv examples, as also for the beavvtie of vertue, vvhich is of such povver, that vvhersoeuer she is seene, she maketh her selfe to be loued and liked. Againe, it doth things vvith greater vveight and grauitie, than the inuentions & deuices of the Poets: bicause it helpeth not it selfe vvith any other thing than vvith the plaine truth, vvheras Poetry doth commonly inrich things by commending them aboue the starres and their deseruing, bicause the chiefe intent thereof is to delight. Moreouer, it doth thinges vvith more grace and modestie than the ciuill lavves and ordinances doe: bicause it is more grace for a man to teach and instruct, than to chastise or punish. And yet for all this, an historie also hath his maner of punishing the vvicked, by the reproch of euerlasting infamie, vvherevvith it defaceth their remembrance, vvhich is a great meane to vvithdravv them from vice, vvho other vvise vvould be levvdly and vvickedly disposed. Likevvise on the contrarie parte, the immortall praise and glorie vvherevvith it revvardeth vvelldoers, is a very liuely & sharpe spurre for men of noble corage and gentlemanlike nature, to cause them to aduenture vpon all maner of noble and great things. For bookes are full of examples of men of high corage and vvisedom, vvho for desire to continue the remembraunce of their name, by the sure and certaine recorde of histories, haue vvillingly yeelded their liues to the seruice of the common vveale, spent their goods, susteined infinite peines both of bodie and minde in defence of the oppressed, in making common buildings, in stablishing of lavves and gouernments, and in the finding out of artes and sciences necessarie for the maintenance and ornament of mans life: for the faithfull registring vvhereof, the thanke is due to histories. And although true vertue seeke no revvard of her commendable doings like a hireling, but contenteth her selfe vvith the conscience of her vvell doing: yet notvvithstanding I am of opinion, that it is good and meete to dravv men by all meanes to good doing, and good men ought not to be forbidden to hope for the honor of their vertuous deedes, seeing that honor doth naturally accompanie vertue, as the shadovv doth the bodie. For vve commonly see, not to feele the sparkes of desire of honor, is an infallible signe of a base, vile and cloynish nature: and that such as account it an vnnecessarie, needelesse, or vnseemely thing to be praised, are likevvise no doers of any things vvorthy of praise, but are commonly men of faint corage, vvhose thoughtes extend no further than to their liues, vvhereof also they haue no further remembraunce, than is before their eyes. But if the counsell of olde men be to be greatlie esteemed, bicause they must needes haue seene much by reason of their long life: and if they that haue trauelled long in straunge countries, and haue had the managing of many affaires, and haue gotten great experience of the doings of this vvorld, are reputed for sage, and vvorthie to haue the reynes of great gouernmentes put into their handes: hovv greatly is the reading of histories to be esteemed, vvhich is able to furnishe vs vvith mo examples in one day, than the vvhole course of the longest life of any man is able to doe? Insomuch that they vvhich exercise themselues in reading as they ought to doe, although they be but young, become such in respect of vnderstanding of the affaires of this vvorld, as if they vvere old and

grayheaded, and of long experience. Yea though they neuer haue remoued out of their houſes, yet are they aduertiſed, informed, and ſatisfied of all things in the vvorld, as vvell as they that haue shortned their liues by innumerable trauells and infinite daungers, in ronning ouer the vvhole earth that is inhabited: vvhereas on the contrary part, they that are ignorant of the things that vvere done & come to paſſe before they vvere borne, continue ſtil as children, though they be neuer ſo aged, and are but as ſtraungers in their ovvne natiue contries. To be short, it may be truely ſayd, that the reading of hiſtories is the ſchole of vviſedom, to facion mens vnderſtanding, by conſidering aduiſedly the ſtate of the vvorld that is paſt, and by marking diligently by vvhat lavves, maners, and diſcipline, Empires, kingdoms and dominions, haue in old time bene ſtablished, and after vvard mainteyned and increaſed: or contrarivviſe chaunged, diminished, and ouerthrovven. Alſo vve reade, that vvhenſoeuer the right ſage and vertuous Emperour of Rome, Alexander Seuerus, vvas to conſult of any matter of great importance, vvhether it concerned vvarres or gouernment: he alvvayes called ſuch to counſell, as vvere reported to be vvell ſeene in hiſtories. Notvvithſtanding, I knovv there are that vvill ſtand againſt me in this poynt, and vphold that the reading of hiſtories can ſerue to ſmall purpoſe, or none at all, tovvards the getting of skill: bicauſe skill conſiſteth in action, & is ingendred by the very experience & practiſe of things, vvhē a man doth vvel marke & throughly beare avvay the things that he hath ſeene vvith his eyes, & found true by proofe, according to the ſaying of the aūcient Poet Afranius.

My name is skill, my Syre Experience hyght,
And memorie bred and brought me forth to lyght.

VVhich thing vvas ment likevviſe by the Philoſopher that ſayd, that the hand is the inſtrument of skill. By reaſon vvhereof it comes to paſſe (ſay they) that ſuch as ſpeake of matters of gouernment and ſtate, but ſpecially of matters of vvarre by the booke, ſpeake but as booke knights, as the Frenche prouerbe termeth them, after the manner of the Græcians, vvho call him a booke Pilot, vvhich hath not the ſure and certaine knovvledge of the things that he ſpeakes of: meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to truſt to the vnderſtanding vvhich he hath gotten by reading, in things that conſiſt in the deede doing, vvhere the hand is to be ſet to the vvorke: no more then the often hearing of men talke and reaſon of paynting, or the diſputing vppon colors, vvithout taking of the penſill in hand, can ſtand a man in any ſtead at all to make him a good paynter. But on the contrary part, many haue proued vviſe men and good Captaines, vvhich could neither vvrite nor reade. Beſides this, they alleage further, that in matters of vvarre, all things alter from yeare to yeare: by meanes vvhereof the ſlights and policies that are to be learned out of bookes, vvill ſerue the turne no more than mynes that are blovven vp. According vvhereunto Cambyſes telleth his ſonne Cyrus in Xenophon, that like as in Muſicke the nevveſt ſongs are commonly beſt liked of for once, bicauſe they vvere neuer heard afore: So in the vvarres, thoſe policies that neuer vvere practiſed afore, are thoſe that take beſt ſucceſſe, & commonly haue the beſt effect, bicauſe the enemies doe leaſt doubt of them. Neuertheleſſe I am not he that vvill mainteyne that a vviſe gouernor of a common vveale, or a great Captaine can be made of ſuch a perſon, as hath neuer trauelled out of his ſtudy, and from his bookes: hovvbeit that vvhich Cicero vvriteth of Lucius Lucullus, is true, that vvhen he departed out of Rome as Captaine generall and Lieuetenant of the Romanes, to make vvarre againſt kinge Mithridates, he had no experience at all of the vvarres, and yet after vvard he beſtovved ſo great diligence in the reading of hiſtories, and in conferring vppon euery poynt vvith the olde Captaines and men of longe experience, vvhome he caried vvith him, that by the tyme of his comming into Aſia, vvhere he vvas in deede to put his matters in execution, he vvas found to be a very ſufficient Captaine, as appeared by his deedes: inſomuch that by thoſe vvayes, cleane contrary to the common order of vvarre, he diſcomfited tvvo of the moſt puyſſant, and greateſt Princes that vvere at that time in the Eaſt. For his vnderſtanding vvas ſo quicke, his care ſo vigilant, and his courage ſo greate, that he needed no longe trayning, nor groſſe inſtruction by experience. And although I graunt there haue beene diuerſe Gouernors and Captaynes, vvhich by the onely force of nature (furthered by longe continevved experience) haue done goodly and greate exployes: yet can it not be denyed me, but that if they had matched the giftes of nature vvith the knovvledge of learning, and the reading of hiſtories, they might haue done much greater thinges, and they might haue becomen much more perfect. For like as in euery other cunning & skill vvherein a man intendeth to excell: ſo alſo to become a perfect & ſufficient perſon to gouerne

in

in peace and vvarre, there are three thinges of neceſsitie required, namely, nature, art, and practiſe. Nature (in the caſe that vve treate of) muſt furniſhe vs vvith a good moother vvit, vvith a bodie vvell diſpoſed to indure all maner of trauell, and vvith a good vvill to aduaunce our ſelues: Art muſt geue vs iudgement and knovvledge, gotten by the examples and vviſe diſcourſes that vve haue read and double read in good hiſtories: and practiſe vvill get vs readineſſe, aſſuredneſſe, and the eaſe hovvto put thinges in execucion. For though skill be the ruler of doing the deede, yet it is a vertue of the minde vvhich teacheth a man the meane poynt, betvvene the tvvo faultie extremities of too much and too litle, vvherein the commendation of all doinges conſiſteth. And vvhoſoeuer he is that goeth about to attaine to it by the onely triall of experience, and had leuer to learne it at his ovvne coſt, than at an other mans: he may vvell be of the number of thoſe that are touched by this auncient prouerbe, vvhich ſayth, Experience is the ſchoolemiſtreſſe of fooles: bicauſe mans life is ſo short, and experience is hard and daungerous, ſpecially in matters of vvarre, vvherein (according to the ſaying of Tamachus the Athenian Captaine) a man can not fault tvvice, bicauſe the faultes are ſo great, that moſt commonly they bring vvith them the ouerthrovv of the ſtate, or the loſſe of the liues of thoſe that do them. Therefore vve muſt not tary for this vvit that is vvon by experience, vvhich coſteth ſo deere, and is ſo long a comming, that a man is oftimes dead in the ſeeking of it before he haue attained it, ſo as he had neede of a ſeconde life to imploy it in, bicauſe of the ouerlate comming by it. But vve muſt make ſpeede by our diligent and continuall reading of hiſtories both old and nevv, that vve may enioy this happineſſe vvhich the Poet ſpeaketh of t

Three things neceſſary for a Magiſtrate, or Captaine.

Prouerbe.

A happie wight is he that by miſhappes
Of others, doth beware of afterclappes.

By the vvay, as concerning thoſe that ſay that paper vvill beare all things: if there be any that vnvvorthily take vpon them the name of hiſtoriographers, and deface the dignity of the ſtory for hatred or fauor, by mingling any vntrueth vvith it: that is not the fault of the hiſtorie, but of the men that are partiall, vvho abuſe that name vnvvorthily, to couer and cloke their ovvne paſsions vvithall, vvhich thing ſhall neuer come to paſſe, if the vvriter of the ſtorie haue the properties that are neceſſarily required in a ſtorie vvriter, as theſe: That he ſet aſide all affection, be voyde of enuy, hatred, and flattery: that he be a man experienced in the affaires of the vvorld, of good vtterance, and good iudgement to diſcerne vvhat is to be ſayd, and vvhat to be left vnſayd, & vvhat vvould do more harme to haue it declared, than do good to haue it reproued or condemned: foraſmuch as his chiefe drift ought to be to ſerue the common vveale, and that he is but as a regiſter to ſet dovvne the iudgements and definitiue ſentences of Gods Court, vvhereof ſome are geuen according to the ordinarie courſe and capacitie of our vveake naturall reaſon, and other ſome goe according to Gods infinite povver and incomprehenſible vviſedom, aboue and againſt all diſcourſe of mans vnderſtanding, vvho being vnable to reach to the bottome of his iudgements, and to finde out the firſt motions and groundes thereof, do impute the cauſe of them to a certaine fortune, vvhich is nought elſe but a fained deuice of mans vvit, dazeled at the beholding of ſuch brightneſſe, and confounded at the gaging of ſo bottomleſſe a deepe, hovvbeit nothing commeth to paſſe nor is done vvithout the leaue of him that is the verie right and trueth it ſelfe, vvith vvhom nothing is paſt or to come, and vvho knovveth and vnderſtandeth the very originall cauſes of all neceſsitie. The conſideration vvhereof teacheth men to humble them ſelues vnder his mightie hande by acknovvledging that there is one firſt cauſe vvhich ouerruleth nature, vvhereof it commeth, that neither hardineſſe is alvvaies happie, nor vviſedom alvvaies ſure of good ſucceſſe. Theſe ſo notable commodities are euery vvhere accompanied vvith ſingular delight, vvhich proceedeth chiefly of diuerſitie and nouelty vvherein our nature delighteth and is greatly deſirous of: bicauſe vve hauing an earneſt inclination tovvards our beſt proſperity and aduaunceement, it goeth on ſtill, ſeeking it in euery thing vvhich it taketh to be goodly, or good in this vvorld. But foraſmuch as it findeth not vvherevvith to content it ſelfe vnder the cope of heauen, it is ſoone vveary of the things that it had earneſtly deſired affore, & ſo goeth on vvãdring in the vnskilfulnes of her likings vvherof she neuer ceaſſeth to make a continuall chaunging vntill she haue fully ſatisfied her deſires, by attaining to the laſt end, vvhich is to be knit to her chiefe felicity, vvhere is the full perfection of all goodlines and goodnes. This liking of varietie can not be better releeued, than by that vvhich is the finder out and the preſeruer of time, the father of all noueltie, and meſſenger of antiquitie. For if vve finde

a certaine ſingular pleaſure, in hearkening to ſuch as be returned from ſome long voyage, and doe report things vvhich they haue ſeene in ſtraunge contries, as the maners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of liues, differing from ours: and if vve be ſometime ſo rauished vvith delight and pleaſure at the hearing of the talke of ſome vviſe, diſcreete, and vvell ſpoken old man, from vvhoſe mouth there flovveth a ſtreame of ſpeech ſvveeter than honnie, in rehearſing the aduentures vvhich he hath had in his greene and youthfull yeares, the paines that he hath indured, and the perills that he hath ouerpaſſed, ſo as vve perceiue not hovv the time goeth avvay: hovv much more ought vve be rauished vvith delight and vvondring, to behold the ſtate of mankind, and the true ſucceſſe of things, vvhich antiquitie hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the vvorld, as the ſetting vp of Empires, the ouerthrovv of Monarchies, the riſing and falling of Kingdoms, and all things elſe vvorthie admiration, and the ſame liuely ſet forth in the faire, rich, and true table of eloquence? And that ſo liuely, as in the very reading of them vve feele our mindes to be ſo touched by them, not as though the thinges vvere alreadie done and paſt, but as though they vvere euen then preſently in doing, and vve finde our ſelues caried avvay vvith gladneſſe and griefe through feare or hope, vvell neere as though vve vvere then at the doing of them: vvhereas notvvithſtanding vve be not in any paine or daunger, but only conceiue in our mindes the aduerſities that other folkes haue indured, our ſelues ſitting ſafe vvith our contentation and eaſe, according to theſe verſes of the Poet Lucretius:

It is a pleaſure for to ſit at eaſe
Vpon the land, and ſafely thence to ſee
How other folkes are toſſed on the ſeaes,
That with the bluſtring windes turmoyled be.
Not that the ſight of others miſeries
Doth any way the honeſt hart delight,
But for bicauſe it liketh well our eyes,
To ſee harmes free that on our ſelues might light.

Alſo it is ſeene that the reading of hiſtories doth ſo holde and allure good vvits, that diuers times it not only maketh them to forget all other pleaſures, but alſo ſerueth very fittely to turne avvay their griefes, and ſomtimes alſo to remedie their diſeaſes. As for example, vve find it vvritten of Alphonſus King of Naples, that Prince ſo greatly renovvmed in Chronicles for his vviſedom and goodneſſe, that being ſore ſicke in the citie of Capua, vvhen his Phiſitions had ſpent all the cunning that they had to recouer him his health, and he ſavv that nothing preuailed: he determined vvith him ſelfe to take no mo medicines, but for his recreacion cauſed the ſtorie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deedes of Alexander the great, to be red before him: at the hearing vvhereof he tooke ſo vvonderfull pleaſure, that nature gathered ſtrength by it, and ouercame the vvayvvardnes of his diſeaſe. VVhereupon hauing ſoone recouered his helth, he diſcharged his Phiſitions vvith ſuch vvords as theſe: Feaſt me no more vvith your Hippocrates and Galene, ſith they can no skill to helpe me to recouer my helth: but vvell fare Quintus Curtius that could ſo good skill to helpe me to recouer my helth. Novv if the reading and knovvledge of hiſtories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke: I ſay it is much more for great Princes and Kings, bicauſe they haue to do vvith charges of greateſt vveight and difficultie, to be beſt ſtored vvith giftes and knovvledge for the diſcharge of their dueties: ſeeing the ground of ſtories is, to treate of all maner of high matters of ſtate, as vvarres, battells, cities, contries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it ſeemeth more fit for them, than for any other kinde of degrees of men: bicauſe they being bred and brought vp tenderly, and at their eaſe, by reaſon of the great regard and care that is had of their perſons, (as meete is for ſo great ſtates to haue) they take not ſo great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behoueth thoſe to take vvhich vvill learne the noble auncient languages, and the painfull doctrine comprehended in Philoſophie. Againe, vvhen they come to mans ſtate, their charge calleth them to deale in great affaires, ſo as there remaineth no exerciſe of vvit more conuenient for thē, than the reading of hiſtories in their ovvne tunge, vvhich vvithout paine is able to teache them euen vvith great pleaſure and eaſe, vvhatſoeuer the painfull vvorkes of the Philoſophers concerning the gouernment of common vveales can shevve them, to make them skilful in the vvell ruling and gouerning of the people and contries that God hath put vnder their ſubiection. But the vvorſt is, that they euer (or for the moſt part) haue ſuch maner of perſons

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about them as seeke nothing els but to please them by all the vvayes they can, and there are very fevv that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: vvhereas on the contrary part, an history flattereth them not, but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of such as vvere like them in greatnesse of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalereus (a man renovvmed as vvell for his skill in the good gouernment of a common vveale, as for his excellent knovvledge other vvise) counselled Ptolomy, first king of AEgypt after the death of Alexander the great, that he should often and diligently reade the bookes that treated of the gouernment of kingdomes, bicause (sayd he) thou shalt finde many things there, vvhich thy seruaunts and familiar friendes dare not tell thee. Moreoner, this is another thinge, that suche great personages can not easily trauell out of the bounds of their dominions, to goe vievv straunge contries as priuate persons doe: bicause the ielousie of their estate, and the regarde of their dignitie, requires that they should neuer be in place vvhere another man might cõmaund them. And often times for vvant of hauing seene the contries, and knovven the people and Princes that are their neighbours, they haue aduentured vppon attempts vvithout good ground: to auoyde the vvhich, the instruction they may haue by the reading of histories, is one of the easiest and fittest remedies that can be found. And though there vvere none other cause then onely this last, surely it ought to induce Princes to the often and diligent reading of histories, vvherein are vvritten the heroitall deedes of vvise and valiant men, specially of kings that haue bene before them, the considering vvhereof may cause them to be desirous to become like them, specially vvhich vvere of stately and noble courage: bicause the seedes of Princely vertues that are bred vvith them selues, doe then quicken them vp vvith an emulacion tovvards those that haue bene or are equall in degree vvith them, as vvell in respect of noblenes of bloud, as of greatnes of state, so as they be loth to giue place to any person, and much lesse can find in their harts to be outgone in glory of vertuous doinges. VVhereof innumerable examples might be alleaged, if the thing vvere not so vvel knovven of it self, that it vvere much more against reason to doubt of it, than needefull to proue it. Therefore a man may truely conclude, that an historie is the scholemistresse of Princes, at vvhose hand they may vvithout payne, in vvay of pastyme, & vvith singular pleasure learne the most part of the things that belonge to their office. Novv, according to the diuersitie of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and manner of vvriting that it vseth, it hath sondry names giuen vnto it: But yet among the rest there are tvvo chiefe kinds. The one vvhich setteth dovvne mens doings and aduentures at length, is called by the common name of an historie: the other vvhich declareth their natures, sayings, and maners, is properly named their liues. And although the ground of them both doe cloze very neare in one, yet doth the one respect more the things, and the other the persons: the one is more common, and the other more priuate: the one concerneth more the things that are vvithout the man, and the other the things that proceede from vvithin: the one the euents, the other the consultacions: betvvene the vvhich there is oftentymes great oddes, according to this aunsvver of the Persian Siramnes, to such as maruelled hovv it came to passe, that his deuises being so politike had so vnhappy succesSe: It is (quod he) bicause my deuises are vvholly from my ovvn inuention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of fortune and the king. And surely amonge all those that euer haue taken vppon them to vvrite the lines of famous men, the chiefe prerogatiue, by the iudgement of such as are cleerest sighted, is iustly giuen to the Greeke Philosopher Plutarke, borne in the citie of Chæronea in the contry of Bœotia, a noble man, perfect in all rare knovvledge, as his vvorkes may vvell put men out of doubt, if they lyst to read them through, vvho all his life long euen to his old age, had to deale in affayres of the common vveale, as he him selfe vvitnesseth in diuers places, specially in the treatise vvhich he intitled, VVhether an olde man ought to meddle with the gouernment of a common weale or not: and vvho had the hap & honor to be schoolemaster to the Emprour Traian, as is commonly beleeued, and as is expresSely pretended by a certaine Epistle set before the Latin translation of his matters of state, vvhich (to say the truth) seemeth in my iudgement to be somevvhat suspicious, bicause I find it not among his vvorkes in Greeke, besides that it speaketh as though the booke vvere dedicated to Traian, vvhich thinge is manifestly disproued by the beginning of the booke, and by diuers other reasons. Yet notvvithstanding, bicause me thinkes it is vvisely & gravely vvritten, and vvell beseeming him: I haue set it dovvne here in this place. Plutarke vnto Traian sendeth greeting. I knovv vvell that the modestie of your nature vvas not desirous of Soueraintie, though you haue alvvayes indevvored to deserue it by your honorable conuersation: by reason

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That with the bluſtring windes turmoyled be.
Not that the ſight of others miſeries
Doth any way the honeſt hart delight,
But for bicauſe it liketh well our eyes,
To ſee harmes free that on our ſelues might light.

Alſo it is ſeene that the reading of hiſtories doth ſo holde and allure good vvits, that diuers times it not only maketh them to forget all other pleaſures, but alſo ſerueth very fittely to turne avvay their griefes, and ſomtimes alſo to remedie their diſeaſes. As for example, vve find it vvritten of Alphonſus King of Naples, that Prince ſo greatly renovvmed in Chronicles for his vviſedom and goodneſſe, that being ſore ſicke in the citie of Capua, vvhen his Phiſitions had ſpent all the cunning that they had to recouer him his health, and he ſavv that nothing preuailed: he determined vvith him ſelfe to take no mo medicines, but for his recreation cauſed the ſtorie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deedes of Alexander the great, to be red before him: at the hearing vvhereof he tooke ſo vvonderfull pleaſure, that nature gathered ſtrength by it, and ouercame the vvayvvardnes of his diſeaſe. VVhereupon hauing ſoone recouered his helth, he diſcharged his Phiſitions vvith ſuch vvords as theſe: Feaſt me no more vvith your Hippocrates and Galene, ſith they can no skill to helpe me to recouer my helth: but vvell fare Quintus Curtius that could ſo good skill to helpe me to recouer my helth. Novv if the reading and knovvledge of hiſtories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke: I ſay it is much more for great Princes and Kings, bicauſe they haue to do vvith charges of greateſt vveight and difficultie, to be beſt ſtored vvith giftes and knovvledge for the diſcharge of their dueties: ſeeing the ground of ſtories is, to treate of all maner of high matters of ſtate, as vvarres, battells, cities, contries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it ſeemeth more fit for them, than for any other kinde of degrees of men: bicauſe they being bred and brought vp tenderly, and at their eaſe, by reaſon of the great regard and care that is had of their perſons, (as meete is for ſo great ſtates to haue) they take not ſo great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behoueth thoſe to take vvhich vvill learne the noble auncient languages, and the painfull doctrine comprehended in Philoſophie. Againe, vvhen they come to mans ſtate, their charge calleth them to deale in great affaires, ſo as there remaineth no exerciſe of vvit more conuenient for thē, than the reading of hiſtories in their ovvne tunge, vvhich vvithout paine is able to teache them euen vvith great pleaſure and eaſe, vvhatſoeuer the painfull vvorkes of the Philoſophers concerning the gouernment of common vveales can shevve them, to make them skilful in the vvell ruling and gouerning of the people and contries that God hath put vnder their ſubiection. But the vvorſt is, that they euer (or for the moſt part) haue ſuch maner of perſons

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Moreoner, this is another thinge, that suche great personages can not easily trauell out of the bounds of their dominions, to goe vievv straunge contries as priuate persons doe: bicause the ielousie of their estate, and the regarde of their dignitie, requires that they should neuer be in place vvhere another man might cõmaund them. And often times for vvant of hauing seene the contries, and knovven the people and Princes that are their neighbours, they haue aduentured vppon attempts vvithout good ground: to auoyde the vvhich, the instruction they may haue by the reading of histories, is one of the easiest and fittest remedies that can be found. And though there vvere none other cause then onely this last, surely it ought to induce Princes to the often and diligent reading of histories, vvherein are vvritten the heroit all deedes of vvise and valiant men, specially of kings that haue bene before them, the considering vvhereof may cause them to be desirous to become like them, specially vvhich vvere of stately and noble courage: bicause the seedes of Princely vertues that are bred vvith them selues, doe then quicken them vp vvith an emulacion tovvards those that haue bene or are equall in degree vvith them, as vvell in respect of noblenes of bloud, as of greatnes of state, so as they be loth to giue place to any person, and much lesse can find in their harts to be outgone in glory of vertuous doinges. VVhereof innumerable examples might be alleaged, if the thing vvere not so vvel knovven of it self, that it vvere much more against reason to doubt of it, than needefull to proue it. Therefore a man may truely conclude, that an historie is the scholemistresse of Princes, at vvhose hand they may vvithout payne, in vvay of pastyme, & vvith singular pleasure learne the most part of the things that belonge to their office. Now, according to the diuersitie of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and manner of vvriting that it vseth, it hath sondry names giuen vnto it: But yet among the rest there are tvvo chiefe kinds. The one vvhich setteth dovvne mens doings and aduentures at length, is called by the common name of an historie: the other vvhich declareth their natures, sayings, and maners, is properly named their liues. And although the ground of them both doe cloze very neare in one, yet doth the one respect more the things, and the other the persons: the one is more common, and the other more priuate: the one concerneth more the things that are vvithout the man, and the other the things that proceede from vvithin: the one the euents, the other the consultacions: betvvene the vvhich there is oftentymes great oddes, according to this aunsvver of the Persian Sirammes, to such as maruelled hovv it came to passe, that his deuises being so politike had so vnhappy succesſe: It is (quod he) bicause my deuises are vvholly from my ovvn inuention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of fortune and the king. And surely amonge all those that euer haue taken vppon them to vvrite the lines of famous men, the chiefe prerogatiue, by the iudgement of such as are cleareſt sighted, is iustly giuen to the Greeke Philosopher Plutarke, borne in the citie of Chæronea in the contry of Bœotia, a noble man, perfect in all rare knovvledge, as his vvorkes may vvell put men out of doubt, if they lyst to read them through, vvho all his life long euen to his old age, had to deale in affayres of the common vveale, as he him selfe vvitnesseth in diuers places, specially in the treatise vvhich he intitled, Whether an olde man ought to meddle with the gouernment of a common weale or not: and vvho had the hap & honor to be schoolemaster to the Emprour Traian, as is commonly beleeued, and as is expresſely pretended by a certaine Epistle set before the Latin translation of his matters of state, vvhich (to say the truth) seemeth in my iudgement to be somevvhat suspicious, bicause I find it not among his vvorkes in Greeke, besides that it speaketh as though the booke vvere dedicated to Traian, vvhich thinge is manifestly disproued by the beginning of the booke, and by diuers other reasons. Yet notvvithstanding, bicause me thinkes it is vvisely & gravely vvritten, and vvell becomming him: I haue set it dovvne here in this place. Plutarke vnto Traian sendeth greeting. I knovv vvell that the modestie of your nature vvas not desirous of Soueraintie, though you haue alvvayes indevvored to deserue it by your honorable conuersation: by reason

» vvhereof you haue bene thought ſo much the vvorthier of it, as you haue bene founde the further of
» from all ambition. And therefore I do novv reioice in your vertue & my fortune, if it be ſo great as to
» cauſe you to adminiſter that thing vvith iuſtice, vvhich you haue obtained by deſert. For othervviſe
» I am ſure you haue put your ſelfe in hazard of great daungers, and me in perill of ſlaunderous tongues,
» bicauſe Rome can not avvay vvith a vvicked Emperour, and the common voyce of the people is al-
» vvaies vvont to caſt the faultes of the ſchollers in the teeth of their ſchoolemaiſters: as for example:
» Seneca is railed vpon by ſlaunderous tonges, for the faultes of his ſcholler Nero: the ſcapes of Quinti-
» lians young ſchollers are imputed to Quintilian him ſelfe: and Socrates is blamed, for being too myld
» to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you ſhall doe all things vvell enough, ſo you keepe you as you
» are. If you firſt ſet your ſelfe in order, and then diſpoſe all other things according to vertue, all things
» ſhall fall out according to your deſire. I haue ſet you dovvne the meanes in vvriting, vvhich you muſt
» obſerue for the vvell gouerning of your common vveale, and haue shevved you of hovv great force
» your behauiour may be in that behalfe. If you thinke good to follovv thoſe thinges, you haue Plutarke
» for the directer and guider of your life: if not, I proteſt vnto you by this Epiſtle, that your falling into
» daunger to the ouerthrovv of the Empire, is not by the doctrine of Plutarke. This Epiſtle vvitneſſeth
plainly that he vvas the ſchoolemaiſter of Traian, vvhich thing ſeemeth to be auovved by this vvri-
ting of Suidas: Plutarke being borne in the citie of Chæronea in Bœotia, vvas in the time of the Em-
perour Traian, and ſomvvhat affore. But Traian honored him vvith the dignitie of Conſulship, and
commaunded the officers and Magiſtrates that vvere throughout all the contrie of Illyria, that they
ſhould not do any thing vvithout his counſell and authoritie. So doth Suidas vvrite of him. And I am
of opinion, that Traian being ſo vviſe an Emperour, vvould neuer haue done him ſo great honor, if he
had not thought him ſelfe greatly beholding to him for ſome ſpeciall cauſe. But the thing that maketh
me moſt to beleue it true, is, that the ſame goodneſſe and iuſtice appeared to be naturally imprinted in
moſt of Traians ſayings and doings, vvhereof the paterne and movvld (as a man might terme it) is
caſt and ſet dovvne in Plutarkes Moralls, ſo as men may perceiue expreſſely, that the one could vvell
skill to performe rightly, that vvhich the other had taught vviſely. For Dion vvriteth, that among
other honors vvhich the Senate of Rome gaue by decree vnto Traian, they gaue him the title of the
Good Emperour. And Eutropius reporteth that euen vnto his time, vvhen a nevv Emperour came to
be receiued of the Senate, among the cries of good hanſell, and the vvishes of good lucke that vvere
made vnto him, one vvas: happier be thou than Auguſtus, and better than Traian. Hovvſoeuer the
caſe ſtoode, it is very certaine that Plutarke dedicated the collection of his Apothegmes vnto him. But
vvhen he had liued a long time at Rome, and vvas come home againe to his ovvne houſe, he fell to
vvriting of this excellent vvorke of Liues, vvhich he calleth Parallelon, as much to ſay, as a cupling
or matching together, bicauſe he matcheth a Grecian vvith a Romane, ſetting dovvne their liues ech
after other, and comparing them together, as he founde any likeneſſe of nature, condicions, or aduen-
tures betvvext them, and examining vvhat the one of them had better or vvorſer, greater or leſſer
than the other: vvhich things he doth vvith ſo goodly and graue diſcourſe euery vvhere, taken out of
the deepeſt & moſt hidden ſecrets of morall and naturall Philoſophie, vvith ſo ſage precepts and frute-
full inſtructions, vvith ſo effectuall commendation of vertue, and deteſtation of vice, vvith ſo many
goodly allegacions of other authors, vvith ſo many fit compariſons, & vvith ſo many high inuentions:
that the booke may better be called by the name of the Treaſorie of all rare and perfect learning, than
by any other name. Alſo it is ſayd, that Theodorus Gaza, a Grecian of ſingular learning, and a vvor-
thie of the auncient Greece, being asked on a time by his familiar frendes (vvhich ſavv him ſo ear-
neſtly giuen to his ſtudie, that he forgate all other things) vvhat author he had leuereſt to chooſe, if he
vvere at that poynt that he muſt needes chooſe ſome one to holde him to alone, did aunſvvere that he
vvould chooſe Plutarke: bicauſe that if they vvere all put together, there vvas no one both ſo profi-
table, and ſo pleaſaunt to read, as he. Soſius Senecio to vvhom he dedicateth his vvorke, vvas a Sena-
tor of Rome, as vvitneſſeth Dion, vvho vvriteth that the three perſons vvhom Traian moſt loued
and honored, vvere Soſius, Parma, and Celſus, inſomuch that he cauſed images of them to be ſet vp.
True it is that he vvrote the liues of many other men, vvhich the ſpitefulnes of time hath bereft vs
of, among vvhich he himſelfe maketh mention of the liues of Scipio Africanus, & Metellus Numidi-
cus. And I haue red a litle Epiſtle of a ſonne of his, vvhoſe name is not expreſſed, copied out of an olde

copie

copie in the Libarie of S. Marke in Venice, wherein he writeth to a frende of his, a register of all the bookes that his father made: and there among the cupples of liues, he setteth downe the liues of Scipio and Epaminondas, and lastly the liues of Augustus Cæsar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But hauing vsed all the diligence that I could in serching the chiefe Libraries of Venice, and Rome, I could neuer find them out. Onely I drewe out certaine diuersities of readinges, and many corrections by conferring the old written copies with the printed bookes: which haue stoode me in great stead to the vnderstanding of many hard places: and there are a great number of them which I haue restored by coniecture, by the iudgement & helpe of such men of this age, as are of greatest knowledge in humane learning. Yet for all this, there remaine some places vnamended, howbeit very fewe, bicause some lines were wanting in the originall copies, whereof (to my seeming) it was better for me to witnesse the want by marking it with some starre: than to gesse at it with all aduenture, or to adde any thing to it. Now finally, if I haue ouershot my selfe in any thing, as it is verie easie to do in so hard and long a worke, specially to a man of so small abilitie as I am: I beseeche the Readers to vouchsafe for my discharge, to admit the excuse which the Poet Horace giueth me, where he sayth:

A man may well be ouerseene
In workes that long and tedious bene.

Specially sith that of so many good men, & men of skill as haue heretofore set hand to the translating of it, there was neuer yet any one found that went through with it in any language, at least wise that I haue seene or heard of: and that such as haue enterprised to translate it, specially into Latin, haue euidently witnessed the hardnesse thereof, as they may easely perceiue which list to conferre their translations with mine. Neuertheles if it so fortune that men find not the speech of this translation so flowing, as they haue found some other of mine, that are abroad in mens hands: I beseech the readers to consider, that the office of a fit translater, consisteth not onely in the faithfull expresing of his authors meaning, but also in a certaine resembling and shadowing out of the forme of his style and the manner of his speaking: vnlesse he will commit the errour of some painters, who hauing taken vpon them to drawe a man liuely, do paint him long where he should be short, and grosse where he should be slender, and yet set out the resemblance of his countenance naturally. For howe harsh or rude soeuer my speech be, yet am I sure that my translation will be much easier to my contriemen, than the Greeke copie is, euen to such as are best practised in the Greeke tonge, by reason of Plutarkes peculiar maner of inditing, which is rather sharpe, learned, and short, than plaine, polished, and easie. At the hardest, although I haue not compassed my matters so happily as ye coulde haue wished and desired: yet do I hope that your Lordships in reading it will hold the parties good will excused, which hath taken such paines in doing of it to profit you. And if my labor be so happie, as to content you: God be praised for it, which hath giuen me the grace to finish it.

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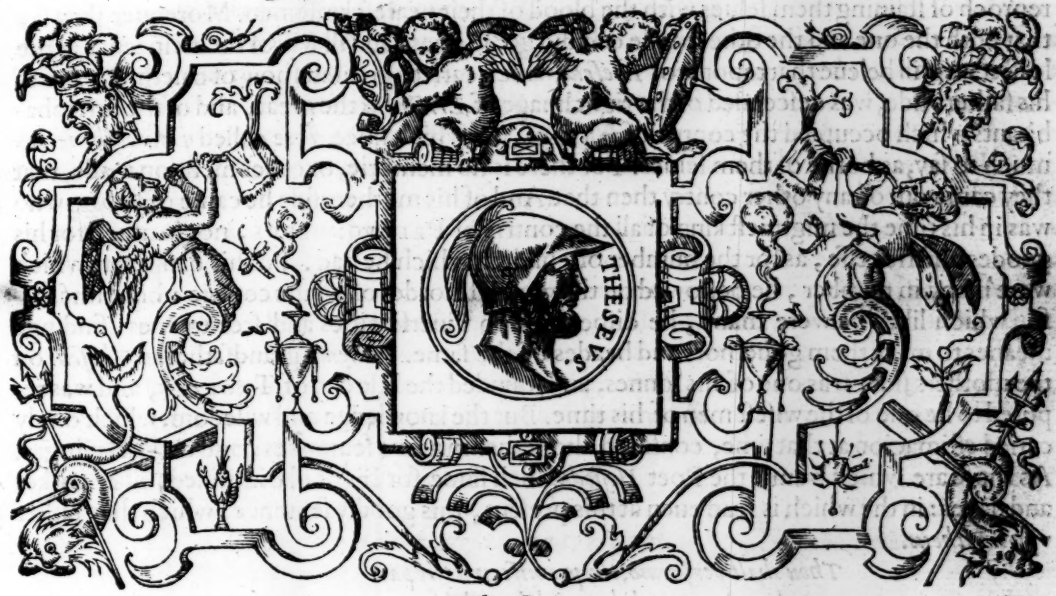
THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED TOGETHER BY THAT graue learned Philoſopher and Hiſtoriographer, Plutarche of Chœronea.



Theſeus.

A LIKE as hiſtoriographers deſcribing the world (frende *Soſsius Senecio*) doe of purpoſe referre to the vttermoſt partes of their mappes the farre diſtant regions whereof they be ignoraunt, with this note: theſe contries are by meanes of ſandes and drowthes vnnauigable, rude, full of venimous beaſtes, SCYTHIAN iſe, and froſen ſeas. Euen ſo may I (which in comparinge noble mens liues haue already gone ſo farre into antiquitie, as the true and certaine hiſtorie could lead me) of the reſt, being thinges paſt all proofe or chalenge, very well ſay: that beyonde this time all is full of ſuſpicion and dout, being deliuered vs by Poets and Tragedy makers, ſometimes without trueth and likelihoode, and alwayes B without certainty. Howbeit, hauing heretofore ſet foorth the liues of *Lycurgus* (which eſtabliſhed the lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS) and of king *Numa Pompilius*: me thought I might go a litle further to the life of *Romulus*, ſence I was come ſo nere him. But conſidering my ſelfe as the Poet *AEſchilus* did:

Soſsius Senecio a Senator of Rome.

VVhat champion may vvith ſuch a man compare?
or vvho (thinke I) ſhalbe againſt him ſet?
VVho is ſo bold? or vvho is he that dare
defend his force, in ſuch encounter met?

In the end I reſolued to match him which did ſet vp the noble & famous city of Athens, A
with him which founded the glorious and inuincible city of Rome. Wherein I would wiſhe
that the inuentions of Poets, and the traditions of fabulous antiquitie, would ſuffer them
ſelues to be purged and reduced to the forme of a true and hiſtoricall reporte: but when they
ſquare too much from likelyhode, and can not be made credible, the readers will of curteſie
take in good parte that, which I could with moſt probability wryte of ſuch antiquities. Now
Theſeus and Romulus very like. ſurely me thinkes, that *Theſeus* in many thinges was much like vnto *Romulus*. For being both
begotten by ſtealth, and out of lawful matrimony: both were reputed to be borne of the ſeede
of the goddes.

Both valiant vvere, as all the vvorld doth knovv.

Both ioyned valiancy with gouernment. The one of them built Rome, and the other, by B
gathering into one diſperſed people, erected the citie of Athens: two of the moſt noble ci-
ties of the worlde. The one and the other were rauiſhers of women: and neither thone nor
thother coulde auoyde the miſchiefe of quarrell and contention with their frendes, nor the
reproch of ſtaining them ſelues with the blood of their neareſt kinſemen. Moreouer, they ſay
that both the one and the other in the end did get the hate and ill will of their citizens: at the
The linage of Theſeus. leaſt if we will beleue that reporte of *Theſeus*, which carieth greateſt ſhow of trueth. *Theſeus* of
his fathers ſide, was deſcended of the right linage of *Erictheus* the great, and of the firſt inha-
bitants which occupied the contrie of Attica, the which ſince were called *Autochthones*, as
much to ſay, as borne of them ſelues. For there is no memorie, or other mention made, that
Pelops, king of Peloponneſus. they came out of any other contry then that. And of his mothers ſide he came of *Pelops*, who C
was in his time the mightieſt king of all the contrie of Peloponnesvs, not ſo much for his
goodes and richeſſe, as for the number of children which he had. For his daughters which
were many in number, he beſtowed on the greateſt Lordes of all the contrie: his ſonnes al-
ſo, which likewiſe were many, he diſperſed into diuerſe cities and free townes, findinge
Pitheus the grandfather of Theſeus. The wiſedom of Pitheus. meanes to make them gouernors and heades of the ſame. *Pitheus*, grandfather to *Theſeus* on
the mothers ſide, was one of his ſonnes, and founded the litle city of Troezen, and was re-
puted to be one of the wiſeſt men of his time. But the knowledge and wiſedom, which onely
caried eſtimacion at that time, conſiſted altogether in graue ſentences, and morall ſayinges.
As thoſe are which wanne the Poet *Heſiodus* ſuch fame for his booke intituled, The workes
and dayes: in the which is read euen at this preſent, this goodly ſentence, which they father D
vpon *Pitheus*.

Thou ſhalt performe, thy promiſe and thy pay:
to hyred men, and that vvithout delay.

And this doth *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher himſelfe teſtifie: and the Poet *Euripides* alſo, calling
Hippolytus the ſcholler of the holy *Pitheus*, doth ſufficiently declare of what eſtimacion he was.
AEgeus the father of Theſeus. But *AEgeus* deſiring (as they ſay) to know how he might haue children, went vnto the city of
Delphes to the oracle of *Apollo*: where by *Apolloes* Nunne that notable prophecy was geuen
him for an aunſwer. The which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, vntill he was re-
turned againe to Athens. And bicauſe the words of this prophecy were ſomewhat darke, &
hard: he tooke his way by the city of Troezen, to tell it vnto *Pitheus*. The wordes of the pro- E
phecy were theſe.

O thou vvhich art a gemme of perfect grace,
plucke not the tappe, out of thy truſty toonne:
Before thou do, returne vnto thy place,
in Athens tovvne, from vvhence thy race doth roonne.

Pitheus vnderſtanding the meaning, perſwaded him, or rather cunningly by ſome deuiſe de-
AEthra the daughter of king Pitheus, & the mother of Theſeus. ceiued him in ſuch ſorte, that he made him to lye with his daughter called *AEthra*. *AEgeus* af-
ter he had accompanied with her, knowing that ſhe was *Pitheus* daughter with whom he had
lyen, and douting that he had gotten her with child: left her a ſword and a payer of ſhoes, the
which he hidde vnder a great hollow ſtone, the hollownes wherof ſerued iuſt to receiue thoſe F
things which he layed vnder it, and made no liuing creature priuy to it but her alone, ſtraight-
ly charging her, that if ſhe happened to haue a ſonne, when he were come to mans ſtate, & of
ſtrength

A strength to remoue the stone, and to take those things from vnder it which he left there: that she should then sende him vnto him by those tokens, as secretly as she could, that no body els might knowe of it. For he did greatly feare the children of one called *Pallas*, the which laye in wayte and spyall by all the meanes they could to kill him, only of despight bicause he had no children, they being fiftie brethern, and all begotten of one father. This done, he departed from her. And *Æthra* within fewe moneths after was deliuered of a goodly sonne, the which from that time was called *Theseus*: and as some say, so called, bicause of the tokens of knowledge his father had layed vnder the stone. Yet some others write, that it was afterwardes at ATHENS when his father knewe him, and auowed him for his sonne. But in the meane time, during his infancie & childehood, he was brought vp in the house of his grādfather *Pitheus*, vnder the go-
B uernmēt & teaching of one called *Cōnidas*, his schoolemaster: in honour of whom the ATHENIANS to this daye doe sacrifice a weather, the daye before the great feaste of *Theseus*, hauing more reason to honour the memorye of this gouernour, then of a *Silanion* and of a *Parrhasius*, to whom they doe honour also, bicause they paynted and caste mowldes of the images of *Theseus*. Now there was a custome at that time in GREECE, that the yong men after their infancie and growth to mans state, went vnto the cittie of DELPHES, to offer parte of their heares in the temple of *Apollo*. *Theseus* also went thither as other did: and some saye that the place where the ceremonie of this offering was made, hath euer sence kept the olde name, (and yet continueth) *Theseia*. Howbeit he dyd not shaue his head but before only, as *Homer* sayeth, like the facion of the ABANTES in olde time: and this manner of shauing of heares, was called for
C his sake, *Theseida*. And as concerning the ABANTES, in trothe they were the very first that shaued them selues after this facion: neuertheles they learned it not of the ARABIANS as it was thought of some, neither dyd they it after the imitation of the MISSIANS. But bicause they were warlike and valliant men, which did ioyne neere vnto their enemie in battell, and aboue all men of the worlde were skilfulleſt in fight hande to hande, and woulde keepe their grounde: as the Poet *Archilochus* witnesseth in these verses.

They vse no slynges in foughten fields to haue,
nor bended bowes: but swords and trenchant blades.
For when fierce Mars beginneth for to raue,
in bloody field: then euery man inuades
D *His fiercest foe, and fighteth hand to hand.*
then doe they deeds, right cruell to recompt.
For in this wise, the braue and warlike bande
Doe shew their force which come from Negrepont.

The cause why they were thus shauen before, was, for that their enemies should not haue the vauntage to take them by the heares of the head while they were fighting. And for this selfe same consideration, *Alexander* the great commaunded his captaines to cause all the MACEDONIANS to shaue their beards: bicause it is the easiest holde (and readiest for the hande) a man can haue of his enemie in fighting, to holde him fast by the same. But to returne to *Theseus*. *Æthra* his mother had euer vnto that time kept it secret from him, who was his true fa-
E ther. And *Pitheus* also had geuen it out abroade, that he was begotten of *Neptune*, bicause the TROEZENIANS haue this god in great veneration, and doe worshippe him as patron and protector of their cittie, making offerings to him of their first fruites: and they haue for the marke and stampe of their money, the three picked mace, which is the signe of *Neptune*, called his *Trident*. But after he was comen to the prime and lustines of his youth, and that with the strength of his bodie he shewed a great courage, ioyned with a naturall wisedome, and stayednes of wit: then his mother brought him to the place where this great hollowe stone laye, and telling him truely the order of his birth, and by whom he was begotten, made him to take his fathers tokens of knowledge, which he had hidden there, & gaue him counsell to goe by sea to ATHENS vnto him. *Theseus* easily lyft vp the stone, and tooke his fathers tokens from vnder it: How-
F beit he answered playnely, that he would not goe by sea, notwithstanding that it was a great deale the safer waye, and that his mother and grandfather both had instantly intreated him, bicause the waye by lande from TROEZEN to ATHENS was very daungerous, all the wayes

The Pallantides.

Pallas had fiftie sonnes.

VVhy Theseus vvas so called.

Connidas Theseus schoolemaster.

A custome to offer heares at Delphes.

Theseia. Theseus maner of shauing.

The Abantes.

The cause of shauing their heares before.

Alexander Magnus made the Macedonians shaue their beardes.

Theseus said to be Neptunes sonne.

The Træzenians coyne stamped vvith Nepeunes three picked mace.

Theseus youthe.

Great robbing in Theſeus time. Thucid. lib. 1.

being beſett by robbers and murderers. For the worlde at that time brought forth men, which A for ſtrongneſſe in their armes, for ſwyftnes of feete, and for a generall ſtrength of the whole bodye, dyd farre paſſe the common force of others, and were neuer wearie for any labour or trauell they tooke in hande. But for all this, they neuer employed theſe giftes of nature to any honeſt or profitable thing, but rather delighted villanouſly to hurte and wronge others: as if all the fruite and profit of their extraordinary ſtrength had conſiſted in crueltye, & violence only, and to be able to keepe others vnder and in ſubiection, and to force, deſtroye, and ſpoyle all that came to their handes. Thincking that the more parte of thoſe which thincke it a ſhame to doe ill, and commend iuſtice, equitie, and humanitie, doe it of fainte cowardly heartes, bicauſe they dare not wronge others, for feare they ſhould receyue wronge them ſelues: and therefore, that they which by might could haue vauntage ouer others, had no- B

Hercules a deſtroyer of theeues.

thing to doe with ſuche quiet qualities. Nowe *Hercules*, trauailling abroade in the worlde, draue awaye many of thoſe wicked theuiſhe murderers, and ſome of them he ſlewe and put to death, other as he paſſed through thoſe places where they kept, dyd hide them ſelues for feare of him, and gaue place: in ſo much as *Hercules*, perceyuing they were well tamed and brought lowe, made no further reckoning to purſue them any more. But after that by fortune he had ſlayne *Iphitus* with his owne handes, and that he was paſſed ouer the ſeas into the

Hercules ſerueth Omphale.

countrye of LYDIA, where he ſerued Queene *Omphale* a long time, condemning him ſelfe vnto that voluntarie payne, for the murder he had committed. All the Realme of LYDIA during his abode there, remained in great peace and ſecuritie from ſuch kynde of people. How- C beit in GRECE, and all thereabouts, theſe olde miſchiefes beganne againe to renue, growing hotter and violenter then before: bicauſe there was no man that puniſhed them, nor that durſt take vpon him to deſtroye them. By which occaſion, the waye to goe from PELOPONNESVS to ATHENS by lande was very perillous. And therefore *Pitheus* declaring vnto *Theſeus*, what manner of theeues there were that laye in the waye, and the outrages and villanies

Theſeus followeth Hercules.

they dyd to all trauellers and wayefaring men, ſought the rather to perſwade him thereby to take his voyage alonge the ſeas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the fame and glorie of *Hercules* noble dedes, had long before ſecretly ſett his hearte on fire, ſo that he made reckoning of none other but of him, and louingly hearkened vnto thoſe which woulde ſeeme to deſcribe him what manner of man he was, but chiefly vnto thoſe which had ſeene him, and bene in his companye, when he had ſayed or done any thing worthy of memorye. For then he dyd D manifeſtly open him ſelfe, that he felt the like paſſion in his hearte, which *Themiſtocles* long time afterwardes endured, when he ſayed: that the victorie and triumphe of *Miltiades* would

Deſire of fame pricketh men forward to great enterpriſes.

not lett him ſleepe. For euen ſo, the wonderfull admiration which *Theſeus* had of *Hercules* corage, made him in the night that he neuer dreamed but of his noble actes and doings, and in the daye time, pricked forwardes with emulation and enuie of his glorie, he determined with him ſelfe one daye to doe the like, and the rather, bicauſe they were neere kynſemen, being coſins remoued by the mothers ſide. For *Æthra* was the daughter of *Pitheus*, and

Theſeus and Hercules nere kynſemen.

Alcmena (the mother of *Hercules*) was the daughter of *Lyſidices*, the which was halfe ſiſter to *Pitheus*, bothe children of *Pelops* and of his wife *Hippodamia*. So he thought he ſhould be vtterly ſhamed and diſgraced, that *Hercules* trauelling through the worlde in that ſorte, dyd E ſeeke out thoſe wicked theeues to rydde both ſea & lande of them: & that he, farre otherwiſe, ſhould flye occaſion that might be offered him, to fight with them that he ſhould meete on his waye. Moreouer, he was of opinion he ſhould greately ſhame and diſhonour him, whom fame and common bruite of people reported to be his father: if in ſhonning occaſion to fight, he ſhould conuey him ſelfe by ſea, and ſhould carie to his true father alſo a paire of ſhooes, (to make him knowen of him) and a ſworde not yet bathed in bloude. Where he ſhould rather ſeeke cauſe, by manifeſt token of his worthie deedes, to make knowen to the worlde, of what noble bloude he came, and from whence he was deſcended. With this determination, *Theſeus* holdeth on his purpoſed iorney, with intent to hurte no man, yet to de-

Periphetes Corinetes, a famous robber, ſlayne of Theſeus.

fende him ſelfe, & to be reuenged of thoſe which woulde take vpon them to aſſault him. The F firſt therefore whom he ſlewe within the territories of the cittie of EPIDAVRVM, was a robber called *Periphetes*. This robber vſed for his ordinarie weapon to carie a clubbe, and

for

A for that cauſe he was commonly ſurnamed *Corynetes*, that is to ſaye, a clubbe caryer. So he firſt ſtrake at *Theſeus* to make him ſtande: but *Theſeus* fought ſo luſtely with him, that he killed him. Whereof he was ſo glad, and chiefly for that he had wonne his clubbe, that euer after he caryed it him ſelfe about with him, as *Hercules* dyd the lyons ſkynne. And like as this ſpoyle of the lyon dyd witneſſe the greatnes of the beaſt which *Hercules* had ſlayne: euen ſo *Theſeus* went all about, ſhewing that this clubbe which he had gotten out of anothers hands, was in his owne handes inuincible. And ſo going on further, in the ſtreightes of PELOPONNESVS he killed another, called *Sinnis* ſurnamed *Pityocamtes*, that is to ſaye, a wreather, or bower of pyne apple trees: whom he put to death in that ſelfe cruell manner that *Sinnis* had ſlayne many other trauellers before. Not that he had experience thereof, by any former

Theſeus caried the clubbe he wanne of Periphetes, as Hercules did the lions ſkin.

Sinnis Pityocamtes, a cruel murtherer ſlaine.

B practiſe or exerciſe: but only to ſhewe, that cleane ſtrength coulde doe more, then either arte or exerciſe. This *Sinnis* had a goodly fayer daughter called *Perigouna*, which fled awaye, when ſhe ſawe her father ſlayne: whom he followed and ſought all about. But ſhe had hydden her ſelfe in a groue full of certen kyndes of wilde pricking ruſhes called *Stæbe*, and wilde ſparage, which ſhe ſimplye like a childe intreated to hyde her, as if they had heard and had ſenſe to vnderſtand her: promiſing them with an othe, that if they ſaued her from being founde, ſhe would neuer cutt them downe, nor burne them. But *Theſeus* fynding her, called her, and ſware by his faith he would vſe her gently, and doe her no hurte, nor diſpleaſure at all. Vpon which promiſe ſhe came out of the buſhe, and laye with him, by whom ſhe was conceyued of a goodly boye, which was called *Menalippus*. Afterwardes *Theſeus* maried

Perigouna Sinnis daughter.

Theſeus begatte Menalippus of Perigouna.

C her vnto one *Deioneus*, the ſonne of *Euritus* the *Oechalian*. Of this *Menalippus*, the ſonne of *Theſeus*, came *Ioxus*: the which with *Ornytus* brought men into the countrye of CARIA, where he buylt the cittie of IOXIDES. And hereof cometh that olde auncient ceremonie, obſerued yet vnto this daye by thoſe of IOXIDES, neuer to burne the bryars of wilde ſparage, nor the *Stæbe*, but they haue them in ſome honour and reuerence. Touching the wilde ſauage ſowe of *Crommyon*, otherwiſe ſurnamed *Phæa*, that is to ſaye, ouergrowen with age: ſhe was not a beaſt to be made light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kyll. *Theſeus* notwithſtanding taryed for her, and kylled her in his iorney, to the ende it ſhoulde not appeare to the worlde, that all the valliant deedes he dyd, were done by compulſion, and of neceſſitie: adding thereto his opinion alſo, that a valliant man ſhould not onely fight

Ioxus, Menalippus ſonne.

Ioxides.

Phæa the wilde ſowe of Crommyon ſlaine.

D with men, to defend him ſelfe from the wicked: but that he ſhould be the firſt, to aſſaulte and ſlaye wilde hurtefull beaſtes. Neuertheles others haue written, that this *Phæa* was a woman robber, a murderer, and naught of her bodye, which ſpoyled thoſe that paſſed by the place called CROMMYONIA, where ſhe dwelt: and that ſhe was ſurnamed a ſowe, for her beaſtly brutiſhe behauiour, and wicked life, for the which in the ende ſhe was alſo ſlayne by *Theſeus*. After her he kylled *Sciron*, entring into the territories of MEGARA, bicauſe he robbed all trauellers by the waye, as the common reporte goeth: or as others ſaye, for that of a cruell, wicked, and ſauage pleaſure, he put forth his feete to thoſe that paſſed by the ſea ſide, and compelled them to waſhe them. And then when they thought to ſtowpe to doe it, he ſtill

Phæa a woman theefe.

Sciron a notable robber, throwe downe the rocks by Theſeus.

E ſpurned them with his feete, till he thruſt them hedlong into the ſea: ſo *Theſeus* threw him hedlong downe the rockes. Howbeit the writers of MEGARA impugning this common reporte, and deſirous (as *Simonides* ſayeth) to ouerthrowe it that had continued by preſcription of time: dyd mainteine that this *Sciron* was neuer any robber, nor wicked perſone, but rather a purſuer and puniſher of the wicked, and a friend and a kynſeman of the moſt honeſt, and iuſteſt men of GREECE. For there is no man but will confeſſe, that *Æacus* was the moſt vertuous man among the GRECIANS in his time, and that *Cychreus* the SALAMINIAN is honoured and reuerenced as a god at ATHENS: and there is no man alſo but knoweth, that *Peleus* and *Telamon* were men of ſingular vertue. Nowe it is certeine, that this *Sciron* was the ſonne in lawe of *Cychreus*, father in lawe of *Æacus*, and grandfather of *Peleus* and of *Telamon*, the which two were the children of *Endeida*, the daughter of the ſayed

AEacus.

Cychreus.

F *Sciron*, and of his wife *Charicle*. Alſo it is not very likely, that ſo many good men would haue had affinitie with ſo naughty and wicked a man: in taking of him, and geuing him that, which men loue beſt of all things in the worlde. And therefore the Hiſtoriographers

saye, that it was not the first time, when *Theseus* went vnto ATHENS, that he killed *Sciron*: but that it was many dayes after, when he tooke the cittie of ELEVSIN, which the MEGARIANS helde at that time, where he deceyued the gouernour of the cittie called *Diocles*, and there he slewe *Sciron*. And these be the obiections the MEGARIANS alledged touching this matter. He slewe also *Cercyon* the ARCADIAN, in the cittie of ELEVSIN, wrestling with him. And going a litle further, he slewe *Damastes*, otherwise surnamed *Procrustes*, in the cittie of HERMIONIA: and that by stretching on him out, to make him euen with the length and measure of his beddes, as he was wont to doe vnto straungers that passed by. *Theseus* dyd that after the imitation of *Hercules*, who punished tyrannes with the selfe same payne and torment, which they had made others suffer. For euen so dyd *Hercules* sacrifice *Busiris*. So he stifled *Antheus* in wrestling. So he put *Cycnus* to death, fighting with him man to man. So he brake *Termerus* heade, from whom this prouerbe of *Termerus* euill came, which continueth yet vnto this daye: for this *Termerus* dyd vse to put them to death in this sorte whom he met: to iolle his head against theirs. Thus proceeded *Theseus* after this selfe manner, punishing the wicked in like sorte, iustly compelling them tabyde the same payne and torments, which they before had vniustly made others abyde. And so he helde on his iorney vntill he came to the riuer of CEPHISVS, where certaine persones of the house of the *Phytalides* were the first which went to meete him, to honour him, and at his request they purified him according to the ceremonies vsed at that time: and afterwardes hauing made a sacrifice of propitiation vnto their goddes, they made him great chere in their houses: and this was the first notable enterteinment he founde in all his iorney. It is supposed he arriued in the cittie of ATHENS, the eight daye of the moneth of Iune, which then they called *Cronius*. He founde the comon wealth turmoyled with seditions, factions, and diuisions, and perticularly the house of *AEgeus* in very ill termes also, bicause that *Medea* (being banished out of the cittie of CORINTHE) was come to dwell in ATHENS, and remained with *AEgeus*, whom she had promised by vertue of certaine medicines to make him to get children. But when she heard tell that *Theseus* was comen, before that the good king *AEgeus* (who was nowe becomen olde, suspitious, and affrayed of sedition, by reason of the great factions within the cittie at that time) knewe what he was, she perswaded him to poyson him at a feaste which they woulde make him as a straunger that passed by. *Theseus* failed not to goe to this prepared feaste whereunto he was bydden, but yet thought it not good to disclose him selfe. And the rather to geue *AEgeus* occasion and meane to knowe him: when they brought the meate to the borde, he drewe out his sworde, as though he woulde haue cut with all, and shewed it vnto him. *AEgeus* seeing it, knewe it straight, and forthwith ouerthrewe the cuppe with poyson which was prepared for him: and after he had inquired of him, and asked thinges, he embraced him as his sonne. Afterwardes in the common assembly of the inhabitants of the cittie, he declared, howe he auowed him for his sonne. Then all the people receyued him with exceeding ioye, for the renowne of his valiantnes and manhoode. And some saye, that when *AEgeus* ouerthrewe the cuppe, the poyson which was in it, fell in that place, where there is at this present a certen compasse inclosed all about within the temple, which is called *Delphinium*. For euen there in that place, in the olde time, stoode the house of *AEgeus*: in witnes whereof, they call yet at this present time the image of *Mercurye* (which is on the side of the temple looking towardes the rising of the sunne) the *Mercurye* gate of *AEgeus*. But the PALLANTIDES, which before stoode allwayes in hope to recouer the realme of ATHENS, at the least after *AEgeus* death, bicause he had no children: when they sawe that *Theseus* was knowen, and openly declared for his sonne and heire, and successour to the Realme, they were not able any lenger to beare it, seeing that not onely *AEgeus* (who was but the adopted sonne of *Pandion*, and nothing at all of the bloude royall of the *Erictheides*) had vsurped the Kingdome ouer them, but that *Theseus* also should enioye it after his death. Whereupon they determined to make warre with them both, and diuiding them selues into two partes, the one came openly in

Cercyon the Arcadian slaine of Theseus by wrestling.

Damastes Procrustes a cruel murtherer, slaine of Theseus.

Hercules doings.

Termerus euill.

Cephisus, a riuer of Boeotia.

The Phytalides the first men that feasted Theseus in their houses.

This sacrifice Plutarche calleth Milichia.

Medea perswaded AEgeus to poyson Theseus.

AEgeus acknowledgeth Theseus for his sonne.

The Pallantides take armes against AEgeus and Theseus.

A in armes with their father, marching directly towardes the cittie: the other laye close in ambushe in the village GARGETTVS, meaning to geue charge vpon them in two places at one instant. Nowe they brought with them an Heraulde borne in the towne of AGNVS, called *Leos*, who bewrayed vnto *Theseus* the secret and deuise of all their enterprise. *Theseus* vpon this intelligence went forth, and dyd set on those that laye in ambushe, and put them all to the sworde. The other which were in *Pallas* companie vnderstanding thereof, dyd breake and disparse them selues incontinently. And this is the cause (as some saye) why those of *Pallena* doe neuer make affinitie nor mariadge with those of AGNVS at this daye. And that in their towne when any proclamation is made, they neuer speake these wordes which are cryed euery where els through out the whole

B countrye of ATTICA, *Acouete Leos*, (which is as muche to saye, as, Hearken, O people) they doe so extreamely hate this worde *Leos*, for that it was the Heraulde's name which wrought them that treason. This done, *Theseus* who woulde not liue idelly at home and doe nothing, but desirous there withall to gratifie the people, went his waye to fight with the bull of *Marathon*, the which dyd great mischieues to the inhabitants of the countrye of TETRAPOLIS. And hauing taken him aliue, brought him through the citie of ATHENS to be seene of all the inhabitants. Afterwardes he dyd sacrifice him vnto *Apollo Delphias*. Nowe concerning *Hecale*, who was reported to haue lodged him, and to haue geuen him good enterteinment, it is not altogether vntrue. For in the olde time, those townes and villages thereaboutes dyd assemble together, and made a

C common sacrifice which they called *Hecalesion*, in the honour of *Iupiter Hecalian*, where they honoured this olde woman, calling her by a diminutiue name, *Hecalena*: bicause that when she receyued *Theseus* into her house, being then but very younge, she made muche of him, and called him by many prety made names, as olde folkes are wont to call younge children. And forasmuche as she had made a vowe to *Iupiter* to make him a solemne sacrifice, if *Theseus* returned safe from the enterprise he went about, and that she dyed before his returne: in recompence of the good chere she had made him, she had that honour done vnto her by *Theseus* commaundement, as *Philochorus* hathe written of it. Shortely after this exployte, there came certaine of King *Minos* ambassadours out of CRETA, to aske tribute, being nowe the thirde time it was demaunded, which

D the ATHENIANS payed for this cause. *Androgeus*, the eldest sonne of king *Minos*, was slayne by treason within the countrye of ATTICA: for which cause *Minos* pursuing the reuenge of his death, made very whotte and sharpe warres vpon the ATHENIANS, and dyd them greate hurte. But besides all this, the goddes dyd sharpely punishe and scourge all the countrye, aswell with barrennes and famine, as also with plague and other mischieues, euen to the drying vp of their riuers. The ATHENIANS perceyuing these sore troubles and plagues, ranne to the oracle of *Apollo*, who aunswered them that they shoulde appease *Minos*: and when they had made their peace with him, that then the wrathe of the goddes woulde cease against them, and their troubles should haue an ende. Whereupon the ATHENIANS sent immediately vnto him,

E and intreated him for peace: which he graunted them, with condition that they should be bounde to sende him yerely into CRETA, seuen younge boyes, and as many younge gyrles. Nowe thus farre, all the Historiographers doe very well agree: but inthe reste not. And they which seeme furdest of from the trothe, doe declare, that when these yonge boyes were deliuered in CRETA, they caused them to be deuowred by the *Minotaure* within the *Laberinthe*: or els that they were shut within this *Laberinthe*, wandring vp and downe, and coulde finde no place to gett out, vntill suche time as they dyed, euen famished for hunger.

And this *Minotaure*, as *Euripides* the Poet

F sayeth, was

A corps combynd, vvhich monstrous might be deemd:
A Boye, a Bull, both man and beast it seemd.

Leos an Heraulde bewrayeth their treason to Theseus.

Theseus killeth the Pallantides.

The bull of Marathon taken aliue by Theseus.

Apollo Delphias.

Iupiter Hecalian.

The Athenians payed tribute to Minos king of Creta, for the death of Androgeus his sonne.

The manner of the tribute conditioned.

The Minotaure what it was.

The Laberinthe a prison in Creta.

But *Philochorus* writeth, that the CRETANS doe not confesse that, but saye that this *Laberinthe* was a gayle or prisone, in the which they had no other hurte, sauing that they which were kept there vnder locke and keye, coulde not flye nor starte awaye: and that *Minos* had, in the memorye of his sonne *Androgeus*, instituted games and playes of prise, where he gaue vnto them that wanne the victorie, those younge children of ATHENS, the which in the meane time notwithstanding were carefully kept and looked vnto in the prisone of the *Laberinthe*: and that at the first games that were kept, one of the Kings captaines called *Taurus*, who was in best creditt with his master, wanne the prise. This *Taurus* was a churlishe, and naughtie natured man of condition, and very harde and cruell to these children of ATHENS. And to verifie the same, the philosopher *Aristotle* him selfe, speaking of the common wealth of the BOTTIEIANS, declareth very well, that he neuer thought that *Minos* dyd at any time cause the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but sayeth, that they poorely toyled in CRETA euen to crooked age, earning their liuing by true and painefull seruice. For it is written, that the CRETANS (to satisfie an olde vowe of theirs which they had made of auncient time) sent somtimes the first borne of their children, vnto *Apollo* in the cittie of DELPHES: and that amongest them they also mingled those, which were descended of the auncient prisoners of ATHENS, and they went with them. But bicause they coulde not liue there, they directed their iorney first into ITALIE, where for a time they remained in the realme of PVGLIA, and afterwardes from thence went into the confines of THRACIA, where they had this name of BOTTIEIANS. In memory whereof, the daughters of the BOTTIEIANS in a solemne sacrifice they make, doe vse to singe the foote of this songe: Lett vs to ATHENS goe. But thereby we maye see howe perilous a thing it is, to fall in displeasure and enmitie with a cittie, which can speake well, and where learning and eloquence dothe florishe. For euer sence that time, *Minos* was allwayes blased and disgraced through out all the Theaters of ATHENS. The testimonie of *Hesiodus*, who calleth him the most worthie King, dothe nothing helpe him at all, nor the prayse of *Homer*, who nameth him *Iupiters* familliar friende: bicause the tragicall Poets gott the vpper hande in disgracing him, notwithstanding all these. And vpon their stages where all the tragedies were played, they still gaue forth many ill fauored wordes, and fowle speaches of him: as against a man that had bene most cruell and vnnaturall. Yet most men thincke, that *Minos* was the King which established the lawes: and *Radamanthus* the iudge and preseruer of them, who caused the same also to be kept and obserued. The time nowe being comen about for payment of the thirde tribute, when they came to compell the fathers which had children not yet maried, to geue them to be put forth to take their chaunce and lotte: the citizens of ATHENS beganne to murmure against *AEgeus*, alledging for their grieues, that he who onely was the cause of all this euill, was onely alone exempted from this griefe. And that to bring the gouernment of the Realme, to fall into the handes of a straunger his bastard: he cared not though they were bereft of all their naturall children, and were vnnaturally compelled to leaue and forsake them. These iust sorrowes and complaintes of the fathers, whose children were taken from them, dyd pearce the harte of *Theseus*, who willing to yelde to reason, and to ronne the selfe same fortune as the cittizens dyd: willingly offered him selfe to be sent thither, without regarde taking to his happe or aduenture. For which, the cittizens greatly esteemed of his corage and honorable disposition, and dearely loued him for the good affection, he seemed to beare vnto the comunaltye. But *AEgeus* hauing vsed many reasons and perswasions, to cause him to turne, and staye from his purpose, and perceyuing in the ende there was no remedye but he woulde goe: he then drue lottes for the children which should goe with him. *Hellanicus* notwithstanding dothe write, that they were not those of the cittie which drewe lottes for the children they should sende, but that *Minos* him selfe went thither in persone and dyd chuse them, as he chose *Theseus* the first, vpon conditions agreed betwene them: that is to wit, that the ATHENIANS shoulde furnishe them with a shippe, and that the children should shippe and imbarke with him, carying no weapons of warre: and that after the death of the *Minotaure*, this tribute should cease. Nowe before that time, there was neuer any hope of returne, nor of safetie of their children: therefore the ATHENIANS allwayes

Taurus one of Minoes captaines.

Of the Bottieians. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 2.

King Minos defaced by the Poets in the theaters at Athens.

Radamãthus.

The thirde time of payment of the tribute.

The Athenians are grieued to depart with their children.

Theseus offereth to goe with the children into Creta.

Lotts drawen for the children that should goe.

A wayes ſent a ſhippe to conuey their children with a blacke ſayle, in token of aſſured loſſe. Neuertheles *Theſeus* putting his father in good hope of him, being of a good corage, and promiſing boldly that he woulde ſett vpon this *Minotaure*: *AEgeus* gaue vnto the maſter of the ſhippe a white ſayle, commaunding him that at his returne he ſhould put out the white ſayle if his ſonne had eſcaped, if not, that then he ſhould ſett vp the blacke ſayle, to ſhewe him a farre of his vnlucky and vnfortunate chaunce. *Simonides* notwithſtanding doeth ſaye, that this ſayle which *AEgeus* gaue to the maſter, was not white, but redde, dyed in graine, and of the culler of ſcarlett: and that he gaue it him to ſignifie a farre of, their deliuerie and ſafety. This maſter was called *Phereclus Amarſiadas*, as *Simonides* ſayeth. But *Philochorus* writeth, that *Scirus* the SALAMINIAN gaue to *Theſeus* a maſter called *Nauſi-*
B *theus*, and another marriner to tackle the ſayles, who was called *Phæas*: bicauſe the ATHENIANS at that time were not greatly practiſed to the ſea. And this did *Scirus*, for that one of the children on whom the lott fell was his nephewe: and thus muche the chappells doe teſtifie, which *Theſeus* buylt afterwardes in honour of *Nauſitheus*, and of *Phæas*, in the village of *Phalerus*: ioyning to the temple of *Scirus*. And it is ſayed moreouer, that the feaſte which they call *Cyberneſia*, that is to ſaye, the feaſte of Patrons of the ſhippes, is celebrated in honour of them. Nowe after the lotts were drawen, *Theſeus* taking with him the children allotted for the tribute, went from the pallace to the temple called *Delphinion*, to offer vp to *Apollo* for him and for them, an offering of ſupplication which they call *Hiceteria*: which was an olyue boughe hallowed, wreathed about with white wolle. After he had made his
C prayer, he went downe to the ſea ſide to imbarke, the ſixt daye of the moneth of Marche: on which daye at this preſent time they doe ſende their younge girles to the ſame temple of *Delphinion*, there to make their prayers and petitions to the goddes. But ſome ſaye, that the oracle of *Apollo* in the cittie of DELPHES had aunſwered him, that he ſhould take *Venus* for his guyde, and that he ſhould call vpon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cauſe he dyd ſacrifice a goate vnto her vpon the ſea ſide, which was founde ſodainly turned into a ramme, and that herefore they ſurnamed this goddeſſe *Epitragia*, as one would ſaye, the goddeſſe of the ramme. Furthermore, after he was arriued in CRETA, he ſlewe there the *Minotaure* (as the moſt parte of auncient authors doe write) by the meanes and helpe of *Ariadne*: who being fallen in fanſie with him, dyd geue him a clue of threede, by
D the helpe whereof ſhe taught him, howe he might eaſely winde out of the turnings and cranckes of the *Labyrinthe*. And they ſaye, that hauing killed this *Minotaure*, he returned backe againe the ſame waye he went, bringing with him thoſe other younge children of ATHENS, whom with *Ariadne* alſo he caried afterwardes awaye. *Pherecides* ſayeth moreouer, that he brake the keeles or bottomes of all the ſhippes of CRETA, bicauſe they ſhould not ſodainely ſett out after them. And *Demon* writeth, that *Taurus* (the captaine of *Minos*) was killed in a fight by *Theſeus*, euen in the very hauen mowthe as they were readye to ſhippe awaye, and hoyſe vp ſayle. Yet *Philochorus* reporteth, that king *Minos* hauing ſett vp the games, as he was wont to doe yerely in the honour and memorye of his ſonne, euery one beganne to enuye captaine *Taurus*, bicauſe they euer looked that he ſhould
E carye awaye the game and victorie, as he had done other yeres before: ouer and that, his authoritye got him much ill will and enuye, bicauſe he was proude and ſtately, and had in ſuſpition that he was great with Queene *Paſiphäe*. Wherefore when *Theſeus* required he might encounter with *Taurus*, *Minos* eaſely graunted it. And being a ſolemne cuſtome in CRETA that the women ſhoulde be preſent, to ſee theſe open ſportes and ſights, *Ariadne* being at theſe games amongeſt the reſt, fell further in loue with *Theſeus*, ſeeing him ſo goodly a perſone, ſo ſtronge, and inuincible in wreſtling, that he farre exceeded all that wreſtled there that daye. King *Minos* was ſo glad that he had taken awaye the honour from captaine *Taurus*, that he ſent him home francke and free into his countrye, rendring to him all the other priſoners of ATHENS: and for his ſake, clearely releaſed and forgaue the cittie of
F ATHENS the tribute, which they ſhould haue payed him yerely. Howbeit *Clidemus* ſearching out the beginning of theſe things to thutmoſt, reciteth them very particularly, and after another ſorte. For he ſayeth, about that time there was a generall reſtraint through out all

The Athenians ſent their children into Creta in a ſhippe with a blacke ſayle.

AEgeus geueth the maſter of the ſhippe a white ſayle, to ſignifie the ſafe returne of Theſeus.

Cyberneſia games.

Hiceteria offering.

Theſeus taketh ſhippe with the tribute childrē, the ſixt of Marche, and ſayleth into Creta.

Venus Epitragia.

Theſeus ſlewe the Minotaure by meanes of Ariadne, king Minoes daughter.

Theſeus returne out of Creta.

Taurus ouercome of Theſeus, was a man.

Taurus ſuſpected with Paſiphäe, king Minoes wife.

How Ariadne fell in loue with Theſeus.

Minos ſendeth Theſeus home with his priſoners, and releaſeth the Athenians of their tribute.

A marine lawe.

GRECE, restrayning all manner of people to beare sayle in any vessell or bottome, wherein there were aboue fiue persones, except only *Iason*, who was chosen captaine of the great shippe *Argus*, and had commission to sayle euery where, to chase and driue awaye rouers and pyrates, and to scoure the seas through out. About this time, *Dædalus* being fled from CRETA to ATHENS in a litle barke: *Minos* contrarie to this restraint, woulde needes followe him with a fleete of diuers vessels with owers, who being by force of weather driuen with the coaste of SICILE, fortuned to dye there. Afterwardes his sonne *Deucalion*, being marueilously offended with the ATHENIANS, sent to summone them to deliuer *Dædalus* vnto him, or els he woulde put the children to death, which were deliuered to his father for hostages. But *Theseus* excused him selfe, and sayed he coulde not forsake *Dædalus*, considering he was his neere kynseman, being his cosin germaine, for he was the sonne of *Merope*, the daughter of *Erichtheus*. Howbeit by and by he caused many vessels secretly to be made, parte of them within ATTICA selfe in the village of *Thymetades*, farre from any highe wayes: and parte of them in the cittie of TROEZEN, by the sufferance of *Pitheus* his grandfather, to the ende his purpose shoulde be kept the secretlyer. Afterwardes when all his shippes were readye, and rygged out, he tooke sea before the CRETANS had any knowledge of it: in so much as when they sawe them a farre of, they dyd take them for the barkes of their friends. *Theseus* landed without resistaunce, and tooke the hauen. Then hauing *Dædalus*, and other banished CRETANS for guydes, he entred the cittie selfe of GNOSVS, where he slewe *Deucalion* in a fight before the gates of the *Labyrinthe*, with all his garde and officers about him. By this meanes the kingdome of CRETA fell by inheritance into the handes of his sister *Ariadne*. *Theseus* made league with her, and caryed away the yong children of ATHENS, which were kept as hostages, and concluded peace and amytie betweene the ATHENIANS and the CRETANS: who promised, and sware, they woulde neuer make warres against them. They reporte many other things also touching this matter, and specially of *Ariadne*: but there is no trothe nor certeintie in it. For some saye, that *Ariadne* honge her selfe for sorowe, when she sawe that *Theseus* had caste her of. Other write, that she was transported by mariners into the Ile of NAXOS, were she was maryed vnto *OEnarus*, the priest of *Bacchus*: and they thincke that *Theseus* lefte her, bicause he was in loue with another, as by these verses shoulde appeare.

Dædalus flight.

King Minos dyed in Sicile.

Deucalion king Minoes sonne sent to Athens to demaunde Dædalus.

Theseus sayled into Creta, and wanne the cittie of Gnosius, and slewe Deucalion.

Diuers opinions of Ariadne.

AEgles the Nymphe, vvas loued of Theseus,
vvhich vvas the daughter of Panopeus.

Hereas the *Megarian* sayeth, that these two verses in olde time were among the verses of the Poet *Hesiodus*, howbeit *Pisistratus* tooke them awaye: as he dyd in like manner adde these other here in the description of the helles in *Homer*, to gratifie the ATHENIANS.

Bolde Theseus, and Pirithous stovvte,
descended both, from godds immortall race,
Triumphing still, this vvearie vvorlde aboute
in feats of armes, and many a comly grace.

Other holde opinion, that *Ariadne* had two children by *Theseus*: the one of them was named *OEnopion*, and the other *Staphylus*. Thus amongest others the Poet *Ion* writeth it, who was borne in the Ile of CHIO, and speaking of his cittie, he sayeth thus:

OEnopion, & Staphylus Theseus sonnes.

OEnopion vvhich vvas the sonne, of vvorthy Theseus
did cause men buylde, this stately touvne vvhich nouve triumpheth thus.

Nowe what things are founde seemely in Poets fables, there is none but dothe in manner synge them. But one *Paenon* borne in the cittie of AMATHVNTA, reciteth this cleane after another sorte, and contrarie to all other: saying, that *Theseus* by tempest was driuen with the Ile of CYPRVS, hauing with him *Ariadne*, which was great with childe, and so sore sea sycke, that she was not able to abide it. In so muche as he was forced to put her a lande, and him selfe afterwards returning abourde hoping to saue his shippe against the storme, was forthwith compelled to loose into the sea. The women of the countrye dyd curteously receyue and intreate *Ariadne*: and to comforte her againe, (for she was marueilously oute of harte, to see

Theseus leaueth Ariadne in Cyprus.

A see she was thus forsaken) they counterfeated letters, as if *Theseus* had wrytten them to her. And when her groninge time was come, and she to be layed, they did their best by all possible meanes to saue her: but she dyed notwithstanding in labour, and could neuer be deliuered. So she was honorably buried by the Ladies of CYPRVS. *Theseus* not long after returned thither againe, who tooke her death maruelous heauily, and left money with the inhabitantes of the countrie, to sacrifice vnto her yearely: and for memorie of her, he caused two litle images to be molten, the one of copper, and the other of siluer, which he dedicated vnto her. This sacrifice is done the seconde day of September, on which they doe yet obserue this ceremonie: they doe lay a young childe vpon a bed, which pitiefully cryeth and lamenteth, as women trauellinge with childe. They saye also, that the AMATHVSIANS doe yet call the B groue where her tombe is sette vp, the wodde of *Venus Adriadne*. And yet there are of the NAXIANS, that reporte this otherwise: saying, there were two *Minoes*, and two *Adriadnees*, whereof the one was maried to *Bacchus* in the Ile of NAXOS, of whome *Staphylus* was borne: and the other the youngest, was rauished and caried away by *Theseus*, who afterwardes forsooke her, and she came into the Ile of NAXOS with her nurce, called *Corcyna*, whose graue they doe shewe yet to this day. This seconde *Adriadne* dyed there also, but she had no such honour done to her after her death, as to the first was geuen. For they celebrate the feaste of the first with all ioye and mirthe: where the sacrifices done in memorie of the seconde, be mingled with mourninge and sorowe. *Theseus* then departing from the Ile of CRETA, arriued in the Ile of DELOS, where he did sacrifice in the temple of *Apollo*, and gaue there a C litle image of *Venus*, the which he had gotten of *Adriadne*. Then with the other young boyes that he had deliuered, he daunced a kinde of daunce, which the DELIANS keepe to this day, as they say: in which there are many turnes and returnes, much after the turninges of the *Labyrinthe*. And the DELIANS call this manner of daunce, the crane, as *Dicaearcus* sayeth. And *Theseus* daunced it first about the altar, which is called *Ceraton*, that is to saye, horne-staffe: bicause it is made and builded of hornes onely, all on the left hande well and curiously sette together without any other bindinge. It is sayed also that he made a game in this Ile of DELOS, in which at the first was geuen to him that ouercame, a braunche of palme for reward of victorie. But when they drewe neere the coast of ATTICA, they were so ioyfull, he and his master, that they forgate to set vp their white sayle, by which they shoulde haue gD uen knowledge of their healthe and safetie vnto *AEgeus*. Who seeinge the blacke sayle a farre of, being out of all hope euermore to see his sonne againe, tooke such a griefe at his harte, that he threw him selfe headlong from the top of a clyffe, and killed him selfe. So soone as *Theseus* was arriued at the porte named Phalerus, he performed the sacrifices which he had vowed to the goddes at his departure: and sent an Herauld of his before vnto the city, to carie newes of his safe arriuall. The Heraulde founde many of the citie mourning the death of king *AEgeus*. Many other receiued him with great ioy, as may be supposed. They would haue crowned him also with a garlande of flowers, for that he had brought so good tidinges, that the children of the citie were returned in safetie. The Heraulde was content to take the garlande, yet would he not in any wise put it on his head, but did winde it about his Heraulds E rodde he bare in his hande, and so returneth foorthwith to the sea, where *Theseus* made his sacrifices. Who perceiuinge they were not yet done, did refuse to enter into the temple, and stayed without for troubling of the sacrifices. Afterwardes all ceremonies finished, he went in and tolde him the newes of his fathers death. Then he and his company mourning for sorowe, hasted with speede towardes the citie. And this is the cause, why to this day, at the feast called Oscophoria (as who woulde say at the feast of boughes) the Herauld hath not his heade but his rod onely crowned with flowers, and why the assistantes also after the sacrifice done, doe make suche eryes and exclamations: *Ele, leuf, ion, ion*: whereof the first is the crye and voyce they commonly vse one to an other to make haste, or else it is the foote of some songe of triumphe: and the other is the crye and voyce of men as it were in feare and troF ble. After he had ended the obsequies and funeralls for his father, he performed also his sacrifices vnto *Apollo*, which he had vowed the seuenth day of the moneth of October, on which they arriued at their returne into the citie of ATHENS. Euen so the custome which

Ariadne dieth with childe in Cyprus.

The ceremonie of the sacrifice done to Ariadne in Cyprus.

Venus Ariadne.

Two Minoes and two Ariadnees.

Corcyna Ariadnes nurce.

Theseus returneth out of Creta into the Ile of Delos.

Theseus daunce called the Crane.

Palme a token of victory.

Theseus master of his shippe forgate to set out the white sayle.

AEgeus death.

Theseus arriueth safe with the tribute children in the hauen of Phalerus.

The Herauld bare a rodde in his hand.

The feast Oscophoria.

October called Pyanepsion, in the Attican tongue.

they vſe at this day, to ſeeth all manner of pulſe, commeth of this: that thoſe which then returned with *Theſeus*, did ſeeth in a great braſſe potte all the remaine of their prouiſion, and therewith made good chere together. Euen in ſuch ſorte as this, came vp the cuſtome to carie a braunch of olyue, wreathed about with wolle, which they call Ireſione: bicauſe at that time they caried boughes of ſupplication, as we haue told ye before. About which they hang all ſortes of fruites: for then barrenneſſe did ceaſe, as the verſes they ſang afterwards did witneſſe. A

Herod. of Ireſione in the life of Homer, and Suidas.

Bring him good bread, that is of ſavry taſt,
vvith pleaſaunt figges, and droppes of dulcet mell,
Then ſovvple oyle, his body for to baſt,
and pure good vvine, to make him ſleepe full vvell. B

Howbeit there are ſome which will ſay, that theſe verſes were made for the *Heraclides*, that is to ſay, thoſe that deſcended from *Hercules*: which flying for their ſafety and ſuccour vnto the ATHENIANS, were entertained & much made of by them for a time. But the moſt parte holde opinion, they were made vpon the occaſion aforeſaid. The veſſell in which *Theſeus* went and returned, was a galliot of thirtie owers, which the ATHENIANS kept vntill the time of *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, alwayes taking away the olde peeces of wodde that were rotten, and euer renewing them with new in their places. So that euer ſince, in the diſputations of the Philoſophers, touching things that increaſe, to wit, whether they remaine alwayes one, or elſe they be made others: this galliot was alwayes brought in for an example of doubt. For ſome mainteined, that it was ſtill one veſſell: others to the contrarie defended it was not ſo. And they holde opinion alſo, that the feaſt of boughes which is celebrated at ATHENS at this time, was then firſt of all inſtituted by *Theſeus*. It is ſayed moreouer, that he did not carye all the wenches vpon whome the lotts did fall, but choſe two fayer young boyes, whoſe faces were ſwete and delicate as maydens be, that otherwiſe were hardie, and quicke ſprighted. But he made them ſo oft bathe them ſelues in whotte bathes, and kepe them in from the heate of the ſunne, and ſo many times to waſhe, anointe, and rubbe them ſelues with oyles which ſerue to ſupple and ſmoothe their skinnes, to keepe freſhe and fayer their colour, to make yellowe and bright their heares: and withall did teache them ſo to counterfeate their ſpeache, countenaunce and facion of young maydes, that they ſeemed to be like them, rather then young boyes. For there was no manner of difference to be perceiued outwardly, and he mingled them with the girles, without the knowledge of any man. Afterwards when he was returned, he made a proceſſion, in which both he and the other young boyes, were apparelled then as they be nowe, which carie boughes on the day of the feaſt in their handes. They carie them in the honor of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, following the fable that is tolde of them: or rather bicauſe they returned home iuſt, at the time and ſeaſon, when they gather the fruite of thoſe trees. There are women which they call *Deipnophores*, that is to ſay, ſupper caryers, which are aſſiſtantes to the ſacrifice done that day, in repreſenting the mothers of thoſe, vpon whom the lottes did fall, bicauſe they in like ſorte brought them both meate and drinke. There they tell tales, for ſo did their mothers tattle to their children, to comforte and encorage them. All theſe particularities were written by *Demon* the hiſtoriographer. There was moreouer a place choſen out to build him a tẽple in, and he him ſelfe ordained, that thoſe houſes which had payed tribute before vnto the king of CRETA, ſhould nowe yearely thenceforth become contributories towardes the charges of a ſolemne ſacrifice, which ſhoulde be done in the honor of him: and he did aſſigne the order and adminiſtration of the ſame, vnto the houſe of the *Phytalides*, in recompence of the curteſie which they ſhowed him when he arriued. Furthermore, after the death of his father *AEgeus*, he vndertooke a maruelous great enterpriſe. For he brought all the inhabitantes of the whole prouince of ATTICA, to be within the citie of ATHENS, and made them all one corporation, which were before diſperſed into diuerſe villages, and by reaſon thereof were very hard to be aſſembled together, when occaſion was offered to eſtabliſh any order concerning the cõmon ſtate. Many times alſo they were at variance together, & by the eares, making warres one vpon an other. But *Theſeus* tooke the paines to goe from village to village, and from family, to familie, to let them vnderſtand the reaſons why they ſhould conſent vnto it. So he found the poore people C D E F

Theſeus went into Creta with the tribute children, in the galliot of 30. owers.
Diſputation about increaſe.
The galliot alleaged for a doubt.
Theſeus thankefullnes to the Phytalides who were the firſt that feaſted him in their houſes.
Theſeus brought the inhabitants of the countrie of Attica into one city.

A people and priuate men, ready to obey and followe his will: but the riche, and ſuch as had authoritye in euery village, all againſt it. Neuertheles he wanne them, promiſing that it ſhould be a common wealth, and not ſubiect to the power of any ſole prince, but rather a populer ſtate. In which he woulde only reſerue to him ſelfe the charge of the warres, and the preſeruation of the lawes: for the reſt, he was content that euery citizen in all and for all ſhould beare a like ſwaye and authoritye. So there were ſome that willingly graunted thereto. Other who had no liking thereof, yelded notwithſtanding for feare of his diſpleaſure and power which then was very great. So they thought it better to conſent with good will, vnto that he required: then to tary his forcible compulſion. Then he cauſed all the places where iuſtice was miniſtred, and all their halles of aſſembly to be ouerthrowen and pulled downe. He remoued ſtraight all iudges

B and officers, and built a towne houſe, and a counſaill hall, in the place where the cittie now ſtandeth, which the ATHENIANS call ASTY, but he called the whole corporation of them, ATHENS. Afterwardes he inſtituted the greate feaſt and common ſacrifice for all of the countrye of ATTICA, which they call *Panathenæa*. Then he ordeined another feaſte alſo vpon the ſixtenth daye of the moneth of Iune, for all ſtrangers which ſhould come to dwell in ATHENS, which was called *Metœcia*, & is kept euen to this daye. That done, he gaue ouer his regall power according to his promiſe, and beganne to ſett vp an eſtate or policye of a common wealth, beginning firſt with the ſeruice of the goddes. To knowe the good ſucceſſe of his enterpriſe, he ſent at the very beginning to the oracle of *Apollo* in DELPHES, to enquire of the fortune of this cittye: from whence this aunſwer was brought vnto him.

Aſty, the towne houſe of the Athenians.

The feaſtes Panathenæa, and Metœcia.

Theſeus reſigneth his kingdome, & maketh Athes a common wealth.

C *O thou vvhich arte, the ſonne of ÆGeus,*
begott by him, on Pitheus daughter deare.
The mightie Ioue, my father glorious,
by his decree, hath ſayed there ſhall appeare,
a fatall ende, of euery cittie here.
VVhich ende he vvill, ſhall alſo come adovvne,
VVithin the vvalles, of this thy ſtately tovvne.
Therefore shevve thou, a valliant conſtant minde,
and let no care, nor carke thy harte diſpleaſe.
For like vnto a bladder blovven vvith vvinde
thou ſhalt be toſt, vpon the ſurging ſeas.
Yet lett no dynte, of dolours the diſeaſe.
For vvhy? thou ſhalt, nor perishe nor decaye,
nor be orecome, nor yet be caſt avvaye.

The oracle of Apollo at Delphes.

It is founde written alſo that Sibylla afterwardes gaue out ſuche a like oracle ouer the cittye of ATHENS.

The bladder blovven maye flete vpon the fludde,
D *but cannot ſynke, nor ſticke in filthie mudde.*

Moreouer, bicauſe he woulde further yet augment his people, and enlarge his cittie, he entiſed many to come and dwell there, by offering them the ſelfe ſame freedome and priuiledges, which the naturall borne citizens had. So that many iudge, that theſe wordes which are in vſe at this daye in ATHENS, when any open proclamation is made, All people, Come ye hither: be the ſelfe ſame which *Theſeus* then cauſed to be proclaymed, when he in that ſorte dyd gather a people together of all nations. Yet for all that, he ſuffered not the great multitude that came thither tagge and ragge, to be without diſtinction of degrees & orders. For he firſt diuided the noble men, from huſbãdmen and artificers, appointing the noblemen as iudges & magiſtrates to iudge vpon matters of Religiõ, & touching the ſeruice of the godds: & of them alſo he dyd

E chuſe rulers, to beare ciuill office in the cõmon weale, to determine the lawe, and to tell all holy and diuine things. By this meanes he mãde the noble men and the two other eſtates equall in voyce. And as the noblemen dyd paſſe the other in honour: euen ſo the artificers exceeded them in number, & the huſbandmen them in profit. Nowe that *Theſeus* was the firſt who of all others yelded to haue a common weale or populer eſtate (as *Ariſtotle* ſayeth) and dyd geue ouer his regall power: *Homer* ſelf ſemeth to teſtifie it, in numbring the ſhippes which were in the Græcians armie before the cittie of TROIA. For amongeſt all the GRÆCIANS, he only calleth the ATHENIANS people. Moreouer *Theſeus* coyned money, which he marked with the ſtampe of an oxe, in memorye of the bulle of *Marathon*, or of *Taurus* the captaine of Minos, or els to prouoke his citizens to geue them ſelues to labour. They ſaye alſo that of this money

F they were ſince called *Hecatombœon*, & *Decabœon*, which ſignifieth worth a hundred oxen, and worth tenne oxen. Furthermore hauing ioyned all the territorie of the cittie of MEGARA, vnto

Theſeus maketh differẽce of ſtates and degrees in his cõmon weale.

Theſeus the firſt that gaue ouer regall power, & framed a populer ſtate.

An oxe ſtamped in Theſeus coyne.

Hecatombæa. Decabœon.

the countrie of ATTICA, he cauſed that notable foure ſquare piller to be ſett vp for their confines within the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, and engraued thereuppon this ſuperſcription, that declareth the ſeparation of both the countries which confine there together. The ſuperſcription is this: A

VVhere Titan doth beginne, his beames for to diſplaye
euen that vvaye ſtands Ionia, in fertile vviſe allvvaye:
And vvhere againe he goeth, a dovvne to take his reſt,
there ſtands Peloponneſus lande, for there I compt it vveſt.

Olympia. It was he alſo which made the games called *Iſthmia*, after the imitation of *Hercules*, to the ende that as the GRECIANS dyd celebrate the feaſt of games called *Olympia*, in the honour of *Iupiter*, by *Hercules* ordinance: ſo, that they ſhould alſo celebrate the games called *Iſthmia*, B by his order and inſtitution, in the honour of *Neptune*. For thoſe that were done in the ſtraights in the honour of *Melicerta*, were done in the night, & had rather forme of ſacrifice or of a myſterie, then of games & opē feaſt. Yet ſome will ſaye, that theſe games of *Iſthmia* were inſtituted in the honour & memorie of *Sciron*, & that *Theſeus* ordained them in ſatisfaction of his death: bicauſe he was his coſin germaine, being the ſonne of *Canethus*, and of *Heniocha* the daughter of *Pitheus*. Other ſaye that it was *Sinnis* and not *Sciron*, and that for him *Theſeus* made theſe games, and not for the memorie of the other. Howſoeuer it was, he ſpecially willed the CORINTHIANS, that they ſhould geue vnto thoſe that came from ATHENS to ſee their games of *Iſthmia*, ſo much place to ſit downe before them (in the moſt honorable parte of the feaſt place) as the ſaile of their ſhippe ſhould couer, in the which they came from ATHENS: thus doe *Hellanicus* & *Andron Halicarnaſſeus* write hereof. Touching the voyage he made by the ſea Maior, C

Theſeus gereted the games Iſthmia, in the honour of Neptune.

Theſeus iorneye into mare Maior.

Philochorus, & ſome other holde opinion, that he went thither with *Hercules* againſt the AMAZONES: and that to honour his valiantnes, *Hercules* gaue him ANTIOPA the AMAZONE. But the more parte of the other Hiſtoriographers, namely *Hellanicus*, *Pherecides*, & *Herodotus*, doe write, that *Theſeus* went thither alone, after *Hercules* voyage, & that he tooke this AMAZONE priſoner, which is likelieſt to be true. For we doe not finde that any other who went this iorney with him, had taken any AMAZONE priſoner beſides him ſelfe. *Bion* alſo the Hiſtoriographer, this notwithſtanding ſayeth, that he brought her away by deceit and ſtealth. For the AMAZONES (ſayeth he) naturally louing men, dyd not flie at all when they ſawe them lāde in their countrye, but ſent them preſents, & that *Theſeus* entiſed her to come into his ſhippe, who brought D him a preſent: & ſo ſone as ſhe was aborde, he hoyſed his ſayle, & ſo caried her away. Another Hiſtoriographer *Menecrates*, who wrote the hiſtorie of the cittie of NICEA, in the countrye of BYTHINIA, ſayeth: that *Theſeus* hauing this AMAZONE ANTIOPA with him, remained a certaine time vpon thoſe coaſts, & that amongeſt other he had in his companie three younge brethern of ATHENS, *Euneus*, *Thoas*, and *Solois*. This laſt, *Solois*, was marueilouſly in loue with ANTIOPA, and neuer bewrayed it to any of his other companions, ſauing vnto one with whom he was moſt familiar, and whom he truſted beſt: ſo that he reported this matter vnto ANTIOPA. But ſhe vtterly reiected his ſute, though otherwiſe ſhe handled it wiſely and curteouſly, and dyd not complaine to *Theſeus* of him. Howbeit the younge man deſpairing to enioye his loue, tooke it ſo inwardly, that deſperately he lept into the riuer, and drowned him E ſelfe. Which when *Theſeus* vnderſtoode, and the cauſe alſo that brought him to this deſperation and ende: he was very ſorye, and angrie alſo. Whereupon he remembred a certeine oracle of *Pythia*, by whom he was commaunded to buyld a cittie in that place in a ſtraunge countrye, where he ſhould be moſt ſorye, and that he ſhould leaue ſome that were about him at that time, to gouerne the ſame. For this cauſe therefore he built a cittie in that place, which he named PYTHOPOLIS, bicauſe he had built it only by the commaundement of the *Nunne Pythia*. He called the riuer in the which the younge man was drowned, *Solois*, in memorye of him: and left his two brethern for his deputies and as gouernours of this newe cittie, with another gentleman of ATHENS, called *Hermus*. Hereof it commeth, that at this daye the PYTHOPOLITANS call a certen place of their cittie, *Hermus* houſe. But they fayle in the accent, F by putting it vpon the laſt ſyllabe: for in pronouncing it ſo, *Hermu* ſignifieth *Mercurie*. By this meanes they doe transferre the honour due to the memorie of *Hermus*, vnto the god *Mercurie*.

Antiopa the Amazone raviſhed by Theſeus.

Solois fell in loue with Antiopa.

Solois drowned him ſelfe for loue.

Pythopolis built by Theſeus.

Solois fl.

Nowe

A Now heare what was the occasion of the warres of the AMAZONES, which me thinckes was not a matter of small moment, nor an enterprise of a woman. For they had not placed their campe within the very cittie of ATHENS, nor had not fought in the very place it selfe (called *Pnyce*) adioyning to the temple of the *Muses*, if they had not first conquered or subdued all the countrye thereabouts: neither had they all comen at the first, so valiantly to assaile the cittie of ATHENS. Now, whether they came by lande from so farre a countrye, or that they passed ouer an arme of the sea, which is called *Bosphorus Cimmericus*, being frosen as *Hellanicus* sayeth: it is hardely to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the very cittie it selfe, the names of the places which cõtinewe yet to this present daye doe witnesse it, & the graues also of the women which dyed there. But so it is, that both armies laye a great time one in the face
B of the other, ere they came to battell. Howbeit at the length *Theseus* hauing first made sacrifice vnto Feare the goddesse, according to the counsaill of a prophecie he had receyued, he gaue them battell in the moneth of August, on the same daye, in the which the ATHENIANS doe euen at this present solemnise the feast, which they call *Boedromia*. But *Clidemus* the Historiographer, desirous particularly to write all the circumstances of this encownter, sayeth that the left poynte of their battell bent towards the place which they call AMAZONION: and that the right poynte marched by the side of CHRYSA, euen to the place which is called PNYCE, vpon which, the ATHENIANS cõming towards the temple of the *Muses*, dyd first geue their charge. And for proofe that this is true, the graues of the women which dyed in this first encoũter, are founde yet in the great streete, which goeth towards the gate Piraica, neere vnto the chappell
C of the litle god *Chalcodus*. And the ATHENIANS (sayeth he) were in this place repulsed by the AMAZONES, euen to the place where the images of *Eumenides* are, that is to saye, of the furies. But on thother side also, the ATHENIANS cõming towards the quarters of *Palladium*, *Ardettus*, & *Lucium*, draue backe their right poynte euen to within their campe, & slewe a great number of them. Afterwards, at the ende of foure moneths, peace was taken betwene them by meanes of one of the women called *Hyppolita*. For this Historiographer calleth the AMAZONE which *Theseus* maried, *Hyppolita*, and not *Antiopa*. Neuertheles, some saye that she was slayne (fighting on *Theseus* side) with a darte, by another called *Molpadia*. In memorie whereof, the piller which is ioyning to the temple of the *Olympian* ground, was set vp in her honour. We are not to maruell, if the historie of things so auncient, be founde so diuersely written. For there are also that
D write, that Queene *Antiopa* sent those secretly which were hurte then into the cittie of CALCIDE, where some of them recouered, & were healed: and others also dyed, which were buried neere to the place called AMAZONION. Howsoeuer it was, it is most certain that this warre was ended by agreement. For a place adioyning to the temple of *Theseus*, dothe beare recorde of it, being called *Orcomosium*: bicause the peace was there by solemne othe concluded. And the sacrifice also dothe truely verifie it, which they haue made to the AMAZONES, before the feast of *Theseus*, long time out of minde. They of MEGARA also doe shewe a tumbe of the AMAZONES in their cittie, which is as they goe frõ the market place, to the place they call Rhus: where they finde an auncient tumbe, cut in facion & forme of a losenge. They saye that there died other of the AMAZONES also, neere vnto the cittie of CHAERONEA, which were buried all alongest the
E litle broke passing by the same, which in the olde time, (in mine opinion) was called *Thermodon*, & is nowe named *Hæmon*, as we haue in other places written in the life of *Demosthenes*. And it semeth also, that they dyd not passe through THESSALIE, without fighting: for there are seene yet of their tũbes all about the cittie of SCOTVSA, hard by the rocks, which be called the doggs head. And this is that which is worthy memorie (in mine opinion) touching the warres of these AMAZONES. Howe the Poet telleth that the AMAZONES made warres with *Theseus* to reuẽge the iniurie he dyd to their Queene *Antiopa*, refusing her, to marye with *Phædra*: & as for the murder which he telleth that *Hercules* dyd, that me thinckes is altogether but deuise of Poets. It is very true, that after the death of *Antiopa*, *Theseus* maried *Phædra*, hauing had before of *Antiopa* a
F sonne called *Hippolytus*, or as the Poet *Pindarus* writeth, *Demophon*. And for that the Historiographers doe not in any thing speake against the tragicall Poets, in that which concerneth the ill happe that chaunced to him, in the persones of this his wife & of his sonne: we must needes take it to be so, as we finde it written in the tragedies. And yet we finde many other reportes

The cause of the warres of the Amazones against the Athenids.

Bosphorus Cimmericus, an arme of the sea.

Theseus fighteth a battell with the Amazones.

The order of the Amazones battell.

Peace concluded at foure moneths ende by meanes of Hyppolita.

Orcomosion, the name of a place.

Auncient tõbes of losenge facion.

Thermodon, nowe called Hæmon fl.

Hippolytus Theseus sonne by Antiopa.

Phædra Theseus wife, and Minos daughter king of Creta.

Theſeus mariages.

touching the mariages of *Theſeus*, whoſe beginnings had no great good honeſt ground, neither A
fell out their endes very fortunate: & yet for all that they haue made no tragedies of them, neither haue they bene played in the Theaters. For we reade that he tooke away *Anaxo* the TROEZENIAN, & that after he had killed *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, he tooke their daughters perforce: and that he dyd alſo marye *Peribæa*, the mother of *Aiax*, and afterwards *Pherebæa*, & *Ioppa* the daughter of *Iphicles*. And they blame him much alſo, for that he ſo lightly forſooke his wife *Ariadne*, for the loue of *AEgles* the daughter of *Panopæus*, as we haue recited before. Laſtely, he tooke awaye *Hellen*: which rauiſhement filled all the Realme of ATTICA with warres, & finally was the very occaſion that forced him to forſake his countrye, and brought him at the length to his ende, as we will tell you hereafter. Albeit in his time other princes of GRECE had done many goodly and notable exploits in the warres, yet *Herodotus* is of opinion, that *Theſeus* was neuer B

Theſeus bat tels.

in any one of them: ſauing that he was at the battell of the *Lapithæ* againſt the *Centauri*. Others ſaye to the contrarie, that he was at the iorney of *Cholchide* with *Iaſon*, & that he dyd helpe *Meleager* to kill the wilde bore of *Calydonia*: from whence (as they ſaye) this prouerbe came: *Not vvithout Theſeus*. Meaning that ſuche a thing was not done without great helpe of another. Howbeit it is certaine that *Theſeus* ſelf dyd many famous actes, without ayde of any man, and that for his valiantnes this prouerbe came in vſe, which is ſpoken: *This is another Theſeus*. Alſo he dyd helpe *Adraſtus* king of the ARGIVES, to recouer the bodyes of thoſe that were ſlayne in the battell, before the cittie of THEBES. Howbeit it was not, as the poet *Euripides* ſayeth, by force of armes, after he had ouercome the THEBANS in battell: but it was by cõpoſition. And thus the greateſt number of the moſt auncient writers doe declare it. Furthermore, *Philochorus* C

Prouerbe. Not without Theſeus.

Prouerbe. This is another Theſeus.

writeth, that this was the firſt treatie that euer was made to recouer the dead bodyes ſlayne in battell: neuertheles we doe reade in the hiſtories and geſtes of *Hercules*, that he was the firſt that euer ſuffered his enemies to carye awaye their dead bodyes, after they had bene put to the ſword. But whoſoeuer he was, at this daye in the village of ELEVTHERES, they doe ſhowe the place where the people were buried, and where princes tumbes are ſeene about the cittie of ELEVSIN, which he made at the requeſt of *Adraſtus*. And for teſtimonie hereof, the tragedie *AEſchilus* made of the ELEVSINIANS, where he cauſeth it to be ſpoken euen thus to *Theſeus* him ſelf, dothe clerely ouerthrowe the petitioners in *Euripides*. Touching the friendſhippe betwixt *Pirithous* and him, it is ſayed it beganne thus. The renowne of his valliancy was maruelouſly blowen abroade through all GRECE, & *Pirithous* deſirous ro knowe it by experience, D

Theſeus valliantnes the cauſe of Pirithous friendſhippe with him.

went euen of purpoſe to inuade his countrye, and brought awaye a certaine bootie of oxen of his taken out of the countrye of MARATHON. *Theſeus* being aduertiſed therof, armed ſtraight, and went to the reſcue. *Pirithous* hearing of his comming, fled not at all, but returned backe ſodainly to mete him. And ſo ſone as they came to ſee one another, they both wondred at eche others beawtie and corage, and ſo had they no deſire to fight. But *Pirithous* reaching out his hande firſt to *Theſeus*, ſayed vnto him. I make your ſelfe iudge of the damage you haue ſuſteined by my inuaſion, and with all my harte I will make ſuche ſatisfaction, as it ſhall pleaſe you to aſſeſſe it at. *Theſeus* then dyd not only releaſe him, of all the damages he had done, but alſo requeſted him he would become his friend, and brother in armes. Hereupon they were preſently ſworne brethren in the fielde: after which othe betwixt them, *Pirithous* maried *Deidamia*, & E

Pirithous & Theſeus ſworne breſhern in the field.

Pirithous maried Deidamia.

ſent to praye *Theſeus* to come to his mariage, to viſite his countrye, & to make merye with the *Lapithæ*. He had bidden alſo the *Centauri* to the feaſt: who being druncke, committed many lewde partes, euen to the forcing of women. Howbeit the *Lapithæ* chaſticed them ſo well, that they ſlewe ſome of them preſently in the place, & draue the reſt afterwards out of all the countrye by the helpe of *Theſeus*, who armed him ſelfe, and fought on their ſide. Yet *Herodotus* writeth the matter ſomewhat contrarie, ſaying that *Theſeus* went not at all vntill the warre was well begonne: and that it was the firſt time that he ſawe *Hercules*, & ſpake with him neere vnto the cittie of TRACHINA, when he was then quiet, hauing ended all his farre voyages, & greateſt troubles. They reporte that this meeting together was full of great cheere, much kindnes, and honorable entertainement betwene them, and howe great curteſie was offred to eache o- F

The Lapithæ ouercomen the Centauri.

Theſeus and Hercules met at Trachina.

ther. Neuertheles me thincks we ſhould geue better credit to thoſe writers that ſaye they mett many times together, and that *Hercules* was accepted and receyued into the brotherhed of

the

A the mysteries of ELEVSIN, by the meanes of the countenaunce and fauour which *Theseus* shewed vnto him: and that his purification also was thereby allowed of, who was to be purged of necessitie of all his ill deedes and cruelties, before he could enter into the companie of those holy mysteries. Furthermore, *Theseus* was fiftie yeres olde when he tooke awaye *Hellen* and rauished her, which was very younge, and not of age to be maried, as *Hellanicus* sayeth. By reason whereof, some seeking to hyde the rauishement of her as a haynous facte, doe reporte it was not he, but one *Idas* and *Lynceus* that caryed her awaye, who left her in his custodie and keeping: and that *Theseus* would haue kept her from them, and would not haue deliuered her to her brethern *Castor* and *Pollux*, which afterwardes dyd demaunde her againe of him. Others againe saye it was her owne father *Tyndarus*, who gaue her him to keepe, for that he was afB frayed of *Enarsphorus* the sonne of *Hippocoon*, who would haue had her away by force. But that which commeth neareſt to the trothe in this case, and which in deede by many authors is testified, was in this sorte. *Theseus* & *Pirithous* went together to the cittie of LACEDÆMON, where they tooke awaye *Hellen* (being yet very younge) euen as she was dauncing in the tẽple of *Diana* surnamed *Orthia*: & they fled for life. They of LACEDÆMON sent after her, but those that followed wẽt no further then the cittie of TEGEA. Now when they were escaped out of the countrye of PELOPONNESVS, they agreed to drawe lots together, which of them two should haue her, with condition that whose lot it were to haue her, he should take her to his wife, & should be bound also to helpe his companion to get him another. It was *Theseus* happe to light vpon her, who caryed her to the cittie of APHIDNES, bicause she was yet to younge to be maried.

Theseus fiftie yere olde whẽ he rauished Hellen.

The manner of Hellens rauishement. Diana Orthia.

Theseus lefte Hellen in the cittie of Aphidnes.

C Whether he caused his mother to come to bring her vp, & gaue his friend called *Aphidnus* the charge of them both, recõmending her to his good care, & to kepe it so secretly, that no bodye should knowe what was become of her. Bicause he would doe the like for *Pirithous* (according to th'agremẽt made betwext thẽ) he went into EPIRVS with him to steale the daughter of *Aidoneus*, king of the MOLOSSIANS, who had surnamed his wife *Proserpina*, his daughter *Proserpina*, & his dogg *Cerberus*: with whom he made them fight which came to aske his daughter in mariage, promising to geue her to him that should ouercome his *Cerberus*. But the King vnderstãding that *Pirithous* was come, not to requeſt his daughter in mariage, but to steale her away, he tooke him prisoner with *Theseus*: & as for *Pirithous*, he caused him presẽtly to be torne in peces with his dogge, & shut *Theseus* vp in close prison. In this meane time there was one at ATHENS

Theseus went with Pirithous into Epirus, to steale Proserpina Aidoneus daughter. Pirithous torne in peces with Cerberus. Theseus close prisoner.

D called *Menestheus*, the sonne of *Peteus*: which *Peteus* was the sonne of *Orneus*, & *Orneus* was the sonne of *Erictheus*. This *Menestheus* was the first that beganne to flatter the people, & did seeke to winne the fauour of the cõmunaltie, by sweete entising words: by which deuise he stirred vp the chiefest of the cittie against *Theseus* (who in deede long before begãne to be wearie of him) by declaring vnto them howe *Theseus* had taken from them their royalties & signiories, & had shut them vp in suche sorte within the walles of a cittie, that he might the better keepe them in subiection & obedience in all things, after his will. The poore inferiour sorte of people, he dyd stirre vp also to rebellion, persuading them that it was no other then a dreame of libertie which was promised them: & howe contrariwise they were clearely dispossest & throwen out of their own houses, of their tẽples, & from their naturall places where they were borne, to thend only,

E that in liewe of many good & louing lordes which they were wont to haue before, they should now be compelled to serue one onely hedde, & a straunge lorde. Euen as *Menestheus* was very hotte about this practise, the warre of the *Tyndarides* fell out at that instant, which greatly furthered his pretẽce. For these *Tyndarides* (to wit the children of *Tyndarus*) *Castor* & *Pollux*, came downe with a great armie, against the cittie of ATHENS: & some suspect sore that *Menestheus* was cause of their comming thither. Howbeit at the first entrie they dyd no hurte at all in the countrye, but only demaunded restitution of their sister. To whom the citizens made aunswer, that they knewe not where she was left: & then the brethern beganne to make spoyle, & offer warre in deede. Howbeit there was one called *Academus*, who hauing knowledge (I can not tell by what meane) that she was secretly hidden in the cittie of APHIDNES, reuealed it vnto them.

The warre of the Tyndarides against the Athenians.

F By reason whereof the *Tyndarides* did alwayes honour him very much, so long as he liued, & afterwards the LACEDÆMONIANS, hauing ofte burnt & destroyed the whole countrye of ATTICA throughout, they would yet neuer touch the Academy of ATHENS for *Academus* sake.

Academia why ſo called.

Yet *Dicearchus* ſayeth, that in the armie of the *Tyndarides* there were two *Arcadians*, *Echedemus*, & *Marathus*, and howe of the name of one of them, it was then called the place of Echedemie, which ſithence hath bene called Academia: & after the name of the other, there was a village called MARATHON, bicauſe he willingly offered him ſelf to be ſacrificed before the battell, as obeying the order & cõmandement of a prophecie. So they went & pitched their campe before the cittie of APHIDNES, & hauing wõne the battell, & taken the cittie by aſſault, they raced the place. They ſaye that *Alycus*, the ſonne of *Sciron* was ſlaine at this field, who was in the hoaſte of the *Tyndarides*, & that after his name, a certaine quarter of the territorie of MEGARA was called *Alycus*, in the which his bodye was buried. Howbeit *Hereas* writeth that *Theſeus* ſelf dyd kill him before *Aphidnes*: In witnes whereof he alledgeth certain verſes which ſpeake of *Alycus*.

Marathon.

Aphidnes wonne & raced by the Tyndarides.

Alycus Scirons ſonne ſlayne, at the battell of Aphidnes.

VVhile as he ſought vvith all his might and mayne
(in thy defence, fayer Hellen for to fight)
In Aphidnes, vpon the pleaſaunt playne,
bold Theſeus to cruell deathe him dight.

Howbeit it is not likely to be true, that *Theſeus* being there, the cittie of *Aphidnes*, & his mother alſo were taken. But when it was wonne, they of ATHENS beganne to quake for feare, and *Meneſtheus* counſelled them to receyue the *Tyndarides* into the cittie, and to make them good chere, ſo they would make no warres but vpon *Theſeus*, which was the firſt that had done them the wrõg & iniurie: & that to all other els they ſhould ſhowe fauour & good will. And ſo it fell out. For when the *Tyndarides* had all in their power to doe as they liſted, they demaunded nothing els but that they might be receiued into their corporatiõ, & not to be reckoned for ſtraungers, no more then *Hercules* was: the which was graũted the *Tyndarides*, & *Aphidnus* dyd adopt them for his childrẽ, as *Pylius* had adopted *Hercules*. Moreouer they dyd honour them as if they had bene godds, calling them *Anaces*. Either bicauſe they ceaſed the warres, or for that they ordered them ſelues ſo well, that their whole armie being lodged within the cittie, there was not any hurte or diſpleaſure done to any perſone: but as it became thoſe that haue the charge of any thing, they did carefully watche to preſerue the good quiet thereof. All which this Greke word *Anacos* doth ſignifie, wherof perchaunce it comes that they call the kings *Anactes*. There are others alſo who holde opinion that they were called *Anaces*, bicauſe of their ſtarres which appeared in the ayer. For the *Attican* tongue ſayeth, *Anacas*, & *Anecathen*: where the comon people ſaye *Ano*, & *Anothen*, that is to ſaye, aboue. Neuertheles *AEthra*, *Theſeus* mother, was caried priſoner to LACEDÆMON, & from thence to TROIA with *Hellen*, as ſome ſaye: & as *Homer* him ſelf doth witneſſe in his verſes, where he ſpeaketh of the women that followed *Hellen*.

The Tyndarides honoured as godds, and called Anaces.

Cicer. de Nat. deor. lib. 3.

Kings called Anactes.

Anaces why ſo called.

AEthra takẽ priſoner, and caried to Laced. æmon.

AEthra the daughter deare of Pitheus aged Syre,
and vvith her fayer Clymene ſhe, vvhoſe eyes moſt men deſire.

Diuers opinions of Homers verſes.

Yet there are other who aſwell reiect theſe two verſes, & mainteine they are not *Homers*: as alſo they reproue all that is reported of *Munychus*. To wit, that *Laodice* being priuely cõceiued of him by *Demophon*, he was brought vp ſecretly by *AEthra* within TROIA. But *Hiſter* the hiſtorien in his thirteenth of his hiſtories of ATTICA, maketh a recitall farre cõtrary to other, ſaying: that ſome hold opinion, that *Paris Alexander* was ſlayne in battell by *Achilles*, & *Patroclus* in the coũtrye of THESSALIE, neere to the riuer of *Sperchius*, & that his brother *Hector* tooke the cittie of TROEZEN, from whence he brought awaye *AEthra*: in which there is no manner of apparance or likelihodde. But *AEdoneus* king of the MOLOSSIANS, feaſting *Hercules* one daye as he paſſed through his realme, deſcended by chaunce into talke of *Theſeus* & of *Pirithous*, howe they came to ſteale away his daughter ſecretly: & after told how they were alſo puniſhed. *Hercules* was marueilous ſorye to vnderſtand that one of them was now dead, & the other in daunger to dye, & thought with him ſelf that to make his mone to *AEdoneus*, it would not helpe the matter: he beſought him only that he would deliuer *Theſeus* for his ſake. And he graunted him. Thus *Theſeus* being deliuered of this captiuitie, returned to ATHENS, where his friends were not altogether kept vnder by his enemies: & at his returne he dyd dedicate to *Hercules* all the temples, which the cittie had before cauſed to be built in his owne honour. And where firſt of all they were called *Theſea*, he did now ſurname thẽ all *Herculea*, excepting foure, as *Philochorus* writeth. Nowe when he was arriued at ATHENS, he would immediately haue cõmaunded and ordered

Sperchius fl.

Theſeus deliuered out of priſon by Hercules meanes.

A ordered things as he was wont to doe: but he found him ſelf troubled much with ſedition, bi-
cauſe thoſe who had hated him of long time, had added alſo to their old canckered hate, a diſ-
dain & contẽpt to feare him any more. And the comõ people now were become ſo ſtubborn,
that where before they would haue done all that they were cõmanded, & haue ſpoken nothing
to the contrarie: now they looked to be borne with, & flattered. Whereupon *Theſeus* thought
at the firſt to haue vſed force, but he was forced by the faction & contẽtion of his enemies to let
all alone, & in the end, deſpairing he ſhould euer bring his matters to paſſe to his deſire, he ſe-
cretly ſent away his children into the Ile of EVBOEA, to *Elphenor* the ſonne of *Chalcodus*. And
him ſelf, after he had made many wiſhes & curſes againſt the Athenians, in the village of Gar-
gettus, in a place which for that cauſe to this daye is called *Araterion*: (that is to ſaye, the place
B of curſings) he did take the ſeas, & wẽt into the Ile of SCIROS, where he had goods, & thought
alſo to haue founde friends. *Lycomedes* raigned at that time, & was king of the Ile, vnto whom
Theſeus made requeſt for ſome lande, as intẽding to dwell there: albeit ſome ſaye that he requi-
red him to giue him ayde againſt the Atheniãs. *Lycomedes*, were it that he douted to entertaine
ſo great a perſonage, or that he dyd it to gratifie *Meneſtheus*: caried him vp to the high rocks,
faining as though he would from thence haue ſhewed him all his countrye round about. But
when he had him there, he threw him downe hedlong from the toppe of the rocks to the bot-
tome, & put him thus vnfortunately to death. Yet other write, that he fell down of him ſelf by
an vnfortunate chaunce, walking one daye after ſupper as he was wont to doe. There was no
mã at that time that dyd followe or purſue his death, but *Meneſtheus* quietly remained king of
C ATHENS: and the children of *Theſeus*, as priuate ſouldiers followed *Elphenor* in the warres of
TROIA. But after the death of *Meneſtheus*, who died in the iorney to TROIE, *Theſeus* ſonnes
returned vnto ATHENS, where they recouered their ſtate. Sithence there were many occaſiõs
which moued the Athenians to reuerence & honour him as a demy god. For in the battell of
Marathon, many thought they ſawe his ſhadow & image in armes, fighting againſt the barba-
rous people. And after the warres of the *Medes* (the yere wherein *Phædon* was gouernour of A-
THENS) the nunne *Pithia* anſwered the Atheniãs, who had ſent to the oracle of *Apollo*: that they
ſhould bring backe the bones of *Theſeus*, & putting them in ſome honorable place, they ſhould
preſerue & honour them deuoutely. But it was a harde matter to finde his graue: & if they had
founde it, yet had it bene a harder thing to haue brought his bones awaye, for the malice of
D thoſe barbarous people which inhabited that Ile: which were ſo wild & fierce, that none could
trade or liue with them. Notwithſtanding *Cimon* hauing taken the Iland (as we haue written in
his life) & ſeeking his graue: perceiued by good happe an eagle pecking with her beake, & ſcra-
ping with her clawes in a place of ſome prety height. Straight it came into his minde (as by
diuine inſpiration) to ſearche & digge the place: where was founde the tumbe of a great bodye,
with the head of a ſpeare which was of braſſe, & a ſword with it. All which things were brought
to ATHENS by *Cimon* in the admirall gallie. The Atheniãs receiued them with great ioye, with
proceſſions & goodly ſacrifices, as if *Theſeus* him ſelf had bene a liue, & had returned into the
cittie againe. At this daye all theſe relicks lye yet in the middeſt of the cittie, neere to the place
where the younge men doe vſe all their exerciſes of bodye. There is free libertie of acceſſe for
E all ſlaues & poore men, (that are afflicted & purſued, by any mightier then themſelues) to pray
& ſacrifice in remembraunce of *Theſeus*: who while he liued was protectour of the oppreſſed,
& dyd curteouſly receiue their requeſts & petitiõs that prayed to haue ayde of him. The grea-
teſt & moſt ſolemne ſacrifice they doe vnto him, is on the eight daye of October, in which he
returned from CRETA, with the other younge children of ATHENS. Howbeit they doe not
leaue to honour him euery eight daye of all other moneths, either bicauſe he arriued frõ TROE-
ZEN at ATHENS the eight daye of Iune, as *Diodorus* the Coſmographer writeth: or for that
they thought that number to be meeteſt for him, bicauſe the bruite ranne he was begotten of
Neptune. They doe ſacrifice alſo to *Neptune*, the eight daye of euery moneth, bicauſe the nũber
of eight is the firſt cube made of euen number, & the double of the firſt ſquare: which dothe re-
F preſent a ſtedfaſtnes immoueable, properly attributed to the might of *Neptune*, whom for this
cauſe we ſurname *Aſphalius*, and *Gæiochus*, which by interpretation dothe ſignifie: the ſafe
keeper, & the ſtayer of the earthe. *The ende of Theſeus life.*

*The Athe-
niãs diſdaine
to obey The-
ſeus.*

*Theſeus fled
from Athens
into the Ile of
Sciros.*

*Theſeus
cruelly ſlayne
by Lycome-
des.*

*Meneſtheus
king of A-
thens.*

*Theſeus
ſonnes.*

*Cimon ta-
keth the Ile
of Sciros and
bringeth
Theſeus
bones to A-
thens.*

*Theſeus
tumbe.*

*Neptune why
called Aſpha-
lius and Gæ-
iochus.*

THE LIFE OF *Romulus.*

Diuers opinions about the name of Rome.

THE Hiſtoriographers doe not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cauſe, the great name of the cittie of ROME (the glorie wherof is blowen abroad through all the worlde) was firſt geuen vnto it. For ſome thincke that the Pelaſgians, after they had ouercome the greateſt parte of the world, and had inhabited and ſubdued many nations, in the ende dyd ſtaye them ſelues in that place where it was newe buylded: and for their great ſtrength and power in armes, they gaue the name of ROME vnto the cittie, as ſignifying power in the Greeke tongue. Other ſaye, that after the taking and deſtruction of TROYA, there were certaine TROYANS which ſauing them ſelues from the ſworde, tooke ſuche veſſells as they founde at aduenture in the hauen, and were by winds put with the THVSCANE ſhore, where they anckred neere vnto the riuer of Tyber. There their wiues being ſo ſore ſea ſicke, that poſſibly they could not any more endure the boiſterous ſurges of the ſeas: it happened one of them among the reſt (the nobleſt and wiſeſt of the companie) called ROMA, to counſaill the other women of her cõpanions to ſet their ſhippes a fire, which they dyd accordingly. Wherewith their huſbands at the firſt were maruelouſly offended. But afterwards, being compelled of neceſſitie to plant them ſelues neere vnto the cittie of PALLANTIVM, they were appeaſed when they ſawe things proſper better then they hoped for, finding the ſoyle there fertile, and the people their neighbours ciuill and gentle in entertaining them. Wherefore amongeſt other honours they dyd to requite this lady *Roma*, they called their cittie after her name, as from whom came the originall cauſe of the building and foundation thereof. They ſaye that from thence came this cuſtome continuing yet to this daye at ROME, that the women ſaluting their kinſefolkes and huſbands doe kiſſe them in the mouthe, for ſo dyd theſe TROYAN ladyes to pleaſe their huſbands, and to winne them againe, after they had loſt their fauours, and procured their diſpleaſures with burning of their ſhippes. Other ſaye that *Roma* was the daughter of *Italus*, and of *Lucaria*, or els of *Telephus* the ſonne of *Hercules*, and of the wife of *AEneas*: other ſaye of *Aſcanius*, the ſonne of *AEneas*, who named the cittie after her name. Other holde opinion that it was *Romanus* (the ſonne of *Vlyſſes* and of *Circé*) that firſt founded ROME: other will ſaye that it was *Romus* the ſonne of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither from TROYA. Other write that it was one *Romis* a tyranne of the LATINES, who draue the THVSCANS out of thoſe parts

A B C

Tybris fl.

The beginning of kiſſing their kinſefolkes in the mouthe, came from the Troian women.

A partes: which departing out of THESSALY went first of all into LYDIA, and afterwards from LYDIA into ITALIE. And furthermore, they who thincke that *Romulus* (as in deede it carieth best likelyhod) was he that gaue the name to the cittie, doe not agree about his auncesters. For some of them write, that he was the sonne of *AEneas* and of *Dexithea* the daughter of *Phorbus*, and that he was brought into ITALIE of a litle childe with his brother *Remus*: and that at that time the riuer of Tyber being ouerflowen, all other shippes were cast awaye, sauing the shippe in which the two litle boyes were, which by great good happe came to a staye vpon a very plaine euen grounde on the bancke, and bicause the children beyond all hope were saued by this meanes, therefore the place was afterwardes called ROMA. Other saye that *Roma* the daughter of the first Troian ladye was maried vnto *Latinus* the sonne of *Telemachus*, by
B whom she had *Romulus*. Other write, that it was *AEmilia*, the daughter of *AEneas* and of *Lauinia*, which was gotten with childe by the god *Mars*. Other tell a tale of *Romulus* birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is sayed that there was sometime a king of ALBA named *Tarchetius*, a very wicked and cruell man, in whose house through the permission of the goddes appeared such a like vision: that there rose vp in the harthe of his chymney the forme & facion of a mans priuie member, which continued there many dayes. And they saye, that at that time there was in THVSCANE an oracle of *Thetis*, from whom they brought vnto this wicked king *Tarchetius* suche an aunswer: that he should cause his daughter yet vnmaried to haue carnall companie with the straunge thing, for she should beare a sonne, that should be famous for his valliancie, for strength of bodye, and his happie successe wherein he should exceede all men
C of his time. *Tarchetius* tolde this oracle vnto one of his daughters, and willed her to entertaine this straunge thing: but she disdaining to doe it, sent one of her waiting women to vndertake the entertainement. But *Tarchetius* was so mad at this, that he caused them both to be taken to put them to death: howbeit the goddesse *Vesta* appeared to him in his sleepe in the night, and charged him he should not doe it. Whereupon he dyd commaund them to make him a pece of clothe in the prisone, with promise that they should be maried when they had finished it. These poore maydes toyled at it all the liue longe daye, but in the night there came other (by *Tarchetius* commaundement) that dyd vndoe all they had done the daye before. In the meane time, this waiting woman that was gott with childe by this straunge thing, was deliuered of two goodly boyes or twynnes: whom *Tarchetius* gaue vnto one *Teratius*, with
D expresse commaundement he should cast them awaye. This *Teratius* caryed them vnto the bancke of the riuer: thither came a shee woulfe and gaue them sucke, and certaine byrdes that brought litle crommes and put them in their mouthes, vntill a swyneheard perceyuing them, and wondring at the sight, dyd boldly goe to the children, and tooke them awaye with him. These infantes being thus preserued after they were come to mans state, dyd set vpon *Tarchetius* and slewe him. One *Promathion* an Italian writer, deliuereth this storie thus. But the reporte that carieth best credit of all, and is allowed of by many writers: commeth from Diocles *Peparethian*, (whome *Fabius Pictor* followeth in many thinges) who was the first that put forth this storie among the GRECIANS, and specially the chiefest poynts of it. Though this matter be somewhat diuersely taken, yet in effect the storie is thus. The
E right line and bloude of the kings of ALBA descended from *AEneas*, by succession from the father to the sonne, and the Kingdome fell in the ende betweene two brethern, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. They agreed by lotte to make diuision betweene them, whereof the one to haue the Kingdome, and the other all the golde, syluer, readye money, goodes, and iuells brought from TROIA. *Numitor* by his lotte chose the Realme for his portion: *Amulius* hauing all the golde and treasure in his handes, dyd finde him selfe thereby the stronger, and so dyd easely take his Realme from him. And fearing least his brothers daughter might haue children which one day might thrust him out againe, he made her a Nunne of the goddesse *Vesta*, there to passe her dayes in virginitie, & neuer to be maried: (some call her *Rhea*, other *Syluia*, and other *Ilia*) neuertheles not longe after she was founde with childe, against the
F rule and profession of the *Vestall Nunnes*. So nothing had saued her from present death, but the petition of *Antho* the daughter of king *Amulius*, who intreated her father for her life: yet notwithstanding she was straightly locked vp, that no body could see her, nor speake with her, least

Fables of Romulus byrthe.

An oracle of Thetis in Thuscane.

See the fragments of Fabius Pictor, and of Cato.

See also Halicarnasseus, & T. Liuius.

Romulus kinred.

Romulus mother.

she should be brought a bedde without *Amulius* knowledge. In the ende she was deliuered of A
two fayre boyes and marueilous great twymmes: which made *Amulius* more affrayed then be-
fore. So he commaunded one of his men to take the two children, and to throwe them awaye,
Faustulus. and destroye them. Some saye that this seruants name was *Faustulus*: other thincke it was he
that brought them vp. But whosoeuer he was, he that had the charge to throwe them awaye,
put them in a troughe, and went towards the riuer with intention to throwe them in. Howbeit
he found it risen so highe, and running so swiftely, that he durst not come neere the waters side,
& so they being in the troughe, he layed them on the bancke. In the meane time the riuer swel-
ling still, and ouerflowing the bancke, in such sorte that it came vnder the troughe: dyd gently
Cermanum. lifte vp the troughe, & caried it vnto a great playne, called at this present *Cermanum*, and in the
olde time *Germanum* (as I take it) bicause the Romaines called the brothers of father & mother, B
Germani. Nowe there was neere vnto this place a wilde figge tree which they called *Ruminalis*,
Ruminalis. of the name of Romulus as the most parte thought: or els bicause the beasts feeding there were
wont to come vnder the same in the extreame heate of the daye, and there dyd Ruminare, that
is, chewe their cudde in the shadowe: or perhappes bicause that the two children dyd sucke
the teate of the woulfe, which the auncient LATINES call RVMA, and they at this day doe yet
The goddesse Rumilia. call the goddesse on whom they crye out to geue their children sucke, RVMILIA. And in their
sacrifices to her they vse no wine, but offer vp milke and water mingled with honye. To these
two children lying there in this sorte, they write, there came a she woulfe & gaue them sucke:
and a hitwaw also which dyd helpe to norishe and keepe them. These two beastes are thought
to be cõsecrated to the god *Mars*, & the LATINES doe singularly honour & reuerence the hi- C
twaw. This dyd much helpe to geue credit to the wordes of the mother, who affirmed she was
conceyued of those two children, by the god *Mars*. Howbeit some thincke she was deceyued
in her opinion: for *Amulius* that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforce dyd
rauishe her. Other holde opinion that the name of the nurce which gaue the two children
sucke with her breastes, gaue occasion to cõmon reporte to erre much in this tale, by reason of
the double signification thereof. For the LATINES doe call with one selfe name shee woulfes
Lupas, & women that geue their bodyes to all cõmers: as this nurce the wife of *Faustulus* (that
Acca Laurentia Faustulus wife, that nurced the twynnes. brought these children home to her house) dyd vse to doe. By her right name she was called
Acca Laurentia, vnto whom the ROMAINES doe sacrifice yet vnto this daye: and the priest of
Mars doth offer vnto her, in the moneth of Aprill, the sheading of wine and milke accustomed D
at burialls, and the feast it selfe is called *Larentia*. It is true that they honour also another *La-*
rentia, for like occasion. The clercke or sexten of *Hercules* temple, not knowing one daye howe
to driue awaye the time as it should seeme: of a certaine liuelines and boldnes, dyd desire
The Greeke sayeth Larentia. *Larẽtia feast.* the god *Hercules* to playe at dyce with him, with condition that if he dyd winne, *Hercules*
Laurentia a courtisan should be bounde to send him some good fortune: and if it were his lucke to lose, then he
promised *Hercules* he would prouide him a very good supper, and would besides bring him a
fayer gentlewoman to lye with all. The conditions of the playe thus rehearsed, the sexten first
cast the dyce for *Hercules*, and afterwards for him selfe. It fell out that *Hercules* wanne, and the
sexten meaning good fayth, and thincking it very mete to performe the bargaine that him
selfe had made, prepared a good supper, and hyered this *Laurentia* the courtisan, which was E
very fayer, but as yet of no great fame to come to it. Thus hauing feasted her within the tẽple,
and prepared a bedde readye there, after supper he locked her into the temple, as if *Hercules*
should haue comen in dede & layen with her. And it is said for trothe, that *Hercules* came thi-
ther: & cõmaunded her in the morning she should goe into the market place, & salute the first
man she met, & kepe him euer for her friend. Which thing she performed, & the first man she
Tarrutius. met was called *Tarrutius*, a man of great yeres, & one that had gathered together marueilous
wealth & riches. He had no children at all, neither was he euer maried. He fell acquainted with
this *Laurentia*, & loued her so dearely, that shortely after chaũcing to dye, he made her heire of
all he had: whereof she disposed afterwards by her last will and testament, the best and greatest
Velabrum whereof Liuie deca. 3. lib. 7. parte vnto the people of Rome. Moreouer it is reported also, that she now being growen to be F
famous & of great honour (as thought to be the lẽman of a god) dyd vanishe away sodainely in
the self same place, where the first *Laurentia* was buried. The place at this day is called Velabrũ:
bicause

A bicause the riuer being ouerflowen, they were oftentimes compelled to passe by bote to goe to the market place, and they called this manner of ferrying ouer, Velatura. Other saye, that those tomblers & common players, which shewed sundrye games and pastimes to winne the fauour of the people, were wont to couer that passage ouer with canuas clothes and veyles, by which they goe from the market place to the lystes or shewe place where they ronne their horses, beginning their race euen at the place: and they call a veyle in their tongue, Velum. This is the cause why the seconde *Laurentia* is honored at Rome. *Faustulus*, chief neateheard to *Amulius*, tooke vp the two children and no bodye knewe it, as some saye: or as other reporte, (and likest to be true) with the priuitie & knowledge of *Numitor*, *Amulius* brother, who secretly furnished them with money that brought vp the two young children. It is sayed also they were both con-

B ueyed vnto the cittie of the GABIANS, where they were brought vp at schole, & taught all other honest things, which they vse to teache the sonnes & childrē of good & noble mē. Further they saye they were named *Remus* and *Romulus*, bicause they were founde sucking on the teates of a woulfe. Nowe the beawtie of their bodyes dyd presently shewe, beholding onely but their stature and manner of their countenaunces, of what nature and linadge they were: and as they grewe in yeres, their manly corage increased maruelously, so as they became stowte and hardy men, in so much as they were neuer troubled or astonied at any daunger that was offered them. Howbeit it appeared plainely that *Romulus* had more wit & vnderstanding then his brother *Remus*. For in all things wherein they were to deale with their neighbours, either cōcerning hunting, or the boundes and limites of their pastures: it was easely decerned in him, that he was

C borne to commaund, and not to obeye. For this cause they were both exceedingly beloued of their companions, and of those which were their inferiours. As for the kings heardmen, they passed not muche for them, saying that they were euen like them selues, and so seemed not to care a Pynne for their anger or displeasure, but wholy gaue them selues to all gentlemanly exercises and trades, thincking to liue idely & at ease without trauell, was neither comly nor conuenient: but to exercise and harden their bodyes with hunting, running, pursuing murderers and theeues, and to helpe those which were oppressed with wronge and violence, shoulde be credit and commendation to them. By reason whereof, in very shorte time they grewe to great fame and renowne, And it fell out by chaunce there rose some stryfe and variance betwene the heardmen of *Amulius*, and the heardmen of *Numitor*: in so muche as those that were *Numi-*

D *tors*, caryed awaye by force some cattell of the others. Thother side would not beare that, but pursued fast after, and beating them well fauoredly, they made them take their legges, and brought backe againe the greatest parte of the cattell they had caried away with them. Wherat *Numitor* stormed maruelously, but yet his men seemed to make but litle accoumpt of it, and purposing reuenge, they gathered about them a good companie of vacabonds (that had neither home, nor resting place) and certaine fugitiue bonde men which they intised ill fauoredly, incoraging them to steale awaye from their masters. Thus one daye whilest *Romulus* was busie about some sacrifice, (being a deuoute man and religious, and well geuen to serue the goddes, and to learne to diuine and tell before hande what things should happen and come to passe) it happened the heard men of *Numitor* to meete *Remus* very slenderly accompanied: so they fell

E vpon him sodainely, blowes were delt rowndely on bothe sides, and men were hurte on either parte. Howbeit *Numitors* men in the ende proued the stronger parte, and dyd take *Remus* by force, and caryed him straight before *Numitor*, alledging many complaintes and matters against him. *Numitor* durst not punish him of his owne authoritie, bicause he feared his brother *Amulius*, who was somewhat terrible: but went vnto him, and earnestly besought him to doe him iustice, and not to suffer him being his owne brother, to receyue such iniurye of his men. There was not a man in the cittie of ALBA, but dyd greatly mislike the iniurie done to *Numitor*: and spake it openly, that he was no persone to be offered such a wronge. In so muche as *Amulius* moued herewith, dyd deliuer *Remus* into his handes, to punishe him as he thought good. Whereupon *Numitor* caried him home with him. But when he had him in his house, he

F beganne to consider better of him, with admiration howe goodly a younge man he was, howe in height and strength of bodye he passed all the rest of his people: and perceyuing in his face an assured constancie, and bolde stedfast corage that yelded not, nor was abashed for any

Romulus and Remus education.

Romulus a godly man.

Remus taken of Numitors heardmen.

daunger he ſawe toward him: and hearing alſo the reporte of his actes & manhod to be anſ- A
Gods prouidence. swerable to that he ſawe: (being chiefly moued in mine opinion by ſome ſecret inſpiration of the goddes, which ordaine the depthe of great matters) beganne partely by coniecture, and partely by chaunce to take a conceit of him. So he aſked him what he was, & who was his father and mother: ſpeaking to him in a more gentle wiſe, and with a friendlier countenaunce then before, to make him the bolder to anſwer, & be of better hope. *Remus* boldly aunſwered him. Truely I will not hide the trothe from thee, for thou ſeemeſt to me more worthie to be
Remus oration, declaring the birth of him ſelf & his brother Romulus. King, then thy brother *Amulius*. For thou enquiereſt, and heareſt firſt before thou condemneſt: and he condemneth before he examine or heare the parties. Vntill nowe, we thought we had bene the children of two of the Kings ſeruants, to wit of *Fauſtulus* and of *Laurentia*: I ſaye we, bicauſe my brother and I are two twynnes. But ſeeing we are nowe falſely accuſed vnto B
thee, and by malicious ſurmiſed tales are wrongefully brought in daunger of our liues: we intend to diſcouer our ſelues, and to declare ſtraunge things vnto thee, whereof the preſent perill we ſtande nowe in, ſhall plainely proue the trothe. Men ſaye that we haue bene begotten miraculouſly, foſtered and geuen ſucke more ſtraungely, and in our tender yeres were fedd by birdes and wilde beaſts, to whom we were caſt out as a praye. For a woulfe gaue vs ſucke with her teates, and an hitwaw (they ſaye) brought vs litle crōmes, and put them in our mouthes, as we laye vpon the bancke by the riuer, where we were put in a troughe that at this daye remaineth whole, bounde about with plates of copper, vpon the which are ſome letters engrauen halfe worne out, which peraduenture one daye will ſerue for ſome tokens of knowledge (vnprofitable for our parents) when it ſhalbe to late, and after we are dead and gone. *Numitor* then C
Numitors wiſdome. comparing theſe wordes, with the age the younge man ſeemed to be of, and conſidering well his face: dyd not reiect the hope of his imagination that ſmiled on him, but handled the matter ſo, that he found meanes to ſpeake ſecretly with his daughter, notwithſtanding at that time ſhe was kept very ſtraightly. *Fauſtulus* in the meane time hearing that *Remus* was priſoner, and that the King had deliuered him already into the hands of his brother *Numitor* to doe iuſtice,
Fauſtulus care to ſaue Remus. went to praye *Romulus* to helpe him, and tolde him then whoſe children they were: for before he had neuer opened it to them but in darcke ſpeaches, and glawnſingwiſe, and ſo muche as ſufficed to put them in ſome hope. So *Fauſtulus* taking the troughe with him at that time, went vnto *Numitor* in great haſte, as marueilouſly affrayed for the preſent daunger he thought *Remus* in. The Kings ſouldiers which warded at the gates of the cittie, beganne to gather ſome D
ſuſpition of *Fauſtulus* manner of comming: and he made him ſelfe to be the more ſuſpected, being queſtioned with about the cauſe of his repaire thither, that he faltred in his wordes: beſides, they eſpied his troughe which he caried vnder his cloke. Nowe amongeſt the warders, there was by chaunce one that was the man to whom the children were committed to be caſt awaye, and was preſent when they were left on the bancke of the riuer to the mercie of fortune. This man knewe the troughe by & by, aſwell by the facion, as by the letters grauen vpon it: who miſtruſted ſtraight that which was true in deede. So he dyd not neglect the thing, but went forthwith to the King to tell him the matter, and led *Fauſtulus* with him to haue him confeſſe the trothe. *Fauſtulus* being in this perplexitie, could not kepe all cloſe vpon examination, but dyd vtter out ſomewhat of the matter, and yet he tolde not all. For he plainely iuſtified the E
children were aliue: yet he ſayed they were farre from the cittie of ALBA, where they kept beaſtes in the fields. And as for the troughe, he was going to carye it to *Ilia*, bicauſe ſhe had diuers times prayed him to let her ſee and feele it: to the ende ſhe might be the more aſſured of her hope, who promiſed her that one daye ſhe ſhould ſee her children againe. So it chaunced
Amulius perplexed in his minde. vnto *Amulius* at that time, as it commonly dothe vnto thoſe that are troubled, and doe any thing in feare or anger, as a man amazed thereat, to ſend one preſently (who in all other things was a very honeſt man, but a great friende of his brother *Numitors*) to aſke him if he had heard any thing that his daughters children were aliue. This perſone being come to *Numitors* houſe, founde him ready to embrace *Remus*, who fell to be witnes thereof, and of the good happe diſcouered vnto *Numitor*: whereupon he perſwaded him howe to ſet vpon his brother, and to F
diſpatche the matter with ſpede. So from that time forwards, he tooke their parte. On thother ſide alſo the matter gaue them no leiſure to deferre their enterpriſe, although they had bene willing:

A willing: for the whole caſe was ſomewhat blowen abroade. So *Romulus* then got ſtraight a power, and drewe very neere the cittie, and many of the citizens of ALBA went out to ioyne with him, who either feared or hated *Amulius*. Nowe *Romulus* power which he brought (ouer and beſides thoſe citizens) was a good number of fighting men, and they were diuided by hundreds, and euery hundred had his captaine who marched before his bande, carying litle bundells of graſſe or of boughes tyed to the ende of their poles: The LATINES call theſe bundels Manipulos, whereof it commeth that yet at this daye in an armie of the *Romaines*, the ſouldiers which are all vnder one enſigne, are called Manipulares. So *Remus* ſturring vp thoſe that were within the cittie, and *Romulus* bringing in men from without, the tyranne *Amulius* fell in ſuche feare and agonie, that without prouiding any thing for his ſafety, they came vpon him ſodain-

Manipulares whereof ſo called.

B ly in his palace, and ſlewe him. Thus you heare howe neere *Fabius Pictor* and *Diocles Peparethian* doe agree in reciting the ſtorie, who was the firſt in mine opinion that wrote the foundation of the cittie of ROME: howbeit there are that thincke they are all but fables & tales deuiſed of pleaſure. But me thincks for all that, they are not altogether to be reiected or diſcredited, if we will conſider fortunes ſtraunge effects vpon times, and of the greatnes alſo of the Romaine empire: which had neuer atchieued to her preſent poſſeſſed power & authoritie, if the goddes had not frō the beginning bene workers of the ſame, & if there had not alſo bene ſome ſtraūge cauſe, and wonderfull foundation. *Amulius* being nowe ſlayne as before, & after that all things were appeaſed, and reduced to good order againe: *Remus* and *Romulus* would not dwell in the cittie of ALBA, being no lordes thereof, nor alſo would be lords of it, ſo long as their grandfa-

Amulius ſlayne.

C ther by the mothers ſide was aliue. Wherefore after they had reſtored him to his eſtate, and had done the honour and duety they ought vnto their mother: they purpoſed to goe & build a cittie in thoſe places where they had bene firſt brought vp, for this was the honeſteſt culler they could pretend for their departing from ALBA. Peraduenture they were enforced ſo to doe whether they would or not, for the great number of baniſhed men, and fugitiue ſlaues which were gathered together by them for their ſtrength, who had bene vtterly loſt and caſt away, if they had bene once diſcharged by them. Therfore it was of neceſſitie that they ſhould dwell by them ſelues, ſeparated in ſome place, to kepe this number together and in ſome order. For it is true that the inhabitants of the cittie of ALBA would not ſuffer ſuch baniſhed perſones and runnagates to be mingled amongeſt them, nor would receaue them into their

The building of Rome.

D cittie to be free among them. All which appeareth ſufficiently: firſt, bicauſe they tooke awaye women by force: and ſo not of inſolencie, but of neceſſitie, when they founde no man that would beſtow any of them. It is manifeſt alſo they dyd greately honour and make much of the women they had taken away before. Furthermore, when their cittie beganne a litle to be ſetled, they made a temple of refuge for all fugitiues and afflicted perſones, which they called the temple of the god *Aſylæus*. Where there was ſanctuarie and ſafety for all ſortes of people that repaired thither, and could get into the temple, for whom it was alledged they could not deliuer any bonde man to his maſter, nor detter to his creditor, nor murtherer to the iuſtice that was fled thither for ſuccor, bicauſe the oracle of *Apollo* the *Delphian* had expreſſely enioyned them to graunte ſanctuary to all thoſe that would come thither for it. So by this meanes in

Aſylæus temple, A ſanctuarie for all baniſhed perſones and fugitiues.

E ſhorte ſpace their cittie floriſhed, & was repleaniſhed, where at the firſt foundation of it, they ſaye there was not aboue one thouſand houſes, as more at large hereafter ſhalbe declared. When they came nowe to the building of their cittie, *Romulus* & *Remus* the two brethern fell ſodainely at a ſtrife together about the place where the cittie ſhould be builded. For *Romulus* built ROME, which is called foure ſquare, and would needes it ſhould remaine in the place which he had choſen. *Remus* his brother choſe another place very ſtrong of ſituation, vpon mounte *Auentine*, which was called after his name *Remonium*, and nowe is called *Rignarium*. Notwithſtanding, in the ende they agreed betwene them ſelues this controuerſie ſhould be decided, by the flying of birds, which doe geue a happy diuination of things to come. So being ſett in diuers places by them ſelues to make obſeruation, ſome ſaye that there appeared vnto

Strife betwixt Romulus and Remus.

Remonium. Rignarium.

F *Remus* ſixe, and to *Romulus* twelue vulters. Other ſaye that *Remus* truely ſawe ſixe, and *Romulus* feigned from the beginning that he ſawe twiſe as many: but when *Remus* came to him, then there appeared twelue in deede vnto *Romulus*, and this is the cauſe why the Romaines at this

The Romains obserue the flying of vulters.

daye in their diuinations and ſoothe ſayings of the flying of birds, doe maruelouſly obſerue the flying of the vulters. It is true which the hiſtoriographer *Herodotus Ponticus* writeth: that *Hercules* reioyced much when there appeared a vulter to him, being readie to beginne any enterpriſe. For it is the foule of the worlde that dothe leaſt hurte, and neuer marreth nor deſtroyeth any thing that man dothe ſowe, plante, or ſet: conſidering that ſhe feedeth on carion only, and dothe neuer hurte nor kill any liuing thing. Alſo ſhe dothe not praye vpon dead fowle, for the likenes that is betwene them: where the eagles, the dukes and the ſakers doe murther, kill, and eate thoſe which are of their owne kynde. And yet as Æſchylus ſayeth,

Needes muſt that fovvle accompted be moſt vile,
Moſt rauening, and full of filthie minde,
VVhich doth him ſelf, continually defile,
by praying ſtill vpon his propre kinde.

Moreouer, other birdes are allwayes (as a man would ſaye) before our eyes, and doe daylie ſhewe them ſelues vnto vs: where the vulter is a very rare byrde, and hardely to be ſeene, and men doe not eaſely finde their ayeries. Which hathe geuen ſome occaſion to holde a falſe opinion, that the vulters are paſſagers, and come into theſe partes out of ſtraunge countryes. The prognoſticators alſo thincke, that ſuche things which are not ordinarie, and but ſeldome ſeene, be not naturall, but miraculouſly ſent by the goddes to prognoſticate ſomething. When *Remus* knewe howe his brother had mocked him, he was very angry with him. And when *Romulus* had caſt a dytche, as it were for the wall about his cittie, *Remus* dyd not only ſcorne it, but hindered alſo his worke, and in the ende for a mockerie lept ouer his wall. To conclude, he dyd ſo much, that at the laſt he was ſlayne there by *Romulus* owne handes as ſome ſaye: or as other holde opinion, by the handes of one of his men which was called *Celer*. In this fight they ſlewe *Fauſtulus*, and *Pliſtinus* alſo his brother, who had holpen him to bring vp *Romulus*. Howſoeuer the matter fell out, this *Celer* abſented him ſelfe from Rome, and went into the countrye of Thvscane. And they ſaye, that men which are quicke, and readye vpon a ſodaine, tooke their names euer after vpon him, and were called *Celeres*. As amongeſt other, *Quintus Metellus*, after the death of his father, hauing in very fewe dayes made the people of Rome to ſee a combate of fenſers (called *Gladiatores*) fighting at the ſharpe, they ſurnamed him *Celer*, for that the *Romaines* marueiled howe he could prepare his things in ſo ſhorte a time. Furthermore, *Romulus* hauing nowe buried his brother, and his other two bringers vp (called foſter fathers) in the place they call *Remonia*: beganne then to buyld and laye the foundation of his cittie, ſending for men out of Thvsgane, who dyd name and teache him particularly all the ceremonies he had to obſerue there, according to their lawes and ordinances as a great holy myſterie. And firſt of all they made a rounde dytche in the place called at this daye Comitium, into which they dyd caſt their chiefeſt and beſt things, which men vſe lawfully for good, and naturally as moſt neceſſarie. After that they dyd throwe alſo into it, a litle of the earthe, from whence euery man came, and mingled theſe all together. This dytche in their ceremonies is called the worlde, in Latine *Mundus*, euen the ſelfe ſame name the Latines call the *Vniuerſall*. About this dytche they dyd trace the compaſſe of the cittie they woulde buylde, euen as one would drawe a circle about a center. This done, the founder of the cittie taketh a plough, to which he faſtened a culter or ploughe ſhare of braſſe, and ſo yoked in the ploughe an oxe and a cowe, he him ſelfe holding the ploughe dyd make rounde about the compaſſe of the cittie a deepe furrowe. Thoſe which followed him, had the charge to throwe the turues of earthe inward into the cittie, which the ploughe ſhare raiſed vp, and not to leaue any of them turned outward. The furrowe thus caſt vp was the whole compaſſe of their walle, which they call in Latine *Pomœrium*, by ſhortning of the ſyllables, for *poſt murum*: to wit, after wall. But in the place where they determined to make a gate, they dyd take of the ploughe ſhare, and drawe the ploughe, with leauing a certain ſpace of earthe vnbroken vp: whereupon the *Romaines* thincke all the compaſſe of their walles holy and ſacred, except their gates. For if their gates had bene hallowed and ſanctified, they would haue had a conſcience through them to haue brought in, or caried out of the cittie, any things neceſſarie for the life of man, that had not bene pure and cleane. Nowe they beleeue

Remus ſlayne by Romulus or Celer.

Celeres wherefore ſo called.

Q. Metellus Celer.

Romulus layeth the foundation of Rome.

The world.

Pomœrium why ſo called.

The walles holye.

A leene certainely, that this ceremonie of the foundation of their cittie was made the one and twentie of Aprill: bicause the ROMAINES doe yet keepe that daye holy daye, and call it the feast of the natiuitie of their countrye. On which daye they dyd not in olde time sacrifice any thing that had life, as esteeming that daye (which was the natiuitie of their cittie) to be moste mete to be kept cleane and pure from being polluted or defiled with any bloude. Notwithstanding before ROME was buylded, they had another feast called the sheapeheards or heardmens holy daye, which they dyd celebrate vpon the same daye, and called it *Palilia*. Nowe at this daye the beginnings of the moneths with the ROMAINES is cleane contrarie to the GRECIANS: yet for all this, they holde opinion for certaintie that the daye on which *Romulus* founded his cittie, was assuredly that which the GRECIANS call *Triacada*: that is to saye, the

The feast day of Romes foundation the 21. Aprill.

The feast Palilia.

B thirtie daye. On which there was seene an eclypse of the moone, which they suppose was obserued by the Poet *Antimachus* (borne in the cittie of TEOS) in the thirteenth yere of the sixt *Olympiade*. Likewise in the time of *Martus Varro* (as a man learned, and one that had redde as much of auncient stories as any ROMAINE) there was a friend of his called *Tarutius*, a great philosopher and mathematician. Who being geuen to the calculation of astronomie for the delight of speculation only, wherein he was thought moste excellent: it dyd fall out that *Varro* gaue him this question, to searche out what hower and daye the natiuitie of *Romulus* was, who gathered it out by certaine accidents, as they doe in the resolutions of certaine geometricall questions. For they saye, that by the selfe same science, one maye tell before of things

An eclypse of the moone at the laying of the foundatiō of Rome.

Varro a philosopher.

Tarutius a mathematician.

The hower of a mans natiuitie maye be calculated by his accidents.

C to come, and to happen to a man in his life, knowing certainely the hower of his natiuitie: and howe one maye tell also the hower of his natiuitie, when by accidents they knowe what hath happened to him all his life. *Tarutius* dyd the question that *Varro* gaue him. And hauing throughely considered the aduentures, dedes, and gestes of *Romulus*, howe long he liued, and howe he dyed: all which being gathered and conferred together, he dyd boldly iudge for a certaintie, that he was conceyued in his mothers wombe, in the first yere of the seconde *Olympiade*, the three and twentie daye of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS call *Chaac*, and now is called December, about three of the clocke in the morning, in which hower there was a whole eclypse of the sunne: And that he was borne into the worlde, the one and twenteth of the moneth of *Thoth*, which is the moneth of September, about the rising of the sunne. And that ROME was begonne by him on the ninth daye of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS

Romulus natiuitie calculated by Tarutius.

An eclypse of the sunne when Romulus was conceiued in his mothers wombe.

D call *Pharmuthi*, and aunswereth now to the moneth of Aprill, betweene two and three of the clocke in the morning. For they will saye that a cittie hathe his reuolution and his time of continuaunce appointed, as well as the life of a man: and that they knewe by the situation of the starres, the daye of her beginning and foundation. These things and suche other like, peraduenture will please the readers better, for their straungenes and curiositie, then offend or mislike them for their falsehood. Nowe after he had founded his cittie, he first and foremost dyd diuide in two cōpanies, all those that were of age to carie armour. In euery one of these companies there were three thousand footemen, and three hundred horsemen: and they were called Legions, bicause they were sorted of the chosen men that were pyckt out amongest all the rest for to fight. The remaine after these was called *Populus*, which signifieth the people.

The Remaine legion.

3000 footemen.

300 horsemē.

E After this, he made a hundred counsellers of the best and honestest men of the cittie, which he called *Patricians*: and the whole company of them together he called Senatus, as one would saye, the counsell of the auncients. So they were called *Patricians*, as some will saye, the counsaill of the fathers lawfull children, which fewe of the first inhabitants could shewe. It maye be, some will saye this name was geuen them of *Patrocinium*, as growing of the protection they had by the sanctuarie of their cittie, which worde they vse at this daye in the selfe same signification: as one that followed *Euander* into ITALIE, was called *Patron*, bicause he was pitiefull, and relieued the poore and litle children, and so got him selfe a name for his pitie and humanitie. But me thinckes it were more like the trothe to saye, that *Romulus* dyd call them so, bicause he thought the chiefest men should haue a fatherly care of the meaner sorte: consider-

Romulus instituteth a cōmon wealth. What the Patricians & Senate were.

F ring also it was to teache the meaner sorte that they should not feare th'authoritie of the greater, nor enuie at their honours they had, but rather in all their causes should vse their fauour and good will, by taking them as their fathers. For euen at this present, straungers call

Patres Conscripti.

thoſe of the Senate, lordes or captaines: but the naturall ROMAINES call them, *Patres Conſcripti*, which is a name of fatherhed and dignitie without enuie. It is true that at the beginning they were only called *Patres*, but ſithence, bicauſe they were many ioyned vnto the firſt, they haue bene named *Patres Conſcripti*, as a man ſhould ſaye, fathers of recorde together: which is the honorableſt name he could haue deuiſed to make a difference betwext the *Senatours*, and the people. Furthermore, he made a difference betweene the chiefer cittizens, and the baſer people, by calling the better ſorte *Patroni*, as muche to ſaye, as defenders: and the meaner ſorte *Clientes*, as you would ſaye, followers, or men protected. This dyd breede a marueilous great loue and good wil lamong them, making the one much beholding to the other, by many mutuall curteſies and pleaſures: for the Patrons dyd helpe the clients to their right, defended their cauſes in iudgement, dyd geue vnto them counſaill, and dyd take all their matters in hande. The clients againe enterchaungeably humbled them ſelues to their patrons, not onely in outwarde honour and reuerence towardes them, but otherwiſe dyd helpe them with money to marrie and aduaunce their daughters, or els to paye their dettes and credit, if they were poore or decayed. There was no lawe nor magiſtrate that could compell the patron to be a witnes againſt his client: nor yet the client to witneſſe againſt his patron. So they increaſed, and continued, all other rights and offices of amitie and friendſhippe together, ſauing afterwards they thought it a great ſhame and reproache for the better, and richer, to take rewarde of the meaner and poorer. And thus of this matter we haue ſpoken ſufficiētly. Moreouer, foure moneths after the foundation of the cittie was layed, *Fabius* writeth, there was a great rauiſhement of women. There are ſome which laye it vpon *Romulus*, who being then of nature warlike, and geuen to prophecies and aunſwers of the goddes, foretolde that his cittie ſhould become very great and mightie, ſo as he rayſed it by warres, and increaſed it by armes: and he ſought out this culler to doe miſchief, and to make warre vpon the SABYNES. To proue this true, ſome ſaye he cauſed certaine of their maydes by force to be taken awaye, but not paſt thirtie in number, as one that rather ſought cauſe of warres, then dyd it for neede of mariages: which me thinckes was not likely to be true, but rather I iudge the contrarie. For ſeeing his cittie was incontinently repleaniſhed with people of all ſortes, whereof there were very fewe that had wiues, and that they were men gathered out of all countryes, and the moſt parte of them poore and needye, ſo as their neighbours diſdayned them much, and dyd not looke they would longe dwell together: *Romulus* hoping by this violent taking of their maydes and rauiſhing them, to haue an entrie into alliance with the SABYNES, and to entiſe them further to ioyne with them in mariage, if they dyd gentely intreate theſe wiues they had gotten, enterpriſed this violent taking of their maydes, and rauiſhing of them in ſuche a ſorte. Firſt he made it to be commonly bruited abroade in euery place, that he had founde the altar of a god hidden in the grounde, and he called the name of the god, *Conſus*: either bicauſe he was a god of counſaill, wherupon the ROMAINES at this daye in their tongue call *Conſilium*, which we call counſell: and the chief magiſtrates of their cittie *Conſules*, as we ſaye counſellers. Other ſaye it was the altar of the god *Neptune*, ſurnamed the patron of horſes. For this altar is yet at this daye within the great liſtes of the cittie, and euer couered and hidden, but when they vſe the running games of their horſe race. Other ſaye bicauſe counſell euer muſt be kept cloſe and ſecret, they had good reaſon to kepe the altar of this god *Conſus* hidden in the grounde. Nowe other write when it was opened, *Romulus* made a ſacrifice of wonderfull ioye, and afterwardes proclaymed it openly in diuers places, that at ſuche a daye there ſhould be common playes in ROME, and a ſolemne feaſt kept of the god *Conſus*, where all that were diſpoſed to come ſhould be welcome. Great numbers of people repaired thither from all partes. He him ſelfe was ſet in the chiefeſt ſeate of the ſhowe place, apparelled fayer in purple, and accompanied with the chiefe of his cittie about him. And there hauing purpoſed this rauiſhement you haue heard of, he had geuen the ſigne before: that the ſame ſhould beginne, when he ſhould riſe vp and folde a playte of his gowne, and vnfolde the ſame againe. Hereupon his men ſtoode attending with their ſwordes: who ſo ſone as they perceyued the ſigne was geuen, with their ſwordes drawen in hande, and with great ſhowtes and cryes ranne violently on the maydes and daughters of the SABYNES to take them awaye and rauiſhe them, and ſuffered the men to ronne awaye,

Patroni. Clientes.

The ſhame of the Romaines to take giftes of poore men.

The rauiſhement of the Sabynes women.

Romulus craſte about the rauiſhement of the Sabynes daughters.

Conſus a god.

Neptune the god of horſemen.

The execuiō of the rauiſhments.

A awaye, without doing them any hurte or violence. So some saye, there were but thirtie rauished, after whose names were called the thirtie linages of the people of ROME. Howbeit *Valerius Antias* writeth, that there were fiue hundred and seuen and twentie; and *Iuba*, sixe hundred foure score and three. In the which is singularly to be noted for the commendation of *Romulus*, that he him selfe dyd take then but onely one of the maydes, named *Hersilia*: that afterwardes was the only cause & mediation of peace betwext the SABYNES and the ROMAINES. Which argueth plainely, that it was not to doe the SABYNES any hurte, nor to satisfie any disordinate lust, that they had so forcibly vndertaken this rauishement: but to ioyne two peoples together, with the straighteste bondes that could be betweene men. This *Hersilia* as some saye, was maried vnto one *Hostilius*, the noblest man at that time amongest the ROMAINES: or

The number of the Sabyne women rauished.

Hersilia Romulus wife.

B as others write, vnto *Romulus* him selfe, which had two children by her. The first was a daughter, and her name was *Prima*, bicause she was the first: the other was a sonne, whom he named *Aollius*, bicause of the multitude of people he had assembled together in his cittie, and afterwardes he was surnamed *Abillius*. Thus *Zenodotus* the TROEZENIAN writeth, wherein notwithstanding there be diuers that doe contrarie him. Among those which rauished then the daughters of the SABYNES, it is sayed there were founde certaine meane men carying away, a marueilous passing fayer one. These met by chaunce on the waye, certaine of the chief of the cittie, who would haue taken her by force from them, which they had done, but that they begaune to crye they caried her vnto *Talassius*, who was a younge man marueilously well beloued of euery bodye. Which when the others vnderstoode, they were exceeding glad, and

Romulus first daughter called Prima. His sonne was called Aollius. Abillius.

C they commended them: in so much as there were some which sodainely turned backe againe, and dyd accompanie them for *Talassius* sake, crying out a lowde, and often on his name. From whence the custome came, which to this daye the ROMAINES synge at their mariages, *Talassius*, like as the GRECIANS synge *Hymeneus*. For it is sayed he was compted very happie that he met with this woman. But *Sextius Sylla* a CARTHAGINIAN borne, a man very wise, and well learned, tolde me once it was the crye and signe which *Romulus* gaue to his men, to beginne the rauishement: whereupon those which caried them awaye, went crying this worde *Talassius*, and that from thence the custome hathe continued, that they synge it yet at their mariages. Neuertheles the most parte of authors, specially *Iuba*, thinckes it is a warning to remember the newe maried women of their worke, which is to spinne, which the GRE-

The cause why the Romaines doe synge the name of Talassius in mariages.

D CIANS call *Talassia*, the Italian words at that time being not mingled with the Greeke. And if it be true the ROMAINES vsed this terme of *Talassia*, as we of GREECE doe vse: we might by coniecture yeld another reason for it, which should carie a better likelyhoode and proofe. For when the SABYNES after the battell had made peace with the ROMAINES, they put in an article in fauour of the women in the treatie, that they should not be bounde to serue their husbands in any other worke, but in spinning of wolle. Euer since this custome hathe growen, that those which geue their daughters in mariage, and those who leade the bryde, and such as are present at the wedding, speake in sporte to the newe maried wife, laughing, *Talassius*: in token that they doe not leade the bryde for any other worke or seruice, but to spinne wolle. Thereof this hathe bene the vse to this daye, that the bryde dothe not of her selfe come ouer

Talassius.

Matrimoniall ceremonie at Rome.

E the threshold of her husbands dore, but she is hoysed pretely into the house: bicause the SABYNE women at that time were so lift vp, & caried away by force. They saye also, that the manner of making the shed of the new wedded wiues heare, with the Iron head of a launcing, came vp then likewise: this storie being a manifest token that these first mariages were made by force of armes, and as it were at the swords poynte: as we haue written more at large in the booke, wherein we render and showe the causes of the ROMAINES facions and customes. This rauishement was put in execution about the eighteenth daye of the moneth then called *Sextilis*, and nowe named August: on which daye they yet celebrate the feast they call *Consalia*. Nowe the SABYNES were good men of warre, and had great numbers of people, but they dwelt in villages, and not within inclosed walles: being a thing fit for their noble courages that dyd

Sextilis, August.

Plutar. in hys proble. Cons. Italia.

F feare nothing, and as those who were descended from the LACEDEMONIANS. Neuertheles, they seeing them selues bound & tyed to peace by pledges & hostages, that were very neere allyed vnto them, and fearing their daughters should be ill intreated: sent ambassadours

The Sabynes what they were.

to *Romulus*, by whom they made reasonable offers and persuasions, that their daughters might be deliuered vnto them againe, without any force or violence, and then afterwardes, that he would cause them to be asked in mariage of their parents, as bothe reason and lawe would require. To thend that with good will and consent of all parties, both peoples might contract amitie and alliance together. Whereunto *Romulus* made aunswer, he could not restore the maydes which his people had taken awaye and maried: but most friendly he prayed the SABYNES to be contented with their alliance. This aunswer being returned, and not liked, whileſt the princes and communaltie of the SABYNES were occupied in consultation, and about the arming of them selues: *Acron* king of the CENINENSES (a man exceeding couragious and skilfull in the warres, and one that from the beginning mistrusted the ouer bolde & stowte enterprises that *Romulus* was likely to attempt, cõsidering the late rauishment of the SABYNES daughters, and howe he was alreadye greatly dreaded of his neighbours, and somwhat vntolerable, if he were not chasticed and brought lower) first beganne to inuade him with a puissant armie, and to make hotte and violent warres vpon him. *Romulus* on th'other side prepared also, and went forth to meete him. When they were come so neere together that they might see one another, they sent defiance to eache other, & prayed that they two might fight man to man amiddest their armies, & neither of theirs to sturre a foote. Bothe of them accepted of it, and *Romulus* making his prayer vnto *Iupiter*, dyd promise, and made a vowe: that if he dyd geue him the victorie to ouercome, he would offer vp to him the armour of his enemie, which he dyd. For first he slew *Acron* in the field, & afterwards gaue battell to his men, & ouerthrew them also. Lastely he tooke his cittie, where he did no hurte nor yet displeasure to any, sauing that he dyd commaũde them to pull downe their houses, & destroy them, and to goe dwell with him at ROME: where they should haue the selfe same rightes & priuiledges which the first inhabitants did enioye. There was nothing more enlarged the cittie of ROME, then this manner of pollicie, to ioyne allwayes vnto it those she had ouercome & vancquished. *Romulus* now to discharge his vowe, & in suche sorte that his offering might be acceptable to *Iupiter*, and pleasaunt to his cittizens to beholde: did cut downe a goodly straight growen young oke, which he lighted on by good fortune, in the place where his campe did lye. The same he trimmed & dyd set forth after the manner of victorie, hanging and tying all about it in fayer order, the armour and weapons of king *Acron*. Then he girding his gowne to him, and putting vpon his long bushe of heare, a garland of lawrell, layed the young oke vpon his right shoulder, and he first marched before towards his cittie, & songe a royall songe of victorie, all his armie following him in armes vnto the cittie in order of battell: where his cittizens receyued him in all passing wise & triumphe. This noble & stately entrie euer since hath geuen them minds in such sorte, & in statelier wise to make their triumphe. The offering of this triumphe was dedicated to *Iupiter* surnamed *Feretrian*: bicause the Latine worde *Ferire*, signifieth to hurt & kill: & the prayer *Romulus* had made, was, he might hurt & kill his enemie. Such spoyles are called in Latine, *Spolia opima*: therefore sayeth *Varro*, that *opes* signifie riches. Howbeit me thinckes it were more likely to saye, that they were so named of this worde *Opus*, which betokeneth a dede, bicause he must needes be the chief of the armie, that hath slayne with his owne hands the generall of his enemies, & that must offer the spoyles called *Spolia opima*, as you would saye, his principal spoyles & dedes. This neuer happened yet but to three Romaine captaines onely: of the which *Romulus* was the first, who slew *Acron*, king of the CENINENSES. *Cornelius Cossus* was the second, who killed *Tolumnius*, the generall of the THVSCANS. *Clodius Marcellus* was the thirde, who slewe *Britomartus*, king of the GAVLES, with his owne hands. And for the two last, *Cossus* & *Marcellus*, they made their entrie into the cittie, carying their triumphes vpõ charets triumphant: but *Romulus* dyd not so. Therefore in this poynt *Dionysius* the historiographer hath erred, writing that *Romulus* dyd enter into ROME vpon a charret triũphant. For it was *Tarquinius Priscus* the sonne of *Demaratus*, who first dyd set out triumphes in so stately and magnificent showe. Other holde opinion it was *Valerius Publicola*, who was the first that euer entred vpon triumphant charret. Concerning *Romulus*, his statues are yet to be seene in Rome, carying his triumphe a foote. After this ouerthrowe & taking of the CENINENSES, the inhabitants of the cities of FIDENA, CRVSTVMERIVM, & ANTEMNA, rose alltogether against the ROMAINES, whiles

Acron king of the Ceninenses maketh warre with Romulus.

Acron slaine in the field.

Romulus triumphs.

The beginning of triumphe.

Iupiter Feretrius.

Spolia opima.

Three Romaines onely obteined spolia opima.

Tarquinius Priscus the first that triumphed in charet.

Valerius Publicola.

The cities of Fidena, Crustumerium, & of Antemna rose all against Romulus.

A whiles the other SABYNES also were a preparing thē selues. So they fought a battell, in which they tooke the ouerthrowe: & left their cities to the spoyle of *Romulus*, their lands to be geuen where he thought good, and them selues to be caried to ROME. *Romulus* then dyd geue their lands among his cittizens, except those lands which did belong to the fathers of the maydens that they had taken away & rauished. For he was contēted that the fathers of them should kepe still their lāds. By & by the other SABYNES stomaking thereat, did chuse them a generall called *Tatius*, & so went with a puysant army toward the cittie of ROME, whereunto to approche at that time it was very harde, the castell or keepe of their cittie being seated, where at this day the Capitoll standeth, within which there was a great garrison, whereof *Tarpeius* was captaine, & not his daughter *Tarpeia*, as some will saye, who set out *Romulus* as a foole. But *Tarpeia* the ca-

The Sabynes led by Tatius, went to besiege the cittie of Rome.

B ptaines daughter, for the desire she had to haue all the golde bracelets which they dyd weare about their armes, solde the forte to the SABYNES, and asked for reward of her treason, all they did weare on their left armes. *Tatius* promised them vnto her: & she opened them a gate in the night, by the which she did let all the SABYNES into the castell. *Antigonus* then was not alone, who sayed, he loued those which did betraye, & hated thē that had betrayed: nor yet *Cæsar Augustus*, who told Rymitalces the THRACIAN, that he loued treason, but he hated traytors. And it is a comon affection which we beare to wicked persons, whilest we stand in neede of them: not vnlike for all the world to those which haue nede of the gall & poyson of venemous beasts. For when they finde it, they are glad, & take it to serue their turne: but after their turne is serued, & they haue that they sought, they hate the crueltie of such beasts. So played *Tatius* at that time,

Tarpeia betrayeth the castell, and letteth in the Sabynes.

Antigonus & Augustus Cæsars words of traytours.

A fit similitude.

C For when he was gotten into the castell, he cōmanded the SABYNES (for performance of his promise he had made to *Tarpeia*) they should not sticke to geue her all they weare on their left armes, & to doe as he did: who taking from his owne arme first, the bracelet which he ware, did cast it to her, and his target after. And so did all the rest in like sorte, in so much as being borne downe to the ground by the weight of bracelets & targets, she dyed as pressed to deathe vnder her burden. Neuertheles *Tarpeius* self was atteinted, & condēned also of treason, by *Romulus* order, as *Iuba* sayeth, it is set forth by *Sulpitius Galba*. They that write nowe otherwise of *Tarpeia*, saying she was the daughter of *Tatius*, generall of the SABYNES, & was forced by *Romulus* to lie with him, & how she was punished in this sorte by her own father after her said treason cōmitted: those I saye, amōgest whom *Antigonus* is one, are not to be credited. And the poet *Simylus*

Note the reward of treason.

Tarpeia pressed to deathe.

D also dothe dote most, who sayeth *Tarpeia* solde the Capitoll not to the SABYNES, but to the king of GAVLES, with whom she was in loue: as in these verses dothe appeare.

Tarpeia, that mayde of foolishe mynde,
vvhich nere vnto the Capitoll did dvvell
(In feruent flames, of beastly loue beblynde,
vvherevvith the king of Gaules did make her svvell)
Caused stately ROME *surprised for to be*
by enemies, as euery man maye see.
And so throughe hope of his fidelitie
betrayed her syre, vvith all his familie.

E And a litle after, in speaking of the manner of her deathe, he sayeth also:

Yet lo: the Gaules, those vvorthie men of might
threvv her not dovvne, into the vvaues of Po,
But from their armes, vvherevvith they vvonte to fight
they cast their shields vpon her body so,
That she surprest vvith such an heauy vvaight,
(Ah vvoefull mayde) to death vvas smoothred straight.

This mayden therefore being buried in the same place, the whole hill was called afterwardes *Tarpeius* after her name, which continued vntill *Tarquinius* the King dyd dedicate all the plage to *Iupiter*: for then they caryed her bones into some other place, and so it lost her name. Onles

F it be that rocke of the Capitoll, which at this present time they call *Rupes Tarpeia*, from the toppe whereof they were wonte in olde time to throwe downe hedlong all wicked offenders. When the SABYNES now had gotten this holde, *Romulus* being exceeding wrathe, sent them

a defiaunce, and bad them battell if they durſt. *Tatius* ſtraight refuſed not, cõſidering if by miſ- A
chaunce they were diſtreſſed, they had a ſure refuge to retire vnto. The place betweene the
two armies where the fight ſhould be, was all round about enuirõned with litle hilles. So as it
The place of the fight betwext Romulus & Tatius. was playne, the fight could not be but ſharpe and daungerous, for the diſcõmodiouſnes of the
place, were was neither grounde for any to flye, nor yet any ſpace for any longe chaſe, it was
of ſo ſmall a compaſſe. Nowe it fortuned by chaunce, the riuer of Tyber had ouerflowen the
banckes a fewe dayes before, and there remained in it a deeper mudde then men would haue
iudged, bicauſe the grounde was ſo plaine, and was euen where the great market place of
Rome ſtandeth at this daye. They could diſcerne nothing thereof by the eye, bicauſe the vpper
parte of it was cruſted, whereby it was the more readye for them to venter vpon, and the
Curtius the Sabyne. worſe to get out, for that it dyd ſyncke vnderneathe. So the Sabynes had gone vpon it, had B
not *Curtius* daunger bene, which by good fortune ſtayed them. He was one of the nobleſt and
vallianteſt men of the Sabynes, who being mounted vpon a courſer, went on a good waye
before the armie. This courſer entring vpon the cruſted mudde, and ſincking with all, beganne
to plonge and ſtruggle in the myer: whereat *Curtius* proued a while with the ſpurre to ſturre
him, and get him out, but in the ende ſeeing it would not be, he left his backe, and ſaued him
Curtius lake. ſelfe. The ſame very place to this daye is called after his name, *Lacus Curtius*. The Sabynes
The Sabynes geue battell to Romulus. Hoſtilius ſlayne. then ſcaping thus this daunger, beganne the battell. The fight dyd growe very cruell, and en-
dured ſo a great while, the victorie leaning no more to the one ſide then to the other. There
dyed in a ſmall ſpace a great number of men, amongeſt whom *Hoſtilius* was one, who as
they ſaye was the husband of *Herſilia*, and grandfather to *Hoſtilius* that was king of Romai- C
nes after *Numa Pompilius*. Afterwardes there were (as we maye thincke) many other en-
counters and battells betweene them: howbeit they make mention of the laſt aboue all the
reſt, wherein *Romulus* had ſo ſore a blowe on his head with a ſtone, that he was almoſt felled
Romulus hit on the head with a ſtone. to the grounde, in ſo much as he was driuen to retire a litle out of the battell. Vpon which
occaſion the Romaines gaue backe alſo, and drue towardes mount Palatine, being driuen
out of the playne by force. *Romulus* beganne nowe to recouer of the blowe he had receyued,
and ſo returned to geue a newe onſet, and cryed out all he might to his ſouldiers to tarye,
and ſhewe their face againe to their enemie. But for all his lowde crying, they left no flying
ſtill for life, and there was not one that durſt returne againe. Whereupon *Romulus* lyfting vp
his handes ſtraight to heauen, dyd moſt feruently praye vnto *Iupiter*, that it would pleaſe him D
to ſtaye the flying of his people, and not ſuffer the Romaines glorie thus to fall to their
vtter deſtruction, but to repaire it by his fauour againe. He had no ſoner ended this prayer,
but diuers of his men that fled, beganne to be aſhamed to flye before their King, and a ſo-
daine boldnes came vpon them, and their feare therewithall vaniſhed awaye. The place they
Iupiter Stator. firſt ſtayed in was, where as nowe is the temple of *Iupiter Stator*, which is as much to ſaye, as
Iupiter the ſtayer. Afterwardes gathering them ſelues together againe, they repulſed the Sa-
bynes euen to the place they call nowe *Regia*, and vnto the temple of the goddeſſe *Veſta*:
where bothe the battels being prepared to geue a newe charge, there dyd fall out before
A wonderfull boldnes of women. them, a ſtraunge and an vncredible thing to ſee, which ſtayed them they fought not. For of
the Sabyne women whom the Romaines had raviſhed, ſome ranne of the one ſide, other E
of the other ſide of the battels, with lamentations, cryes, and ſhowtes, ſtepping betweene their
weapons, and among the ſlayne bodyes on the grounde, in ſuche ſorte that they ſeemed out
of their wittes, and caried as it were with ſome ſpirites. In this maner they went to finde out
their fathers and their husbands, ſome carying their ſucking babes in their armes, other ha-
uing their heare loſe about their eyes, and all of them calling, nowe vpon the Sabynes,
nowe vpon the Romaines, with the genteleſt names that could be deuiſed: which dyd melt
the hartes of bothe parties in ſuche ſorte, that they gaue backe a litle, and made them place
betweene bothe the battells. Then were the cryes and lamentations of euery one playnely
heard. There was not a man there but it pitied him, aſwell to ſee them in that pitieſull
caſe, as to heare the lamentable wordes they ſpake: adding to their moſt humble peti- F
tions and requeſtes that could be any waye imagined, paſſing wiſe perſuaſions and reaſons to
induce them to a peace. For what offence (ſayed they) or what diſpleaſure haue we done to

you,

A you, that we ſhould deſerue ſuche an heape of euills, as we haue already ſuffered, and yet you make vs beare? we were as you knowe violently (and againſt all lawe) rauiſhed by thoſe, whoſe nowe we remaine. But oure fathers, oure brethern, oure mothers and friends haue left vs with them ſo long, that proceſſe of time, and the ſtraighteſt bonds of the worlde, haue tyed vs nowe ſo faſt to them, whom mortally before we hated: that we are conſtrayned nowe to be ſlighted thus, to ſee them fight, yea and to lament & dye with them, who before vniuſtly tooke vs from you. For then you came not to oure reſcue when we were virgines vntouched, nor to recouer vs from them when they wickedly aſſaulted vs, poore ſowles: but nowe ye come to take the wiues from their husbands, & the mothers from their litle children. So as the helpe ye thincke to geue vs nowe dothe grieue vs more, then the forſaking of vs was ſorowfull to vs then.

The wordes of Herſilia and other Sabyne women vnto both armies.

B Suche is the loue they haue borne vnto vs, and ſuche is the kyndenes we beare againe to them. Nowe, if ye dyd fight for any other cauſe then for vs, yet were it reaſon ye ſhould let fall your armes for oure ſakes (by whom you are made grandfathers and fathers in lawe, coſins & brothers in lawe) euen from thoſe againſt whom you now bend your force. But if all this warre beganne for vs, we hartely beſeeche you then that you will receyue vs with your ſonnes in lawe, and your ſonnes by them, and that you will reſtore vnto vs oure fathers, oure brethern, oure kinſefolkes and friends, without ſpoyling vs of oure husbands, of our children, and of our ioyes, and thereby make vs woefull captiues and priſoners in oure mindes. Theſe requeſtes and perſuaſions by *Herſilia*, and other the SABYNE women being heard, bothe the armies ſtayed, and helde euerie bodie his hand, and ſtraight the two generalles imparled together. During which

Romulus and Tatius imparle together.

C parle they brought their husbands and their children, to their fathers and their brethern. They brought meate and drincke for them that would eate. They dreſſed vp the woundes of thoſe that were hurte. They caried them home with them to their houſes. They ſhewed them howe they were miſtreſſes there with their husbands. They made them ſee howe greately they were accompted of and eſteemed: yea howe with a wedlocke loue and reputation they were honored. So in the end peace was concluded betwene them, wherein it was articled, that the SABYNE women which would remaine with their husbands ſhould tarye ſtill, and be exempted from all worke or ſeruice (as aboue recited) ſaue only ſpinning of wolle. And that the SABYNES & ROMAINES ſhould dwell together in the cittie, which ſhould be called ROMA, after *Romulus* name: & the inhabitants ſhould be called *Quirites*, after the name of the cittie of *Tatius* king of

Peace betwene the Romaines and Sabynes.

Quirites why ſo called.

D the SABYNES, & that they ſhould reigne & gouerne together by a comon conſent. The place where this peace was concluded, is called yet to this daye Comitium: bicauſe that *Coire*, in the Latine tongue ſignifieth to aſſemble. So the cittie being augmented by the one halfe, they dyd chooſe of the SABYNES another hundred new PATRICIANS, vnto the firſt hundred of the ROMAINES that were choſen before. Then were the Legions made of ſixe thouſand footemen, & ſix hundred horſemen. After they diuided their inhabitāts into three Tribes, wherof thoſe that came of *Romulus*, were called *Ramnenſes* after his name: thoſe that came of *Tatius* were called *Tatienſes* after his name: and thoſe that were of the third ſtocke, were called *Lucerenſes*, as from the Latine word *Lucus*, called with vs a groue in Engliſh, bicauſe thither great number of people of all ſortes dyd gather, which afterwards were made citizens of ROME. The very worde of

Comitium.

The Romaine legion. 6000. footemen, 600 horſemē.

The Romaine tribes.

E *Tribus* (which ſignifieth bands, wards, or hundreds) dothe witneſſe this beginning of ROME from wards, or hundreds. For hereupon the ROMAINES call thoſe at this daye, their *Tribunes*, which are the chiefe heades of the people. But euery one of theſe principall wardes had afterwards ten other particular wards vnder them, which ſome thincke were called after the names of the thirtie SABYNE women that were rauiſhed: but that ſemeth falſe, bicauſe many of them cary the names of the places they came frō. Howbeit at that time many things were ſtabliſhed & ordeined in honour of women: as to geue them place, the vpper hande in meeting them, the vpper hand in ſtreets: to ſpeake no fowle or diſhoneſt word before them, no man to vnraye himſelfe, or ſhew naked before them: that they ſhould not be called before criminall iudges ſitting vpō homicides & murderers: that their children ſhould weare about their necks a kind of a

Honours geuē to women.

F Iuell called *Bulla*, facioned in māner like theſe water bubbles that riſe vpō the water when it beginneth to raine: & that their gownes ſhould be garded with purple. Now the two Kings dyd not ſtraight cōferre together ſo ſone as any occaſion of buſines was offered them, but either of

them dyd firſt counſell alone with his hundred Senatours, and afterwards they dyd all aſſemble together. *Tatius* dwelt in the place where nowe is the temple of *Iuno Moneta*: *Romulus* in the place called at this preſent, the ſtayers of the fayer bäcke, then the deſcēt of mount Palatine, as they goe to the ſhowe place or great liſtes, where they ſaye was ſomtime the holy cornell tree, whereof they make ſo great accompt. *Romulus* one daye deſirous to proue his ſtrength, threwe (as it is ſayed) a darte from mount Auentine toward mount Palatine. The ſtaffe whereof was of a cornell tree: & the Iron of it entred ſo deepe into the ground being a luſtye fatte ſoyle, that no man could pul it out, although many proued it, and did the beſt they could. The ground being very good and fit to bring forth trees, did ſo nouriſhe the ende of this ſtaffe, that it tooke roote, and beganne to ſpread braunches: ſo that in time it became a fayer great cornell tree, which the ſucceſſours of *Romulus* dyd incloſe with a walle, & dyd kepe and worſhippe it as a very holy thing. If by chaunce any went to ſee it, and found it looked not freſhe and grene, but like a tree withered and dryed awaye for lacke of moyſture: he went awaye ſtraight as one affrayed, crying to all he met (& they with him went crying ſtill) in euery place, water, water, as it had bene to haue quenched a fyre. Then ranne they thither out of all quarters with veſſels of water, to water and moyſte the tree. In the time of *Caius Cæſar*, who cauſed the ſtayers about it to be repayred: they ſaye the labourers rayſing the place, and digging about this cornell tree, dyd by negligence hurte the rootes of the ſame in ſuche ſorte, as afterwardes it dryed vp altogether. Nowe the SABYNES receyued the moneths after the manner of the Romaines, whereof we haue written ſufficiently in the life of *Numa*. *Romulus* againe vſed the SABYNES ſheldes: and both he and his people chaunged the facion of their armour and weapons they vſed. For the ROMAINES before dyd carye litle ſheldes after the facion of the ARGIVES. As for either of their holy dayes and ſacrifices, they kept them bothe together, and dyd not take awaye any of them, which either the one or the other people obſerued before, but they added thereunto ſome other newe. As that which they call *Matronalia*, which was inſtituted in honour of the women, bicauſe by their meanes peace was cōcluded. And that alſo of *Carmentalia*, in the honour of *Carmenta*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to be the goddeſſe of fate or deſtinie, bicauſe ſhe hathe rule & power ouer the natiuities of men, by reaſon whereof, the mothers call vpon her often, & reuerence her very much. Other ſaye ſhe was the wife of *Euander* the *Arcadian*, who being a propheteſſe inſpired by the god *Phœbus*, gaue the oracles in verſe, wherupō ſhe was ſurnamed *Carmenta*, bicauſe that *Carmina* in Latine ſignifie verſes: for it is of certaintie that her proper name was *Nicoſtrata*. Howbeit there are ſome which geue another manner of deriuation and interpretation of this worde *Carmenta*, which is the liklier to be true: as if they would ſaye, *Carens mente*: which ſignifieth wanting wit, for the very furie that taketh them when they are inſpired with the propheticall ſpirite. For in Latine *Carere*, betokeneth to lacke: and *Mens*, ſignifieth wit. As for the feaſt of *Palilia*, we haue tolde of it before: but the feaſt of *Lupercalia*, conſidering the time of celebrating thereof, it ſeemeth it is ordeined for a purification. For it is celebrated on the vnfortunate dayes of the moneth of Februarie, which are called the purging dayes. The dayes in the olde time on which they did celebrate the ſame, were called Februata. But the proper name of the feaſt, is as much to ſaye, as the feaſt of woulues. Wherefore it ſeemeth to be a feaſt of great antiquitie, and inſtituted by the ARCADIANS which came in with *Euāder*: albeit the name of woulues is as comon to the females, as the males, & ſo it might perhappes be called, by reaſon of the woulfe that brought vp *Romulus*. For we ſee thoſe which ronne vp & down the cittie that daye, & they call *Luperci*, doe beginne their courſe in the very place where they ſaye *Romulus* was caſt out. Howbeit many things are done, whereof the originall cauſe were hard now to be coniectured. For goates about a certaine time of the yere are killed, then they bring two young boyes, noble mens ſonnes, whoſe foreheads they touch with the knife bebloudied with the bloude of the goates that are ſacrificed. By & by they drye their forheads with wolle dipped in milke. Thē the yong boyes muſt laughe immediately after they haue dried their forheads. That done they cut the goates ſkinnes, & make thongs of thē, which they take in their hands, & ronne with them all about the cittie ſtarck naked (ſauing they haue a clothe before their ſecrets) and ſo they ſtrike with theſe thonges all they mete in their waye. The yonge wiues doe neuer ſhonne them at all, but are well contēted to be ſtriken with them, beleeuing

Tatius and Romulus palaces.
The holy cornell tree.
The Sabynes vſed the Romaines moneths.
Feaſts, Matronalia, Carmentalia, Carmenta.
Lupercalia.

A beleeuing it helpeth them to be with childe, and alſo to be eaſely deliuered. There is another thing yet in this feaſt, that theſe LVPERCIANS which ronne about the cittie, doe alſo ſacrifice a dogge. Cõcerning this feaſt, the Poet named *Butas* dothe write ſomewhat in his elegies, where ſhewing the occaſion of the fond cuſtomes and ceremonies of the Romaines, he dothe ſaye that *Romulus* after he had ſlayne *Amulius*, did runne ſtraight with great ioye to the very place where the wolfe gaue him & his brother ſucke, in memory of which rũning, he ſayeth this feaſt of Lupercalia was celebrated: & that the noble mens younger ſonnes doe runne through the cittie, ſtriking & laying on them which they meete in their way with their goate thongs, in token that *Remus* and *Romulus* ranne from ALBA vnto that place, with their drawen ſwordes in their hãds. And that the touching of their forehead with a bloudy knife, is in remẽbrance of the

The Lupercians doe ſacrifice a dogge.

VVhy the Lupercians rõne through the cittie naked.

B daunger they ſtoode in at that time to haue bene ſlaine. Laſt of all, the drying of their foreheads with wolle dipped in milke, is in memorie of the milke they ſucked of the woulfes. But *Caius Acilius* writeth, that *Remus* and *Romulus* before *Rome* was built, did happen to loſe their beaſts on a daye, & after they had made certaine prayers vnto *Faunus* for the finding of them, they ranne here & there ſtarcke naked as they went a ſeeking of thẽ, for feare they ſhould haue bene troubled with ouermuch heate & ſweatig. And this is the cauſe he ſayeth, why the LVPERCIANS doe at this daye ronne about naked. And if it be true they make this ſacrifice for a purging, a man might ſaye they might offer vp a dogge for that purpoſe, like as the Græcians in their ſacrifices of purgatiõ doe vſe to carie out all their doggs. And in many places they doe obſerue this ceremonie, to driue out the doggs, which they call *Periſcylaciſmes*. Otherwiſe, if it be of a thanck-

C fullnes to the woulfe that gaue *Romulus* ſucke, & ſaued him from periſhing, that the Romaines doe ſolemniſe this feaſt: it is not impartinẽt they ſacrifice a dogge, bicauſe he is enemie to the woulues. Onles a man would ſaye it was to puniſhe this beaſt, which troubleth and letteth the LVPERCIANS when they runne. Some ſaye alſo it was *Romulus*, who firſt inſtituted it a religion to kepe holy fire, & that firſt ordeined holie virgines, which are called *Veſtales*: other doe aſcribe it to *Numa Pompilius*. Notwithſtanding it is moſt certaine otherwiſe, that *Romulus* was a very deuoute man, & greatly ſkilfull in telling of things to come by the flying of birds: for which cauſe he did ordinarilie carie the augurs crooked ſtaffe, called in Latin *Lituus*. It is a rodde crooked at the end, wherewith the augurs or ſoothſayers when they ſit down to behold the flying of birds, doe poynte out & marke the quarters of the heauen. They carefully kept it within the pallace:

The Veſtall Nunnes and holy fire inſtituted by Romulus.

Lituus.

D howbeit it was loſt in the time of warres with the GAVLES, when the cittie of ROME was taken. Afterwards when theſe barbarous people were chaſed and driuen out, it was founde againe (as it is ſayed) all whole, within a great hill or heape of aſhes, hauing no mãner of hurte, where all things els about it had bene conſumed and marred with the fire. He is ſayd to haue made certaine lawes, among which there is one that ſeemeth ſomewhat harde, which is: that the man is ſuffered to put awaye his wife, and in ſome caſe to geue her nothing: and like libertie is not geuen to the wife to put awaye her husband. As if ſhe maye be proued to haue conſented to the poyſoning of her children, or to haue counterfaited her husbands keyes, or to haue committed adulterie. But if he put her awaye for any other cauſe, then the one halfe of the goodes is adiuged to the wife, and the other moytie to the goddeſſe *Ceres*: and he that putteth away his wife

Romulus lawes.

E after this ſorte, is commanded further, to ſacrifice to the goddes of the earth. This alſo was notable in *Romulus*, who hauing ordeined no payne nor puniſhement for parricides (that is for thoſe that kill their parents) called yet all murder parricide, to ſhewe how deteſtable that murder was, and as for parricides, he thought it vnpoſſible. And it ſeemed a great while, he had reaſon to thincke ſo, that ſuch wickednes would neuer happen in the worlde. For in fixe hundred yeres together it was not knowen that any man in ROME committed ſuche an offence: and the firſt parricide with them was *Lucius Oſtius*, after the warres of *Hanniball*. But enough touching this matter. Furthermore in the firſt yere of the reigne of *Tatius*, ſome of his kynſemen and friendes met by chaunce on the waye certeine ambaſſadours, comming from the citie of LAVRENTVM vnto ROME, whom they ſet vpon, and ment to haue robbed them.

Parricides.

No parricide knowen in Rome fixe hũdred yeres together.

Lucius Oſtius the firſt man that ſlewe his owne father at Rome.

F The ambaſſadours reſiſting them, and not willing to deliuer their money, they made no more a doe, but ſlewe them. This haynous deede being thus committed, *Romulus* was of opinion they ſhoulde be executed openly in the highe waye for example. But *Tatius*

Ambaſſadours ſlaine comming to Rome.

deferred it ſtill from daye to daye, and dyd allwayes excuſe the matter vnto him, which was the only cauſe, they fell out one with the other. For in all things els, they caried them ſelues as honeſtly as might be the one to the other, ruling and gouerning together, with a common conſent and good accorde. But the parents & kynſefolkes of thoſe who were murdered, when they ſawe they could haue no iuſtice bicauſe of *Tatius*: watched him one daye as he ſacrificed with *Romulus*, in the cittie of Lauinium, and ſtabbed him in, without offering *Romulus* any violence, but rather prayſed him for a good and righteous prince. *Romulus* cauſed the bodye of *Tatius* to be ſtraight taken vp, and buried him very honorably in mount Auentine, about the place nowe called Armiluſtrium. Further he neuer ſhewed any countenaunce to reuenge his death. There are ſome Hiſtoriographers that write, that thoſe of the cittie of Laurentum being afeard at this murder, dyd deliuer forthwith to *Romulus* the murderers of the ambaſſadours. He notwithſtāding dyd let them goe againe, ſaying: one murder was requited by another. This gaue ſome occaſion of ſpeache to thincke, he was glad he was rydde of his companion: yet the Sabynes neither ſturred nor rebelled for all this, but ſome of them were affrayed of him for the great loue they bare him, other for his power he was of, & other for the honour they gaue him as a god, continuing ſtill in duetie & obedience towards him. Diuers ſtraūgers alſo had *Romulus* valiancie in greāt honour: as amongeſt other, thoſe who then were called the auncient Latines, which ſent ambaſſadours to him to make league and amitie with him. He deuiſed to take the cittie of Fidena which was nere neighbour to Rome. Some ſaye he tooke it vpon a ſodaine, hauing ſent before certen horſe men to breake downe the hookes & hingewes with force, which the gates hang by: & him ſelf came after with the reſt of his armie, and ſtale vpon them, before the cittie miſtruſted any thing. Other write that the Fidenates firſt inuaded his coūtrye, and foraged vnto the very ſuburbes of Rome, where they did great harme: and howe Romulus layed an ambuſhe in their waye as they returned home, and ſlewe a great number of them. When he tooke their cittie, he did not raſe it, but made a colonye of it, (as a place to ſend the ouerincreaſe of Rome vnto) whether he ſent afterwards two thouſand fiue hundred Romains to inhabite there: & it was on the thirtenth daye of Aprill, which the Romaines call the Ides of the ſame moneth. Not long after there roſe ſuche a great plague in Rome, that men died ſodainely, and were not ſicke: the earth brought forth no fruite: bruite beaſts deliuered no increaſe of their kynde: there rayned alſo droppes of bloude in Rome, as they ſaye. In ſo much as beſides the euills men felt in this extremitie, they fell in a marueilous feare of the wrathe of the goddes. Afterwards perceiuing the like happened to the inhabitants of Laurētum, then euery man iudged it was the very vengeance and heauie hand of the goddes, who plagued and puniſhed theſe two citties for the murder committed vpon *Tatius*, and the ambaſſadours that were killed. Whereupon the murderers of both ſides were apprehended, and executed: and theſe plagues by and by ceaſed both in the one and in the other cittie. Romulus beſides, did purifie the cities with certaine ſacrifices that he deuiſed, which they keepe ſtill at this daye, at the gate called Ferentina. But before the plague ceaſed, the Camerines came to aſſaulte the Romaines, & had ouercomen all the countrie, ſuppoſing they ſhould not be able to withſtand them, bicauſe they had bene ſo ſore troubled with the plague. Yet notwithſtāding, Romulus ſet vp on them with his army, & wanne the field of them, in which conflict there were ſlaine about ſixe thouſand men. After the battell done, he tooke their cittie, & conueyed to Rome the one half of the inhabitans that remained. After this, he ſent twiſe as many Romaines as there were naturall Cameriās left at Camerine, to dwell there among them. This was done the firſt daye of Auguſt: ſo great was the multitude of the inhabitāts of Rome that had increaſed in ſixteene yeres from the firſt foundation of the cittie. Emong other ſpoyles he got there, he caried away a charret of braſſe with foure horſes, which he cauſed to be ſet vp in the temple of *Vulcan*, and his owne ſtatue vpon it, and victorie crowning him with a garland triūphant. His power being growen thus great, his weake neighbours did ſubmit themſelues vnto him, being contented to liue in peace by him. His ſtronger neighbours were affrayed of him, and enuied much his greatnes, and dyd take it no good policie to ſuffer him thus to riſe in the face of the world, and thought it meete ſpedilie to dawnte his glorie, and clippe his winges. The firſt of the Thuſcans that bent their power againſt him, were the Veians, who had a great countrie, & dwelled in a ſtronge and mightie cittie. To picke

The death of Tatius in Lauinium.

Armiluſtriū.

The Sabines obedience to Romulus.

Romulus tooke the cittie of Fidena.

Plague at Rome.

It rained bloude at Rome.

Camerium taken of Romulus.

a quarrell

A a quarrell to him, they ſent to haue redeliuered to thē the cittie of FIDENA, which they ſayed belōged vnto them. This was thought not only vnreaſonable, but a thing worthy laughing at, cōſidering that all the while the FIDENATES were in warre, & daunger, the THVSCANS neuer came to their ayde, but had ſuffered them to be ſlayne, and then came to demaunde their lands and tenements, when other had poſſeſſion of them. Therefore *Romulus* hauing geuen them an aunſwer full of mockerie, and deriſion, they diuided their power into two armies, and ſent the one againſt them of FIDENA, and with the other they marched towards ROME. That which went againſt the cittie of FIDENA, preuayled, and killed there two thouſand ROMAINES: the other was ouerthrowen and diſcomfited by *Romulus*, in which there dyed eight thouſand VEIANS. Afterwards, they met againe ſomewhat neere the cittie of the FIDENATES, where

B they fought a battell: and all dyd confeſſe, the chiefeſt exployte was done by *Romulus* owne hands that daye, who ſhewed all the skill and valliantnes that was to be looked for in a worthy captaine. It ſeemed that daye, he farre exceeded the cōmon ſorte of men, in ſtrength of bodye & feates of armes. Neuertheles that which ſome ſaye, is hardely to be credited: & to be plaine, is out of all compaſſe of beliefe and poſſibilitie. For they write, there were fourteene thouſand men ſlayne at that battell, & that more then halfe of them were ſlayne by *Romulus* own hands: & the rather, for that euery man iudgeth it a vaine bragge and oſtentation which the MESSENIANS reporte of *Ariſtomenes*, who offered in ſacrifice to the goddes three hundred beaſtes of victorie, as for ſo many LACEDÆMONIANS him ſelf had ſlayne in the battell. Their armie being thus broken, *Romulus* ſuffered them to flye who by ſwiftnes could ſaue themſelues, and

C marched with all his power in good arraye towards their cittie. The cittizens then conſidering their late great loſſe and ouerthrowe, would not hazard the daunger of withſtanding him, but went out all together, & made their humble petition & ſute for peace. All was graunted them for a hundred yeres, ſaue they ſhould forgoe their territorie called *Septemagium*, that was the ſeuenth parte of their countrye: & yeld to the ROMAINES all their ſalt houſes by the riuers ſide, and deliuer fiftie of their chiefeſt cittizens for their pledges. *Romulus* made his entrie and triumphe into ROME for them, the daye of the Ides of October, which is the fiftenth daye of the ſame moneth, leading in his triumphe many priſoners taken in thoſe warres: & among other, the generall of the VEIANS, a very auncient man who fondly behaued him ſelfe in his charge, and ſhewed by his doings, that his experience was farre ſhorte for his yeres in the warres. And

D from thence it commeth, when they offer to the goddes to geue thanckes for this victorie, that euen at this daye, they bring to the capitoll throughe the market place an old man apparelled in a purple robe, & with a Iuell called *Bulla* about his necke, which the gentlemens young children weare about their neckes: & a heraulde goeth harde by him, crying, who buyeth who, the SARDIANIANS, bicauſe they holde opinion the THVSCANS are come of the SARDIANIANS, and the very cittie of VEIES ſtandeth in the countrie of THVSCANE. This was the laſte warre that *Romulus* had offered him: after which he could not beware of that which is wonte to happen almoſt to all thoſe, who by ſodaine proſperitie, and fortunes ſpeciall fauour, are raiſed to highe and great eſtate. For truſting to proſperitie and good ſucceſſe of his actes, he beganne to

E growe more ſtraunge and ſtately, and to carie a ſowerer countenaunce then he was wonte to doe before: leauing to be after his olde manner, a curteous and gracious prince, and gaue him ſelfe in facions to be ſomwhat like a tyrant, both for his apparell, and ſtately porte and maieſtie that he caried. For he ware euer a coate of purple in graine, and vpon that, a longe robe of purple culler: and gaue audience, ſitting in a wyde chayer of eſtate, hauing euer about him young men called *Celeres*, as we would ſaye, flights for their ſwiftnes & ſpeede in executing of his commaundements. Other there were that went before him, who caried as it were ripſhaues in their hands, to make the people geue roome, and had leather thongs about their middle to binde fall ſtreight, all the prince ſhould commaunde. Nowe in olde time the Latines layed, *Ligare* was to binde: but at this preſent they ſaye *Alligare*, from whence it commeth that the vshers and ſergeants are called *Lictores*. Howbeit me thincks it were more likely to ſaye, they had put to a.c.

F & that before they were called *Litores*, without a.c. For they be the very ſame which the GRAECIANS call *Liturgos*, and be in Engliſhe, miniſters or officers: and at this daye, *Leitos, or Leos*, in the GREKE tongue ſignifieth the people. *Romulus* now after his grandfather *Numitor* was deid

The incredible valiātnes of Romulus.

Romulus maketh peace with the Veians.

Proſperitie, increaſe of pryde and ſtomake.

Celeres, Romulus garde.

Lictores, wherefore ſo called.

at the cittie of ALBA, and that the Realme by inheritance fell to him: to winne the fauour of A
the people there, turned the Kingdome to a Comon weale, and euery yere dyd chuſe a newe
magiſtrate to miniſter iuſtice to the SABYNES. This preſident taught the noble men of ROME,
to ſeeke and deſire to haue a free eſtate, where no ſubiect ſhould be at the commaundement of
a King alone, and where euery man ſhould commaund & obey as ſhould be his courſe. Thoſe
which were called *Patricians* in ROME, dyd medle with nothing, but had onely an honorable
name and robe, and were called to counſaill rather for a facion, then to haue their aduiſe or
counſaile. For when they were aſſembled together, they dyd onely heare the Kings pleaſure
and commaundement, but they might not ſpeake one word, and ſo departed: hauing no other
preheminence ouer the Cõmon wealthe, ſauing they were the firſt that dyd knowe what was
done. All other things thereby dyd greue them leſſe. But when of his owne mere authoritie, & B
as it were of him ſelf, he would as pleaſed him, beſtowe the conquered lands of his enemies to
his ſouldiers, and reſtore againe to the VEIANS their hoſtages as he dyd: therein plainely ap-
peared, how great iniurie he dyd to the Senate. Whereupon the Senatours were ſuſpected af-
terwards that they killed him, when with in fewe dayes after it was ſayed, he vaniſhed awaye ſo
ſtraungely, that no man euer knewe what became of him. This was on the ſeuenth daye of the
moneth nowe called Iuly, which then was named *Quintilis*, leauing no manner of certaintie els
of his deathe that is knowen, ſaue only of the daye and the time when he vaniſhed, as we haue
ſayed before. For on that daye, the ROMAINES doe at this preſent many things, in remem-
brance of the misfortune which happened to them then. It is no maruell, the certaintie of his
deathe was not knowen: ſeeing *Scipio Africanus* was founde after ſupper dead in his houſe, C
and no man could tell, nor yet dyd know how he dyed. For ſome ſaye that he fainted, and dyed
ſodainely being of weake complexion. Other ſaye he poyſoned him ſelf: other thincke his ene-
mies dyd get ſecretly in the night into his houſe, & ſmoothred him in his bed. Yet they founde
his body layed on the ground, that euery body might at leyſure conſider, if they could finde or
coniecture the manner of his death. Howbeit *Romulus* vaniſhed away ſodainely, there was nei-
ther ſeene pece of his garments, nor yet was there found any parte of his body. Therfore ſome
haue thought that the whole Senatours fell vpon him together in the temple of *Vulcan*, and
how after they had cut him in peces, euery one caried awaye a pece of him, folded cloſe in the
skyrte of his robe. Other thincke alſo, this vaniſhing away was not in the temple of *Vulcan*, nor
in the preſence of the Senatours only: but they ſaye that *Romulus* was at that time without the D
cittie, neere the place called the goates marſhe, where he made an oration to the people, and
that ſodainely the weather chaunged, and ouercaſt ſo terribly, as it is not to be tolde nor credi-
ted. For firſt, the ſunne was darckned as if it had bene very night: this darcknes was not in a
calme or ſtill, but there fell horrible thunders, boyſterous windes, and flaſhing lightnings on
euery ſide, which made the people ronne awaye, and ſcatter here and there, but the Senatours
kept ſtill cloſe together. Afterwardes when the lightning was paſt and gone, the daye cleared
vp, & the element waxed fayer as before. Then the people gathered together againe, & ſought
for the King: asking what was become of him. But the noble men would not ſuffer them to en-
quire any further after him, but counſelled them to honour and reuerence him as one taken vp
into heauen: and that thenceforth in ſteade of a good King, he would be vnto them a mercifull E
& gratious god. The meaner ſorte of people (for the moſt parte of them) tooke it well, & were
very glad to heare thereof: & went their waye worſhipping *Romulus* in their hartes, with good
hope they ſhould proſper by him. Howbeit ſome ſeeking out the trothe more egerly did cõber
ſore, and troubled the Patricians: accuſing them, that they abuſed the common people with
vaine & fonde perſuaſions, whileſt them ſelues in the meane time had murdered the King with
their owne hands. While things were thus in hurly burly, ſome ſaye there was one *Iulius Pro-
culus*, the nobleſt of all the Patricians, being eſteemed for a maruelous honeſt man, & known
to haue bene very familier with *Romulus*, & came with him from the cittie of ALBA: that ſtep-
ped forth before all the people, and affirmed (by the greateſt and holyeſt othes a man might
ſweare) that he had met *Romulus* on the waye, farre greater and fayerer, then he had ſeene him F
euer before, and armed all in white armour, ſhyning bright like fire: whereat being affrayed in
that ſorte to ſee him, he asked him yet: O King, why haſt thou thus left and forſaken vs, that are

ſo falſely

Romulus conuerteth the kingdome of Alba to a comon weale.

Romulus vaniſhed awaye no man knew howe.

The 17. daye of Iuly an vnfortunate daye to the Romaines.

The death of Scipio Africanus.

Diuers opinions of Romulus death.

The goate marſhe.

Iulius Proculus met with Romulus after his vaniſhing.

A so falsely accused and charged to our vter discredit and shame, by thy vanishing. To whom *Romulus* gaue this aunswer. *Proculus*, it hathe pleased the goddes from whom I came, that I should remaine amongest men so long as I dyd: and nowe hauing built a cittie, which in glorie and greatnes of empire shalbe the chiefest of the worlde, that I should returne againe to dwell with them, as before, in heauen. Therefore be of good comforte, & tell the ROMAINES, that they exercising prowesse and temperance, shalbe the mightiest and greatest people of the worlde. As for me, tell them I will henceforth be their god, protector, and patron, and they shall call me *Quirinus*. These wordes seemed credible to the ROMAINES, aswell for the honesty of the man that spake them, as for the solemne othes he made before them all. Yet I wote not how, some celestiall motion, or diuine inspiration helped it much: for no man sayed a word

Romulus oracle vnto *Proculus*.

B against it. And so all suspition and accusation layed aside, euery man began to call vpon *Quirinus*, to praye vnto him, and to worshippe him. Truely this tale is much like the tales that the GRECIANS tell of *Aristeas* the proconnesian, & of *Cleomedes* the Astypalæian. For they saye, that *Aristeas* dyed in a fullers worke house, & his friends comming to carie awaye his bodye, it fell out they could not tell what became of it: & at that instant there were some which came out of the fields, and affirmed they met and spake with him, and how he kept his waye towards the cittie of CROTONA. It is sayed also that *Cleomedes* was more then a man naturally strong and great, and therewithall madde, and furious hastie. For after many desperate partes he had played, he came at the last on a daye into a schoole house full of litle children, the roofe wherof was borne with one piller, which he dyd hit with so terrible a blowe of his fiste, that he brake

Romulus called *Quirinus*, and honored as a god.

Aristeas a Proconnesian taken out of mans sight after he was dead.

C it in the middest, so as the whole roofe fell and dashed the poore children in peces. The people ranne straight after him to take him. But he threwe him selfe forthwith into a chest, and pulled the lyd vpon him. He held it so fast downe, that many striuing together all they could to open it, they were not able once to styrre it. Whereupon they brake the chest all in peces, but they found the man neither quicke nor dead. Whereat they were marueilously amazed, and sent to *Apollo Pythias*, where the propheteesse aunswered them in this verse:

Cleomedes Astypaleis vanished straungely out of mens sights, being fast locked in a chest.

Cleomedes the last of the demy goddes.

The reporte goeth also that *Alcmenes* corse dyd vanishe awaye, as they caried it to buriall, and howe in steade thereof they founde a stone layed in the beere. To conclude, men tell many other suche wonders, that are farre from any apparance of trothe: only bicause they would

Alcmenes bodye vanished out of the beere.

D make men to be as goddes, and equall with them in power. It is true, that as to reproue and denie diuine power, it were a lewde and wicked parte: euen so to compare earthe and heauen together, it were a mere follie. Therefore we must let suche fables goe, being most certaine that as *Pindarus* sayeth it is true,

The soule eternall.

Eche liuing corps, must yelde at last to deathe,
and euery life must leese his vitall breathe:
The soule of man, that onely liues on hie,
and is an image of eternitie.

For from heauen it came, and thither againe it dothe returne, not with the bodye, but then sooneste, when the sowle is furtheste of and separated from the bodye, and that she is kept holy,

E & is no more defiled with the flesh. It is that the philosopher *Heraclitus* ment, when he sayed. The drye light, is the best soule which flyeth out of the bodye, as lightning dothe out of the clowde: but that which is ioyned with the bodye being full of corporall passions, is a grosse vapour, darke and massie, & cannot flame, ryse or shoote out like lightning. We must not beleeue therefore, that the bodyes of noble and vertuous men, doe goe vp together with their soules into heauen, against the order of nature. But this we are certainely to beleeue, that by the vertues of their soules (according to diuine nature and iustice) they doe of men become saincts, and of saincts halfe goddes, and of halfe goddes, entier and perfect goddes: after that they are perfectly (as it were by sacrifices of purgation) made cleane and pure, being deliuered from all paine & mortalitie, & not by any ciuill ordinance, but in trothe & reason, they receaue

Heraclitus saying of the soule.

F a most happie and glorious ende. Now touching *Romulus* surname, which afterwards was called *Quirinus*: some saye that it signifieth as much as warlike: other thinke he was so called bicause the ROMAINES them selues were called *Quirites*. Other write, that men in old time did

Why Romulus was called Quirinus.

call the poynte of a ſpeare, on the darte it ſelf, *Quiris*: by reaſon whereof the image of *Iuno* ſurnamed *Quiritides*, was ſet vp with an iron ſpeare, and the ſpeare which was conſecrated in the Kings pallace, was called *Mars*. Furthermore it is an vſe amongeſt men, to honour them with a ſpeare or darte, which haue ſhewed them ſelues valiant in the warres: and that for this cauſe *Romulus* was ſurnamed *Quirinus*, as who would ſaye, god of the ſpeares and warres. There was ſince buylt a temple vnto him, in the hill called *Quirinus*, and ſo named of him. The daye whereon he vaniſhed, is called the flying of the people, or otherwiſe the Nones of the goates. For on that daye, they goe out of the cittie to doe ſacrifice in the place called the Fennie, or the goates marſhe: and the ROMAINES call a goate, *Capra*. As they goe thus together, they call with lowde ſhowtes and cryes vpon diuers Romaines names, as *Marcus*, *Cneus*, and *Gaius*, in token of the flying that was then: and that they called one another backe againe, as they ranne awaye in great feare and diſorder. Howbeit other ſaye, that it is not done to ſhewe the ronning awaye, but to ſhewe their ſpede and diligence, and referre it to the ſtorie. Nowe after the GAVLES that had taken ROME were expulſed by *Camillus*, the cittie was ſo weakned, that they could ſcante recouer their force and ſtrength againe: wherfore many of the LATINES ioyning together, went with a great mightie armie, vnder the conducte of *Liuius Poſthumius*, to warre againſt the ROMAINES. This *Poſthumius* brought his campe as neere the cittie of ROME as he could, & ſent to the ROMAINES by a trumpet to let them vnderſtand, how the LATINES were deſirous by newe mariages, to reſtore their olde auncient amitie and kinred that was neere hand decayed betweene them: and therefore if the ROMAINES would ſend them a conuenient number of their daughters and young widowes to marie with them, they ſhould haue peace, as they had before time with the SABYNES, vpon the like occaſion. The ROMAINES hereat were ſore troubled, thincking that to deliuer their women in ſuch ſorte was no better, then to yelde and ſubmit them ſelues to their enemies. But as they were thus perplexed, a wayting mayde called *Philotis* (or as other call her, *Tutola*) gaue them counſell to doe neither the one nor the other, but to vſe a pollicy with them, by meanes whereof they ſhould ſcape the daunger of the warres, and ſhould alſo not be tyed nor bounde by any pledges. The deuiſe was, they ſhould ſend to the LATINES her ſelfe, and a certaine number of their fayreſt bonde maydes, trimmed vp like gentlewomen and the beſt cittizens daughters, and that in the night ſhe would lifte them vp a burning torche in the ayer, at which ſigne they ſhould come armed, and ſet vpon their enemies as they laye a ſleepe. This was brought to paſſe: and the LATINES thought verely they had bene the ROMAINES daughters. *Philotis* fayled not in the night to lyft vp her ſigne, and to ſhewe them a burning torche in the toppe of a wilde figge tree: and dyd hange certaine couerlets and clothes behinde it, that the enemies might not ſee the light, and the ROMAINES contrariwiſe might decerne it the better. Thereupon ſo ſone as the ROMAINES ſawe it, they ranne with all ſpede, calling one another by their names, and iſſued out of the gates of the cittie with great haſte: and ſo tooke their enemies vpon a ſodaine, and ſlewe them. In memorie of which victorie, they doe yet ſolemniſe the feaſte called the Nones of the goates, bicauſe of the wilde figge tree called in Latine *Caprificus*. And they doe feaſt the women without the cittie, vnder ſhadowes made of the boughe of figge trees. The wayting maydes, they ronne vp and downe, and playe here and there together. Afterwards they ſeeme to fight, and throwe ſtones one at another, as then they dyd when they holpe the ROMAINES in their fight. But fewe writers doe auowe this tale, bicauſe it is on the daye time that they call ſo eche other by their names, and that they goe to the place which they call the goates marſhe, as vnto a ſacrifice. It ſeemeth this agreeth better with the firſt hiſtorie when they called one another by their names in the night, going againſt the LATINES: onles peraduenture theſe two thinges after many yeres happened vpon one daye.

The hill Quirinus. None Capratina.

The warre of the Latines. Liuius Poſthumius generall.

Philotis a wayting mayde ſodaine deuiſe.

Romulus age and raigne.

Furthermore, they ſaye *Romulus* was taken out of the worlde, when he was foure and fiftie yeres of age, and had raigned eight and thirtie yeres by accompt.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Theseus* with *Romulus*.

A THVS haue we declared all things of *Theseus* and *Romulus* worthy memorie. But to compare the one with the other, it appeareth first that *Theseus* of his owne voluntarie will, without compulsion of any (when he might with safety haue reigned in the cittie of TROEZEN, and succeeded his grandfather in no small kingdome) dyd desire of him selfe, and rather sought meanes to aspire to great things: and that *Romulus* on the other side, to deliuer him self from bondage and seruitude that laye sore vpon him, and to escape the threatned punishment which still dyd hange ouer his head, was certainely compelled (as *Plato* sayeth) to shewe him selfe hardie for feare: who seeing howe extremely he was like to be handled, B was of very force constrained to seeke aduenture, and hazarde the enterprise of atteining highe and great things. Moreouer the chiefest acte that euer he dyd was, when he slewe one onely tyranne of the cittie of ALBA called *Amulius*: where *Theseus* in his iorney only, as he trauelled, gaue his minde to greater enterprises, and slewe *Sciron*, *Sinnis*, *Procrustes*, and *Corynetes*. And by ridding them out of the worlde, he deliuered GREECE of all those cruell tyrannes, before any of those knewe him whom he had deliuered from them. Furthermore, he might haue gone to ATHENS by sea, and neuer needed to haue trauelled, or put him selfe in daunger with these robbers, considering he neuer receyued hurte by any of them: where as *Romulus* could not be in safetie whilest *Amulius* liued. Hereupon it maye be alledged, that *Theseus* vnprouoked by any priuate wronge or hurte receyued, dyd set vpon these detestable C theues and robbers: *Remus* and *Romulus* contrariwise, so longe as the tyranne dyd them no harme, dyd suffer him to oppresse and wronge all other. And if they alledge these were noble dedes, and worthy memorie: that *Romulus* was hurte fighting against the SABYNES, and that he slewe king *Acron* with his owne handes, and that he had ouercome and subdued many of his enemies. Then for *Theseus* on thother side may be obiected, the battell of the CENTAVRI, the warres of the AMAZONES, the tribute due to the king of CRETA: and howe he ventered to goe him selfe thither with the other young boyes and wenches of ATHENS, as willingly offering him selfe to be deuowred by a cruell beaste, or els to be slayne and sacrificed vpon the tumbe of *Androgeus*, or to become bondslaue & tyed in captiuitie to the vile seruice of cruell men and enemies, if by his corage and manhodde he could not deliuer him self. This was such D an acte of magnanimitie, iustice & glorie, & briefly of so great vertue, that it is vnpossible truely to be set out. Surely me thinckes the philosophers dyd not ill define loue, when they sayd she was a seruitour of the goddes, to saue younge folkes, whom they thought meete to be preserued. For, the loue of *Ariadne* was in mine opinion the worke of some god, and a meane purposely prepared for *Theseus* safety. Therefore the woman is not to be reproached nor blamed

By what meanes men are prouoked to great enterprises.

Plato in Phædone.

Loue the ministter of the goddes.

for the loue ſhe bare *Theſeus*, but rather it is muche to be wondred at, that euery man and woman in like wiſe dyd not loue him. And if of her ſelfe ſhe fell in loue with him, I ſaye (and not without cauſe) ſhe afterwards deſerued to be beloued of a god, as one that of her owne nature loued valiantnes and honour, and entertained men of ſinguler value. But both *Theſeus* and *Romulus* being naturally geuen to rule and raigne, neither the one nor the other kept the true forme of a King, but bothe of them dyd degenerate alike: the one chaunging him ſelf into a popular man, the other to a very tyranne. So that by ſundrie humours, they both fell into one miſchief and errour. For a prince aboue all things muſt keepe his eſtate: which is no leſſe preſerued by doing nothing vncomely, as by doing all things honorably. But he that is more ſeuere or remiſſe then he ſhould be, remaineth now no more a King or a prince, but becommeth a people pleaſer, or a cruell tyrante: and ſo cauſeth his ſubiects to deſpiſe or hate him. Yet me thinckes the one is an errour of to muche pittie and baſenes: and the other of to muche pryde and crueltie. But if we maye not charge fortune with all miſchaunces happening vnto men, but that we ought to conſider in them the diuerſities of manners and paſſions, ſeeing anger is vnreaſonable, and wrathe raſhe and paſſionate: then can we not clere the one, nor excuſe the other of extreme rage and paſſion, in the facte committed by the one againſt his brother, and by the other againſt his naturall ſonne. Howbeit the occaſion and beginning of anger doth muche excuſe *Theſeus*, who moued with the greateſt cauſe that might be, was put into ſuche choller and paſſion. But if *Romulus* variaunce with his brother had proceeded of any matter of counſell, or cauſe of the common weales: there is none ſo ſimple to thincke, that his wiſdome would ſo ſodainely haue ſet vpon him. Where as *Theſeus* in contrarie manner killed his ſonne, prouoked by thoſe paſſions that fewe men can auoyde: to wit, loue, ielouſie, and falſe reporte of his wife. Moreouer *Romulus* anger went to the effect, whereof the iſſue fell out very lamentable: *Theſeus* anger ſtretched no further, then to roughe wordes, and olde folkes curſes in their heate. For it ſeemeth, curſed fortune, and nought els, was the cauſe of his ſonnes only miſhappe, as foreſpoken and wiſhed for ſomewhat by his father. Theſe be the ſpeciall things maye be alledged for *Theſeus*. But for *Romulus* this was a noble thing in him. Firſt his beginning being very lowe and meane, and his brother and he taken for bonde men, and the children of hoggeheards, before they were them ſelues all free, they ſet at libertie in manner all the LATINES, winning at one inſtant many titles of glorie and honour: as diſtroyers of their enemies, defenders of their parents, Kings of nations, founders of newe cities, and no ouerthrowers of the olde, where as *Theſeus* of many habitations and houſes made onely one, and dyd ouerthrowe and plucke downe diuers ſtates, bearing the names of auncient Kings, princes, and halfe goddes of ATTICA. All theſe alſo dyd *Romulus* afterwards, and compelled his enemies whom he had ouercome, to diſtroye their owne houſes, and to come and dwell with their conquerours. And in the beginning, he neuer chaunged nor increaſed any cittie that was buylt before, but buylt him ſelfe a newe cittie out of the grounde, getting all together, land, countrie, kingdome, kinred and mariages, without loſing or killing any man: and to the contrarie, rather he dyd good to many poore vacabonds, who had neither countrie, lands, nor houſes, and deſired nothing els but to make a people amongeſt them, and to become cittizens of ſome cittie. Alſo *Romulus* bent not him ſelfe to follow theeues and robbers, but ſubdued by force of armes many mightie and puiſſant people: he tooke cities, and triumphed ouer Kings and Princes which he had vanquiſhed in battell. And touching the murder of *Remus*, it is not certainely knowen of whoſe hands he dyed. The moſt parte of authors doe charge other with the death of him. But it is certaine that *Romulus* deliuered his mother from apparant death, and reſtored his grandfather to the royall throne of *Æneas*, who before was depoſed and brought from a King to ſeruill obedience, without any regarde of honour or dignitie: to whom he dyd many moe great pleaſures and ſeruices. Beſides he neuer offended him willingly, no not ſo muche as ignorantly. Contrarylie I thincke of *Theſeus*, who fayling by negligence to put out his white ſayle at his returne, cannot be cleared of parricide, howe eloquent an oration ſoeuer could be made for his excuſe: yea though it were before the moſt fauorable iudges that could be. Wherefore an ATHENIAN very well perceyuing that it was an harde thing to excuſe and defend ſo fowle a faulte, dothe fayne that the good olde man *Ægeus* hauing

The office of a prince.

Wherein Romulus was to be preferred before Theſeus.

Romulus loue to his kynne.

Theſeus detected for oblivion.

A hauing newes brought him that his ſonnes ſhippe was at hand, dyd ronne in ſo great haſte to his caſtell, to ſee his ſonne arriue a farre of, that as he ranne, his foote hit againſt ſome thing, and ouerthrewe him: as though he had none of his people about him, or that neuer a man ſeeing him ronne ſo haſtely to the ſea ſide, dyd make haſte to attende and wayte vpon him. Furthermore, *Theſeus* faults touching women and rauiſhements, of the twaine, had the leſſe ſhadowe and culler of honeſtie. Bicauſe *Theſeus* dyd attempt it very often: for he ſtale awaye *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, and *Anaxo* the Troezenian. Againe being ſtepped in yeres, and at later age, and paſt mariage: he ſtale awaye *Helen* in her minoritie, being nothing neere to conſent to marye. Then his taking of the daughters of the TROEZENIANS, of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and the AMAZONES (neither contracted to him, nor comparable to the birthe and B linadge of his owne countrie which were at ATHENS, and deſcended of the noble race and progenie of *Erichtheus*, and of *Cecrops*) dyd geue men occaſion to ſuſpect that his womanniſhenes was rather to ſatisfie luſt, then of any great loue. *Romulus* nowe in a contrarie manner, when his people had taken eight hundred, or thereabouts, of the Sabyne women to rauiſhe them: kept but onely one for him ſelfe that was called *Herſilia*, as they ſaye, and deliuered the reſte to his beſt and moſt honeſt cittizens. Afterwardes by the honour, loue, and good entertainment that he cauſed them to haue & receyue of their husbands, he chaunged this violent force of rauiſhement, into a moſt perfect bonde and league of amitie: which dyd ſo knyt and ioyne in one theſe two nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutuall loue which grewe afterwards betwext thoſe two people, and conſequently of the ioyning of their powers C together. Furthermore, time hath geuen a good teſtimonie of the loue, reuerence, conſtancie, kyndenes, and all matrimoniall offices that he eſtabliſhed by that meanes, betwext man and wife. For in two hundred and thirtie yeres afterwards, there was neuer man that durſt forſake or put awaye his wife, nor the wife her husband. And as among the GRECIANS, the beſt learned men, and moſt curious obſeruers of antiquities doe knowe his name, that was the firſt murderer of his father or mother: euen ſo all the ROMAINES knewe what he was, which firſt durſt put away his wife. It was one called *Spurius Caruilius*, bicauſe his wife was barren and had no children. The effects alſo doe agree with the teſtimonie of the time. For the Realme was common vnto Kings of both nations, and through the alliance of theſe mariages that beganne firſt of rauiſhements, both nations liued peaciblie, and in equalitie, vnder one ciuill po- D licie, and well gouerned common weale. The ATHENIANS contrariewiſe, by *Theſeus* mariages, dyd get neither loue nor kynred of any one perſone, but rather they procured warres, enmities, & the ſlaughter of their cittizens, with the loſſe in the ende of the cittie of APHIDNES: and yet very hardely, and by the mercie of their enemies (whom they honored as godds) they eſcaped for him, the daunger which the TROIANS ſuffered afterwards, for the ſelf acte done by *Alexander Paris*. So it fell out at the laſt, that his mother was not only in daunger, but euen feelingly ſuffered like miſerie and captiuitie, which *Hecuba* dyd afterwards, when ſhe was forſaken of her ſonne: onles peraduenture thoſe things that they write of the impriſonment and captiuitie of *Æthra*, be founde falſe, and but fables, as for the fame and memorie of *Theſeus* were behouefull, that both it, and many other things alſo, were of no more trothe nor E likelyhood. That which they write of *Romulus* diuinements, maketh great difference betwene him and *Theſeus*. For *Romulus* in his birthe was preſerued by the marueluous fauour of the goddes: *Theſeus* to the contrarie, was begotten againſt the goddes will, as appeared plainely by the aunſwer of the oracle to *Ægeus*, that he ſhould not medle with any woman in ſtraunge and foraine countrie.

Theſeus detected for his rauiſhements of women.

Romulus rauiſhement of women excuſed.

No diuorce made in Rome for 230. yeres ſpace. Val. Max. ſayeth 520.

The firſt wife put awaye in Rome.

Theſeus mariages cauſe of warres and troubles.

Romulus more acceptable to the godds then Theſeus.

The ende of Romulus life.

THE LIFE OF *Lycurgus.*

A MAN can not ſpeake any thing at all of *Lycurgus*, who made the lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but he ſhall finde great contrarietie of him amongeſt the hiſtoriographers. For, of his parentage & trauaill out of his countrie, of his deathe and making of lawes, of his forme and gouernment, and order of executing the ſame, they haue written diuerſely. And yet aboue all things, concerning him, they agree worſt about the time he liued in. For ſome of them (and *Ariſtotle* is of that number) will needes haue him to haue bene in the time of *Iphytus*, and that he dyd helpe him to ſtabliſh the ordinaunce that all warres ſhould ceaſe during the feaſt of the games olympicall: for a teſtimonie whereof, they alledge the copper coyte which was vſed to be throwen in thoſe games, and had founde grauen vpon it, the name of *Lycurgus*. Other compting the dayes and time of the ſucceſſion of the kings of LACEDÆMON (as *Eratoſthenes*, and *Apollodorus*) ſaye he was many yeres before the firſt Olympiades. *Timæus* alſo thincketh there were two of this name, and in diuers times: howbeit the one hauing more eſtimation then the other, men gaue this *Lycurgus* the glorie of both their doings. Some ſaye the eldeſt of the twaine, was not longe after *Homer*: and ſome write they ſawe him. *Xenophon* ſheweth vs plainely he was of great antiquitie: ſaying he was in the time of the *Heraclides*, who were neereſt of bloude by deſcent to *Hercules*. For it is likely *Xenophon* ment not thoſe *Heraclides*, which deſcended from *Hercules* ſelf: for the laſt kings of SPARTA were of *Hercules* progenie, aſwell as the firſt. Therefore he meaneth thoſe *Heraclides*, which doubtles were the firſt and neareſt before *Hercules* time. Neuertheles though the hiſtoriographers haue written diuerſely of him, yet we will not leaue to collect that which we finde written of him in auncient hiſtories, and is leaſt to be denied, and by beſt teſtimonies moſt to be prooued. And firſt of all, the poet *Simonides* ſayeth, his father was called *Prytanis* and not *Eunomus*: and the moſt parte doe write the pettigree otherwiſe, aſwell of *Lycurgus* ſelf, as of *Eunomus*. For they ſaye, that *Patrocles* the ſonne of *Ariſtodemus* begate *Sous*, and *Sous* begate *Eurytion*, and *Eurytion* begate *Prytanis*, and *Prytanis* begat *Eunomus*, and *Eunomus* begat *Polydectes* of his firſt wife, and *Lycurgus* of the ſecond wife, called *Dianaſſa*: yet *Euthychidas* an other writer, maketh *Lycurgus* the ſixte of deſcent in the right line from *Polydectes*, and the eleuenth after *Hercules*. But of all his auncеſters, the nobleſt was *Sous*, in whoſe time the cittie of SPARTA ſubdued the Ilotes,

A

B

C

Xenophon in lib. de Lacedæmon. Rep.

Of the Heraclides, Pauſanias, Diodorus, and Cleme. Strom. lib. 1.

Lycurgus kinred.

A Ilotes, and made them ſlaues, and dyd enlarge and increaſe their dominion, with the lands and poſſeſſions they had got by conqueſt of the *Arcadians*. And it is ſayed that *Sous* him ſelf being on a time ſtraightly beſieged by the CLITORIANS, in a hard drye grounde, where no water could be founde: offered them thereupon to reſtore all their lands againe that he had gotten from them, if he and all his companie dyd drincke of a fountaine that was there not farre of. The CLITORIANS dyd graunte vnto it, and peace alſo was ſworne betweene them. Then he called all his ſouldiers before him, and tolde them if there were any one amongeſt them that would refrayne from drincking, he would reſigne his kingdome to him: howbeit there was not one in all his companie that could (or would) forbeare to drincke, they were ſo ſore a thirſt. So they all drancke hartely except him ſelf, who being the laſt that came downe, dyd no more but *A ſubtill promiſe.*

B a litle moyſte his mowthe without, and ſo refreſhed him ſelf, the enemies ſelues ſtanding by, and drancke not a droppe. By reaſon whereof, he refuſed afterwards to reſtore their lands he had promiſed, alledging they had not all droncke. But that notwithſtanding, he was greately eſteemed for his actes, and yet his houſe was not named after his owne name: but after his ſonnes name *Eurytion*, they of his houſe were called *Eurytionides*. The reaſon was, bicauſe his ſonne *Eurytion* to pleaſe the people, dyd firſt let fall and geue ouer, the ſole and abſolute power of a King. Whereupon there followed afterwardes marueilous diſorder and diſſolution, which continued a great time in the cittie of SPARTA. For the people finding them ſelues at libertie, became very bolde and diſobedient: and ſome of the Kinges that ſucceeded, were hated euen to deathe, bicauſe they woulde perforce vſe their auncient authoritie

C ouer the people. Other, either to winne the loue and goodwilles of the people, or bicauſe they ſawe they were not ſtronge enough to rule them, dyd geue them ſelues to diſſemble. And this dyd ſo muche increaſe the peoples loſe and rebellious mindes, that *Lycurgus* owne father being Kinge, was ſlayne among them. For one daye, as he was parting a fraye betweene two that were fighting, he had ſuche a wounde with a kytchin knyfe, that he dyed: and left his Realme to his eldeſt ſonne *Polydectes*, who dyed alſo ſone after, and without heyre of his bodye as was ſuppoſed. In ſo muche as euery man thought *Lycurgus* ſhould be Kinge: and ſo he tooke it vpon him, vntill it was vnderſtoode that his brothers wife was younge with childe. Which thing ſo ſoone as he perceyued, he publiſhed openly, that the Realme belonged to the childe that ſhould be borne, if it were a ſonne. After this he gouerned the Realme,

D but as the Kings lieutenante and regent. The LACEDÆMONIANS call the regents of their Kinges that are left within age, *Prodicos*. *Lycurgus* brothers widowe dyd ſend, and let him ſecretly vnderſtande, that if he would promiſe to marye her when he ſhould be King, that ſhe would come before her time, and either miſcarye, or deſtroye that ſhe went with. *Lycurgus* deteſtably abhorring this brutiſhe and ſauage vnnaturallnes of the woman, dyd not reiect her offer made him, but ſeemed rather to be very glad, then to diſlike of it. Neuertheles he ſent her worde againe, ſhe ſhould not neede to trye maſteryes, with drinckes and medicines to make her come before her time: for ſo doing, ſhe might bring her ſelfe in daunger, and be caſt awaye for euer. Howbeit he aduiſed her to goe her full time, and to be brought a bed in good order, and then he would finde meanes enough to make awaye the childe that *Prodicos, Regents, or protectours of yong Kings in minoritie.*

E ſhould be borne. And ſo with ſuche perſuaſions he drewe on this woman to her full time of deliuerie. But ſo ſoone as he perceyued ſhe was neere her time, he ſent certaine to keepe her, and to be preſent at her laboure, commaunding them that if ſhe were brought a bed of a daughter, they ſhould leaue her with the woman: and if it were a ſonne, they ſhould forthwith bring it to him, in what place ſoeuer he was, and what buſines ſoeuer he had in hand. It chaunced that ſhe came euen about ſupper time, and was deliuered of a ſonne. As he was ſitting at the table with the other magiſtrates of the cittie, his ſeruants entred the halle, and preſented to him the litle babe, which he tenderly tooke in his armes, and ſayed openly to them that were preſent: beholde my lordes of SPARTA, here is a Kinge borne vnto vs. And ſpeaking theſe wordes, he layed him downe in the Kinges place, and na-

F med him *Charilaus*, as muche to ſaye, as the ioye of the people. Thus he ſawe all the lookers on reioycing muche, and might heare them prayſe and extoll his ſynceritie, iuſtice, and vertue. By this meanes he raigned only as King, but eight moneths. From thenceforth *Charilaus, king of the Lacedæmonians, Herod. lib. 1. Dionyſius Halic. lib. 2.*

he was taken and esteemed so iust and syncere a man among the cittizens, that there were moe A
that willingly obeyed him for his vertue, then for that he was the Kings regent, or that he had
the gouernment of the whole Realme in his hands. Notwithstãding there were some that bare
him displeasure and malice, who sought to hinder & disgrace his credit, and chiefly the friends
and kinred of the Kings mother: whose power and honour were thought much impayred by
Lycurgus authoritie. In so much, as a brother of hers called *Leonidas*, entring boldly into great
words with him on a daye, dyd not sticke to say to his face. I knowe for a certaintie one of these
dayes thou wilt be King: meaning thereby to bring him in suspition with the cittizens. Which
thing though *Lycurgus* neuer ment, yet of a subtill and craftie wit *Leonidas* thought by geuing
out such words, that if the young King happened to dye in his minoritie naturally, it would be
mistrusted that *Lycurgus* had secretly made him awaye. The Kings mother also gaue out such B
like speaches, which in the end dyd so trouble him, with the feare he had, what euẽt might fall
out thereof: that he determined to departe his countrie, and by his absence to auoyde the sus-
Lycurgus trauelled countryes. pition that therein might growe vpon him any waye. So he trauelled abroade in the worlde as
a straunger, vntill his nephew had begotten a sonne who was to succeede him in his kingdome.
He hauing with this determination taken his iorney, went first of all into CRETA, where he di-
ligently obserued and considered the manner of their liuing, the order of the gouernment of
their Cõmon weale, and euer kept company with the best, and euer was conferring with the
most learned. There he founde very good lawes in his iudgement, which he noted of purpose
to carie home to his countrie, to serue when time should come. He founde there other lawes
also, but of them he made no reckoning. Nowe there was one man that aboue the rest was re- C
puted wise and skilfull in matters of state & gouernment, who was called *Thales*: with whom
Lycurgus dyd so much by intreatie, and for familier friendshippe, that he persuaded him to goe
Thales a poet hærper. with him vnto SPARTA. This *Thales* was called the Poet Harper, whereupon he had that title
and name: but in effect he sange all that the best and sufficientest gouernours of the worlde
could deuise. For all his songes were goodly ditties, wherein he dyd exhorte and persuade the
people to liue vnder obedience of the law, in peace & concorde one with the other. His words
were set out with such tunes, countenance, & accents, that were so full of swetenes, harmony,
and pearsing: that inwardly it melted mens heartes, and drue the hearers of a loue to like the
most honest things, and to leaue all hatred, enmitie, sedition, and diuision, which at that time
reigned sore amõg them. So as it maye be sayed, he it was that prepared the waye for *Lycurgus*, D
whereby he afterwards reformed and brought the LACEDÆMONIANS vnto reason. At his de-
Lycurgus iorney into Asia. parting out of CRETA, he went into ASIA, with intent (as it is sayed) to compare the mãner of
life and pollicie of those of CRETA (being then very straight and seuere) with the superfluities
and vanities of IONIA: and thereupon to consider the difference betwene their two manners
& gouernments, as the physitian doth, who to knowe the hole & healthfull the better, doth vse
to compare them with the sicke & diseased. It is very likely it was there, where he first sawe *Ho-*
mers works, in the hands of the heires & successours of *Cleophylus*: & finding in the same, aswell
many rules of pollicie, as the great pleasure of Poets faining, he diligently coppied it out, and
made a volume thereof to carie into GRECE. It is true there was much fame abroad of *Homers*
The prayse of Homers workes. poesies among the GRECIANS, howbeit there were fewe of them brought together, but were E
scattered here & there in diuers mens hands, in pampflets & peces vnsowed & without any or-
Homers poemes vnknowẽ to the Grecians, brought to light by Lycurgus. der: but the first that brought them most to light amõg men, was *Lycurgus*. The ÆGYPTIANS
saye, that he was in their countrie also, & that hauing founde there one notable ordinaunce a-
mong other, that their souldiers aad men of warre were separated from the rest of the people,
he brought the practise of it into SPARTA: where setting the marchants, artificers, & labourers
euery one a parte by them selues, he did establish a noble Cõmon wealth. So the ÆGYPTIAN
historiographers, and some others also of GRECE doe write. He was also in AFRICKE, and
in SPAYNE, & as farre as INDIA, to conferre with the wise men there, that were called the phi-
losophers of INDIA. I knowe no man that hathe written it, sauing *Aristocrates*, that was *Hip-*
parchus sonne. The LACEDÆMONIANS wished for him often when he was gone, and sent F
diuers and many a time to call him home: who thought their Kings had but the honour and
title of Kings, and not the vertue or maiestie of a prince, whereby they dyd excell the common
people.

A people. But as for *Lycurgus*, they thought of him thus: that he was a man borne to rule, to cõmaund, and to geue order, as hauing in him a certaine naturall grace and power, to drawe men willingly to obeye him. Moreouer the Kings them ſelues were not vnwilling to haue him to returne home, bicauſe they hoped that his preſence would ſomwhat brydle, & reſtrayne the people from their inſolencie & diſobediẽce towards them. Whereupon *Lycurgus* returning home in this opinion and affection of men, it fell out that he was no ſooner arriued, but he beganne to deuiſe howe to alter the whole gouernment of the common weale, & throughout to chaunge the whole courſe and order of the ſtate: thincking that to make only certaine particular lawes were to no purpoſe, but much like, as one ſhould geue ſome eaſie medicine, to purge an ouerthrowen bodye with all humours and diſſeaſes. Therefore he thought firſt that all groſſe & ſu-

Lycurgus returneth and chaungeth all the cõmon wealth.

B & perfluous humours, were meete to be diſſolued & purged, and then afterwardes to geue them a new forme and order of gouernment. When he had thus determined with him ſelf, before he would take in hãd to doe any thing, he went to the citty of DELPHES: where after he had ſacrificed to *Apollo*, he cõſulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with this glorious title by the oracle of *Pythia*: ô beloued of the goddes, and rather god then man. Where when he craued grace of *Apollo* to eſtabliſhe good lawes in his countrie, it was aunſwered him: that *Apollo* graunted his petition, and that he ſhould ordaine the beſt and perfecteſt manner of a Common wealth, that euer had or ſhould be in the worlde. This aunſwer dyd comforte him very much, & ſo he beganne to breake his purpoſe to certen of the chief of the cittie, & ſecretly to praye & exhorte them to helpe him, going firſt to thoſe he knew to be his friends, & after

Lycurgus counſelleth with the oracle of Apollo at Delphes.

C by litle & litle he wanne others to him, who ioyned with him in his enterpriſe. So when he ſaw the time fit for the matter, he cauſed thirtie of the chiefeſt men of the cittie in a morning to come into the market place well appointed & furniſhed, to ſuppreſſe thoſe that would attẽpt to hinder their purpoſe. *Hermippus* the hiſtoriographer rehearſeth twentie of the chiefeſt: but he that aboue all others dyd moſt aſſiſt him in his doings, & was the greateſt ayde vnto the ſtabliſhing of his lawes, was called *Arithmiadas*. The king *Charilaus* hearing of this aſſembly, dyd feare there had bene ſome conſpiracie or inſurrection againſt his perſon, & for his ſafety he fled into the temple of *Iuno*, called *Chalceæcos*, as much to ſaye, as *Iunos* braſen tẽple. Howbeit afterwards when he knew the trothe, he waxed bolde, & came out of the temple againe, & he him

Chalceæcos, Iunos braſen temple.

D ſelf fauored the enterpriſe, being a prince of a noble minde, howbeit very ſoft by nature, as witneſſeth *Archelaus* (that was then the other king of LACEDÆMON) by telling how *Charilaus* aunſwered one that praiſed him to his face, in ſaying he was a good man. And how ſhould I not (quoth he) be good, when I cannot be euill to the euill? In this chaũge of the ſtate, many things were altered by *Lycurgus*, but his chiefeſt alteration was, his lawe of the erection of a Senate, which he made to haue a regall power & equall authoritie with the Kings in matters of weight & importance, & was (as *Plato* ſayeth) to be the healthfull counterpeaſe of the whole bodye of the Cõmon weale. The other ſtate before was euer wauering, ſomtime inclining to tyrãnie, when the Kings were to mightie, & ſomtime to cõfuſion, when the people would vſurpe authoritie. *Lycurgus* therefore placed betweene the Kings & the people, a counſaill of Senatours, which was as a ſtronge beame, that helde bothe theſe extreames in an euen ballance, & gaue ſure footing

Lycurgus inſtituteth a Senate of the Lacedæmonians. Plato de leg. 3.

E & ground to either parte, to make ſtrong the ſtate of the comon weale. For the eight & twenty Senatours (which made the whole bodye of the Senate) tooke ſomtime the Kings parte, when it was neadfull to pull downe the furie of the people: and contrarilie, they held ſometimes with the people againſt the Kings, to bridle their tyrannicall gouernment. *Ariſtotle* ſayeth, he ordeined the number of Senatours to be but eight and twenty, bicauſe two of thirtie that ioyned with him as a fore, dyd for feare forſake him at his enterpriſe. Howbeit *Spherus* writeth, that from the beginning, he neuer purpoſed to haue more then eight and twenty to be the Senate. And perhappes he had great regard to make it a perfect number, conſidering it is compounded of the number of ſeuen, multiplied by foure: and is the firſt perfect number next to ſixe, being equall to all partes gathered together. But as for me, my opinion is, he choſe this num-

28. were the number of the Senatours.

F ber rather then any other, bicauſe he ment the whole bodye of the counſaill ſhould be but thirtie perſones, adding to that number, the two Kinges. *Lycurgus* tooke ſo great care to eſtabliſhe well this counſell, that he brought an oracle for it, from *Apollaes* temple in

Retra of Lycurgus.

DELPHES. This oracle is called vnto this daye *Retra*, as who would saye, the ſtatute oracle whereof the aunſwer was. When thou haſt built a temple vnto *Iupiter* the *Syllanian*, and to *Minerua* the *Syllanian*, and deuided the people into lineages, thou ſhalt ſtabliſhe a Senate of thirtie counſellers, with the two Kings: & ſhalt aſſemble the people at times conuenient, in the place betweene the bridge and the riuer Gnacion. There the Senatours ſhall propound all matters, and breake vp after their aſſemblies: and it ſhall not be lawfull for the people to ſpeake one worde. In thoſe dayes the people were euer aſſembled betweene two riuers, for there was no hall to aſſemble a counſaill at large, nor any other place prepared for them. For *Lycurgus* thought no buylded place meete for men to geue good counſaill in, or to determine cauſes, but rather a hinderance: bicauſe in ſuch places men be drawen to muſe on vaine things, and their mindes be caried awaye with beholding the images, tables, and pictures, comonly ſet vp for ornamēt in ſuch open places. And if it be in a Theater, then beholding the place where the playes and ſportes be made, they thincke more of them, then any counſaill. Againe, if it be in a great hall, then of the fayer embowed or vawted roofes, or of the fretiſed ſeelings curiouſly wrought, and ſumptuouſly ſet forth, and tend not ſtill their buſines they come for. When the people were aſſembled in counſaill, it was not lawfull for any of them to put forth matters to the counſell to be determined, neither might any of them deliuer his opinion what he thought of any thinge: but the people had onely authoritie to geue their aſſent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senatours, or the two Kings. Howbeit afterwardes, the two Kings *Polydorus* and *Theopompus*, bicauſe the people dyd many times croſſe and alter the determination of the Senate, by taking away or adding ſome thing to it, they dyd adde theſe wordes to the oracle aforeſaid. That if the people would not aſſent to any ordinaunce of the Senate, then ſhould it be lawfull for the Kings and Senate to breake vp the counſell, and to fruſtrate all things done in the ſame: the wiſe aduiſe of the Senate being encountered thus, & their meaning to the beſt, ſo peruerted to the worſe. Theſe two Kings perſuaded the people, that at the very firſt, this addition came with the oracle of *Apollo*: as the poet *Tyrtæus* maketh mention in the place, where he ſayeth:

Cnacion fl.

The open fields appointed for place of Counſaill.

From Delphos Ile, this oracle is brought
of Pythia: into their country ſoyle.
The Kings (euen they to vvhom of right there ought
a louing care in princely breaſts to boyle,
the Spartane vvealthe, to garde from euery ſpoyle.)
Shalbe the chief, graue cauſes to decyde
vvith Senatours: vvhoſe ſounde aduiſe is tride.
And next to them, the people ſhall fulfill
aſmuche as ſeemes, to pleaſe their princes vvill.

Lycurgus now hauing thus tempered the forme of his comon weale, it ſeemed notwithſtanding to thoſe that came after him, that this ſmall number of thirtie perſones that made the Senate, was yet to mightie, & of to great authoritie. Wherefore to bridle them in a litle, they gaue them (as *Plato* ſayeth) a bytte in their mouths, & that was the authoritie of the Ephores, which ſignifie as much as comptrollers: and were erected about a hundred and thirtie yeres after the death of *Lycurgus*. The firſt which was choſen of theſe, was *Elatus*, and it was in the time of king *Theopompus*, whoſe wife on a daye in her anger ſayed: howe throughe his negligence he would leaue leſſe to his ſucceſſours, then he had receyued of his predeceſſours. To whom he aunſwered againe, not leſſe but more, for that it ſhall continue lenger, and with a more ſuertie. For, in loſing thus their too abſolute power, that wrought them great enuie & hatred amōg their citizens, they dyd eſcape the daūger & miſchief that their neighbours the ARGIVES, and MESSENIANS dyd feele: who would not geue ouer the ſoueraine authoritie which they had gotten once. This example maketh *Lycurgus* great wiſdome and foreſight manifeſtly knowen: who ſo will deeply conſider the ſeditions & ill gouernements of the ARGIVES, & MESSENIANS (their neere neighbours and kinſemen) aſwell from the people, as from the Kings. Who from the beginning had all things alike to the SPARTANS: & in deuiding of their lands a farre better order then theirs. This notwithſtanding, they dyd not proſper longe: but through the pryde of their Kings,

The inſtitution of the Ephores.

Lycurgus wiſdome.

A Kings,and the disobedience of their people,they entred into ciuill warres one against another, shewing by their disorders & misfortunes the speciall grace the godds dyd beare to SPARTA, to geue them such a reformer,as dyd so wisely temper the state of their common weale, as we will shewe hereafter. The second lawe that *Lycurgus* made,and the boldest and hardest he euer tooke in hande,was the making of a newe diuision of their lands.For he sawe so great a disorder & vnequality among the inhabitants,aswell of the countrie,as of the citie LACEDÆMON,by reason some (and the greatest number of them) were so poore,that they had not a handfull of grounde,and other some being least in number were very riche,that had all: he thought with him self to banishe out of the cittie all insolencie,enuie,couetousnes, & deliciousnes,and also all riches and pouertie,which he tooke the greatest,and the most continuall plagues of a cittie,

B or common weale. For this purpose, he imagined there was none so ready and necessarie a meane,as to persuade his cittizens to suffer all the landes, possessions, and inheritance of their countrie,to ronne in common together: and that they should make a newe diuision equally in partition amongest them selues, to liue from thenceforth as it were like brothers together, so that no one were richer thē another,& none should seeke to go before eache other, any other waye then in vertue only: thincking there should be no difference or vnequalitie among inhabitants of one cittie,but the reproaches of dishonestie,& the prayses of vertue.Thus *Lycurgus* following his determination, dyd out of hande make a lawe of the diuision of their lands. For first he dyd deuide all the countrie of LACONIA,into thirtie thousand equall partes,the which he dyd set out for those that inhabited about SPARTA: and of those landes that ioyned next

C to the cittie of SPARTA, that was the chief metropolitan cittie of LACONIA, he made other nine thousand partes,which he deuided to the naturall cittizens of SPARTA,who be those that are properly called Spartans.Howbeit some will saye,he made but sixe thousand parts,& that king *Polydorus* afterwards dyd adde to other three thousand partes.Other saye also, that *Lycurgus* of these nine thousand partes made but the halfe onely,& *Polydorus* the rest. Euery one of these partes was such, as might yelde vnto the owner yerely, three score and tenne bushels of barley for a man,and twelue bushels for the woman,and of wine & other liquide fruites, much like in proportion: which quantitie *Lycurgus* iudged to be sufficiēt,to kepe the bodye of a man in health, & to make him stronge & lustie, without any further allowance. They saye after this, as he returned home one day out of the fields,and came ouer the lands where wheate had bene

D reaped not longe before,and sawe the number of sheaues lying in euery shocke together,& no one shocke bigger then another: he fell a laughing,& told them that were with him,me thinks all LACONIA is as it were an inheritance of many brethern, who had newly made partition together.He gaue an attempt to haue deuided also moueables, & to haue made a common partition betwene them,to thend he would haue vtterly taken away all vnequalitie.But finding the cittizens tooke it very impatiently,that openly that which they had,should be taken awaye: he went about to doe it more secretly,and in a conninger wise to take away that couetousnes.For first of all,he dyd forbid all coyne of golde and syluer to be currant: & then he dyd set out cer-

E taine coynes of iron which he commaunded only to be currant, whereof a great weight and quantitie was but litle worthe. So as to laye vp therof the value of tenne Minas, it would haue occupied a whole celler in a house, besides it would haue neded a yoke of oxen to carie it any where.Nowe golde & siluer being thus banished out of the countrie,many lewde partes & faultes must needes cease thereby.For who would robbe,steale,picke,take awaye,hyde,procure,or whorde vp any thing,that he had no great occasion to desire,nor any profit to possesse, nor would be any pleasure to vse or employe.For,the iron they occupied for their coyne, they cast vineger vpon it while it was redde hotte out of the fire, to kill the strength & working of it to any other vse: for thereby it was so eger & brickle,that it would byde no hammer,nor could be made,beaten,or forged to any other facion.By this meanes he banished also,all superfluous & vnprofitable sciences,which he knew he should not neede to doe by any proclamation: bi-

F cause they would fall awaye(or the most parte of them) euen of them selues,when the basenes of the money they should take for their worke,should vndoe them.For their iron moneys were not currant els where in the cities of GREECE, but euery bodye made a ieste of it there. By this occasion,the LACEDÆMONIANS could buye no forrein wares nor marchandises, neither

Lycurgus maketh equall diuision of landes vnto the cittizens.

All the lands throughe the countrie of Laconia, deuided into 30000. parts.

All the lands about Sparta into 9000 partes.

VVhat barley euery parte did yelde.

Lycurgus chaungeth all golde & siluer into iron coyne.

Lycurgus made all sciences & crafftes of no value.

came there any ſhippe into their hauen to trafficke with them, neither any fine curious Rethorician dyd repaire into their countrie to teache them eloquence, & the cunning caſt of lying: nor yet came there to them any wyſard to tell them their fortune, nor any Pander to keepe any brothell houſe, nor yet goldſmithe or iueller, to make or ſell any toyes or trifles of golde or ſiluer to ſet forth women: conſidering all theſe things are vſed to be made to get money, and to hourd vp that they had not. After this ſorte, delicatenes that wanted many things that entertained it, beganne by litle and litle to vaniſhe awaye, & laſtely, to fall of from them ſelues: when the moſt riche men had no more occaſion then the pooreſt, and riches hauing no meane to ſhewe her ſelfe openly in the worlde, was fayne to remaine ſhut at home idely, as not able to doe her maſter any ſeruice. Thereupon moueables and houſeholde ſtuffe (which a man cannot be without, and muſt be daylie occupied) as bedſteades, tables, chayers, and ſuche like neceſſaries for houſe, were excellently well made: and men dyd greatly prayſe the facion of the LACONIAN cuppe which they called Cothon, and ſpecially for a ſouldier in the warres, as *Critias* was wont to ſaye. For it was made after ſuch a facion, that the culler of it dyd let the eye to diſcerne the fowle & vnwholſome water, which men are driuen oftetimes to drinke in a campe, and goeth many times againſt ones ſtomake to ſee it: and if by chaunce there was any filth or mudde in the bottome, it would cleaue and ſticke faſt vpon the ribbes of the bellie, and nothing came through the necke, but cleane water to his mouth that drancke it. The reformer of their ſtate was the cauſe of all this: bicauſe their artificers tending now no ſuperfluous works, were occupied about the making of their moſt neceſſary things. Further, nowe to driue awaye all ſuperfluitie and deliciouſnes, and to roote out vtterly deſire to get and gather: he made another thirde lawe for eating and drincking, and againſt feaſtes and banckets. Firſt he willed and commaunded the cittizens, that they ſhould eate together all of one meate, and chiefly of thoſe he had permitted by his ordinance. Then he dyd expreſſely forbid them to eate alone, or a parte, or ſecretly by them ſelues, vpon riche tables and ſumptuous beddes, abuſing the labour of excellent worcke men, and the deuiſes of likerous cookes to cramme them ſelues in corners, as they doe fatte vp beaſtes and poultrie, which doth not only breede ill conditions in the minde, but dothe marre the complexions of men, and the good ſtates of their bodie, when they giue them ſelues ouer to ſuch ſenſualitie and gluttonie. Whereof it followeth in the ende that men muſt needes ſleepe muche, to helpe to diſgeſt the exceſſe of meates they haue taken, and then muſt they goe to the whotte houſes to bathe them ſelues, and ſpend long time about the ordinarie attendance of their ſickely bodyes. This was a marueilous thing for him to bring to paſſe, but much more, to make riches not to be ſtolen, and leaſt of all to be coueted, as *Theophraſtus* ſayd of him: which by this meanes of making them eate together with all ſobriety at their ordinarie dyet, was brought to paſſe. For there was no more meane to the riche, then to the poore, to vſe to playe, or ſhewe riches, ſithe both of them were forced to be together in one place, and to eate all of one meate: ſo as that which is commonly ſpoken, that *Pluto* the god of riches is blinde, was truely verified only in the cittie of SPARTA, aboue all other places of the worlde. For there riches was layed on the grounde like a corſe without a ſoule, that moueth no whit at all: conſidering it was not lawfull for any man to eate at home ſecretly in his houſe, before he came to their open halles, nor might not come thither for a countenance only to his meales, being already fedde and full fraight. For euery mans eye was vpon thoſe ſpecially which did not eate & drincke with a good ſtomake amongeſt them: & it was the vſe to reproche them as gluttons, and dayntie mouthed men, which refuſed to eate as it were in common together. So as this was the ordinance they ſaye, that grieued moſt the riche aboue all that *Lycurgus* made, and whereat they were moſt madde and angrie with him: in ſo muche, as on a daye, they all ſetting vpon him to alter it, he was compelled to ronne out of the market place, and getting grounde of them, he recouered the liberties of a churche, before any could ouertake him: ſauing one young man called *Alcander*, who otherwiſe had no ill nature in him, but that he was ſomewhat quicke of his hande, and cholericke with all. Who following *Lycurgus* nerer then any other, dyd geue him a blowe ouerthwart the face with a ſtaffe, and ſtrake out one of his eyes, as *Lycurgus* turned toward him. Yet for all this, *Lycurgus* neuer baſhed or made worde at the matter, but dyd lifte vp his head to thoſe that followed him, and ſhewed

Cothon a ſtraūge kinde of cuppe of the Lacedæmonian ſouldiers.

Lycurgus appointeth order for dyet vnto the Lacedæmonians.

Alcander ſtrooke out Lycurgus eye.

A ſhewed them his face all a gore bloude, and his eye put out cleane: whereof they were all ſo ſore aſhamed, that there was not a man that durſt once open his mouth againſt him, but to the contrarie, they ſeemed to pittie him, and dyd deliuer *Alcander* into his handes that had done the dede, to puniſhe him as him ſelfe pleaſed. And ſo they all brought him to his houſe, and ſhewed they were right hartely ſorie for his hurte. *Lycurgus* thancking them, returned them all backe againe, ſaue that he made *Alcander* to goe with him into his houſe, where he neuer hurte him, nor gaue him fowle worde: but commaunded him onely to waite vpon him, and made his other ordinarie ſeruaunts to withdraw their waiting. This young man who now beganne to ſpye his owne faulte, dyd moſt willingly attend vpon him, and neuer ſpake worde to the contrarie. When he had ſerued him a certaine time, being very nere continually about

Lycurgus patience and gentleneſs.

B him, he beganne to feele and taſte of his naturall liberalitie, and ſawe of what affection and intention *Lycurgus* was moued to doe all he dyd: he perceyued what was the ſeueritie of his ordinary life, and what his conſtancy was to endure labour without wearines. *Alcander* then beganne to loue and honour *Lycurgus* from his harte, and tolde his parents and friends, howe he was no ſuche ſeuere man as he ſeemed, but was of ſo kynde and gentle a nature to all men as might be. See I praye you howe *Alcander* was transformed by *Lycurgus*, and his puniſhement alſo, which he ſhould haue receyued: for of a fierce, raſhe, and a lewde conditioned youth he was before, he became nowe a very graue and wiſe man. But for memorie of this his misfortune, *Lycurgus* built a temple to *Minerua*, which he ſurnamed *Optiletide*, bicauſe the

Minerua optileside.

DORIANS which dwell in thoſe partes of PELOPONNESVS, doe call the eyes, *optiles*. There

C are other writers (as *Dioſcorides* for one) which ſaye *Lycurgus* had a blowe with a ſtaffe, but he had not his eye ſtriken out with it: and how contrariwiſe, he founded this temple to *Minerua*, to giue her thanckes for healing of his eye. Hereof it came, that euer ſince the SPARTANS haue bene reſtrayned to carie ſtaues in any aſſembly of counſell. But to returne to their common repaſtes, which the CRETANS called *Andria*, and the LACEDÆMONIANS *Phiditia*, either bicauſe they were places wherein they learned to liue ſoberly and ſtraightly (for in the GREKE tongue *Phido*, is to ſaue and ſpare) or els bicauſe their amitie and friendſhippe grewe there towards one another, as if they would haue called them *Philitia*, feaſts of loue, by chaunging.d. into. L: It maye be alſo they added the firſt letter as ſuperfluous, and ment to call the places *Edtia*, bicauſe they dyd eate and drincke there. They ſat in their halles by fifteene in a

Andria and Phiditia meales why ſo called.

D companie, litle more or leſſe, and at the beginning of euery moneth euery one brought a buſhell of meale, eight gallons of wine, fiue pound of cheeſe, and two pound and a halfe of figges for a man, beſides ſome litle portion of their monye to buye certaine freſhe acates. And ouer and aboue all this, euery man when he dyd ſacrifice in his houſe, was bounde to ſend the beſt and chiefeſt things of his ſacrifice to the halles to be eaten. Likewiſe if any man went an hunting, and killed any veniſon: it was an order, he ſhould ſend a pece of the fleſhe thither. Hauing theſe two lawfull cauſes, they might eate and drinke by them ſelues at home, either when they ſacrificed any beaſt to the goddes, or when they came late home from hunting: otherwiſe they were bounde of neceſſitie to meete in their halles at meales, if they would eate any thing. This order they kept very ſtraightly a great time: in ſo muche as king *Agis* on a daye,

E returning from the warres, where he had ouerthrowen the ATHENIANS, and being deſirous to ſuppe at home priuately with the Queene his wife, he ſent to the halles for his portion. But the *Polemarchi*, that be certaine officers aſſiſting the Kings in the warres, dyd denye him. The next daye *Agis* left of for ſpight, to doe the accuſtomed ſacrifice they were wont to celebrate in the ende of euery warre: whereupon they ſet a fine on his head, and condemned him to paye it. The young children alſo went to theſe repaſts, euen as they ſhould goe to ſchooles to learne grauity and temperaunce, where they heard wiſe and graue diſcourſes touching the gouernment of a common weale, but not of maſters that were as hierlinges. There they learned pretylie to playe vpon wordes, and pleaſauntly to ſporte one with another, without any broade ſpeaches, or vncomely ieſtes, and at others handes to beare the

Children were brought to theſe meales.

F ſame againe, without choller or anger. For this propertie haue the LACEDÆMONIANS aboue all other, to take and geue a mocke without any offence: neuertheles, if any mans nature could not beare it, he neded but praye the partie to forbeare his ieſting, and ſo he lefte it ſtraight.

The propertie of a Lacedæmonian.

And it was euer an ordinarie among them, that the eldeſt of the companie tolde the reſt that were come into the hall to meale, with ſhewing them of the dore: Sirs, remember, there goeth not a worde here out of this dore. Euen ſo he that would be receyued to meale there in their companie, muſt firſt of neceſſitie be allowed and receyued in this ſorte, by all the reſt. Euery one of them tooke a litle balle of branne or dowe to waſhe their handes with, and without euer a word ſpeaking, they threwe it into a baſen, which the ſeruant that waited on them at the table dyd carie vpon his head: he that was contented the other ſhould be receyued in companie, dyd caſt in his balle as he dyd receyue it, but if he miſliked him, then he preſſed it flat betwene his fingers, and threwe it in. This ball of branne thus preſſed flat, was aſmuch as a beane bored thorough, and was to them a ſigne of condemnation. If any one balle were found of this ſorte, the ſuter was reiected: for they would not haue any enter into their companie, that was not liked of all the reſt. He that thus was reiected, they ſaye he was diſcadded: for the baſin wherein the litle balles were caried, was called *Caddos*. The beſt diſhe they ſerued at theſe meales, was that they call their blacke brothe: ſo that when they had that, the olde men dyd eate no fleſhe, but lefte it all to the younge men, and they by them ſelues dyd eate the brothe. There was a king of PONTVS, that being deſirous to taſte of this blacke broth, dyd buye of purpoſe a LACEDÆMONIAN cooke: but after he had once taſted thereof, he was very angry ſtraight. The cooke then ſayed vnto him: and it pleaſe your grace, ere one ſhall finde this brothe good, he muſt be waſhed firſt in the riuer of Eurotas. After they had eate and druncke thus ſoberly together, euery one repaired home without any light: for it was not lawfull for them to goe thither, nor any where els with light, bicauſe they ſhould accuſtome them ſelues boldely to goe vp and downe the darcke, and all about in the night. This was the order and manner of their meales. But here is ſpecially to be noted, that *Lycurgus* would in no wiſe haue any of his lawes put in writing. For it is expreſſely ſet downe in his lawes they call *Retra*, that none of his lawes ſhould be written. For he thought that which ſhould chiefly make a cittie happie, and vertuous, ought throughly by education to be printed in mens heartes and manners, as to haue continuaunce for euer: which he tooke to be loue and good will, as a farre ſtronger knot to tye men with, then any other compulſary lawe. Which when men by vſe and cuſtome through good education doe take in their childhoode, it maketh euery man to be a lawe to him ſelfe. Furthermore, concerning buying and barganing one with another, which are but trifles, and ſometime are chaunged in one ſorte, and ſometime in another, as occaſion ſerueth: he thought it beſt not to conſtrayne them to doe it by writing, nor to eſtabliſhe cuſtomes that might not be altered, but rather to leaue them to the libertie and diſcretion of men which had bene brought vp in the ſame, bothe to take awaye, and to adde therein, as the caſe and time ſhould require. But to conclude, he thought the chiefeſt pointe of a good lawe maker or reformer of the common weale was, to cauſe men to be well brought vp and inſtructed. One of his ordinaunces therefore was expreſſely, that not one of his lawes ſhould be written. Another of his deuiſes was, againſt ſuperfluous charges and expences: which to auoyde, he made a lawe that all rooſes of houſes ſhould be made only with the axe, and all gates and doores with the ſawe, and that without any other toole of occupation. Wherein he had the like imagination as afterwards *Epaminondas* had, when he ſayed, ſpeaking of his table: Such a borde neuer receyueth any treaſon. Euen ſo thought *Lycurgus*, that ſuch a buylt houſe would neuer receyue curioſitie or daintines. For no man is ſo maddely diſpoſed or ſimple witted, as to bring into ſo poore and meane houſes, bedſteades with ſiluer feete, imbrodered couerlettes, or counterpoyntes of purple ſilke, neither yet plate of golde nor of ſiluer, nor ſuche other like coſtly furniture and fineneſs, as thoſe things require to wayte vpon them: bicauſe the beddes muſt be aunſwerable to the meanenes of the houſe, the furnitures of the beddes muſt be ſutelike to the ſame, and all other houſeholde ſtuffe, dyet, meate, and drincke agreable to the reſt. Hereof proceeded that, which *Leontychidas* the firſt King of that name, ſayed once: who ſupping on a time in the cittie of CORINTHE, and ſeeing the rooſe of the hall where he ſatte, ſumptuouſly embowed and carued, he asked ſtraight if the trees dyd growe carued ſo in that countrie. The third lawe was, he dyd forbyd them to make warre often with one enemie, leſt the enemie forced to take often armes in hande, might in the ende growe experter and vallianter then they.

The order of receiuing any man into their company at meales.

The blacke broth.

Cicero calleth this King, Dionyſius the tyrãn. Tuſc. 5.

Lycurgus would not haue his lawes written otherwiſe then in mens myndes.

Retra, for exceſſe or ryot.

Epaminondas ſaying.

King Leontychidas ſaying Retra for warres.

A they. For this cauſe king *Ageſilaus* was greatly blamed, who was a longe time after. For by making often warres with the countrie of BOEOTIA, he made the THEBANS in the ende as expert and valliant ſouldiers, as the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereupon *Antaleidas* ſeeing him hurte one daye, ſayed vnto him: The THEBANS haue nobely rewarded thee for their learning, ſith thou haſt made them expert ſoldiers vnwilling to learne the diſcipline of warre. *Antaleidas ſaying.*
These be the lawes *Lycurgus* ſelfe called *Retra*, and ſignifie as muche as Oracles, that the god *Apollo* had diſcouered to him. Nowe the education of children, he eſteemed the chiefeſt and greateſt matter, that a reformer of lawes ſhould eſtabliſhe. Therefore beginning a farre of, he firſt conſidered the ſtate of mariage, and the generation of children. For *Ariſtotle* ſayeth, that *Lycurgus* dyd attempt to reforme women, and dyd ſoone geue it ouer
B againe: bicauſe he could doe no good therein, by reaſon of the great libertie they had taken by the abſence of their husbands in the warres, compelled often ſo to be abroade, and that they dyd leaue them miſtreſſes of their houſe, and at their returne dyd honour them ſo muche, and make of them ſo beyonde meaſure, with calling them ladyes and miſtreſſes. Howbeit this is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, aſwell as he had of mens: and ſo reaſon dyd require. Firſt of all, he willed that the maydens ſhould harden their bodyes with exerciſe of running, wreſtling, throwe the barre, and caſting the darte, to the ende that the fruite wherewith they might be afterwardes conceyued, taking noriſhement of a ſtronge and luſtie bodye, ſhould ſhoote out and ſpread the better: and that they by gathering ſtrength thus by exerciſes, ſhould more eaſely awaye with the paynes
C of childe bearing. And to take awaye from them their womaniſhe dayntines, and fines, he brought vp a cuſtome, for young maydes and boyes to goe as it were a preceſſion, and to daunce naked at ſolemne feaſtes and ſacrifices, and to ſinge certaine ſonges of their owne making, in the preſence and ſight of young men. To whom by the waye they gaue many times prety mockes of purpoſe, as pleaſauntly hitting them home, for things wherein before they had forgotten their dueties: and ſometimes alſo in their ſonge for their vertues, wittes, or manners, they prayſed them which had deſerued it. By this meanes, they dyd ſet young mens hartes a fire, to ſtriue to winne moſt prayſe and honour. For who ſo was prayſed of them for a valliant man, or whoſe worthy actes were ſonge by them, he thereby was incoraged to doe the better another time: and the pretie girdes and quippes they gaue to others,
D was of no leſſe force, then the ſharpeſt wordes and admonitions that otherwiſe could be geuen them. This tooke place the rather, bicauſe it was done in the preſence of the Kings, the Senatours, & all the reſt of the cittizens which came thither to ſee theſe ſportes. And though the maydes dyd ſhewe them ſelues thus naked openly, yet was there no diſhoneſty ſeene nor offred, but all this ſporte was full of playe and toyes, without any youthfull parte or wantonnes: and rather caried a ſhewe of demurenes, and a deſire to haue their beſt made bodyes ſeene and ſpyed. Moreouer, it ſomewhat lifted vp their hartes, and made them noblier minded, by geuing them to vnderſtand, that it was no leſſe comely for them, in their kynde and exerciſes to carie the bell, then it was for men in their games and exerciſes to carie the price. Hereof it came, that the women of LACEDÆMON were ſo bolde to ſaye, and thincke of them ſelues
E that, which *Gorgona* the wife of king *Leonidas* one daye aunſwered: being in talke with a ſtraunge woman that ſayed to her. There be no women in the worlde that commaund their husbands, but you wiues of LACEDÆMON. Whereto the Queene ſtraight replyed: ſo be there no women but we, which bringe forth men. Furthermore, theſe playes, ſportes, and daunſes, the maydes dyd naked before younge men, were prouocations to drawe and allure the young men to marye: not as perſuaded by geometricall reaſons, as ſayeth *Plato*, but brought to it by liking, and of very loue. Thoſe which would not marye, he made infamous by lawe. For it was not lawfull for ſuche to be preſent, where theſe open games and paſtimes were ſhewed naked. Furthermore, the officers of the cittie compelled ſuche as would not marye, euen in the hardeſt time of the winter, to enuironne the place of theſe ſportes, and
F to goe vp and downe ſtarcke naked, and to ſinge a certaine ſonge made for the purpoſe againſt them, which was: that iuſtely were they puniſhed, bicauſe that lawe they diſobeyed. Moreouer, when ſuche were olde, they had not the honour and reuerence done them, which

The diſcipline of women amongeſt the Lacedæmonians. Ariſt. polit. lib. 7. cap. 17.

The exerciſes and diſcipline of maydes.

The ſaying of a Latoniah woman.

Men that would not marye, Lycurgus reputed infamous by lawe.

old maried men vſually receiued. Therefore there was no man that miſliked, or reproued that, A
which was ſpoken to *Dercillidas*: albeit otherwiſe he was a noble captaine. For, comming into
a preſence, there was a young man which would not vouchſafe to riſe & doe him reuerence,
nor to geue him place for to ſit downe: & worthely, quoth he, bicauſe thou haſt not gotten a ſonne,
Matrimoniall ceremonies in Lacedæmon. who maye doe ſo muche for me in time to come. Thoſe which were deſirous to marie any,
were driuen to take them awaye by force whom they would marie, not litle younge wenches
I meane, which were not of age to be maried: but luſtie & ſtrong maides of age to beare chil-
dren. And when one of them was ſtolen awaye in this ſorte, ſhe that was priuie thereto, and
meane to make the mariage, came and ſhaued the heares of her head that was maried: then
ſhe put her into mans apparell, & gaue her all things ſute like to the ſame, and layed her vpon
a mattereſſe all alone, without light or candell. After this was done, the bridegroome, being B
neither droncke nor finelier apparrelled then he was wonte to be, but hauing ſupped ſoberly
at his ordinarie, came home ſecretly to the houſe where the bride was: and there vntied his
wiues girdell, tooke her in his armes, layed her vpon a bed, and talked together a while, and
afterwards fayer & ſoftely ſtole awaye to the place, where he was wonte to ſleepe with other
young men. And ſo from thenceforth, he continued allwayes to doe the like, being all the daye
time, and ſleeping moſt of the night, with his companions, onles he ſometime ſtale to ſee his
wife, being affrayed, and aſhamed euer to be ſeene, by any of the houſe where ſhe was. And
hereunto his younge wife did helpe for her parte, to ſpye meanes and occaſions howe they
might mete together, and not be ſeene. This manner endured a great while, and vntill ſomme
of them had children, before they boldely met together, and ſawe eache other on the daye C
time. This ſecret meeting in this ſorte did ſerue to good purpoſes, not only bicauſe it was
ſome meane of continencie and ſhamefaſtnes, but alſo it kept their bodies in ſtrength and
Holſome rules for maried cooples. better ſtate, to bring forth children. It continued alſo in both parties, a ſtill burning loue, and
a newe deſire of the one to the other, not as it were luke warme, nor wearie, as theirs com-
monly be which haue their bellies full of loue, and as muche as they luſt: but they euer
parted with an appetite one from another, keeping ſtill a longing deſire to deuiſe howe to
mete againe. Nowe when he had ſtabliſhed ſuche a continencie, and ſo kynde a framed
honeſtie in mariage, he tooke no leſſe care to driue awaye all fooliſhe iealouſie therein, thin-
Lycurgus regard to auoyd iealouſie in the common wealth. king it very good reaſon to beware there ſhould be no violence, nor confuſion in mariage:
and yet as reaſon would, they ſhould ſuffer thoſe which were worthie to get children as it D
were in common, laughing at the mad follie of them which reuenge ſuch things with warre
and bloudſhed, as though in that caſe men in no wiſe ſhould haue no fellowſhippe together.
Therefore a man was not to be blamed, being ſtepped in yeres, and hauing a young wife, if
ſeeing a fayer young man that liked him, and knowen with all to be of a gentle nature, he
brought him home to get his wife with childe, and afterwardes would auowe it for his, as
if him ſelfe had gotten it. It was lawfull alſo for an honeſt man that loued another mans wife,
for that he ſawe her wiſe, ſhamefaſt, and bringing forth goodly children, to intreate her huſ-
band to ſuffer him to lye with her, and that he might alſo plowe in that luſtie grounde, and caſt
abroade the ſeede of well fauored children: which by this meanes came to be common in
bloude and parentage, with the moſt honorable and honeſteſt perſones. For firſt of all, *Lycur-* E
gus did not like that children ſhould be priuate to any men, but that they ſhould be common
to the common weale: by which reaſon he would alſo, that ſuch as ſhould become cittizens,
ſhould not be begotten of euery man, but of the moſt honeſteſt men only. So *Lycurgus*
thought alſo there were many fooliſhe vaine toyes and fanſies, in the lawes and orders of other
nations, touching mariage: ſeeing they cauſed their bitches and mares to be limed and coue-
red with the fayreſt dogges and goodlieſt ſtalons that might be gotten, praying or paying the
maſters and owners of the ſame: and kept their wiues notwithſtanding ſhut vp ſafe vnder
locke and key, for feare leaſt other then them ſelues might get them with childe, although
they were ſickely, feeble brayned, and extreme olde. As if it were not firſt of all, and chiefly a
diſcommoditie to the fathers and mothers, and likewiſe to thoſe that bring them vp, to haue F
vnperfect and feeble children borne, as it were begotten of drie and withered men: and then
to the contrarie, what pleaſure and benefit is it to thoſe that haue fayer and good children,

borne,

borne, as gotten of like ſeede and men. Theſe things were done then by naturall and ciuill reaſon, neuertheles they ſaye women were ſo farre of then from intreatie, as euer they were before: ſo as in olde time, in SPARTA, men knew not what adulterie ment. For proofe whereof, the aunſwer made by *Geradas* (one of the firſt auncient SPARTANS) vnto a ſtraunger, maye be alledged: that asked him, what puniſhement they had for adulterers. My friend, quo he, there be none here. But if there were? replied the ſtraunger againe. Marye ſayed he, then he muſt paye as great a bull, as ſtanding vpon the toppe of the mountaine Taygetus, maye drincke in the riuer of Eurotas. Yea marye: but howe is it poſſible (quo the ſtraunger) to finde ſuch a bull? *Geradas* laughing, aunſwered him againe. And howe were it poſſible alſo to finde an adulterer in SPARTA? And this is that which is found of *Lycurgus* lawes touching mariages. Furthermore, after the birthe of euery boye, the father was no more maſter of him, to cocker and bring him vp after his will: but he him ſelfe caried him to a certaine place called Leſché, where the eldeſt men of his kinred being ſet, did viewe the childe. And if they founde him fayer, and well proportioned of all his limmes, and ſtronge: they gaue order he ſhould be brought vp, and appointed him one of the nine thouſand partes of inheritaunce for his education. Contrariwiſe, if they founde him deformed, miſhapen, or leane, or pale, they ſent him to be throwen in a deepe pyt of water, which they commonly called Apothetes, and as a man would ſaye, the common houſe of office: holding opinion it was neither good for the childe, nor yet for the common weale, that it ſhould liue, conſidering from his birthe he was not well made, nor geuen to be ſtronge, healthfull, nor luſtie of bodie all his life longe. For this cauſe therefore, the nurce after their birthe did not waſhe them with water ſimply (as they doe euery where at that time) but with water mingled with wine: and thereby did they prooue, whether the complexion or temperature of their bodies were good or ill. For they ſuppoſe, that children which are geuen to haue the falling ſicknes, or otherwiſe to be full of rewmes & ſickneſſes, cannot abide waſhing with wine, but rather drye and pyne awaye: as contrarilie the other which are healthfull, become thereby the ſtronger and the luſtier. The nurces alſo of SPARTA vſe a certaine manner to bring vp their children, without ſwadling, or binding them vp in clothes with ſwadling bandes, or hauing on their heades any croſſe clothes: ſo as they made them nimbler of their limmes, better ſhaped and goodlier of bodie. Beſides that, they acquainted their children to all kinde of meates, and brought them vp without muche tendaunce, ſo as they were neither fine nor licorous, nor fearefull to be lefte alone in the darcke, neither were they criers, wrallers, or vnhappy children, which be all tokens of baſe and cowardly natures. So that there were ſtraungers, that of purpoſe bought nources out of LACONIA, to bring vp their children: as they ſaye *Amycla* was one of them, which nourced *Alcibiades*. But *Pericles* his tutor, gaue him afterwardes a bonde man called *Zopyrus*, to be his maſter and gouernour: who had no better propertie in him, then other common ſlaues. This did not *Lycurgus*. For he did not put the education and gouernment of the children of SPARTA, into the handes of hyered maſters or ſlaues bought with money: neither was it lawfull for the father him ſelfe to bring vp his owne childe after his owne manner and liking. For ſo ſoone as they came to ſeuen yeres of age, he tooke and diuided them by companies, to make them to be brought vp together, and to accuſtome them to playe, to learne, and to ſtudie one with another. Then he choſe out of euery company one, whom he thought to haue the beſt wit, and had moſt courage in him to fight: to whom he gaue the charge and ouerſight of his owne companie. The reſte had their eyes waiting allwayes on him, they did obey his commaundementes willingly, they did abide paciently all corrections he gaue them, they did ſuche taskes and worckes as he appointed them: ſo that all their ſtudie was moſt to learne to obey. Furthermore, the olde graye headed men were preſent many times to ſee them playe, and for the moſt parte they gaue them occaſions to fall out, and to fight one with another, that they might thereby the better knowe and diſcerne the naturall diſpoſition of euery one of them, and whether they gaue any ſignes or tokens in time to come, to become cowardes or valliant men. Touching learning, they had as muche as ſerued their turne: for the reſte of their time they ſpent in learning howe to obey, to awaye with payne, to indure labour, to ouercome ſtill in fight. According to their

No adultrie ſhowen in Sparta.

The education of children with the Lacedæmonians.

Leſche.

Apothetes.

Young babes waſhed with wine.

The Spartan nurces.

Plutar. of the firſt Alcibiades.

Howe the Lacedæmonians children were brought vp.

groweth and yeres, they dyd chaunge the exercises of their bodyes: they dyd shaue their heads, they went barelegged, they were constrained to playe naked together the most parte of their time. After they were past twelue yeres of age, they ware no lenger coates: and they gaue them yerely but one seely gowne. This was the cause they were alwayes so nasty & sluttishe, & they neuer vsed to bathe or noynte them selues, sauing only at certaine dayes in the yere, when they were suffered to tast of this refreshing. They laye and slept together vpon beddes of straw, which they them selues dyd make, of the toppes of reedes or canes that grewe in the riuer of Eurotas: which they were forced to goe gather and breake them selues with their handes, without any toole or iron at all. In the winter, they dyd mingle thistle downe with these, which is called *Lycophonas*, bicause that stuffe seemeth somewhat warme of it selfe. About this time, the fauorers and likers of this prety youthe, which were commonly the lustiest and best disposed youthes of the cittie, beganne to be ofter in their companie: and then the olde men tooke the better regarde vnto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daylie exercises, & where their vse was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one should mocke another. This dyd their olde men, not by waye of pastime only, but with suche care and harty loue towards them, as if they had bene altogether their fathers, masters, & gouernours, while they were boyes: in so much as there was neuer time nor place, where they had not allwayes some to admonishe, reproue, or correct them, if they dyd a faulte. Notwithstanding all this, there was euer one of the honestest men of the cittie, who had expressely the charge and gouernaunce of these boyes. He dyd diuide them in companies, and afterwards gaue the ouersight of them, to suche a one of the boyes as was discreetest, the manliest, the most hardie, and of the best corage amongest them. They called the children that were past infancie two yeres, *Irenes*: and the greateste boyes *Melirenes*: as who would saye, ready to goe out of boyerie. This boye who was made ouerseer of them, was commonly twenty yeres of age. He was their captaine when they fought, and did commaunde them as his seruaunts when they were in the house: and willed them which were strongest, and the most growen, to carie wodde when they should prepare dinner or supper, and those which were leaste and weakest, to goe gather erbes, which they must steale or lacke them. So they went out to steale some in gardens, some at the markets, other in the halles where the feastes were kept, and men did eate together, into the which they conueyed them selues as closely and cunningly as they could deuise: for if they were taken with the manner, they were scourged terriblie, bicause they were so grosse and necligent, and not fine and cunning in their facultie. They stole also all other kinde of meate, whatsoeuer they could get or laye hands on. They pried and sought all occasions howe to take and steale meate handsomely, bothe when men were a sleepe, or els that they were careles, or did not geue good hede vnto them. But he that was taken with the manner, had his payment roundely, and was punished with fasting besides: for they had but a slender pittaunce, bicause necessity should driue them to venter boldely, and wit should finde out all the deuises to steale finely. This was the chiefest cause, why they gaue them so small a diet. The seconde cause was, that their bodies might growe vp higher in height. For the vitall spirites not being occupied to concoct and disgest much meate, nor yet kept downe, or spread abroade by the quantitie or ouerburden thereof, doe enlarge them selues into lengthe, and shoote vp for their lightnes: and for this reason they thought the bodie did growe in height and lengthe, hauing nothing to let, or hinder the rising of the same. It seemeth, that the same selfe cause made them fayerer also. For the bodies that are leane and slender, doe better and more easely yeld to nature, which bringeth a better proportion and forme to euery member: and contrariwise it seemeth these grosse, corpulent, and ouerfedde bodies doe encounter nature, and be not so nimble and pliant to her, by reason of their heauy substaunce. As we see it by experience, the children which women bring a litle before their time, and be somwhat cast before they should haue bene borne, be smaller and fayerer also, and more pure commonly then other that goe their time: bicause the matter whereof the bodie is formed, being more supple and pliant, is the easelier welded by nature, which geueth them their shape and forme. Touching the naturall cause of this effect, let vs geue place to other to dispute it that will, without our further deciding of the same. But to returne to the matter of the LACEDÆMONIANS children.

It is a kinde of thistle in the Messeniã tongue: reade Hesychius.

Irenes. Melirenes.

The theeuerie of the Lacedæmonians.

Straight dyet causeth growth and height.

They

A They dyd robbe with ſo great care, and feare to be diſcouered: that they tell of one, which hauing ſtolen a litle foxe, dyd hyde him vnder his cloke, and ſuffered him with his teethe and clawes to teare out all his bellie, and neuer cryed, for feare he ſhould haue bene betrayed, vntill he fell downe dead in the place where he ſtoode. This is not vncredible, by that we ſee younge boyes doe abide at this daye: for we haue ſeene diuers, which haue bidden whipping euen to death, vpon the altar of *Diana*, ſurnamed *Orthia*. Nowe this vnder maſter, who had the charge of euery companie of theſe boyes, vſed after ſupper (ſitting yet at the table) to byd one of them ſinge a ſonge: to another he put forth a queſtion, who was to be well aduiſed of his aunſwer, as for example: Who is the honeſteſt man in the cittie? or howe thinckeſt thou by that ſuch a one dyd? By this exerciſe they were enured from boyes ſtate, to iudge of things
B well or ill done, and to vnderſtand the life and gouernment of their cittizens. For which of them dyd not aunſwer quickly and directly to theſe queſtions, who is a good man, who is an honeſt cittizen, and who not: they thought it was a ſigne of a dulle wit, and careles nature, not geuen to any vertue, for deſire of honour and eſtimation. Furthermore this vnder maſter was euer to waite for his aunſwer, and to ſee it ſhould be brief and well knyt vp in wordes: otherwiſe his puniſhement that aunſwered croſſely, or to litle purpoſe, was that his maſter byt him by the thumbe. This he dyd many times in the preſence of the olde men and magiſtrates of the cittie, that they might ſee whether he puniſhed them with reaſon or not, and according to their deſeruing. And though he dyd hurte him, they dyd not by and by reproue him, but when the children were gone awaye, then was he him ſelfe rebuked and puniſhed, if he had
C corrected them to ſore, or contrarylie had fauored them to muche. Moreouer they dyd aſcribe the good or ill opinion conceaued of the children, vnto euery of their fauorers, and louers, which dyd affect and entertaine them: in aſmuch as they ſaye, a young boye vpon a time fighting with another, and a crye ſcaping out of his mouthe, which his fainte cowardly harte dyd yelde, his fauorer & louer was ſtraight condemned by the officers of the cittie to a fine. Albeit this loue was a thing euen incorporated into them, that the moſt honeſt and vertuouſeſt women loued the young maydes thus alſo: yet was there no iealouſie nor ſuſpition that grewe hereof, but rather to the contrarie, there grewe a maruelous mutuall loue and kyndnes betweene them, which loued in one ſelfe place. For either of them by all the meanes they could, dyd deuiſe howe to make the childe they loued in common, the wiſeſt, the gentleſt, and the
D beſt conditioned aboue all other. They taught theſe children to ſpeake in ſuche ſorte, that their ſpeache had euer in it a pleaſaunt grace, and in fewe wordes comprehended much matter. For *Lycurgus* ordained, a great maſſe and weight of iron money, ſhould be but litle worthe, and of a ſmall value, as we haue tolde you before: and contrarilie, that ſpeache in fewe wordes, without any affectation, ſhould holde much deepe and graue matter, wherewith the children being acquainted, after long ſilence, ſhould be brief and pitthie in their aunſwers. For as the ſeede of incontinent men which are to buſie with euery ragge and colman hedge, can take no roote to bringe forth fruite: euen ſo immoderate ſpeache, full of wordes and buſie tattle, bringeth forth as litle ſenſe. Hereof it commeth, that the aunſwers of the LACONIANS were ſo ſhorte & witty. As they ſaye, king *Agis* aunſwered on a daye an ATHENIAN, who ieſting at the ſwords
E the LACEDÆMONIANS dyd were, ſayed they were ſo ſhorte, that theſe tumblers, and iugglers dyd ſwallowe them downe in the ſight of all the world: and yet ſayed *Agis*, we hurte our enemies with them for all that. For mine owne opinion, I like well of the LACONIANS manner of ſpeaking: which is not to ſpeake much, but when they ſpeake, to touch the matter effectually, and to make the hearers vnderſtand them. I thincke alſo, that *Lycurgus* ſelfe, was ſhorte and quicke in his talke. For ſo a man maye coniecture by his aunſwers which are written: as that which he made to one who earneſtly prayed him to ſtabliſhe a popular ſtate in LACEDÆMON, that the baſeſt might haue as great authoritie as the higheſt. Beginne (ꝙ he) to doe it firſt in thine owne houſe. And as that alſo which he aunſwered another who asked him, why he had appointed ſo ſmall things, and ſo little of value to be offered to the goddes? Bicauſe (ꝙ
F he) we ſhould neuer ceaſe to honour them. And as that which he ſpake another time, touching fightes and frayes, which was: that he dyd neuer forbid his cittizens any of them, but thoſe wherein they vſe to geue their hande, as you would ſaye to yeld. Men finde alſo ſuche like

Childrens exercise after their ſupper.

The Lacedæmonians manner of louing.

Short ſpeache taught among the Lacedæmonians.

Lycurgus wiſe aunſwers.

Lycurgus loue to god.

To geue a hād, is to confeſſe him ſelf ouercome.

aunſwers, in ſome of his letters written to his cittizens, as when they asked him. Howe can we defende our ſelues againſt our enemies? He aunſwered: If ye be poore, and one doe couet no more then another. And in another letter that was ſent, where he diſcourſeth, whether it were requiſite to incloſe the cittie with walles: he ſayeth, can that cittie be without walles, which is enuironned with men, though it be vncompaſſed with ſtone? Neuertheles it is harde to reſolue, whether thoſe letters, and other ſuche like that are ſhewed, be to be beleeued, or diſcredited to be his. But that long ſpeache was much diſliked, and reproued among the LACEDÆMONIANS, it is manifeſtly to be ſeene by the words, which ſomme amõgeſt them haue heretofore aunſwered. As king *Leonidas* ſayed one daye, to one that diſcourſed with him many good things, but out of ſeaſon: friend, thou ſpeakeſt many good wordes, but to litle purpoſe. And *Charilaus*, nephew to *Lycurgus*, being asked why his vncle made ſo fewe lawes: bicauſe ſayed he, to men of fewe wordes, fewe lawes will ſerue. And *Archidamidas* ſayed thus to ſomme, which reproued *Hecataeus* the Orator, for that being bidden to ſupper at one of their feaſts he ſpake not a worde all ſupper time. He who can ſpeake well, knoweth alſo when to ſpeake. And where I haue tolde before, that in their feate and quicke aunſwers, commonly there was ſome prety grace, it maye be well ſeene and knowen by theſe that followe. *Demaratus* aunſwered a buſie fellowe who troubled him to much with vaine importunate queſtions, asking him ſtill: who was the honeſteſt man of LACEDÆMON? euen he that is leaſt like thy ſelfe. And *Agis* ſayed to ſomme which highely prayſed the ELIANS for their vpright iudgement, & iuſt dealing in the games Olympicall. What wonder make ye of it (q; he) if in fiue yeres ſpace the ELIANS one daye doe good iuſtice? And *Theopompus* likewiſe to a ſtraunger, who as deſirous to ſhew his affection he bare the LACEDÆMONIANS, told him how euery bodye called him *Philolacon* (as to ſaye) a louer of LACEDÆMON. It were more honeſtie for thee (ſayed he) to be named *Philopolites*, a louer of her cittizens. And *Pliſtonax* the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, when an Orator of ATHENS ſayed the LACEDÆMONIANS were vnlearned, and ignorant: thou ſayeſt true q; he, for we only of all the GRECIANS haue learned none of your ill conditions. And *Archidamidas*, to one that demaunded of him, what number of fighting men there might be of the SPARTANS: Enowe ſayd he, to driue awaye the wicked. We maye coniecture alſo their manner of ſpeaking, by their wordes in mirthe, which they ſpake ſometimes playing wiſe: for they dyd neuer vſe to ſpeake vaine wordes at randone, but it had alwayes ſome ſecret meaning in it, which required anothers good obſeruation that would finde it. As he which was deſired to goe heare the nightingall counterfeated naturally: I haue (ſayed he) heard the nightingall it ſelfe. And another which hauing redde this inſcription vpon a tumbe.

When as they had, vvell quenched tyrannie
throughout their lande, by vvorthie vvarlike povver,
Their happe vvas yet in vvretched vvife to dye,
by ſcaling Selynuntaes' ſtrongeſt tovver.

They well deſerued death, ſayed he, that dyd but quenche tyrannie: they ſhould haue quite conſumed it with fire. And one younger boye to another, promiſing to geue him ſuche hardie cockes of the game, as ſhoul dye in the place where they fought. O geue me not thoſe (ſaid he) which will dye, but thoſe which with fighting will kill others. Another ſeeing men ſitting in coches and litters as they went: god forbid (ſaid he) that I ſhould euer ſit in a chayer, where I could not riſe to my elders. Suche were their aunſwers & encounters. So that ſomme had reaſon which ſayed heretofore, to ſpeake LACONIAN like, was to be philoſopher like: as you would ſaye, more to exerciſe the minde, then the bodye. Beſides all this, they dyd ſtudie to ſinge well, and to make goodly ditties and ſonges. Then they ſpake moſt properly and feately. There was in their ſongs alſo a certaine motion, I wote not what, which ſtirred vp the hearers hartes, and dyd kindle deſire in them to doe notable feates. Their tongue was plaine, without affectation: their matter graue and morall, conteining for the moſt parte the prayſe of thoſe, which were ſlayne in battell for the defence of their countrie, as being happy men: & a ſhame to thoſe that liue, which for fainte hartes refuſed ſo to dye, to leade a miſerable and vnfortunate life. Or els they ſange howe they were the patternes for time to come, or the right glorie of the worlde, and the true repreſentation of vertuous men: as the ſonge would beſt become their

Shorte ſentences of certaine Laconians. *Leonidas.* *Charilaus.* *Archidamidas.*

Sharpe ſentences of the Laconians. *Demaratus.* *Agis.* *Theopompus.*

Pliſtonax, Pauſanias ſonne.

Archidamidas.

In the life of Ageſilaus.

The Lacedæmonians ſonges.

A their ages which dyd ſinge. It ſhall not be impartinent for the better vnderſtanding hereof, to bring you here an exãple. For in their open feaſts, there were alwayes three daũces, according to the difference of the three ages. The daunce of the olde men, thus beganne firſt for to ſinge. *Three daunces among the Lacedæmonians.*

VVe haue bene young and ſtrong, yea valliant heretofore,
till crooked age did holde vs backe, and bad vs doe no more.

The young men followed after, ſinging:

VVe yet are young, bolde, ſtrong, and ready to maintaine
that quarell ſtill, againſt all men that doe on earth remaine.

The third was of children that came after and ſayed:

And vve doe hope aſvvell, to paſſe you all at laſt,
B *and that the vvorlde ſhall vvitnes be, ere many yeres be paſt.*

To conclude, who nerely will conſider the worcks and makings of the LACON poets (wherof ſome are yet extant) and will marke alſo the notes and tunes of the pipe, after the ſound and meaſure whereof they marched in arraye, going to charge the enemie: he ſhall finde, that *Terpander*, and *Pindarus*, had reaſon to ioyne hardynes with muſicke. For *Terpander* ſpeaking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, ſayeth in a place: *Terpander of the Lacedæmonians.*

This is that lande vvhere deedes of cheualrie,
did florishe moſt, in many a martiall feate:
VVhere muſicke made, her choiſe of harmonie,
and iuſtice kept her ſtately royall ſeate.

C And *Pindarus* ſpeaking of them alſo ſayeth: *Pyndarus of the Lacedæmonians.*

There: graue aduiſe, is founde in aged braynes:
there: gallant youthes, are luſty ladds in dede.
VVhich can both ſinge, and daunce, in courtlike traines:
yet dant their foes, vvith many a doughty dede.

By which teſtimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and deſcribeth them to haue loued muſicke, and the warres together. For as another LACON poet ſayeth,

It ſitteth vvell, and is a ſemely thinge,
for ſuch as ſpend their time in feats of vvarre:
To haue the skyll, ſvvete ſonets for to ſinge,
D *and touche the harpe vvithouten iangling iarre.*

For this cauſe therefore in all their warres, when they ſhould geue battell, the King dyd firſt ſacrifice to the Muſes, to put his ſouldiers in minde (as it ſhould ſeeme) of the diſcipline & wiſdome of the Muſes that they had bene brought vp in, to the end that when his ſouldiers were in the moſt extreme daunger, the Muſes ſhould preſent them ſelues before the ſouldiers eyes, to pricke them forward to doe ſome noble actes of worthy memorie. In their time of warre, they dyd tollerate their young men a litle of their hard & old accuſtomed life, & ſuffered them then to trime their heares, to haue braue armour, to weare gay apparell, & tooke as great delight therein, to ſee them gallant, & luſtie, as to behold young neying & ſnorting horſe, deſirous for to fight. And althoughe from the beginning of their youthe, they dyd vſe to weare longe *The longe buſhes and heare of the Laconians.*
E heares: yet were they neuer ſo carefull to combe & bruſhe their heades, as when they ſhould to the battell. For when they dyd nointe them ſelues with ſweete oyles, & dyd ſhed their heare, remembring *Lycurgus* ſaying: who was wont to tell them, that heares to them which were fayer, dyd make them more fayer, & to them that were fowle, they made them more ougly & dredfull. The exerciſes alſo of their bodies, were more eaſie & gentle, & not ſo hard & ſtraight in their warres, as they were in a peace: & generally, their whole manner of life was not then ſo ſtraightly viewed, nor yet controlled. So as they only were the men of the world, to whom warres were made a reſt from labour, which men ordinarylie doe endure, to make them the fitter for the warres. Afterwardes when their armie was ſet in battell raye, euen in the face of *How the Laconians beganne battell.*
F the enemie, the King dyd ſtraight ſacrifice a goate vnto the goddes, & forthwith commaunded all his ſouldiers to put their garlands of flowers on their heades, & willed that the pipes ſhould ſownd the ſonge of *Caſtor*: at the noyſe & tune whereof, he him ſelfe beganne firſt to marche *The Laconiãs ſonge when they marched. Euſt. Ilia. 15.*

forward. So that it was a maruelous pleasure, & likewise a dredfull sight, to see the whole battell marche together in order, at the sound of the pipes, and neuer to breake their pace, nor confounde their ranckes, nor to be dismayde nor amazed themselues, but to goe on quietly & ioyfully at the sounde of these pipes, to hazard themselues euen to death. For it is likely, that such corages are not troubled with much feare, nor yet ouercome with much furie: but rather they haue an assured constancie & valliantnes in good hope, as those which are backed with the assisting fauour of the goddes. The King marching in this order, had allwayes some about him, which had before time wonne the prises in games and iustes. And they saye there was one of these on a time, that was offered a great some of money at the games Olympicall, not to present him selfe at them: but he refused it, liking better with great payne to winne the prise, then for muche money to lose his honour. Whereupon one sayed vnto him, LACONIAN: & what hast thou gotten nowe, to carie away the prise with so much swet? The LACONIAN aunswered him laughing: I shall fight in the battell, sayeth he, before the King. When they had once broken into their enemies, they dyd still fiercely and fiercelier set vpon them, and dyd neuer cease, vntill their enemies gaue waye and fled: and then they chased and followed them still, vntill such time as their ouerthrowe and flight had assured them of the victorie. Then they quickly and quietly returned to their campe, iudging it to be no manhod, neither the parte of a noble minde, or of so wor hye a nation as the GRECIANS were, to kill and hewe in peeces, men so scattered and out of order, hauing forsaken all the hope of victorie. This fell out not only honorable, but also very profitable for them. For they which were in battell against them, knowing they killed none but suche as resisted stowtely, and howe they dyd let other goe which fled before them: they found it was more their benefit to flye, then to tarie and abide the strokes. *Hippias* the sophister sayeth, that *Lycurgus* him selfe was a very good captaine, & a great souldier, as he that had bene in many foughten fieldes: & *Philostephanus* ascribeth to him the deuise to put horsemen in troupes & companies, which they called *Oulames*, whereof fiftie men at armes was a troupe, whose manner was to put them selues in squadrōs. But *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* writeth otherwise, that *Lycurgus* was neuer at the warres, & that he made all his lawes and gouerniment in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermission of warres during the playes Olympicall, which they saye he deuised, doeth shew in apparaunce that he was a gentle natured man, & one that loued quietnes and peace. Some notwithstanding (amongest whom *Hermippus* was one) saye, he was not with *Iphitus* at the first beginning when he ordeined the playes Olympicall, but that by chaunce he happened to come thither, passing by in his iorney only, & that he stayed there to see the games: where he thought he heard the voyce of a man behinde him, saying, he maruelled much why he dyd not persuade his cittizens also to be parteners of this newe deuise: and turning backe to see who it was that spake to him, he sawe no bodye. Whereupon he tooke a conceit that it was a speache from the goddes: & went therefore presently to seeke out *Iphitus*, with whom he made all the statutes and orders of the feast, which afterwardes were farre more famous, better ordered, & more stately then before. But to returne againe to the LACEDÆMONIANS: their discipline & order of life continued still, after they were full growen men. For it was not lawfull for any man to liue as hē listed, but they were within their cittie, as if they had bene in a campe, where euery man knoweth what allowance he hath to liue withall, & what busines he hath els to doe in his calling. To be shorte, they were all of this minde, that they were not borne to serue them selues, but to serue their countrie. Therfore if they were cōmaunded nothing els, they went continually to see what the children dyd, and to teache them somewhat which might profit the common weale, or els they went to learne of those which were their elders. For one of the best and happiest things which *Lycurgus* euer brought into his cittie, was the great rest and leysure which he made his cittizens to haue, only forbidding them that they should not professe any vile or base occupation: and they needed not also to be carefull to get great riches, in a place where goodes were nothing profitable nor esteemed. For the Ilotes, which were made bonde men by the warres, dyd till their groundes, and yeelded them a certaine reuenue euery yere. And as touching this matter, they tell of a LACEDÆMONIAN, who being on a daye at ATHENS where the lawe was pleaded, dyd vnderstand that a cittizen there was condemned for Idlenes, and howe he went home

How farre the Laced emonians dyd pursue their enemies.

Lycurgus a very good captaine. Oulames.

The Laconians opinion, to serue their countrie.

The rest and leysure of the Laced æmonians.

Idle liuers punished at Athens.

to

A to his houſe very ſorowfully, accompanied with his friends which were ſorie for him, & greatly lamented his ill happe. The LACEDÆMONIAN then prayed thoſe which were about him, to ſhewe him the man condemned for liuing nobly, and like a gentleman. I haue alledged this, to ſhew how he thought it a vile & ſeruill thing to exerciſe any handy craft, or to worke any thing by hande to get money. For ſutes in lawe, a man maye be well aſſured they were baniſhed with the golde & ſiluer from LACEDÆMON, conſidering now there was no more auarice nor couetouſnes there, nor yet pouertie nor lacke, but equalitie with aboundaunce, & quiet life with ſobrietie. All other times but when they had warres, they followed daunſing, feaſtes, playes, bankets, hunting, or other exerciſes of bodye, & meetinges to paſſe the time away. For the younge men vntill they came to thirtie yeres of age, neuer went into the market to buye any prouiſion

Sutes in lawe went awaye with golde & ſiluer that was baniſhed.

How they ſpēt the time in Sparta.

B or things for the houſe, but dyd their fathers or their friends buſines: naye it was a ſhame for the oldeſt men, to hawnte the market to often. As to the contrary, it was honorable for them to be preſent at the ſhewe place the moſt parte of the daye, where they diuerſely exerciſed their bodyes, & likewiſe to be at the places of aſſembly, there to ſpend time with talking together, & diſcourſing honeſtly one with another, without talking of any matter of gaine, traffike, or money. For all their talke (for the moſt parte) was about the prayſing of ſome honeſt thing, or ſportingwiſe to reproue ſome diſhoneſtie, which alwayes caried with it ſome gentle leſſon or monition by the waye. For *Lycurgus* was not ſuch a ſower man, as they neuer ſawe him laughe: but as *Soſibius* writeth, it was he that firſt ſacrificed to the litle god of laughture, which is at LACEDÆMON, bicauſe he would mingle their feaſtes and aſſemblies with mirthe, as a pleaſaunt

C ſawce to eaſe the trouble of their ſtrickt and harde life. To be brief, he did accuſtome his cittizens ſo, that they neither would nor could liue alone, but were in manner as men incorporated one with another, and were allwayes in company together, as the bees be about their maſter bee: ſtill in a continuall loue to ſerue their countrie, to winne honour, & to aduaunce the common weale. Which affection of theirs is playne & eaſely ſeene to be imprinted in them by certen of their aunſwers, as in that which *Pædaretus* ſayed on a time, being left out of the election of the number of the three hundred. Who departing home to his houſe mery and iocond as might be, ſayed: It did him good to ſee there were three hūndred founde better in the cittie than him ſelfe. *Piſiſtratidas* alſo being ſent ambaſſadour with certen other to the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA, the PERSIAN lordes asked him, if they came of their owne deſire, or

The Lacedæmonians liued not priuately to them ſelues in the commō weale.

Pædaretus ſaying.

D whether they were ſent from the whole ſtate: if we obtaine, ſayed he, it is from the ſtate: if we be denied, then we come of our ſelues. And *Argileonida* the mother of *Braſidas*, asked ſome that went to viſite her after they were returned home to LACEDÆMON from their iorney to AMPHIPOLIS, if her ſonne died like a man, and a worthy SPARTAN. And they ſtraight did commend him highely, ſaying: there was not left in all LACEDÆMON ſuche a valliant man. She replied vnto them. Saye not ſo, my friends, I praye you: for *Braſidas* was in dede a valliant man, but the country of LACONIA hath many moe yet vallianter than he was. Now touching their Senate: *Lycurgus* was the firſt that erected it among them. The firſt that were thereof,

The manner of chooſing the Senate in Sparta.

were *Lycurgus* chief ayders & aſſiſters of that erection, as we haue declared before: but afterwards he ordeined, that when any of thoſe firſt ſhould happen to dye, they ſhould chooſe in his

E place the moſt honeſt reported man in the cittie, ſo he were three ſcore yere olde and aboue. This was the nobleſt glorie that could be among men, when a man bare the bell and priſe, not that he was ſwifteſt among the ſwift, nor ſtrongeſt amongeſt the ſtrong, but that he among the honeſt was honeſteſt. He had the reward of his vertue, as for libertie to ſpeake, ſoueraine authoritie to gouerne, and princely power ouer the common weale, the honour, the life, and the goodes of the whole cittizens: howbeit the election was made after this ſorte. The people firſt aſſembled in the market place, where there were ſome appointed and ſhut vp thereabout in a houſe, from whēce they could neither ſee, nor be ſeene of thoſe that were aſſembled, but onely they might heare the noyſe which they made there. For the people by their crye and ſhowte, did declare whom they did chooſe, and whom they did refuſe of the competitours, as they vſed

F to ſhewe their liking by the like crye in other things. The competitours were not brought in, and preſented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lot fell, paſſed through the middeſt of the aſſemblie of the people, and ſayed neuer a worde.

The people ſtraight that liked, made a crye or ſhowte alowde. The men appointed which were locked vp, had bookes or tables in which they wrote and noted the greatnes of the crye, and ſhowte the people made, as euery competitour paſſed by, not knowing nor ſeing who he was. Theſe hidden men did onely ſet downe in their bookes, the firſt, the ſecond, the thirde, and ſo many more, as by ſhowtes and cryes they perceyued dyd paſſe thus through the aſſemblie. They noted alſo in their ſaid bookes, which of theſe had the greateſt crye and ſhowte of people at their paſſing thorough: and him they came and declared to be Senatour choſen. Then he wearing a garland of flowers on his head, went to all the temples of the goddes in the cittie to geue thankes, hauing a great traine of young men following, and prayſing of his vertues. There went alſo with him a maruelous company of women ſinging ſonges of his prayſe, and howe bleſſed he was, that he had liued ſo vertuouſly. Then euery one of his kinne prepared a bancket for him at home at their houſes, and as he entred the houſe, they ſayed vnto him: *The cittie honoreth thee vvith this bancket.* That done, he repayred afterwards to the ordinarie place of their eating, where he dyd in all things as he was accuſtomed, ſauing he was ſerued nowe at his table with a double allowaunce, whereof he reſerued the one. After ſupper, all his kinſewomen ſtoode in the entrie of the hall where they had eaten: ſo he called her whom he loued beſt, and gaue her his allowaunce he had ſaued, and ſayed to her: This was geuen me in token I was this daye rewarded for my vertue: and euen ſo I geue it thee for a like token of rewarde for thy vertue. Then was ſhe brought home by all the women there to her houſe, euen in like ſorte as he was by the men. Touching burialles, *Lycurgus* made a wiſe order: For firſt of all, to cut of all ſuperſtition of burying places, he commaunded they ſhould burie their dead within the cittie, & that their graues ſhould be round about their temples, that young perſones might haue them allwayes in their eyes, & not be affrayed to ſee a dead bodye, as if to touche a corſe, or to paſſe by their graues, it ſhould defile a man. Then did he forbid them to burie any thing with the corſe, and willed they ſhould only lappe it vp in a redde clothe, with oliue leaues. It was not lawfull to graue the name of any dead bodye vpon his graue, but only of ſuche a man as died in the warres, or of ſome holy woman profeſſed into their temples. Furthermore, the time appointed to mourne in, was very ſhorte. For it laſted not but a eleuen dayes, and on the twelft daye, they muſt doe ſacrifice to *Proſerpina*, and ſo leaue of their mourning. To conclude, he left nothing idle, or vnworking in his cittizens: for to all neceſſarie things which men can not lacke, *Lycurgus* ioyned euer a certaine emulation of men. As to deſire vertue, and to contemne vice: and furniſhed his cittie with many good preceptes and examples, emong which his cittizens being ſtill borne and bred vp, and hauing the ſame in euery place before their eyes where they went, they came to paſſe in time to be framed after the very patterne and moulde of vertue it ſelfe. For this cauſe he did not ſuffer any to trauell out of the countrie, or to goe abroad as he would, without ſpeciall licence, for feare leaſt thoſe which trauelled abroad for their pleaſure, ſhould bring home ſtraunge facions and manners, and a corrupt diſordered life, which by litle and litle might get waye, and bring an alteration and chaunge of the whole ſtate. Furthermore, he kept out of SPARTA all ſtraungers, except thoſe which had neceſſarie buſines there, or were come thither for ſome profit to the countrie: not that he was affrayed they ſhould learne ſome thing whereby to loue vertue, or that they ſhould deſire to followe his facion and manner of gouernment as *Thucydides* was: but rather fearing they ſhould teache his cittizens ſome naughty manners, or ſome ill fauored vice. For it muſt needes be, that ſtraungers bring euer ſtraunge and newe deuiſes with them: which newe deuiſes bring with them alſo newe opinions: and newe opinions beget newe affections and mindes, that many times are repugnant to the lawe, and to the forme of the common weale eſtabliſhed before, as diſcordes doe many times in an harmonie of muſicke, that before agreed very well together. Therefore he iudged it a thing moſt neceſſarie, to keepe his cittie free and ſafe from coũterfeating of any ſtraungers manners or facions, that were cõmonly as perſones infected with ſome contagious ſicknes. Nowe in all we haue ſpoken before, euen to this place, there is no manner of token or ſhewe of iniuſtice, or lacke of equitie, wherewith ſome ſeme to burden *Lycurgus* in his lawes: by ſaying they were well made, to make men warlicke and valliant, but not to be iuſte or righteous. But cõcerning the lawe they call *Cryptia*, as much to ſaye, as their ſecret: if it were of *Lycurgus*

What was done the Senatour being choſen.

The manner of buriall with the Lacedæmonians.

The time of mourning.

None allowed to trauell into other coũtries without licence.

No ſtraungers ſuffered to dwell in Sparta.

Cryptia with the Lacedæmonians.

A *curgus* institution, as *Aristotle* sayeth, it might haue caried *Plato* into the like opinion that *Lycurgus* had of his common weale. This was the lawe: The gouernours which had the charge and ouersight of the young men, at certaine appointed times, dyd chuse out those they thought to haue the best discretion, and sent them abroade into the countrie, some one waye, some another waye, who caried with them daggers, and some prouision to feede them. These young men being thus dispersed abroade in the countrie, did hide them selues all the daye close in secret places, and there they laye and tooke their rest: afterwardes when night was come, they went to seeke out the high wayes, and killed the first of the Ilotes that they met. Sometimes euen in the broade daye, they went into the countrie to kill the strongest and stowtest of them: as *Thucydides* telleth in his history of the warres of Peloponnesvs, where he sayeth. *The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians against the Ilotes.*

B That a certaine conuenient number of the Ilotes were crowned, by a publicke proclamation of the Spartans: and being infrancheſed, for their good seruices they had done the common weale, they were caried to all the temples of the goddes for an honour. Within a while after, no man knewe what was become of them, being about two thousand in number: so that neuer man heard tell neither then nor since, howe they came to their deathes. Howbeit *Aristotle* aboue all others sayeth, that the *Ephores*, so soone as they were placed in their offices, made warres with the Ilotes, bicause they might lawfully kill them. And it is true, that in other things they did handle them very hardely. For they forced them sometimes to drincke wine without water out of measure, till they had made them starke drunke. Then they brought them all into their common halles where they did eate, to make their children to beholde

C them, and to see what beastlines it was for a man to be drunke. Likewise they made them singe songes, and daunce daunces, vnfit for honest men, and suche as were full of derision and mockerie, and did forbid them expressely to singe any honest songes. So it is reported, that in the iorney the Thebans made to Laconia, many of the Ilotes were taken prisoners there: and when they were commaunded to singe the verses of *Terpander*, or of *Alcman*, or of *Spendon* the Laconian, they would not doe it: saying, they durst not singe them for their maisters. *Diodor. Sicul. lib. 15.*

Wherefore he that first sayed in the countrie of Lacedæmonia, he that is free is more free, and he that is bonde, is more bonde then in other places: knewe very well the diuersitie betweene the libertie and bondage there, and the libertie and bondage of other countries. But in my opinion, the Lacedæmonians beganne to vse these great outrages and cruelties, long

D time after the death of *Lycurgus*, and specially since the great earthquake that happened at Sparta, at which time the Ilotes rose against them with the Messenians, and did great mischief through the countrie, and put the cittie to the greatest distresse and daunger that euer it had. For I cannot be persuaded, that euer *Lycurgus* inuented, or instituted, so wicked and mischieuous an acte, as that kynde of ordinaunce was: bicause I imagine his nature was gentle and mercifull, by the clemencie and iustice wee see he vsed in all his other doings, and was witnessed besides by open oracle from the goddes, for a iust and wise man. Furthermore, they saye of him, that when he sawe the chiefest pointes of his gouernment had taken deepe roote, and that the forme of his common weale went on, and was strong enough to maintaine and keepe it selfe a foote, like as *Plato* sayeth, that God reioyced greately after he had made the worlde,

E and sawe the same turne and moue his first mouing: euen so *Lycurgus* taking singular pleasure and delight in his minde, to see his notable lawes put in vre, and so well stablished and liked of by experience, sought yet to make them immortall, as neere as he could possible, by any forecast of man, that no after time whatsoeuer, might chaunge or put them downe. To bring this to passe, he caused all the people to assemble, and tolde them he thought his ciuill pollicie and state of common weale was already sufficiently established, for vertuous and happy life: yet there was one matter behinde of greater importaunce than all the rest, which he could not yet declare vnto them, vntill he had first asked counsell of the oracle of *Apollo*. And therefore in the meane time they should keepe and obserue his lawes and ordinaunces inuiolable, without chaunging, remouing, or staying any matter therein, vntill he were returned from the cittie of *Plato in Timæo.*

F Delphes, and then they should doe that other thing behinde, if the God then so counselled him. They all promised him to doe it, and prayed him to make haste to goe on his iorney. But before he departed, he made the Kings and Senatours sweare first, and consequently all the peo- *Lycurgus wonderfull counsell in stablishing his lawes.*

ple after, that they would keepe his lawes and ordinaunces without chaunging or altering any thing, vntill he did returne againe. This done, he went to the cittie of DELPHES, where so soone as he arriued, he sacrificed in the temple to *Apollo*, and asked him: If the lawes he had made were good to make a man an happy life. *Apollo* made him aunswer, his lawes were very good, and that his cittie keping them, should be the most renowmed of the worlde. *Lycurgus* caused this oracle to be written, which he sent to SPARTA. After he sacrificed to *Apollo* againe: and then taking leaue of his friendes, and of his sonne, he determined to dye, bicause his cittizens should neuer be released of the othe they had made betweene his handes. When he had this determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hathe strength enough to liue longer and yet was olde enough also to dye if he would. Wherefore finding him selfe happy to haue obteined his desire, he willingly pyned him selfe to death, by abstinence, and lacke of meate. For he thought it meete, that the very death of great personages should bring benefit euer to the common weale, and that the ende of their life should be no more idle, or vnprofitable, then the rest of their life before: nay rather, that it was one of their most meritorious actes, to haue their death extolled for worthines. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfection and crowne of his felicitie, after he had made and ordeined so many good and notable lawes, for the honour and benefit of his countrie: and should be as a seale of confirmation of his lawe, and the continuall preseruitour of his cittie, considering all his cittizens had sworne to keepe them all inuiolably, vntill he were returned. He was not deceaued of his hope, for his cittie was the chiefest of the worlde, in glorie and honour of gouernment, by the space of fiue hundred yeres. For so long his cittie kept his lawes without any chaunge or alteration by any of the Kings successours, vntill king *Agis*, the sonne of *Archidamus* beganne to reigne. For the creation of the *Ephores*, did not breake, nor discontinewe any of the lawes of *Lycurgus*, but reduced them rather to a more straight and strickt order: although it seemed at the first that the *Ephores* were ordeined, for the maintenaunce & defence of the libertie of the people, whereas in deede they did also strengthen the authoritie of the Kings and Senate. Nowe in the raigne of king *Agis*, gold and siluer beganne first to creepe in againe to the cittie of SPARTA, by meanes of *Lysander*. With money there came in straight couetousnes, and gredines to get and gather. And although *Lysander* was not desirous to get it, nor would be corrupted for any money: yet he brought riches and couetousnes into the countrie, and filled the same with all finenes, by bringing in great store of golde and siluer from the warres, directly against the lawes and ordinaunces of *Lycurgus*. The which so long as they were in force and vse, it appered that the gouernment of SPARTA seemed not to be a pollicy or common weale, but rather a certaine holy place & order of religion. And euen as the Poets fayne, that *Hercules* went through the world with his clubbe, and lyons skynne, punishing cruell robbers and vnnaturall tyrannes: so in like case with a litle scrowe of parchement, and a poore cape, did the SPARTANS commaund and geue lawes, to all the rest of GREECE, euen with their good liking and consent. And they chased the tyrannes awaye, which vsurped tyrannicall power ouer any of their citties, and did decide all controuersies, and oftentimes pacified their seditions, without sending out one souldier, but only a simple poore ambassadour. At whose commaundement, the people presently assembled like the bees, which gather together about their King, so soone as they spye him: they did then so greatly reuerence the good gouernment & iustice of the SPARTANS. Therefore I can but wonder much at those which saye, the cittie of LACEDÆMON could obey well, but not commaunde: and for proofe they alleage wordes of king *Theopompus*, who aunswered one which sayd, that SPARTA was mainteined, bicause the Kings could commaund well. Naye the rather (sayd he) bicause the cittizens can obey well. For men commonly disdaine to obey those, which are not wise in commaunding. So that the faithfull obedience of the subiectes, dependeth much vpon the sufficient commaundement of the wise prince. For he that directeth well, must needes be well obeyed. For like as the arte of a good rider, is to make his horse gentle, and ready at commaundement: euen so the chiefest pointe belonging to a prince, is to teach his subiects to obey. Wherefore the LACEDÆMONIANS procured, that not onely other people did willingly obey them, but also desired to be ruled, and commaunded by them. For they asked them, neither shippes nor money, nor yet did send them any number of men

Lycurgus death.

Sparta florished fiue hundred yeres.

Lycurgus lawes were broke in king Agis time, by Lysanders meanes.

Money corrupteth Lycurgus lawes.

See more in Lysanders life.

Lysander brought in riches againe into Sparta.

Theopompus wordes of obeying and commaūding.

Good gouernmēt breedeth due obediēce.

of

A of warre to compell them, but onely they sent one cittizen of SPARTA to gouerne them, to whom all the other people submitted them selues, and were holpen by him in their necessitie, as fearing and reuerencing him. In this wise the SICILIANS were holpen by *Gysippus*, the CHALCIDIANS by *Brasidas*, and all the GRECIANS inhabiting ASIA, by *Lysander*, *Callicratidas*, and by *Agesilaus*, who were called the reformers and directers of princes, peoples, and Kings, vnto whom they were sent here and there: but euer they had their eye vpon the cittie of SPARTA, as vpon the most perfect patterne to order mans life by, and to gouerne a common weale after. To this effect tended the mery worde spoken in iest by *Stratonicus*: Who said he did order the ATHENIANS to tend their sacrifices, and the ELIANS to tende their games: and if they made any faulte therein, the LACEDÆMONIANS should be well whipped. That

B was merely spoken, and in a iesting manner. But *Antisthenes* (the philosopher and one of *Socrates* scholers) seeing the THEBANS growen very hawtie & glorious, after that they had conquered the LACEDÆMONIANS in the iorney of LEVCTRES: me thinketh sayed he, these THEBANS here doe like the schoole boyes, which bragge and reioyce when they haue a litle beaten their master. But this was not *Lycurgus* meaning, to haue his cittie to commaunde many. But he thought the felicitie of a cittie, as of a priuate man, consisted chiefly in the exercise of vertue, and in the vnitie of the inhabitants thereof. He framed his common wealth to this ende, that his cittizens should be nobly minded, content with their owne, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might mainteine and keepe them selues long in safetie. The self same intention had *Plato*, *Diogenes*, and *Zenon*, in setting forth their bookes, which they wrote

C of the gouernment of common weales: and so had likewise many other great and learned men which haue written of the same matter. Howbeit they only left behinde them, wordes, and written bookes: but *Lycurgus* contrariwise, left no written bookes nor pamplets, but stablished and left behinde him, a royall forme of gouernment, which no man euer before had inuented, nor neuer after could be followed. He hath made them plainely see, a whole cittie liue together, and gouerne it selfe philosophically, according to the true rules and preceptes of perfect wisdome: which imagined, that true wisedome was a thing hanging in the ayer, and could not visiblie be seene in the worlde. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glorie all those, which euer tooke vpon them to write or stablishe the gouernment of a common weale. And therefore sayeth *Aristotle*, that after his death they did him lesse honour in LACEDÆMONIA,

D then he had deserued: albeit they did him all the honour they possibly could deuise. And yet they buylt a temple for him, and made solemne sacrifice to him euery yere, as vnto a god. More, they saye, that when the ashes of his bodie were brought to SPARTA, there fell straight lightning vpon his tumbe where they were put: which they had not often seene to happen, to other men of name after their decease, sauing only to the poet *Euripides*, who dying in MACEDONIA, was buried neere the cittie of ARETHVSA. The which is some manifest argument, for suche as loue the Poet, to laye against those which somewhat depraue him, seing this signe came to him after his death, which had happened before to a most well beloued man of the goddes. Some saye *Lycurgus* died in the cittie of CIRRHA. But *Apollothemis* sayeth, he died in

E ELIDA. *Timæus* and *Aristoxenus* write, he ended his dayes in CRETA. And *Aristoxenus* sayeth further, that those of the Ile of CRETA doe shewe his graue in the place which they call *Pergamia*, by the broade highe wayes side. He left one onely begotten sonne named *Antiorus*, who died without issue, so that his house and name fayled with him. But his neere kinsemen and familliar friendes, did set vp a company or brotherhood in memorie of him, which continued a long time: and the dayes wherein they assembled, were called the *Lycurgides*. There is another *Aristocrates* (the sonne of *Hipparchus*) who sayeth, that he being dead in CRETA, his friendes burned his bodie, and afterwardes threwe his ashes into the sea, according as he had prayed and requested them. For he feared, that if any parte of him should at any time haue bene brought to SPARTA, the inhabitans would haue sayed he was returned againe, and thereby would haue thought them selues discharged of their othe, and might haue

F lawfully altered the lawes which he had appointed. And this is the discourse and ende of *Lycurgus* life.

The ende of Lycurgus life.

Antisthenes, Socrates schollers wordes.

The foundation of a common weale.

Diuine honours to Lycurgus after his death.

Antiorus Lycurgus sonne.

THE LIFE OF *Numa Pompilius.*

THE Hiſtoriographers differ maruelouſly of the time, in which *Numa Pompilius* raigned King, albeit ſome will deriue from him many noble houſes deſcēded in ROME. For one *Clodius*, who wrote the booke intituled the table of time, affirmeth that the auncient regiſters of the cittie of ROME were loſt when it was taken and ſacked by the GAVLES: and that thoſe which are extant at this daye be not true, but were only made by men deſirous to gratifie ſome, which haue thruſt in auncient houſes and families of the firſt ROMAINES, that concerne nothing them whom they ment to repreſent. On the other ſide, although the common opinion be, that *Numa* was a familier friend and ſcholler of *Pythagoras* the philoſopher, yet ſome ſaye he was neuer learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greeke tongue. And yet mainteining that it is poſſible enough, that he was ſo well borne, and had ſuche perfection in all kind of vertue, that he neuer neded any maſter: & though he had neded, they had rather attribute the honour of the inſtructing of this King vnto ſome other foreane perſon, that was more excellent then *Pythagoras*. Other ſaye, that *Pythagoras* the philoſopher was long time after the raigne of *Numa*, & well nighe fiue ages after him. Howbeit other ſaye, there was another *Pythagoras* borne in SPARTA (who hauing wonne the pryſe of running at the games Olympicall, in the ſixtenth Olympiade, & the third yere of *Numaes* raigne) did come into ITALIE, where he kept much about *Numa*, & did aſſiſt & helpe him in the gouerning & ordering of his Realme. By meanes whereof there be many cuſtomes yet of the LACONIANS, mingled with the ROMAINES, which this ſecond *Pythagoras* was ſayed to haue taught him. Neuertheles it is not confeſſed that *Numa* was borne of the SABYNES, which they ſaye are deſcended from the LACEDÆMONIANS. So it falleth out very hard to agree certainly of the time when *Numa* was, and chiefly for ſuche as will followe the rolle or table of thoſe, which from Olympiades to Olympiades haue wonne the pryſes of games Olympicall: conſidering the rolle or table that they haue at this preſent, was very lately publiſhed by one *Hippias* an *Elian*, who deliuereth no reaſon or argument of neceſſitie, why it ſhould be taken for an vndoubted trothe, which he in that ſorte hath gathered. Yet we will not leaue to put in writing thoſe things worthie

In what time Numa was. Cicero de Or. 2. & Tuſcul. 4. Liu. Halic. lib. 2.

Whether Pythagoras had any conuerſation with Numa.

Pythagoras the ſeconde, a Spartan borne, taught Numa, at Rome.

A thie of memorie, which we could gather by any meanes of king *Numa*, beginning at that place which we thought to be meetest. It was nowe sithence ROME was buylt, seuen and thirtie yeres (for so long time raigned *Romulus*) when *Romulus* the fifte of the moneth of Iuly (which they call the Nones of the goates) made a solemne sacrifice without the cittie, neere to a certaine place commonly called, the goate marshe. As all the whole Senate, with the most parte of the people were present at this sacrifice, sodainely there rose in the ayer a very great tempest, and a maruelous darcke thicke clowde, which fell on the earthe with suche boysterous windes, stormes, lightnings, and thunder: that the poore common people being affrayed of so sore a tempest, dispersed them selues sodainely, running here and there for succour, and therewithall king *Romulus* vanished awaye in suche sorte, that he was neuer after seene alyue nor B dead. This brought the Senatours, and noble men whom they called *Patricians*, into great suspition. And there ranne a fowle tale among the common people, howe they had a long time borne very impacientlye to be subiects to a King, bicause them selues would haue had and taken vpon them some soueraine authoritie, and that for this cause they had killed king *Romulus*. Adding somewhat more vnto it, howe a litle before he had vsed them more roughely, and commaũded them more straightly then he was wont or accustomed. Neuertheles they found the meanes to quenche all these bruites and murmurings, by doing diuine honour and sacrifice vnto him, as one not dead, but passed to a better life. To confirme this, one of the noblest men among them called *Proclus* came in, and by othe affirmed before all the people, that he sawe *Romulus* ascending vp into heauen, armed at all peces, and that he heard a voyce saye: C from thenceforth call him *Quirinus*. This being thus appeased, there sprange vp another trouble, to knowe whom they should choose in his place. For the straungers which were come then from other places to dwell in ROME, were not yet throughly ioyned to the naturall borne ROMAINES: in so muche, as the common people dyd not only wauer, and stagger vp and down in opinion, but the Senatours also (that were many & of diuers nations) did enter into a suspition one of another. These things notwithstãding they all agreed in this, that of necessitie they must choose a King: howbeit in the rest they differed much, not only whom they should choose, but also of what nation he should be. For those which were the first founders and buylders of the cittie of ROME with *Romulus*, could in no wise abide, nor suffer, that the SABINES (to whom they had diuided parte of their landes, and a moytie of their cittie) should attempt D and presume to commaund them, whom they dyd receyue and associate into their company and felowshippe. The SABYNES alledged on thother side for them, a good reason, and such as caried great probabilitie. Which was, that neuer sence the death of their king *Tatius*, they neither had in any thing disobeyed nor disquieted king *Romulus*, but had suffered him to raigne peaceably: and therefore *Romulus* being nowe deceased, reason would that the newe king should be chosen of their nation. And that albeit the ROMAINES had receyued them into their cittie, they could not say therefore, that in time of this association, they were lesse to be reckoned of in any thing, than them selues. Further they added, that in ioyning with them, the ROMAINES had doubly increased their might and power, and had made a bodie of a people, which deserued the honour and title of a cittie. These were the causes of their contention. But E to preuent that of this contention there might growe no confusion in the cittie, if it should remaine without an head to commaund: the Senatours which were a hundred and fiftie in number, gaue counsell that euery one of them by turnes, one after another, should carie the royall state of the King, and all the showes and ornaments of his maiestie, and should doe the ordinarie sacrifices of the King, and dispatche all causes sixe howers in the daye, and sixe howers in the night, as the King before had vsed. Thus they thought it best to deuide the rule, that one might haue asmuch power as the other, aswell in respect of them selues, as also for regarde of the people. For they imagined, that the chaunging and remouing thus of this regall dignitie, and passing it from man to man, would clene take awaye enuie among them, and make euery of them to rule temperately, and vprightly see, that in one, and the selfe same daye F and night, euery of them should be a King and priuate persone also. The ROMAINES call this manner of regiment in vacation, *Interregnum*: as you would saye, rule for the time. Nowe albeit their gouernment was very modest and ciuill, yet they could not for all that

The death of Romulus.

In the life of Romulus he is named Proculus.

Dissention at Rome about choosing of their King.

Liuie sayeth but a hundred. Dionysius 200.

Plutar. in the life of Romulus agreeth with Dionysius.

Interregnum.

keepe themselues from falling into the suspition, and slaunder of the people: who gaue it A
out straight, that this was a fine deuise of theirs, to chaunge by this meanes the rule of the
Realme into a fewe noble mens handes, to the ende that the whole authoritie and gouern-
ment of all publicke causes, should remaine still in them selues, bicause it grieued them to be
subiect to a King. And in the ende, the two partes of the cittie came to this agreement: that
the one parte should choose one of the bodie of the other, to be the King. This course they li-
ked very well, aswell for the pacification of present sturre and dissention amongest them sel-
ues, as for procuring equalitie of affection, and sturring vp a likenes of goodwill in the King
that thus indifferently should be chosen: whereby he should loue the one parte for that they
had chosen him, and likewise the other parte for that he was of their nation. The SABYNES
were the first, which referred the election to the ROMAINES choyse: and the ROMAINES B
thought it better to chuse one of the nation of the SABYNES, then to haue a ROMAINE cho-
sen by the SABYNES. After they had consulted, they determined amongest them selues: and
Numa chosen King. did choose *Numa Pompilius* one of the bodye of the SABYNES to be King, who was none of
the number of them which came to dwell at ROME, howbeit he was a man so famous for his
vertue, that the SABYNES so soone as they named him, did receyue him more willingly, then
they who had chosen him. After they had thus published their election, the first and chiefest
persones of the one & the other side, were chosen out to goe vnto him. Now *Numa Pompilius*
Numa borne in the cittie of Cures. Quirites why so called. was borne in one of the chiefest and best citties which the SABYNES had, called *Cures*, where-
upon the ROMAINES, and their fellowes the SABYNES, were called afterwardes *Quirites*, and
he was the sonne of *Pomponius* a noble man, the youngest of foure brethern: being by the se- C
cret worcking of the goddes, borne on the very daye, on the which ROME was first founded
by *Romulus*, which was the one and twenty daye of Aprill. This man being naturally geuen
and inclined vnto all vertue, did yet increase the same, by studie, and all kynde of good disci-
The life and manners of Numa before his raigne. pline: and by the exercise thereof, and of true pacience, and right philosophie, he did mar-
uelously adorne him selfe and his manners. For he did not only clere his soule, and minde, of
all passions and vices commonly vsed in the worlde: but he conquered in him selfe all heates,
violence, & coue tousnes. And would neither seeke nor vsurpe, that which was an other mans,
a thing at that time honoured among the most barbarous people: but thought that to be the
true, and right victorie in man, first to conquer and commaund him selfe by iudgement & rea-
son, & then to subdue all couetousnes & greedines. Hauing therfore this opinion, he would in D
no wise haue in his house any superfluity or finenes. He became to euery man that would em-
ploye him (aswell straunger as his owne countrie man) a wise coũsaillour, & an vpright iudge.
He bestowed his leysure, not to followe his owne delight, or to gather goods together: but to
serue the goddes, & to behold their celestiall nature and power, as much as mans reason & vn-
derstãding could cõprehend. Thereby he got so great a name & reputation, that *Tatius* (which
was king of ROME with *Romulus*) hauing but one onely daughter called *Tatia*, made him his
Tatia the wife of Numa. sonne in law. Howbeit this mariage put him in no such iolity, that he would dwel at ROME with
his father in lawe, but rather kept at home at his own house in the countrie of the SABYNES,
there to serue & cherish his olde father with his wife *Tatia*: who for her parte also liked better,
to liue quietly with her husbãd being a priuate mã, then to goe to ROME where she might haue E
liued in much honour and glorie, by meanes of the King her father. She died as it is reported,
13. yeres after she was maried. After her deathe, *Numa* leauing to dwell in the cittie, was better
contẽted to liue in the country alone, & solitarie, & gaue him self to walke much in the fields &
woddes consecrated to the godds, as one desirous to leade alone life, farre from the cõpanie of
men. Wherupon was raised (in my opiniõ) that which is spoken of him, & of the goddesse *Ege-*
ria. That it was not for any straunge nes, or melancholines of nature, that *Numa* withdrew him
self from the cõuersation & cõpany of men, but bicause he had found another more honorable
Numa conuersant with the goddesse Egeria. & holy society of the *Nymphe*, & goddesse *Egeria*, who had done him, as they saye, that honour,
as to make him her husbãd: with whõ as his beloued darling it is sayed he enioyed happy dayes, F
& by dayly frequenting of her company, he was inspired with the loue & knowledge of all ce-
lestiall things. Surely, these deuises are much like vnto certain old fables of the *Phrygiãs*, which
they hauing learned from the father to the sonne, doe loue to tell of one *Atis*: of the *Bithynians*,

of one

A of one *Herodotus*: of the ARCADIANS, of one *Endymion*: and of many other ſuch like men, who in their liues were taken for ſaynctes, and beloued of the goddes. Notwithſtanding, it is likely, that the goddes loue neither birdes, nor horſe, but men, and haue ſometimes a liking to be familiar with perfect good men, and doe not diſdaine ſometime the conuerſation of ſuche as be holye, religious, and deuoute. But to beleeue the goddes haue carnall knowledge, and doe delight in the outward beawtie of creatures, that ſeemeth to carie a very harde beliefe. Yet the wiſe EGYPTIANS thincke it probable enough and likely, that the ſpirite of the goddes hath geuen originall of generation to women, and doe beget fruite of their bodies: howbeit they holde that a man can haue no corporall companie with any diuine nature. Wherein they doe not cõſider, that euery thing that ioyneth together, doth deliuer againe a like ſubſtaũce, to that

Goddes familiar with men.

B wherewith it was ioyned. This notwithſtanding, it is mete we ſhould beleeue the godds beare good will to men, and that of it doth ſpring their loue, whereby men ſaye the goddes loue thoſe whoſe manners they purifie, and inſpire with vertue. And they doe not offende, which ſayne that *Phorbas*, *Hyacinthus* and *Admetus*, were ſometimes the louers of *Apollo*, and alſo *Hippolytus* the SICYONIAN: of whom they reporte, that euer when he paſſed ouer the arme of the ſea which lieth betweene the cities of SICYONA, and of GIRRHA, the god which knewe he came, reioyced, and cauſed *Pythia* the propheteſſe to pronounce theſe heroycall verſes,

I knowe full vvell, my deare Hippolytus,
returnes by ſea, my minde diuineth thus.

Who are beloued of the goddes.

It is ſayd alſo that *Pan* was in loue with *Pindarus* and his verſes, and that the goddes honored

C the poets *Heſiodus*, & *Archilocus*, after their death by the *Muſes*. They ſaye moreouer, that *Æſculapius* laye with *Sophocles* in his life time, and at this daye they doe yet ſhowe many tokens thereof: and after his death, another god (as it is reported) made him to be honorably buried. Nowe if they graunte, that ſuch things maye be true: how can we refuſe to beleeue, that ſome goddes haue bene familiar with *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroaſtres*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and ſuch other like perſonages, which haue gouerned kingdomes, & ſtabliſhed common weales? and it is not vnlike that the goddes in deede dyd company with them, to inſpire and teache them many notable things, and that they did drawe neere vnto theſe Poets, & players of the harpe, that made and played many dolefull and ioyfull ditties, at the leaſt for their ſporte and pleaſure onely, if euer they came neere them. Neuertheles if any man be of other opinion, the waye is open and

D large as *Bacchylides* ſayed, to thincke and ſaye as he luſt. For my ſelfe I doe finde, that which is written of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and other ſuche perſones, not to be without likelyhood and probabilitie: who hauing to gouerne rude, churliſhe, & ſtiffe necked people, and purpoſing to bring in ſtraunge nouelties into the gouernments of their countries, did fayne wiſely to haue conference with the godds, conſidering this fayning fell to be profitable & beneficiall to thoſe themſelues, whom they made to beleeue the ſame. But to returne to our hiſtorie. *Numa* was fourty yeres olde, when the ambaſſadours of ROME were ſent to preſent the Kingdome vnto him, & to intreate him to accept thereof. *Proclus*, and *Veleſus*, were the ambaſſadours that were ſent. One

Proclus and Veleſus ambaſſadours to offer Numa the kingdom.

of the which the people looked ſhould haue bene choſen for King, bicauſe thoſe of *Romulus* ſide, did fauour muche *Proclus*: and thoſe of *Tatius* parte fauored *Veleſus*. Nowe they vſed no

E long ſpeache vnto him, bicauſe they thought he would haue bene glad of ſuche a great good fortune. But contrarely it was in deede a very hard thing, & required great perſuaſions, & much intreatie, to moue a man which had allwayes liued quietly, & at eaſe, to accept the regiment of a cittie, which as a man would ſaye, had bene rayſed vp and growen by warres, and martiall dedes. Wherfore he aunſwered them in the preſence of his father, and one other of his kinſemen called *Martius* in this ſorte. Chaunge & alteration of mans life is euer daungerous: but for

The oration of Numa to the abaſſadours refuſing to be King.

him that lacketh nothing neceſſarie, nor hath cauſe to cõplaine of his preſent ſtate, it is a great follie to leaue his olde acquainted trade of life, & to enter into another newe and vnknowen, if there were no other but this only reſpect: that he leaueth a certainnie, to venter vpon an vncertainty. Howbeit there is further matter in this, that the daũgers & perills of this kingdom which

F they offer me, are not altogether vncertain, if we wil looke backe what happened vnto *Romulus*, Who was not vnſuſpected to haue layed waite, to haue had *Tatius* his fellow & cõpanion murdered: & now after *Romulus* death, the Senatours ſelues are miſtruſted to haue killed him on the

other side by treason. And yet they saye it, and singe it euery where: that *Romulus* was the sonne of a god, that at his birthe he was miraculously preserued, and afterwardes he was as incredible brought vp. Whereas for my owne parte, I doe confesse, I was begotten by a mortall man, and was fostered, brought vp, and taught by men as you knowe: and these fewe qualities which they prayse & commend in me, are conditions farre vnmeete for a man that is to raigne. I euer loued a solitarie life, quiet and studie, and did exempt myselfe from worldly causes. All my life time I haue sought and loued peace aboue all things, and neuer had to doe with any warres. My conuersation hath bene to companie with men, which meete only to serue & honour the goddes, or to laughe and be merie one with another, or els to spende their time in their priuate affayers, or otherwise sometime to attend their pastures, and feeding of their cattell. Whereas *Romulus* (my ROMAINE lordes) hath left you many warres begonne, which peraduenture you could be contented to spare: yet now to mainteine the same, your citie had neede of a martiall King, actiue, & strong of bodye. Your people moreouer, through long custome, and the great increase they are geuen vnto by feates of armes, desire nought els perhappes but warres: and it is plainely seene, they seeke still to growe, and commaund their neighbours. So that if there were no other consideration in it, yet were it a mere mockerie for me, to goe to teache a cittie at this present to serue the goddes, to loue iustice, to hate warres, and to flye violence: when it rather hath neede of a conquering captaine, then of a peaceable King. These and suche other like reasons and persuasions *Numa* alleaged, to discharge him selfe of the Kingdome which they offred him. Howbeit the ambassadours of the ROMAINES most humbly besought and prayed him with all instance possible, that he would not be the cause of another newe sturre, and commotion among them, seeing both partes in the cittie haue geuen their consent and liking to him alone, and none other to be their King. Moreouer, when the ambassadours had left him vpon this sute, his father, and *Martius* his kinseman, beganne also priuately to perswade him, that he should not refuse so good and godly an offer. And albeit he was contented with his present state, and desired to be no richer than he was, nor coueted no princely honour nor glorie, bicause he sought only most famous vertue: yet he must needes thincke, that to rule well, was to doe the goddes good seruice, whose will it was to employe the iustice they knewe in him, and not to suffer it to be idle. Refuse not therefore (q they) this royall dignitie, which to a graue and wise man is a goodly field, to bring forth many commendable workes and fruites. There you maye doe noble seruice to the godds, to humble the hearties of these martiall people, and to bring them to be holy and religious: for they readely turne, and easely conforme them selues vnto the nature of their prince. They dearely loued *Tatius*, although he was a straunger: they haue consecrated a memorie to *Romulus* with diuine honours, which they make vnto him at this daye. And it maye be, that the people seeing them selues conquerers, will be full enough of warres: and the ROMAINES being nowe full of spoyles & triumphes, will be glad to haue a gentle prince, and one that loueth iustice, that they maye thenceforth liue in peace, vnder good and holy lawes. And yet if it be otherwise, that their hartes be still full of heate and furie to fight: is it not better to turne this their desire to make warres some other waye, when a man hathe the bridle in his owne handes to doe it, and to be a meane in the meane time to ioyne the countrie, and all the nation of the SABINES, in perpetuall loue and amitie, with so mighty and florishing a cittie? besides all these persuasions and reasons, there were many signes also (as they saye) which promised him good lucke, together with the earnest affection and liking of his owne countrie cittizens. Who, so soone as they vnderstoode the coming, and commission of the ambassadours of ROME, they importunately desired him to goe thither, and to accept the offer of the Kingdome: that he might more straightly vnite and incorporate them together with the ROMAINES. Whereupon, *Numa* accepted the Kingdome. Then after he had done sacrifice to the goddes, he set forwardes on his iourney towardes ROME: where the people and Senate went out to meete him, with a wonderfull desire to see him. The women at his entrie, went blessing of him, and singing of his prayses. They dyd sacrifice for him, in all the temples of the goddes. There was neither man nor woman but seemed to be as ioyfull and glad: as if a newe Realme, and not a newe Kinge, had bene come to the cittie of ROME. Thus was he brought with this open ioye,

Numa beginneth his kingdome with seruice of the goddes.

and

A and reioycing, vnto the market place, where one of the Senatours, which at that time was regent, called *Spurius Vettius*, made them pronounce his open election: and so by one consent he was chosen King, with all the voyces of the people. Then were brought vnto him the tokens of honour and dignitie of the King. But he him selfe commaunded they should be stayed a while, saying: He must first be confirmed King by the goddes. Then he tooke the wise men & priests, with whom he went vp into the Capitoll, which that time was yet called mounte *Tarpeian*. And there, the chiefest of the soothesayers called *Augures*, turned him towardes the southe, hauing his face couered with a veyle, and stoode behinde him, laying his right hande vpon his heade, and praying to the goddes that it would please them to declare their willes by flying of birdes, or some other token concerning this election: and so the soothesayer cast his eyes all

Numa was consecrated by the Augures.

B about, as farre as he could possiblie discerne. During all this time there was a maruelous silence in the market place, although then an infinite number of people were assembled there together, attending with great deuotion what the issue of this diuination would be: vntill there appeared vnto them on the right hande, good and lucky birdes, which did confirme the election. Then *Numa* putting on his regall robes, came downe from mounte *Tarpeian*, into the market place, where all the people receyued him with wonderfull showtes of ioye, as a man the most holy, and best beloued of the goddes that they could haue chosen. So hauing taken

1

the royall seate of the Kingdome, his first acte was this. That he discharged the garde of the three hundred souldiers, which *Romulus* had allwayes about his persone, called *Celeres*: saying,

The garde of Celeres discharged by Numa.

he would not mistrust them which trusted him, neither would he be King ouer people, which

2

C should mistrust him. His second acte was, that he did adde to the two priests of *Iupiter* & *Mars*, a thirde, in the honour of *Romulus*, who was called *Flamen Quirinalis*. For the auncient ROMAINES also called their priests, instituted in the olde time, *Flamines*, by reason of certaine litle narrowe hattes which they did weare on their heades, as if they had called them *Pilamines*: for

Flamen Quirinalis instituted of Numa.

Pilos in Greeke signifieth a hatte. And at that time (as they saye) there were many moe Greeke wordes mingled with the Latine, then there are at this daye. For they called the mantells the Kings did weare *Lænas*. And *Iuba* sayeth that it is the very same which the GRECIANS call *Chlænas*, and that the younge boye which was a seruaunte in the temple of *Iupiter*, was called *Camillus*, as some of the GRECIANS doe yet call the god *Mercurie*, bicause he is seruaunt of the godds. Now *Numa* hauing done these things at his first entrie into his Kingdome, still to winne

D further fauour and goodwill of the people: beganne immediately to frame his cittizens to a certaine ciuilitie, being as iron wrought to softenes, and brought them from their violent and warlike desires, to temperate and ciuill manners. For out of doubt, ROME was properly that, which *Plato* ascribeth to a cittie full of trouble and pryde. For, first it was founded by the most coragious and warlike men of the worlde, which from all partes were gathered there together, in a most desperate boldnes: and afterwards it increased, and grewe strong, by armes and continuall warres, like as pyles driuen into the grounde, which the more they are rammed in, the further they enter, and sticke the faster. Wherefore *Numa* iudging it no small nor light enterprise, to plucke downe the hawty stomacks of so fierce and violent a people, and to frame them vnto a sobre and quiet life: dyd seeme to worcke it by meanes of the goddes, with drawing

Numa inducth ciuill & quiet life. Plato de Rep. lib. 2.

E them on thereto by litle and litle, and pacifying of their whotte and fierce corages to fight, with sacrifices, feastes, dauncings, and common processions, wherein he celebrated euer him selfe. In the which together with their deuotion, there was mingled nowe and then, pastime and pleasure: and sometimes he layed the terrour and feare of the goddes before their eyes, making them beleeue that he had seene straunge visions, or that he had heard voyces, by which the goddes dyd threaten them with some great troubles and plagues, allwayes to pull downe and humble their heartes, vnto the feare of the goddes. This was the cause why they thought afterwardes that he had learned his wisdome of *Pythagoras* the philosopher: bicause the greatest parte of the philosophie of the one, and of the gouernment of the other, consisted in suche ceremonies, and diuine studies. They reporte also that *Numa* dyd put on

Numa and Pythagoras institutions muche a like.

F the outwarde showe and semblaunce of *Pythagoras* holines, as following his intention and example. For *Pythagoras* as they saye, made an eagle so tame and gentle, that she would stoupe, and come downe to him by certaine voyces, as she flewe in the ayer ouer his head. And that

passing through the assembly of the games Olympicall, he shewed her thighe of golde, and many other prety feates and deedes they tell of, which seemed to be wonderfull, and for which *Timon Phliasian* hath written these verses of him:

Pythagoras vvhich loued to dvvell in dignitie,
and had an harte to glorie bent, and past in pollecie,
Muche like a man vvhich sought, by charming to enchaunte,
did vse this arte, to vvinne mens mindes, vvhich vnto him did haunte.
His graue and pleasaunt tongue, in sugred speache did flovve,
vvhereby he drevve most mindes of men, to bent of his ovvne bovve.

Euen so the fayned fable of *Numa*, which he so cunningly disguised, was about the loue of a goddesse, or some *Nymphe* of the mountaine: with whom he seemed to haue certaine secret meetings and talke, whereof we haue spoken before. And it is sayed he muche frequented the Muses in the woddes. For he would saye, he had the most parte of his reuelations of the Muses, and he taught the ROMAINES to reuerence one of them aboue all the rest, who was called *Tacita*, as ye would saye, ladye silence. It seemeth he inuented this, after the example of *Pythagoras*, who did so specially commaund, and recomend silence vnto his schollers. Againe, if we consider what *Numa* ordeined concerning images, and the representation of the goddes, it is alltogether agreable vnto the doctrine of *Pythagoras*: who thought that god was neither sensible, nor mortall, but inuisible, incorruptible, and only intelligible. And *Numa* dyd forbid the ROMAINES also to beleeue, that god had euer forme, or likenes of beast or man. So that in those former times, there was in ROME no image of god, either painted or grauen: and it was from the beginning a hundred three score & tenne yeres, that they had buylt temples & chappels vnto the godds in ROME, and yet there was neither picture nor image of god within them. For they tooke it at the first for a sacriledge, to present heauenly things by earthely formes: seeing we cannot possibly any waye attaine to the knowledge of god, but in minde and vnderstanding. The very sacrifices which *Numa* ordeined, were altogether agreable, & like vnto the manner of seruing of the goddes, which the *Pythagorians* vsed. For in their sacrifices they spilt not the bloude, but they did theirs commonly, with a litle meale, a litle sheading of wine and milke, and with suche other light things. Suche as affirme that those two men did much company and were famillier together, doe laye further proofes & arguments for the same. The first is this: That the ROMAINES did make *Pythagoras* a free man of the cittie of ROME, as *Epicharmus* the Comicall poet an auncient writer (and sometimes one of *Pythagoras* schollers) sayeth in a booke he wrote & dedicated vnto *Antenor*. The other proofe is: That *Numa* hauing had foure children, called one of them *Mamercus*, after *Pythagoras* sonnes name, from whom they saye is discended, the house of the *Æmylians*, which is the noblest of the *Patricians*: for the King gaue him the surname of *Æmylius*, bicause of his sweete tongue and pleasaunt voyce. Furthermore, I my self haue heard saye many times in ROME, that the ROMAINES hauing receyued an oracle, which commaunded them to set vp images in their cittie, to the wisest and valliantest man that euer was amongest the GRECIANS: caused two statues of brasse to be set vp in their market place, the one of *Pythagoras*, and the other of *Alcibiades*. Howbeit to striue about this matter any further, seeing there are so many doubtes: me thincketh it were but vaine. Moreouer, they attribute to *Numa*, the first erection of the colledge pontificall: and saye he him selfe was the first *Pontifex* that euer was. But touching the name of *Pontifex*, some will saye they were so called, bicause they chiefly were ordeined & appointed for the seruice of the almightie: for this worde *Potens* in the ROMAINE tongue, betokeneth mightie. Other thincke this name was geuen to them by their founders, as to exempt persones out of the worlde: who enioyned them to doe all the seruice and sacrifices to the goddes they could possibly, & yet notwithstanding, if they had any other lawfull let or impediment thereof, they were not straight condemned for omitting the same. Howbeit the most parte doe bring out another deriuation of this name, wherein me thinckes there is litle reason. As that they should be called *Pontifices*, bicause they had the charge of maintenaunce of the bridge. For that which the GRECIANS call *Gephyran*, the LATINES call *Pontem*: that is, a bridge. And to saye truely, the charges of repairing the bridge, belongeth to the bishoppes: aswell as the keeping of the most holy and

Numa worshipped Tacita one of the Muses.
Pythagoras taught his schollers to kepe silence.
Pythagoras opinion of God.
Numa forbad images of God.
Proofes for the conuersation of Numa and Pythagoras.
Numa instituteth Bishoppes.
Pontifices why so called.

A and vnchaungeable ceremonies. For the Romaines thought it not only a thing vnlawfull, but tooke it for a moſt damnable & wicked acte, to deſtroye or breake the bridge of wodde, which was only ioyned together (as they ſaye) with pinnes of wodde, & without any iron at all, by the commaundement of an olde oracle. But the ſtone bridge was buylt long time after the raigne of *Numa*, and in the time of the raigne of his nephewe *Martius*. Nowe the firſt and chiefeſt of theſe biſhoppes, which they call the great *Pontifex*, hath the place, authoritie, and dignitie of the highe prieſte and maſter, of their pontificall lawe: who ſhould be carefull, not only about all publicke ſacrifices and ceremonies, but alſo about ſuche as were priuate, and to ſee that no man priuately ſhould breake the auncient ceremonies, nor bring in any newe thing into religion, but rather euery man ſhould be taught by him, how, and after what ſorte he ſhould ſerue B and honour the goddes. He alſo hath the keping of the holy virgines which they call *Veſtales*. For they doe geue *Numa* the firſt foundation and conſecrating of them, and the inſtitution alſo of keeping the immortall fire with honour and reuerence, which theſe virgines haue the charge of. Either for that he thought it meete to commit the ſubſtaunce of fire (being pure and cleane) vnto the cuſtodie of cleane and vncorrupt maydes: or els bicauſe he thought the nature of fire (which is barren, and bringeth forth nothing) was fitteſt, and moſt proper vnto virgines. For in Greece, where they kept continuall fire likewiſe (as in the temple of *Apollo* in Delphes, and at Athens) the maydens doe not keepe the ſame, but olde women which are paſt mariage. And if this fire chaunce to faile, as they ſaye in Athens the holy lampe was put out in the time of the tyrannie of *Ariſtion*: and in the cittie of Delphes it was put out, C when the temple of *Apollo* was burnt by the Medes: and at Rome alſo, in the time of the warres that the Romaines had againſt king *Mithridates*: and in the time of the ciuill warres, when altar, fire, and all were burnt and conſumed together: they ſaye that it muſt not be lighted againe with other common fire, but muſt be made a newe, with drawing cleane and pure flame from the beames of the ſunne, and that they doe in this manner. They haue a hollowe veſſell made of a pece of a triangle, hauing a corner right, and two ſides a like: ſo that from all partes of his compaſſe and circumference, it falleth into one pointe. Then they ſet this veſſell right againſt the beames of the ſunne, ſo that the bright ſunne beames come to aſſemble and gather together in the center of this veſſell, where they doe pearce the ayer ſo ſtrongely, that they ſet it a fire: & when they put to it any drye matter or ſubſtaunce, the fire taketh it ſtraight, D bicauſe the beame of the ſunne, by meanes of the reuerberation, putteth that drye matter into fire, and forceth it to flame. Some thincke that theſe *Veſtall* virgines keepe no other thing, but this fire, which neuer goeth out. Other ſaye, there are other holy thinges alſo, which no bodie maye lawfully ſee but they: whereof we haue written more largely in the life of *Camillus*, at the leaſt ſo much as maye be learned and tolde. The firſt maydens which were vowed and put into this order of religion by *Numa*, were (as they ſaye) *Gegania*, and *Verenia*: and after them, *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia*. Afterwardes king *Seruius* increaſed the number with two other, and that number of foure continueth vntill this daye. Their rule and order ſet downe by king *Numa* was this: that they ſhould vowe chaſtitie for the ſpace of thirtie yeres. In the firſt tenne yeres they learne what they haue to doe: the next tenne yeres following, they doe that which they haue E learned: & the laſt tenne yeres, they teache young nouices. After they haue paſſed their thirtie yeres, they maye lawfully marie if they be diſpoſed, and take them to another manner of life, and leaue their religion. But as it is reported, there haue bene very fewe of them which haue taken this libertie, and fewer alſo which haue ioyed after they were profeſſed, but rather haue repented them ſelues, and liued euer after a very grieuous and ſorowfull life. This did ſo fraye the other *Veſtalls*, that they were better contented with their vowed chaſtitie: and ſo remained virgines, vntill they were olde, or els died. He gaue them alſo great priuiledges, and prerogatiues. As: to make their will and teſtament, in their fathers life time. To doe all things without any gardian or ouerſeer, as women which haue three children at a birth. When they goe abroade, they carie maces before them to honour them. And if by chaunce they meete F any offendour in their waye, going to execution, they ſaue his life: howbeit the profeſſed *Veſtall* muſt affirme by othe, that ſhe met him vnwares, & not of ſet purpoſe. If any man preſume vnder their chayer, whereupō they are caried through the cittie, he ſhall die for it. Alſowhen

The wodden bridge at Rome.

The highe biſhoppe.

The inſtitution of the Veſtall Nunnes.

The holy and immortal fire.

How the holy fire is drawen from the pure flame of the ſunne.

See the life of Camillus touching the Veſtall Nunnes.

The order appointed the Veſtalls by Numa.

The Veſtalls prerogatiues.

The punishment of the Vestall Nunnes,

they them selues doe any faulte, they are corrected by the great byshoppe, who somtimes doth whippe them naked (according to the nature and qualitie of their offence) in a darcke place, & vnder a curtē. But she that hath deflowred her virginity, is buried quicke by one of the gates of the cittie, which they call *Collina* gate: where within the cittie there is a mount of earth of a good length, & with the LATINES is sayed to be raised. Vnder this forced mount, they make a litle hollowe vawte, and leaue a hole open, whereby one maye goe downe: and with in it there is set a litle bed, a burning lampe, and some vitells to susteine life withall. As a litle bread, a litle water, a litle milke, and a litle oyle, and that for honours sake: to the ende they would not be thought to famishe a bodie to deathe, which had bene consecrated by the most holy and deuoute ceremonies of the worlde. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a litter, which they couer strongely, and close it vp with thicke leather in suche sorte, that no bodie canne so much as heare her voyce, & so they carie her thus shut vp through the market place. Euery one draweth backe, when they see this litter a farre of, and doe geue it place to passe by: & then follow it mourningly, with heauy lookes, & speake neuer a word. They doe nothing in the citie more fearefull to behold, then this: neither is there any daye wherein the people are more sorowful, then on such a daye. Then after she is come to the place of this vawte, the sergeants straight vnlose these fast bounde couerings: and the chiefe byshoppe after he hath made certen secret prayers vnto the godds, and lift his handes vp to heauen, taketh out of the litter, the condemned *Vestall* muffled vp close, and so putteth her vpon the ladder, which conueyeth her downe into the vawte. That done, he withdraweth, and all the priestes with him: and when the seely offendour is gone downe, they straight plucke vp the ladder, & cast abounddaunce of earthe in at the open hole, so that they fill it vp to the very toppe of the arche. And this is the punishment of the *Vestalls* which defile their virginitie. They thincke also it was *Numa* that buylt the round temple of the goddesse *Vesta*, in which is kept the euerlasting fire: meaning to represent not the forme of the earth, which they saye is *Vesta*, but the figure of the whole world, in the middest whereof (according to the *Pythagorians* opinion) remaineth the proper seate and abiding place of fire, which they call *Vesta*, and name it the vnitie. For they are of opinion, neither that the earth is vnmoueable, not yet that it is set in the middest of the world, neither that the heauen goeth about it: but saye to the contrarie, that the earth hanged in the ayer about the fire, as about the center thereof. Neither will they graunte, that the earth is one of the first and chiefest partes of the world: as *Plato* helde opinion in that age, that the earthe was in another place then in the very middest, and that the center of the world, as the most honorableste place, did apperteine to some other of more worthy substaunce than the earthe. Furthermore, the byshoppes office was to show those that needed to be taught, all the rites, manners, and customes of buriall: whom *Numa* taught not to beleeue that there was any corruption or dishonesty in burialles, but rather it was to worshippe & honour the godds of the earthe, with vsuall and honorable ceremonies, as those which after their death receyue the chiefest seruice of vs that they canne. But aboue all other in burialles, they did specially honour the goddesse called *Libitina*, that is sayed, the chiefe gouernour and preseruer of the rites of the dead: or be it *Proserpina*, or *Venus*, as the most learned men among the ROMAINES doe iudge, who not without cause doe attribute the order of the beginning and ende of mans life, to one self god, & power diuine. *Numa* ordained also, how long time euery bodie should mourne in blackes. And for a childe from three yeres to tenne yeres of age, that died: he ordeined they should mourne no more monethes then it had liued yeres, and not to adde a daye more. For he commaunded, that the longest time of mourning should be but then moneths onely, and so long time at the least he willed women should remaine widdowes, after the decease of their husbands: or els she that would marie within that time, was bounde by his order to sacrifice a whole bullocke. *Numa* also erected many other orders of priestes: of two sortes whereof I will only make mention. The one shalbe the order of the SALII, and the other of the FECIALES: for me thinckes, both the one and the other doth manifestly showe the great holines, and singular deuotion which he had in him. The FECIALES are properly those, which the GRECIANS call IRENOPHYLACES, as who would saye, peacekeepers. And in my iudgement, they had their right name according to their office, bicause they dyd

The temple of Vesta representeth the figure of the worlde. Where the fire abideth.

The manner of buriall.

Libitina honored at funeralls.

The time of mourning.

Salii, Feciales. Plut. Probl. 62. Gell. lib. 16. c. 4. Feciales called Irenophylaces.

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A did pacifie quarells with reaſon by waye of order, and did not ſuffer (as much as in them laye) that any matter ſhould be tried by violence, vntill they were paſt all hope of any peace. For the GRECIANS call it properly *Irenen*, when both parties agree, and decide their controuerſie with reaſon, and not with ſworde. Euen ſo thoſe which the ROMAINES called the *Feciales*, went many times in perſone to thoſe that dyd the ROMAINES iniurie, and ſought to perſuade them with good reaſon, to keepe promiſe with the ROMAINES, and to offer them no wrong. But if they would not yeld to reaſon, whom they ſought to perſuade: then they called the goddes to the witnes thereof, and prayed them, that if they dyd not moſt earneſtly incenſe the ROMAINES, to purſue that moſt iuſtely apperteined vnto their right, that all euills and miſchieues of the warres might fall vpon them ſelues, and on their countrie. This done, they dyd

B threaten open warres againſt ſuch enemies. And if the FECIALES would not cõſent to open warres, and dyd happen to ſpeake againſt them: it was not lawfull in that caſe, neither for priuate perſone, nor for the King him ſelfe to make any warres. But like a iuſt prince, he muſt haue leaue by their ſufferance to make the warres. Then dyd he cõſider, & conſult, by what meanes he might beſt procure, & proſecute the ſame. Concerning this matter, they iudge that the ill happe which came to the ROMAINES, when the cittie of ROME was taken and ſacked by the GAVLES, chaunced iuſtely for breaking of this holy inſtitution. For at that time, the barbarous people beſieged the cittie of the CLVSINIANS: and *Fabius Ambuſtus* was ſent ambaſſadour vnto them, to ſee if he could make peace betweene them. The barbarous people gaue him an ill aunſwer: whereupon *Fabius* thincking his embaſie had bene ended, and being ſom-

C what whotte, and raſhe in defence of the CLVSINIANS, gaue defiaunce to the vallianteſt GAVLE there, to fight with him man to man. Fortune fauored him in this chalẽge: for he ſlew the GAVLE, and ſtripped him in the fielde. The GAVLES ſeeing their man ſlayne, ſent immediately an heraulde to ROME, to accuſe *Fabius*, howe againſt all right and reaſon, he beganne warres with them, without any open proclamation made before. The FECIALES being then conſulted with thereabout, did declare, he ought to be deliuered into the handes of the GAVLES, as one that had broken the lawe of armes, & had deſerued it: but he made friends to the people which fauored him very much, & by their meanes eſcaped his deliuerie, and puniſhment. Neuerthles, the GAVLES within ſhorte time after, came before ROME with all their po-

Rome taken by the Gaules. See Camillus life.

wer: which they tooke, ſacked, and burnt euery whit, ſauing the Capitoll, as we haue written

D more amplie in the life of *Camillus*. Now concerning the Prieſtes that were called *Salij*, they ſaye he dyd inſtitute them vpon this occaſion. In the eight yere of his reigne, there came a peſtilent diſeaſe through all ITALIE, and at the length it crept alſo into ROME. Whereat euery man being greatly affrayed, and diſcoraged, they ſaye there fell from heauen a target of copper, which lighted betweene the handes of *Numa*. They tell hereof a wonderfull tale, which the King him ſelfe affirmed he heard, of the *Nymphe Egeria*, and the *Muſes*. To wit, that this target was ſent from heauen, for the health and preſeruation of the cittie: and therefore he ſhould keepe it carefully, and cauſe eleuen other to be caſt and made, all like vnto the ſame in facion and greatnes, to the ende, that if any would enterpriſe to ſteale it, he ſhould not tell which of them to take for the right target. Moreouer he ſaid, he was commaunded to conſe-

The inſtitution of the Salij.

A target from heauen.

E crate the place to the *Muſes* (in the which he dyd oftentimes companie with them) and alſo the fieldes which were neere thereabouts: and likewiſe to geue the fountaine that ſprange in that place, vnto the *Veſtalls* profeſſed, that euery daye they might drawe water at that well, to waſhe the ſanctuarie of their temple. The ſucceſſe hereof proued his words true, for the ſicknes ceaſed incontinently. So he aſſembled all the chief craftes men then in ROME, to proue which of them would take vpõ him to make one like vnto that. Euery man deſpayred to performe it. Howbeit one called *Veturius Mamurius* (the excellenteſt workeman that was in thoſe dayes) dyd make them all ſo ſute like, that *Numa* him ſelfe dyd not knowe the firſt target, when they were all layed together. So he ordeined theſe prieſts *Salij*, to haue the cuſtodie of theſe targets, to ſee them ſafe kept. They were called *Salij*, not after the name of a SALIAN borne in SAMO-

Whereof they were called Salij.

F THRACIA, or in MANTINEA, as ſome haue vntruely alleaged, who firſt inuẽted the manner of dauncing all armed: but they were ſo called, of their facion and manner of dauncing, and leaping. For in the moneth of Marche, they goe skipping and leaping vp and downe the cittie,

with thoſe targetes on their armes, apparelled in red caſſockes without ſleues, and girded about with broade leather ſworde girdells, ſtudded with copper, hauing helmets of copper on their heads, & ſtriking vpon their targets with ſhorte daggers, which they carie in their hands. Moreouer, all their dauncing conſiſteth in mouing of their feete: for they handle them finely, making tornes aboue ground and beneath, with a ſodaine meaſure, & a maruelous force of agilitie. They call theſe targets *Ancylia*, bicauſe of their facion, which is not altogether compaſſe: for they are not all round as other cõmon targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the endes bowing in many foldes, and one ſo neere another, that altogether they come to a certaine wreathed forme, which the GRECIANS call *Ancylon*. Or els they are ſo called, bicauſe *Ancon* ſignifieth an elbow, vpon which they carie them. All theſe deriuations are written in the hiſtorie of *Iuba*, who in any caſe will haue this word *Ancylia* to be drawen out of the Greeke tongue. And it maye be alſo they were ſo called, bicauſe the firſt came from aboue, which the GRECIANS call *Anecathen*: or els for healing the ſicke, which is called *Aceſis*. Or els for ceaſing of the drines, which in Greke is called, *Anchmõn Lyſis*. Or for the ending of all diſeaſes and euills, for which cauſe the ATHENIANS call *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Anacas*: if they luſt to geue this word his deriuation from the Greeke tongue. Now the reward which *Mamurius* the goldſmithe had for the making of theſe targets was, that the *Salij* vnto this daye doe make mention of him, in their ſonge, which they ſinge going through the cittie, & dauncing of their daunce all armed. Howbeit ſome thincke they ſaye not *Veturius Mamurius*, but *veterem memoriam*, auncient memorie. But *Numa* after he had ordeined and inſtituted theſe orders of prieſts, built his palace neere vnto the temple of *Veſta*, which holdeth his name *Regia* at this daye, to ſaye, the Kings palace. In which he remained moſt part of his life, ſtudying either to ſacrifice to the goddes, or to teache the Prieſtes what they ſhould doe, or howe with them he ſhould beſt contẽplate all heauenly things. It is true that he had another houſe on the hill, which they call at this daye, *Quirinall*, the place whereof is yet to be ſeene. But in all theſe ſacrifices, ceremonies, and proceſſions of the Prieſtes, there were allwayes huſſhers that went before, crying to the people, kepe ſilence, and tend vpon diuine ſeruice. For they ſaye the *Pythagorians* thought it good, that men ſhould not worſhippe the godds, nor make prayers to them in paſſing by, or doing any other thing: but they thought it mete, that men ſhould of purpoſe goe out of their houſes, to ſerue & praye vnto them. Euen ſo king *Numa* thought it not meete, that his ſubiects ſhould come to ſee, and heare diuine ſeruice negligently, as it were for a facion, and only to be ryd of it, as heeding an other thing: but he would haue them ſet a ſide all other buſines, and employ their thoughts & harts only vpon the principall ſeruice of religion, & deuotion towards the godds. So that during ſeruice time, he would not haue heard any noiſe, any knocking, boũſing, or any clapping, as they commonly heare in all artificers ſhoppes of occupation, whereof at this daye yet they ſee ſome ſignes, and tokens, remaining in their ſacrifices at ROME. For all the time the *Augure* beholdeth the flying of the birds, or that he is doing any ſacrifice, the vergers crie alowde: *Hoc age*, which meaneth, tend this. And it is a warning to thoſe that are preſent, to call their wittes home, & to thincke on that which is in hand. Alſo there are many of his orders like the preceptes of the *Pythagorians*. For as they dyd warne men, not to ſit vpon a litle buſſhell, not to cut fire with a ſword, not to looke behinde them when they goe abroade: to ſacrifice to the celeſtiall godds in an odde number, and to the goddes of the earth in an euen number, of which precepts, they would not haue the common people to haue any knowledge or vnderſtãding. Euen ſo there are many inſtitutions of *Numa*, the reaſons whereof are hidden and kept ſecret: as not to offer wine to the godds of the vine neuer cut, & not to ſacrifice vnto them without meale: & to turne a turne about when they doe reuerence to the godds, & to ſit down after they haue worſhipped them. And as touching the two firſt ordinances, it ſeemeth that by them he did recõmend clemẽcy, & humanity, as being a parte of the deuotion towards the godds. But as for the turning which he willeth them to make, that worſhippe the goddes: they ſaye it repreſenteth the turning which the element maketh by his mouing. But me thincketh it ſhould rather come of this: for that the tẽples being ſet to the eaſt, he that worſhippeth entring into the tẽple, ſheweth his backe to the Weſt, & for this cauſe turneth towardes that parte, & afterwards returneth againe towards god: doing the whole turne, & ending the conſummation

Ancylia, whereof ſo called.

Regia, the Kings palace.

The manner of the Romaines worſhipping of the goddes.

The Pythagorians opinion touching prayer.

Hoc age, a watcheword to tend diuine ſeruice.

The ſimilitude of Numa and Pythagoras precepts.

A ſummation of his prayer, by this double adoration which he maketh before & behinde. Onles peraduenture that he ment ſecretly to ſignifie, & geue them to vnderſtande by this turning & chaũging of their looke, that which the EGYPTIANS figured by their wheels: in ſhowing therby, that theſe worldly things were neuer conſtant & in one ſtate. And therfore, that we ſhould take it thankfully, & paciẽtly beare it, in what ſorte ſoeuer it pleaſed god to chaunge or alter our life. And where he cõmaunded that they ſhould ſit after they had worſhipped god: they ſayed it was a token of a good hope vnto them that prayed, that their prayers ſhould be exalted, and that their goods ſhould remaine ſafe, & ſticke by thẽ. Other ſaye, that this eaſe & ſitting, is a ſeparating thẽ frõ doing: & therfore he would they ſhould ſit in the tẽples of the godds, to ſhew they had done that which they had in hãd before, to the end to take of the godds the beginning

B of another. And it maye well be alſo, that it was referred to the thing we ſpake of a litle before. That *Numa* would accuſtome his people, not to ſerue the godds, nor to ſpeake to them at all, as they paſſed by, or did any other thing, or were in haſte: but would haue them praye vnto the godds when they had time & leyſure, & all other buſines at that time ſet a parte. By this good inſtruction & training them vnto religion, the cittie of ROME by litle & litle came to be ſo tractable, & had the great power of king *Numa* in ſuch admiratiõ: that they tooke all to be as true as the goſpell that he ſpake, though it had no more likelyhood of trothe, then tales deuiſed of pleaſure. Furthermore, they thought nothing incredible, or vnpoſſible to him, if he would haue it. And for proofe hereof, there goeth a tale of him, that he hauing bidden a great company of the cittizens of ROME to come & ſuppe with him, cauſed them to be ſerued with plaine groſſe

C meate, & in very poore & homely veſſell. And when they were ſet, and beganne to fall to their meate, he caſt out words ſodainely vnto them, how the goddeſſe with whom he accõpanied, was come to ſee him euen at that inſtant, & that ſodainely the hall was richely furniſhed, & the tables couered with all ſortes of excellent fine & delicate meates. Howbeit this farte paſſed all the vanity of lying, which is foũd written of him, about his ſpeaking with *Iupiter*. The hill Auẽtine was not at that time inhabited, nor incloſed within the walles of ROME, but was full of ſprings & ſhadowed groues, whether cõmonly repaired to ſolace them ſelues, the two godds, *Picus* & *Faunus*, which otherwiſe might be thought two Satyres, or of the race of the *Titanes*: ſauing it is ſayed, that they went through all ITALIE, doing the like miracles & wõders in phiſycke, charmes & arte magike, which they reporte of thoſe the GREKIANS call *Idees Dactyles*.

D There they ſaye that *Numa* tooke them both, hauing put into the ſpring both wine & honnie, where they vſed to drinke. Whẽ they ſaw that they were taken, they trãſformed thẽ ſelues into diuers forms, diſguiſing & diſfiguring their naturall ſhape, into many terrible & feareful ſights to behold. Neuertheles in the end, perceiuing they were ſo faſt, as to eſcape there was no reckoning: they reuealed vnto him many things to come, & taught him the purifying againſt lightning & thunder, which they make yet at this daye with onĩõs, heare, & pilchers. Other ſaye, he was not taught that by them, but that they fetched *Iupiter* out of heauen, with their coniuring & magicke: whereat *Iupiter* being offended, anſwered in choller, that he ſhould make it with heads. But *Numa* added ſtraight, of onĩõs: *Iupiter* replied, of men. Then *Numa* asked him againe, to take a litle away the cruelty of the cõmaundement. What beares? *Iupiter* anſwered, quicke

E hears. And *Numa* put to pilchers alſo. And it is reported that this was the goddeſſe *Egeria*, that taught *Numa* this ſubtiltie. This done, *Iupiter* returned appeaſed by reaſon wherof the place was called *Ilicium*. For *Ileos* in the Greeke tongue ſignifieth appeaſed, & fauorable: & this purifying was afterwards made in that ſorte. Theſe tales not onely vayne, but full of mockerie alſo, doe ſhow vs yet plainely the zeale & deuotion men had in thoſe times towards the godds: vnto which *Numa* through cuſtome had wõne them. And as for *Numa* him ſelf, they ſaye that he ſo firmely put all his hope & confidẽce in the helpe of the godds: that one daye when he was told his enemies were in armes againſt him, he did but laugh at it, & anſwered, And I doe ſacrifice. It is he (as ſome ſaye) that firſt built a temple to *Faith* & *Terme*: & which made the ROMAINES vnderſtand, that the moſt holy & greateſt othe they could make, was to ſweare by their faith,

F which they kepe yet at this daye. But *Terme*, which ſignifieth bounds, is the god of confines, or borders: vnto whom they doe ſacrifice, both publickly & priuately, vpon the limites of inheritaunces, & now they ſacrifice vnto him liue beaſts. Howbeit in old time they did ſacrifice vnto

By what means Numa made the Romaines quiet and gentle.

The wonders of Numa.

Numaes ſpeaking with Iupiter.

Picus.

Faunus.

The purifying of thunder.

Ilicium, the name of the place.

Numa buylded temples to Faythe and Terme.

him without any bloude, through the wise institution of *Numa*: who declared & preached vnto them, that this god of bounds was syncere, & vpright, without bloud or murther, as he that is a witnes of iustice, & a keper of peace. It was he, which in my opiniō, did first limit out the boūds of the territorie of Rome: which *Romulus* would neuer doe, for feare least in bounding out his owne, he should confesse that which he occupied of other mens. For bounding & mearing, to him that will keepe it iustely: is a bond that brideleth power & desire. But to him that forceth not to kepe it: it is a proofe to shew his iniustice. To saye truely, the territories of Rome had no great bounds at the first beginning, & *Romulus* had got by cōqueste the greateste parte of it, & *Numa* did wholy deuide it vnto the nedie inhabitās to releue thē, & to bring them out of pouerty: (which carieth men hedlōg into mischief, & discourageth them to labour) to the end that plowing vp the said lande, they should also plowe vp the weedes of their own barrēnes, to become ciuill & gentle. For there is no exercise nor occupation in the world, which so sodainely bringeth a man, to loue & desire quietnes, as doth husbādrie & tillage: & yet to defend a mans own, there is in it corage & hardines to fight. But greedy desire, violētly to take from others, & vniustely to occupie that is none of theirs, is neuer in right husbādmen. And therfore *Numa* hauing brought in husbandrie amōgest his subiects, as a medecine & meane to make them loue quietnes: was desirous to inure them to this trade of life, the rather to make them humble & gētle of condition, then to increase them in riches. He deuided all the territorie of Rome into certen parts which he called *Pagos*: as much to saye, as villages. And in euery one of them he ordeined controllers & visiters, which should suruey all about: & he him self somtimes went abroade in persone, cōiecturing by their labour the māners & nature of euery man. Such as he found diligent, he aduaunced them vnto honour, & gaue them countenaūce & authoritie: other which he sawe slowthfull & negligent, by rebuking & reprouing of them, he made them amend. But amongest all his ordinaunces which he made, one aboue all the rest caried the praise: and that was, that he deuided his people into sundrie occupatiōs. For the cittie of Rome seemed yet to be made of two nations, as we haue sayed before: and to speake more properly, it was made of two tribes. So that it could not, or would not for any thing be made one: being altogether impossible to take away all factions, & to make there should be no quarrells nor contentions betwene both parts. Wherefore he considered, that when one will mingle two bodies or simples together, which for their hardnes & cōtrarie natures cannot well suffer mixture: then he breaks & beates them together, as small as may be. For, so being brought into a smaller & lesser powder, they would incorporate and agree the better. Euen so he thought it was best to deuide the people also into many small partes: by meanes whereof they should be put into many parties, which would more easely take away the first & the greateste parte, when it should be deuided & separated thus into sundrie sorts. And this diuision he made by arts & occupatiōs: as minstrells, goldsmiths, carpinters, diers, shoemakers, tawers, tāners, bell foūders, & pot makers, & so forth through other craftes & occupations. So that he brought euery one of these into one bodie, & cōpanie by it self: & ordeined vnto euery particular mysterie or crafte, their feasts, assemblies, & seruices, which they should make vnto the godds, according to the dignitie & worthines of euery occupatiō. And by this meanes, he first tooke away all faction: that neither side sayed, nor thought any more, those are Sabynes, these are Romaines, these are of *Tatius*, these are of *Romulus*. Insomuch as this diuision was an incorporating, & an vniting of the whole together. Among other his ordinaūces, they did much cōmend his reforming of the law, that gaue libertie vnto fathers to sell their childrē. For he did except childrē already maried, so they were maried with their fathers consent & goodwill: iudging it to be to cruell & ouer hard a thing, that a woman who thought she had maried a free man, should finde her self to be the wife of a bond mā. He begāne also to mende a litle the calender, not so exactly as he should haue done, nor yet altogether ignorātly. For during the raigne of *Romulus*, they vsed the moneths cōfusedly, without any order or reason, making some of them twenty dayes & lesse, and others fiue & thirtie dayes & more, without knowing the differēce betwene the course of the sunne & the moone: & only they obserued this rule, that there was three hūdred & three score dayes in the yere. But *Numa* considering the inequality stoode vpon eleuen dayes, for that the 12 reuolutiōs of the moone are ronne in 300. fiftie & foure dayes, & the reuolution of the sunne, in 365. dayes, he doubled the

Numa made the boundes of the territorie of Rome.

Numa aduaunceth tillage.

Numa deuided his people into sundry occupations.

Numa tooke away the factions of Romulus and Tatius.

The ordinaunce of the moneths of Numaes institution.

Macrob. 1. Satyr. 13.

A the 11. dayes, wherof he made a moneth: which he placed frō 2. yeres to 2. yeres, after the moneth of February, & the ROMAINES called this moneth put betwene, *Mercidinum*, which had 22. dayes. And this is the correctiō that *Numa* made, which since hath had a farre better amēdment. He did also chaunge the order of the moneths. For Marche which before was the first, he made it now the third: & Ianuary the first, which vnder *Romulus* was the 11. & February the 12. & last. Yet many are of opinion, that *Numa* added these two, Ianuary & February. For the ROMAINES at the beginning had but tenne moneths in the yere: as some of the barbarous people make but three moneths for their yere. And the ARCADIANS amongest the GRECIANS haue but foure moneths for their yere. The ACARNANIANS haue sixe to the yere. And the EGYPTIANS had first but one moneth to their yere: & afterwards they made foure moneths for their
B yere. And this is the cause why they seeme (albeit they inhabite in a new coūtrie) to be neuertheles the auncientest people of the world: for that in their chronicles they reckon vp such infinite nūber of yeres, as those which counte the moneths for the yeres. And to proue this true, that the ROMAINES at the beginning had but tenne moneths in the yere, and not twelue: it is easely to be iudged by the name of the last, which they call at this daye Decēber. And that the moneth of Marche was also the first, maye be coniectured by this: for the fift moneth after that, is yet called *Quintilis*: the 6. *Sextilis*, & so the other in order following the nūbers. For if Ianuary & February had then bene the first, of necessitie the moneth of Iuly, which they call *Quintilis*, must haue bene named Septēber: considering also that it is very likely, that the moneth which *Romulus* had dedicated vnto Mars, was also by him ordeined to be the first. The second was A-
C prill: so called of the name *Aphrodite*, that is to saye *Venus*, vnto whom they make open sacrifice in this moneth. And on the first daye of the same, women doe washe them selues, hauing a garland of myrtle vpon their heades. Howbeit some other saye, that it was not called after the name of *Aphrodite*, but it was only called *Aprilis*, bicause then is the chiefest force & strength of the spring, at which season the earth doth open, and the seedes of plants and erbes beginne to bud & showe forth, which the word it selfe doth signifie. The moneth following next after that, is called Maye: after the name of *Maia*, the mother of *Mercurie*, vnto whom the moneth is cōsecrated. *The moneth of Iune is so called also, bicause of the quality of that season, which is as the youthe of the yere. Although some will saye, that the moneth of Maye was named of this word *Maiores*, which signifieth as much as the elders: and the moneth of Iune, of *Iuuenes*,
D which signifies the younger men. All the other following, were named in old time by the numbers according to their order, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *Nouember*, & *December*. But *Quintilis*, was afterward called *Iulius*, of the name of *Iulius Cæsar*, who slew *Pompeius*. And *Sextilis* was named *Augustus*, *Octauius Cæsars* successour in the empire, who was also surnamed *Augustus*. It is true also that *Domitian* would they should call the two moneths following (which are *September* and *October*) the one *Germanicus*, and the other *Domitianus*. But that held not longe: for so soone as *Domitian* was killed, the moneths recouered their auncient names againe. The two last moneths only, haue euer cōtinued their names, without chaūging or altering. But of the two which *Numa* added, or at the least trāslated: the moneth of February doth signifie as much as purging, or at the least the deriuation of the word sowndeth neere it.
E In this moneth, they doe sacrifice of plantes, * & doe celebrate the feast of the Lupercales, in which there are many things agreable, and like to the sacrifices made for purification. And the first, which is Ianuary, was called after the name of *Ianus*. Wherefore me thinckes that *Numa* tooke away the moneth of Marche frō the first place, & gaue it vnto Ianuary: bicause he would haue peace preferred before warre, & ciuill things before marshall. For this *Ianus* (were he King, or demigod) in the former age was counted very ciuill & polliticke. For he chaunged the life of men, which before his time was rude, cruell, & wilde: & brought it to be honest, gentle, & ciuill. For this cause they doe painte his image at this daye with two faces, the one before, and the other behinde, for thus chaunging the lines of men. And there is in Rome a temple dedicated vnto him, which hath two doores, that be called the doores of warre: for the cu-
F stome is to open them, when the Romaines haue any warres in any place, and to shut them when they be appeased. To haue them shut, it was a rare thinge to see, and happened very seldome: by reason of the greatnes of their empire, which of all sides was environned

The yere diuersely counted.

** Peraduenture ye must read in the Greke (ἀπὸ τῆς ἰνᾶς) which is to saye, of the name of Iuno.*

** Some olde Grecian copies saye in this place. φθίτους, as much to saye, as for the deade. Why Ianus is painted with two faces.*

At what time the temple of Ianus is shut in Rome. Liu. lib. 1.

with barbarous nations, whom they were cõpelled to keepe vnder with force of armes. Notwithstanding it was once shut vp in the time of Augustus, after he had slaine *Antonie*: & once before also in the yere when *Marcus Attilius* & *Titus Manlius* were Cõsuls. But that cõtinued not long, for it was opened again incontinẽtly, by reason of warres that came vpõ them sone after. Howbeit during the raigne of *Numa*, it was neuer one day opened, but remained shut cõtinually by the space of three & forty yeres together. For all occasiõs of warres, were then vtterly dead & forgotten: bicause at ROME the people were not only through thexãple of iustice, clemẽcie, & the goodnes of the King brought to be quiet, & to loue peace: but in the citties thereabouts, there beganne a maruelous chaunge of manners & alteration of life, as if some gentle ayer had breathed on them, by some gratious & healthfull wind, blowẽ from ROME to refresh them. And thereby bred in mens mindes such a harty desire to liue in peace, to till the ground, to bring vp their children, & to serue the goddes truely: that almost through all ITALIE, there was nothing but feastes, playes, sacrifices, & bankets. The people did traffike & frequent together, without feare or daũger, & visited one another, making great cheere: as if out of the springing fountaine of *Numaes* wisedom many pretie brookes & streames of good & honest life had rõne ouer all ITALIE, & had watered it: & that the mildnes of his wisdom had frõ hand to hand bene dispersed through the whole world. Insomuch, as the ouer excessiue speaches the Poets accustomably doe vse, were not sufficiẽt enough to expresse the peaceable raigne of that time.

The Romains had no warres in al Numaes time.

There: spiders vveaue, their cobvvebbes daye and night
in harnesses, vvhich vvont to serue for vvarre:
there: cancred rust doth fret, the steele full bright
of trenchant blades, vvell vvhet in many a larre.
There: mighty speares, for lacke of vse are eaten,
vvith rotten vvormes: and in that countrie there,
the braying trompe dothe neuer seeme to threaten,
their quiet eares, vvith blasts of bloudy feare.
There: in that lande, no drovvsie sleepe is broken,
vvith hotte alarmes, vvhich terrours doe betoken.

For during all king *Numaes* raigne, it was neuer heard that euer there were any warres, ciuil dissention, or innouation of gouernment attempted against him, nor yet any secret enmitie or malice borne him, neither any cõspiracie once thought on to reigne in his place. And whether it was for feare of displeasing the godds (which visibly seemed to take him into their protectiõ) or for the reuerent regarde they had vnto his vertue, or for his prosperous & good successe all the time he raigned, I cannot tell: howbeit he sought to keepe men still pure, & honest, from all wickednes, & layed most open before the eyes of the whole world, a very exãple of that which *Plato* long time after did affirme, & saye, concerning true gouernmẽt: which was. That the only meane of true quietnes, & remedy from all euill (which euer troubleth men) was: when by some diuine ordinaunce from aboue there meteth in one person, the right maiestie of a King, & the minde of a wise philosopher, to make vertue gouernesse & ruler ouer vice. For in deede happie is such a wise man, & more happy are they, which maye heare the graue counsaill, & good lessons of such a mouthe. And there me thincks needeth no force, no cõpulsion, no threates, nor extremitie to bridle the people. For men seeing the true image of vertue in their visible prince, & in the example of his life, doe willingly growe to be wise, & of themselues doe fall into loue liking, and friendshippe together, and doe vse all temperaunce, iust dealing, and good order one toward another, leading their life without offence, and with the commendation of other: which is the chiefe pointe of felicitie, and the most happie good that can light vnto men. And he by nature is best worthy to be a King, who through his wisdome and vertue, can graffe in mens manners such a good disposition: and this, *Numa* aboue all other, seemed best to knowe and vnderstand. Furthermore, touching his wiues and children, there are great contrarieties amõg the historiographers. For some of them saye, he neuer maried other wife then *Tatia*, and that he neuer had any children, but one only daughter, and she was called *Pompilia*. Other write to the contrarie, that he had foure sonnes, *Pompõ*, *Pinus*, *Calpus*, and *Mamercus*: of euery one of the which (by succession from the father to the sonne) haue descended the noblest

Platoes saying concerning the felicitie of a cõmen weale.

Numaes wiues and posteritie. Pompilia Numaes daughter.

A noblest races, and most auncient houses of the ROMAINES. As the house of the *Pomponians*, of *Pompo*: the house of the *Pinarians*, of *Pinus*: the house of the *Calphurnians*, of *Calpus*: & the house of the *Mamercias*, of *Mamercus*. All which families by reason of their first progenitor haue kept the surname of *Reges*, Kings. There are three other writers, which doe reproue the two first: saying that they dyd write to gratifie the families, making them falsely to descend of the noble race of king *Numa*. Moreouer it is sayed, he had his daughter *Pompilia*, not by *Tatia*, but by his other wife called *Lucretia*, whom he maried after he was made King. Howbeit they all agree, that his daughter *Pompilia* was maried vnto one *Martius*, the sonne of the same *Martius*, which persuaded him to accept the kingdome of ROME. For he went with him to ROME, to remaine there: where they dyd him the honour to receyue him into the number of the Se-

Pompilia maried to Caius Martius Coriolanus.

B natours. After the death of *Numa*, *Martius* the father stoode against *Tullus Hostilius* for the succession of the Realme, and being ouercome, he killed him selfe for sorowe. But his sonne *Martius*, who maried *Pompilia*, continued still at ROME, where he begotte *Ancus Martius*, who was king of ROME after *Tullus Hostilius*, and was but fiue yere olde when *Numa* dyed. Whose death was not sodaine. For he dyed consuming by litle and litle, aswell through age, as also through a lingring disease that waited on him to his ende, as *Piso* hath written: and *Numa* at his death was litle more, then foure score yere old. But the pompe and honour done vnto him at his funeralles, made his life yet more happie and glorious. For all the people his

Martius the Sabyne, made Senatour at Rome.

Ancus Martius, the sonne of Caius Martius Coriolanus.

The death of Numa.

neighbours, friendes, kinsemen, and allies of the ROMAINES came thither, bringing crownes with them, and other publicke contributions to honour his obsequies. The noble men selues

C of the cittie (which were called *Patricians*) caried on their shoulders the very bedd, on which the course laye, to be conueyed to his graue. The Priestes attended also on his bodie, and so dyd all the rest of the people, women and children in like case, which followed him to his tumbe, all bewaling and lamenting his death, with teares, sighes, and mournings. Not as a King dead for very age, but as they had mourned for the death of their deerest kinseman, and neerest friende that had dyed before he was olde. They burnt not his bodie, bicause (as some saye) he commaunded the contrarie by his will and testament: but they made two coffines of stone, which they buried at the foote of the hill called *Ianiculum*. In the one they layed his bodie, & in the other the holy bookes which he had written him selfe, much like vnto those,

Numaes bookes.

which they that made the lawes among the GRECIANS dyd write in tables. But bicause in

D his life time he had taught the prieste, the substaunce of the whole conteined in the same: he willed the holy tables which he had written, should be buried with his bodie. For he thought it not reasonable that so holy matters should be kept by dead letters and writings, but by mens manners & exercises. And he followed herein they saye, the *Pythagorians*, who would not put their worckes in writing, but dyd printe the knowledge of them in their memories, whom they knew to be worthy men, and that without any writing at all. And if they had taught any manner of persone the hidden rules and secretes of Geometrie, which had not bene worthy of them: then they sayed the goddes by manifest tokens would threaten, to reuenge such sacriledge and impietie, with some great destruction and miserie. Therefore, seeing so many things agreable, and altogether like betweene *Numa* and *Pythagoras*, I easely pardone those which

Why the Pythagorias left nothing in writing.

E mainteine their opinion, that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* were familiarly acquainted, and conuersant together. *Valerius Antias* the historian writeth, there were twelue bookes written concerning the office of Priestes, and twelue other conteining the philosophie of the GRECIANS. And that foure hundred yeres after (in the same yere when *Publius Cornelius*, and *Marcus Bebius* were consuls) there fell a great rage of waters and raine, which opened the earthe, and discouered these coffines: and the liddes and couers thereof being caried awaye, they founde the one altogether voyde, hauing no manner of likelyhoode, or token of a bodie that had layen in it: and in the other they founde these bookes, which were deliuered vnto one named *Petilius* (at that time *Prætor*) who had the charge to reade them ouer, and to make the reporte of them. But he hauing perused them ouer, declared to the Senate, that he

12. bookes of priesthood.

12. bookes of philosophie.

F thought it not conuenient the matters conteined in them should be published vnto the simple people: and for that cause they were caried into the market place, and there were openly burnte. Surely it is a common thing, that happeneth vnto all good and iust men, that

Good men prayſed after their death. they are farre more prayſed and eſteemed after their death, then before: bicauſe that enuie doth not long continue after their death, and oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithſtanding, the misfortunes which chaunced afterwardes vnto the fiue Kings which raigned at ROME after *Numa*, haue made his honour ſhine, with much more noble glorie then before. *The misfortunes of Numaes ſucceſſours.* For the laſt of them was driuen out of his Kingdome, and died in exile, after he was very olde. *Hoſtilius.* And of the other foure, none of them died their naturall death, but three of them were killed by treaſon. And *Tullus Hoſtilius* which raigned after *Numa*, deriding, & contemning the moſt parte of his good and holy inſtitutions, and chiefly his deuotion towardes the goddes, as a thing which made men lowly and fainte harted: dyd aſſone as euer he came to be King, turne all his ſubiects hartes to the warres. But this mad humour of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a ſtraunge, & moſt grieuous diſeaſe that followed him, which brought him to chaunge his minde, and dyd farre otherwiſe turne his contempt of Religion, into an ouerfearfull ſuperſtition, which dyd nothing yet reſemble the true Religion & deuotion of *Numa*: & beſides, he infected others with his contagious errour, through the inconuenience which happened vnto him at his death. For he was ſtriken and burnt with lightning.

THE COMPARISON OF *Lycurgus with Numa.*

The vertues of Numa and Lycurgus were alike, but their deeds diuers.

THVS hauing written the liues of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, the matter requireth, though it be ſomewhat harde to doe, that we comparing the one with the other, ſhould ſet out the difference betweene them. For in thoſe things wherein they were like of condition, their deedes doe ſhewe it ſufficiently. As in their temperaunce, their deuotion to the goddes, their wiſdome in gouerning, and their diſcreete handling of their people, by making them beleeue that the goddes had reuealed the lawes vnto them, which they eſtabliſhed. And nowe to come vnto their qualities, which are diuerſely, & ſeuerally commended in either of them. Their firſt qualitie is, that *Numa* accepted the Kingdome, and *Lycurgus* gaue it vp. The one receyued it, not ſeeking for it: and the other hauing it in his handes, did reſtore it againe. The one being a ſtraunger, and a priuate man: was by ſtraungers elected & choſen, their lorde & King. The other being in poſſeſſion a King, made him ſelfe againe a priuate perſone. Suer it is a goodly thing to obtaine a Realme by iuſtice: but it is a goodlier thing to eſteeme iuſtice aboue a Realme. Vertue brought the one to be in ſuch reputatiō, that he was iudged worthy to be choſen a King: and vertue bred ſo noble a minde in the other, that he eſteemed not to be a King. Their ſecond qualitie is, that like as in an inſtrumēt of muſicke, the one of them did tune and wreſt vp the ſlacke ſtringes which were in SPARTA: ſo the other ſlackened, and ſet them lower,

A lower, which were to highe mounted in Rome. Wherein *Lycurgus* difficulty was the greater. For he did not perſuade his cittizens, to plucke of their armour & eurates, nor to laye by their ſwordes: but only to leaue their golde & ſiluer, to forſake their ſofte beddes, their fine wrought tables, and other curious riche furniture, and not to leaue of the trauell of warres, to geue them ſelues only vnto feaſtes, ſacrifices, and playes. But to the contrarie, to geue vp bancketing and feaſting, & continually to take paynes in the warres, yelding their bodies to all kinde of paynes. By which meanes, the one for the loue and reuerence they did beare him, eaſely perſuaded all that he would: and the other, by putting him ſelfe in daunger, and being hurte alſo, obtained not without great trauell and aduenture, the end of his intended purpoſe and deſire. *Numa* his muſe was ſo gentle, louing, and curteous, that the manners of his cittizens, which before were B furious and violent, were now ſo tractable and ciuill, that he taught them to loue peace and iuſtice. And to the contrarie, if they will compell me to number amongeſt the lawes and ordinaunces of *Lycurgus*, that which we haue written touching the Ilotes, which was a barbarous cruell thing: I muſt of force confeſſe that *Numa* was muche wiſer, more gentle, and ciuill in his lawes, conſidering that euen vnto thoſe which in deede were borne ſlaues, he gaue ſome litle taſt of honour, & ſweetnes of libertie, hauing ordained, that in the feaſtes of *Saturne*, they ſhould ſit downe at meate, at their maſters owne table. Some holde opinion, that this cuſtome was brought in by king *Numa*: who willed that thoſe, which through their labour in tillage brought in much fruite, ſhould haue ſome pleaſure thereof to make good cheere with the firſt fruites of the ſame. Other imagine, that it is yet a token and remembraunce of the equalitie, C which was emõgeſt men in the world in *Saturnes* time, when there was neither maſter nor ſeruaunte, but all men were a like equall, as brethern or hinſemen. To conclude, it ſeemeth either of them tooke a direct courſe, thought beſt to them ſelues, to frame their people vnto temperaunce, and to be contented with their owne. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loued warre beſt, and the other iuſtice: onles it were that men would ſaye, that for the diuerſitie of the nature or cuſtome of their people (which were almoſt contrarie in manners) they were both compelled to vſe alſo contrary and diuers meanes from other. For it was not of a fainte harte, that *Numa* tooke from his people the vſe of armes, and deſire to be in warres: but it was to the ende they ſhould not doe any wrong to others. Neither did *Lycurgus* alſo ſtudie to make his people ſouldiers and warlike, to hurte others: but for feare rather that others D ſhould hurte them. And ſo, to cut of the exceſſe in the one, and to ſupply the defect of the other: they were both enforced to bring in a ſtraunge manner of gouernment, Furthermore, touching their ſeuerall kinde of gouernment, & diuiding of their people into ſtates and companies: that of *Numa* was maruelous meane and baſe, and framed to the liking of the meaneſt people, making a bodie of a cittie, and a people compounded together of all ſortes, as goldeſmithes, minſtrells, founders, ſhoemakers, and of all ſortes of craftes men & occupations together. But that of *Lycurgus*, was directly contrarie: for his was more ſeuere and tyrannicall, in gouerning of the nobility, caſting all craftes and baſe occupations vpon bondemen & ſtraungers, and putting into the handes of his cittizens the ſhield and launce, ſuffering them to exerciſe no other arte or ſcience, but the arte and diſcipline of warres, as the true miniſters of Mars: E which all their life time neuer knewe other ſcience, but only learned to obey their captaines, and to commaund their enemies. For to haue any occupation, to buye and ſell, or to trafficke, free men were expreſſely forbidden: bicauſe they ſhould wholy & abſolutely be free. And all ſciences to get money was lawfull for ſlaues, and the Ilotes: being counted for as vile an occupation, as to dreſſe meate, and to be a ſcullian of a kitchin. *Numa* put not this difference amõgeſt his people, but only tooke away couetous deſire to be riche by warres: but otherwiſe, he did not forbid them to get goodes by any other lawfull meanes, neither tooke any regarde to bring all to equalitie, and to be a like wealthy, but ſuffered euery man to get what he could, taking no order to preuẽt pouertie, which crept in, & ſpred farre in his cittie. Which he ſhould haue looked vnto at the beginning, at that time when there was not too great an vnequalitie F amongeſt them, and that his cittizens for ſubſtaunce were in manner equall one with another: for then was the time whẽ he ſhould haue made head againſt auarice, to haue ſtopped the miſchiefes & inconueniences, which fell out afterwards, & they were not litle. For that only was

What things were harde to Lycurgus.

Slaues ſat with their maſters at Saturnes feaſts. Macrob. Satur. lib. 1.

Diuers cauſes of the diuerſitie of inſtitutions of Numa and Lycurgus.

Deſcription of their people.

the fountaine and roote, of the moſt parte of the greateſt euills & miſchieues, which happened afterwardes in ROME. And as touching the diuiſion of goodes: neither ought *Lycurgus* to be blamed for doing it, nor *Numa* for that he did it not. For this equality vnto the one, was a groũd & foundation of his common wealth, which he afterwards inſtituted: and vnto other, it could not be. For this diuiſion being made not long before the time of his predeceſſour, there was no great neede to chaunge the firſt, the which (as it is likely) remained yet in full perfection. As touching mariages, & their children to be in common, both the one & the other wiſely ſought to take awaye all occaſion of iealouſie: but yet they tooke not both one courſe. For the ROMAINE husband, hauing children enough to his contentation: if another that lacked children came vnto him, to praye him to lende him his wife, he might graunte her vnto him, and it was in him to geue her altogether, or to lende her for a time, & to take her afterwardes againe. But the LACONIAN, keeping his wife in his houſe, & the mariage remaining whole & vnbroken, might let out his wife to any man that would require her to haue children by her: naye furthermore, many (as we haue told you before) did them ſelues intreat men, by whom they thought to haue a trimme broode of children, & layed them with their wiues. What difference, I praye you was betwene theſe two cuſtomes? ſauing that the cuſtome of the LACONIANS ſhewed, that the husbãds were nothing angrie, nor grieued with their wiues for thoſe things, which for ſorrowe and iealouſie doth rent the hartes of moſt maried men in the world. And that of the ROMAINES was a ſimplicitie ſomwhat more ſhamefaſt, which to couer it, was ſhadowed yet with the cloke of matrimonie, and contract of mariage: confeſſing that to vſe wife & children by halfes together, was a thing moſt intollerable for him. Furthermore, the keeping of maidẽs to be maried by *Numaes* order, was much ſtraighter & more honorable for womanhed: & *Lycurgus* order hauing to much ſcope and libertie, gaue Poets occaſion to ſpeake, and to geue them ſurnames not very honeſt. As *Ibycus* called them *Phænomeridas*: to ſaye, thighe ſhowers: and *Andromanes*: to ſaye manhood. And *Euripides* ſayeth alſo of them.

Reaſon for mariages.

Numaes order for maydens the better.

Good nutbrovvne girles vvhich left, their fathers houſe at large,
and ſought for young mens companie, & tooke their vvare in charge:
And shevved their thighes all bare, the taylour did them vvrong,
on eche ſide open vvere their cotes, the ſlytts vvere all to long.

And in deede to ſaye truely, the ſides of their petticotes were not ſowed beneath: ſo that as they went, they ſhewed their thighes naked and bare. The which *Sophocles* doth eaſely declare by theſe verſes:

The ſonge vvhich you ſhall ſinge, ſhalbe the ſonnet ſayde,
by Hermionè luſty laſſe, that ſtrong and ſturdy mayde:
VVhich truſt her petticote, about her midle shorte,
and ſet to shevve her naked hippes, in francke and frendly ſorte.

And therefore it is ſayed, the LACON wiues were bolde, manly, & ſtowte againſt their husbands, namely the firſt. For they were wholy miſtreſſes in the houſe, and abroade: yea they had law on their ſide alſo, to vtter their mindes franckly cõcerning the chiefeſt matters. But *Numa* euer reſerued the honour and dignitie vnto the women, which was left them by *Romulus* in his time, when their husbands, after they had taken them awaye perforce, diſpoſed them ſelues to vſe them as gently as poſſibly they could: neuertheles, he added otherwiſe thereto, great honeſty, and tooke away all curioſitie from them, and taught them ſobrietie, & did inure them to ſpeake litle. For he did vtterly forbid them wine, and did prohibite them to ſpeake, although it were for things neceſſarie, onles it were in the preſence of their husbands. In ſo much as it is reported, that a woman chauncing one daye to pleade her cauſe in perſone, openly before the iudges: the Senate hearing of it, did ſend immediately vnto the oracle of *Apollo*, to know what that did prognoſticate to the cittie. And therfore *Numa* thought the memorie of the naughty women, would much commend the great humilitie, gentlenes, & obedience of the good. For like as our GRECIAN hiſtoriographers doe note thoſe which were the firſt that killed any of their cittizẽs, or haue fought with their brethern, or haue killed their fathers or mothers: euen ſo the ROMAINES doe note that *Spurius Caruilius* was the firſt which forſooke his wife, two hundred & thirtie yeres after the firſt foundation of ROME, which was neuer done by any before.

The Lacedemonians were to manly.

The Romaine women very modeſt.

The firſt diuorce at Rome.

A fore. And that the wife of one *Pinarius*, called *Thalea*, was the firſt which euer brawled or quar-
relled with her mother in lawe called *Geganía*, in the time when *Tarquine* ſurnamed the proude
raigned: ſo well and honeſtly were the orders of *Numa* deuiſed concerning mariage. More-
uer, the age and time of marying of maydes, which both the one and the other ordeined: doth
agree with the reſt of their education. For *Lycurgus* would not that they ſhould be maried, till
they were of good yeres, and women growen: to the ende that they knowing the company of
man at ſuch time as nature requireth, it ſhould be a beginning of their pleaſure and loue; and
not of griefe and hate, when ſhe ſhould be compelled vnto it before time agreable by nature,
and bicauſe their bodies alſo ſhould be more ſtronge and able to beare children, and to indure
the mothers painefull throwes and trauell in childe bearing, conſidering they are maried to no
B other ende, but to beare children. But the Romaines to the contrarie, doe marye them at
twelue yeres of age, and vnder: ſaying, that by this meanes their bodies & manners be wholy
theirs, which doe marye them, being aſſured that no body els could touch them. By this reaſon
it is manifeſt, that the one is more naturall, to make them ſtrong to beare children: & the other
more morall, to geue them the forme & manner of conditiõs, which a man would haue them
to kepe all their life time. Moreouer touching orders for educatiõ of childrẽ, that they ſhould
be brought vp, inſtructed, & taught, vnder the ſelfe ſame maſters & gouernours, which ſhould
haue an eye to make them drincke, eate, playe, and exerciſe them ſelues honeſtly, and orderly
together: *Numa* made no more prouiſion for the ſame, then the leaſt maker of lawes that euer
was, and nothing in compariſon of *Lycurgus*. For *Numa* left the parents at libertie, to vſe their
C diſcretion (according vnto their couetouſnes or neceſſitie) to cauſe their children to be
brought vp as they thought good: whether they would put them to be labourers, carpinters,
founders, or minſtrells. As if they ſhould not frame the manners of children, and facion them
from their cradell all to one ende: but ſhould be as it were like paſſengers in one ſhippe, which
being there, ſome for one buſines, other for another purpoſe, but all to diuers endes, doe neuer
medle one with another, but in a rough ſtorme or tempeſt, when euery man is affrayed of his
owne life. For otherwiſe, no man careth but for him ſelfe. And other makers of lawes alſo, are
to be borne withall, if any thing hath ſcaped them through ignoraunce, or ſome time through
lacke of ſufficient power and authoritie. But a wiſe philoſopher, hauing receyued a realme of
people newly gathered together, which dyd contrary him in nothing: whereto ſhould he
D moſt plye his ſtudie and indeuour, but to cauſe children to be well brought vp, and to make
young men exerciſe them ſelues, to the ende they ſhould not differ in manners, nor that they
ſhould be troubleſome, by their diuers manner of bringing vp, but that they ſhould all agree
together, for that they had bene trained from their childhood vnto one ſelfe trade, and facio-
ned vnder one ſelfe patterne of vertue? That good education, beſides other commodities, dyd
alſo ſerue to preſerue *Lycurgus* lawes. For the feare of their othe which they had made, had
bene of ſmall effect, if he had not through inſtitution, and education (as it were) dyed in wolle
the manners of children, and had not made them from their nources breſtes in manner, ſucke
the Iuice and loue of his lawes, and ciuill ordinaunces. And this was of ſuche force, that for the
ſpace of fiue hundred yeres & more, *Lycurgus* chief lawes and ordinaunces remained in full
E perfection, as a deepe woded dye, which went to the bottome, and pearced into the tender
wolle. Contrariwiſe, that which was *Numaes* chief ende and purpoſe, to continew Rome in
peace and amitie, dyed by and by with him. For he was no ſoner dead, but they opened both
the gates of the temple of *Ianus*, which he ſo carefully had kept ſhut all his reigne, as if in
deede he had kept in warres there, vnder locke and keye, and they filled all Italie with mur-
der and bloude: & this his godly, holy, and iuſt gouernment which his Realme enioyed all his
time, did not laſt long after, bicauſe it had not the bonde of education, and the diſcipline of
children which ſhould mainteine it. Why, maye a man ſaye to me here: hath not Rome ex-
celled ſtill, and preuailed more & more in cheualrie? This queſtion requireth a long aunſwer,
and ſpecially vnto ſuch men, as place felicitie in riches, in poſſeſſions, & in the greatnes of em-
F pire, rather then in the quiet ſafety, peace, & concorde of a common weale: and in clemency
and iuſtice, ioyned with contentation. Neuertheles, howſoeuer it was, that maketh for *Lycur-
gus* alſo, that the Romaines, after they had chaũged the ſtate which they had of *Numa*, dyd

Howe much education and diſcipline is worthe. Ariſt. polit. 8.

How Lycurgus lawes were ſtabliſhed.

VVhy Numaes orders dyed.

ſo maruelouſly increaſe & growe mightie: and that the LACEDÆMONIANS to the contrarie, ſo ſoone as they beganne to breake *Lycurgus* lawes, being of great authoritie and ſwaye, fell afterwards to be of ſmall accompt. So that hauing loſt the ſoueraintie & commaundemẽt ouer GREECE, they ſtoode in great hazarde alſo to be ouerthrowen for euer. But in trothe it was ſome diuine thing in *Numa*, that he being a meere ſtraunger, the ROMAINES dyd ſeeke him, to make him King, and that he could ſo chaunge all, and rule a whole cittie as he liſted (not yet ioyned together) without neede of any force or violence: as it was in *Lycurgus*, to be aſſiſted with the beſt of the citty, in reſiſting the cõmons of LACEDÆMON, but he could neuer otherwiſe haue kept them in peace, & made them loue together, but by his only wiſdom & iuſtice.

Why Numa is to be preferred before Lycurgus.

The ende of Numa Pompilius life.

THE LIFE OF *Solon.*

DIDYMVS the Grammarian, in a litle booke that he wrote & dedicated vnto *Aſclepiades*, touching the tables of the lawes of *Solon*, alleageth the wordes of one *Philocles*, in which he ſpeaketh againſt the common opinion of thoſe that haue written, that *Solons* father was called *Euphorion*. For all other writers agree, that he was the ſonne of *Execeſtides*, a man but reaſonably to liue, although otherwiſe he was of the nobleſt and moſt auncient houſe of the cittie of ATHENS. For of his fathers ſide, he was deſcended of king *Codrus*: and for his mother, *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth, ſhe was coſin germaine vnto *Piſiſtratus* mother. For this cauſe euen from the beginning there was great friendſhippe betwene them, partely for their kinred, and partely alſo for the curteſie, and beawtie of *Piſiſtratus*, with whom it is reported *Solon* on a time was in loue. Afterwards they fortuned to fall at iarre one with the other, about matter of ſtate and gouernment: yet this ſquare bred no violent inconuenience betwene them, but they reſerued in their hartes ſtill their auncient amitie, which continued the memorie of their loue, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That *Solon* was no ſtayed man to withſtand beawtie, nor any great doer to preuaile in loue, it is manifeſt to all, aſwell by other poeticall writings that he hath made, as by a lawe of his owne: wherein he dyd forbid

Solons linage.

Great friendſhipp betwixt Solon & Piſiſtratus.

A forbid bondmen to perfume themſelues, or to be louers of children. Who placed this lawe among honeſt matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better ſorte, and forbidding it to the baſeſt. They ſaye alſo that *Piſiſtratus* ſelfe was in loue with *Charmus*, and that he dyd ſet vp the litle image of loue, which is in Academia, where they were wont to light the holy candell. But *Solons* father (as *Hermippus* writeth) hauing ſpent his goodes in liberalitie, and deedes of curteſie, though he might eaſely haue bene relieued at diuers mens handes with money, he was yet aſhamed to take any, bicauſe he came of a houſe which was wont rather to geue and relieue others, then to take them ſelues: ſo being yet a young man, he deuiſed to trade marchaundiſe. Howbeit other ſaye, that *Solon* trauelled countries, rather to ſee the worlde, and to learne: then to trafficke, or gayne. For ſure he was very deſirous of knowledge, as appeareth

A ſtatute for bondmen.

Solon gaue him ſelfe in youth to trade marchaūdiſe.

B manifeſtly: for that being nowe olde, he commonly vſed to ſaye this verſe:

Igrovve olde, learning ſtill.

Alſo he was not couetouſly bent, nor loued riches to much: for he ſayd in one place:

VVho ſo hath goodes, and golde enough at call,
great heards of beaſtes, and flocks in many a folde,
both horſe and mule, yea ſtore of corne and all,
that maye content eche man aboue the movvlde:
no richer is, for all thoſe heapes and hoordes,
then he vvhich hathe, ſufficiently to feede,
and clothe his corpes, vvith ſuch as god afoordes.

Solons iudgmēt of riches.

C *But if is ioye, and chief delight doe breede,*
for to beholde the fayer and heauenly face,
of ſome ſvvete vvife, vvhich is adornde vvith grace:
or els ſome childe, of beavvty fayre and bright,
then hath he cauſe (in deede) of deepe delight.

And in another place alſo he ſayeth:

In deede I doe deſire, ſome vvealthe to haue at vvill:
but not vnles the ſame be got, by faithfull dealing ſtill.
For ſuer vvhoſo deſires by vvickednes to thriue:
ſhall finde that iuſtice from ſuch goodes, vvill iuſtly him depriue.

D There is no law forbiddeth an honeſt man, or gētleman, greedily to ſcrape goods together, & more then may ſuffice: & likewiſe to get ſufficient to mainteine one withall, & to defraye all needefull charges. In thoſe dayes no ſtate was diſcommended, as ſayeth *Heſiodus*, nor any arte or ſcience made any difference betwene men: but marchaundiſe they thought an honorable ſtate, as that which deliuered meanes, to traffike into ſtraunge & farre coūtries, to get acquaintaūce with ſtates, to procure the loue of princes, & chiefly to gather the experiēce of the world. So that there haue bene marchaūts, which heretofore haue bene foūders of great cities: as he which firſt buylt MASSILIA, after he had obteined the friēdſhippe of the GAVLES, dwelling by the riuer of Rhoſne. And they ſaye alſo, that *Thales Mileſius* the wiſe, did traffike marchaūdiſe, & that *Hippocrates* the mathematike did euē ſo: & likewiſe that *Plato* trauelling into Egipt,

The commodities of marchaundiſe.

A marchaunt builded Maſſilia.

Thales.

E did beare the whole charges of his iorney, with the gaines he made of the ſale of oile he caried thither. They remember alſo, that *Solon* learned to be lauiſh in expence, to fare delicately, & to ſpeake wantonly of pleaſures in his Poemes, ſomwhat more licētiouſly then became the grauity of a Philoſopher: only bicauſe he was brought vp in the trade of marchaūdiſe, wherein for that men are maruelous ſubiect to great loſſes & daūgers, they ſeeke otherwiles good chere to driue theſe cares awaye, and libertie to make much of them ſelues. Yet it appeareth by theſe verſes, that *Solon* accompted him ſelfe rather in the number of the poore, than of the riche.

Hippocrates.

Plato. all marchaunts.

Riche men (oftimes) in levvdeſt liues doe range,
and often ſeene, that vertuous men be poore:
Yet vvould the good, their goodnes neuer chaunge
F *vvith levvd eſtate, although their vvealthe be more.*
For vertue ſtands allvvayes, both firme and ſtable:
VVhen riches roue, and ſeldome are durable.

Poverty with vertue better than riches.

This Poetry at the beginning he vſed but for pleaſure, and when he had leyſure, writing no matter of importaunce in his verſes. Afterwards he dyd ſet out many graue matters of philoſophie, and the moſt parte of ſuch things as he had deuiſed before, in the gouernment of a common weale, which he dyd not for hiſtorie or memories ſake, but only of a pleaſure to diſcourſe: for he ſheweth the reaſons of that he dyd, and in ſome places he exhorteth, chideth, and reproueth the ATHENIANS. And ſome affirme alſo he went about to write his lawes and ordinaunces in verſe, and doe recite his preface, which was this:

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Vouchesaue ô mighty Ioue, of heauen and earth highe King:
to graunt good fortune to my lavves, and heasts in euerie thing.
And that their glorie grovve, in ſuch triumphaunt vviſe,
as maye remaine in fame for aye, vvhich liues and neuer dies.

Solon delited in morall, but not in naturall philoſophie.

He chiefly delited in morall philoſophie, which treated of gouernment & common weales: as the moſt parte of the wiſe men dyd of thoſe times. But for naturall philoſophie, he was very groſſe and ſimple, as appeareth by theſe verſes.

The clattering hayle, and ſoftly falling ſnovve
doe breede in ayer, and fall from cloudes on hye.
The dreadfull clappes, vvhich thunderbolts doe throvve,
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The ſea it ſelfe by boyſterous blaſtes dothe rore
vvhich (vvere it not prouoked ſo full ſore)
VVould be both calme and quiet for to paſſe,
as any element that euer vvas.

So in effect there was none but *Thales* alone of all the ſeuen wiſe men of GRECE, who ſearched further the contemplation of things in common vſe among men, than he. For ſetting him a parte, all the others got the name of wiſdome, only for their vnderſtanding in matters of ſtate and gouernment. It is reported that they met on a daye all ſeuen together in the cittie of DELPHES, and another time in the cittie of CORINTHE, where *Periander* got them together at a feaſt that he made to the other ſixe. But that which moſt increaſed their glorie, and made their fame moſt ſpoken of, was the ſending backe againe of the three footed ſtoole when they all had refuſed it, and turned it ouer one to another with great humanitie. For the tale is, howe certaine fiſher men of the Ile of CO, caſt their nettes into the ſea, and certaine ſtraungers paſſing by, that came from the cittie of MILETVM, did buye their draught of fiſhe at aduenture, before the net was drawen. And when they drue it vp, there came vp in the net a three footed ſtoole of maſſy gold, which men ſaye, *Hellen* (as ſhe dyd returne from TROYE) had throwen in in that place, in memory of an aunciēt oracle ſhe called then vnto her minde. Thereupon the ſtraungers & fiſher men firſt fell at ſtrife about this three footed ſtoole, who ſhould haue it: but afterwardes the two citties tooke parte of both ſides, on their cittizens behalfe. In ſo much as warres had like to haue followed betwene them, had not the propheteſſe *Pythia* geuen a like oracle vnto them both. That they ſhould geue this three footed ſtoole vnto the wiſeſt man. Whereupon the men of CO, ſent it firſt to *Thales* in the cittie of MILETVM, as being willing to graunte that vnto a priuate perſone, for which they had made warres with all the MILESIANS before. *Thales* ſayed, he thought *Bias* a wiſer man than him ſelfe: and ſo it was ſent vnto him. He likewiſe ſent it againe vnto another, as to a wiſer man. And that other, ſent it alſo vnto another. So that being thus poſted from man to man, and through diuers handes, in the ende it was brought backe againe vnto the cittie of MILETVM, and deliuered into the handes of *Thales* the ſeconde time: and laſt of all was caried vnto THEBES, and offered vp vnto the temple of *Apollo Iſmenian*. Howbeit *Theophraſtus* writeth, that firſt it was ſent to the cittie of PRIENA, vnto *Bias*: and then vnto *Thales*, in the cittie of MILETVM, by *Bias* conſent. And after that it had paſſed through all their handes, it was brought againe vnto *Bias*: and laſtely it was ſent to the cittie of DELPHES. And thus much haue the beſt and moſt auncient writers written: ſauing that ſome ſaye in ſteade of a three footed ſtoole, it was a cuppe that king *Cræſus* ſent vnto the cittie of DELPHES. Other ſaye, it was a pece of

Hellens three footed ſtoole of gold drawē vp in a drag net.

The rare modeſty of the wiſe men.

plate

A plate which *Bathycles* left there. They make mention alſo of another priuate meeting betwext *Anacharſis* and *Solon*, and of another betweene him and *Thales*, where they recite, that they had this talke. *Anacharſis* being arriued at ATHENS, went to knocke at *Solons* gate, ſaying that he was a ſtraunger which came of purpoſe to ſee him, and to deſire his acquaintaunce and friēdſhippe. *Solon* aunſwered him, that it was better to ſeeke friēdſhippe in his owne countrie. *Anacharſis* replied againe: thou then that arte at home, and in thine owne countrie, beginne to ſhew me friendſhippe. Then *Solon* wondering at his bolde ready wit, enterteined him very curteouſly: and kept him a certaine time in his houſe, and made him very good cheere, at the ſelfe ſame time wherein he was moſt buſie in gouerning the common weale, & making lawes for the ſtate thereof. Which when *Anacharſis* vnderſtoode, he laughed at it, to ſee that *Solon* B imagined with written lawes, to bridell mens couetouſnes and iniuſtice. For ſuch lawes, ſayed he, doe rightly reſemble the ſpyders cobwebbes: bicauſe they take holde of litle flies and gnattes which fall into them, but the riche and mightie will breake and ronne through them at their will. *Solon* anſwered him, that men doe iuſtly keepe all couenants and bargaines which one make with another, bicauſe it is to the hinderāce of either partie to breake them: & euen ſo, he dyd ſo temper his lawes, that he made his cittizens knowe, it was more for their profit to obey lawe & iuſtice, then to breake it. Neuertheles afterwardes, matters proued rather according to *Anacharſis* compariſon, then agreable to the hope that *Solon* had conceyued. *Anacharſis* being by happe one daye in a common aſſembly of the people at ATHENS, ſayed that he maruelled much, why in the conſultations & meetings of the GRECIANS, wiſe men C propounded matters, and fooles dyd decide them. It is ſayed moreouer, that *Solon* was ſomtime in the cittie of MILETVM at *Thales* houſe, where he ſayed that he could not but maruell at *Thales*, that he would neuer marie to haue children. *Thales* gaue him neuer a worde at that preſent: but within fewe dayes after he ſuborned a ſtraunger, which ſayed that he came but newly home from ATHENS, departing from thence but tenne dayes before. *Solon* asked him immediately, What newes there? This ſtraunger whom *Thales* had ſchooled before, aunſwered: none other there, ſauing that they caried a young man to buriall, whom all the cittie followed, for that he was one of the greateſt mens ſonnes of the cittie, and the honeſteſt man withall, who at that preſent was out of the countrie, and had bene a long time (as they ſayed) abroade. O poore vnfortunate father, then ſayed *Solon*: and what was his name? I haue heard D him named, ſayed the ſtraunger, but I haue forgotten him nowe: ſauing that they all ſayed, he was a worthy wiſe man. So *Solon* ſtill trembling more and more for feare, at euery aunſwer of this ſtraunger: in the ende he could holde no longer, being full of trouble, but tolde his name himſelfe vnto the ſtraunger, and asked him againe, if he were not the ſonne of *Solon* which was buried. The very ſame, ſayed the ſtraunger. *Solon* with that, like a mad man ſtraight beganne to beat his head, and to ſaye, and doe, like men impacient in affliction, and ouercome with ſorowe. But *Thales* laughing to ſee this pageant, ſtayed him, and ſayed. Loe, *Solon*, this is it that keepeth me from marying, and getting of children: which is of ſuch a violence, that thou ſeeſt it hath nowe ouercome thee, although otherwiſe thou arte ſtronge, and able to wreſtle with any. Howbeit for any thing he hath ſaied vnto thee, be of good cheere man, for it E is but a tale, and nothing ſo. *Hermippus* writeth, that *Patæcus* (he which ſayed he had *Eſops* ſowle) reciteth this ſtory thus. Neuertheles it lacketh iudgement, and the corage of a man alſo, to be afrayed to get things neceſſarie, fearing the loſſe of them: for by this reckoning, he ſhould neither eſteeme honour, goodes, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to loſe them. For we ſee that vertue it ſelfe, which is the greateſt and ſweeteſt riches a man can haue, decayeth oftimes through ſicknes, or els by phiſicke, and potions. Furthermore *Thales* ſelfe, although he was not maried, was not therefore free from this feare, onles he would confeſſe that he neither loued friends, kynſemen, nor countrie: howbeit *Thales* had an adopted ſonne, called *Cybiſtus*, which was his ſiſters ſonne. For our ſoule hauing in it a naturall inclination to loue, and being borne aſwell to loue, as to feele, to reaſon, or vnderſtand, and to remember: F hauing nothing of her owne whereupon ſhe might beſtowe that naturall loue, boroweth of other. As where there is a houſe or inheritaunce without lawfull heires, many times ſtraungers, and baſe borne children, doe creepe into the kinde affection of the owner, and when they

Anacharſis and Solons meeting.

Anacharſis ſaying of Solons written lawes.

Solons talke with Thales at Miletum, about mariage, for hauing of children.

We ſhould not let to get things neceſſarie, fearing to loſe them.

Cybiſtus Thales adopted ſonne.

The inſtinct of naturall loue.

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The rare modeſty of the wiſe men.

plate

A plate which *Bathycles* left there. They make mention alſo of another priuate meeting betwext *Anacharſis* and *Solon*, and of another betweene him and *Thales*, where they recite, that they had this talke. *Anacharſis* being arriued at ATHENS, went to knocke at *Solons* gate, ſaying that he was a ſtraunger which came of purpoſe to ſee him, and to deſire his acquaintaunce and friēdſhippe. *Solon* aunſwered him, that it was better to ſeeke friēdſhippe in his owne countrie. *Anacharſis* replied againe: thou then that arte at home, and in thine owne countrie, beginne to ſhew me friendſhippe. Then *Solon* wondering at his bolde ready wit, enterteined him very curteouſly: and kept him a certaine time in his houſe, and made him very good cheere, at the ſelfe ſame time wherein he was moſt buſie in gouerning the common weale, & making lawes for the ſtate thereof. Which when *Anacharſis* vnderſtoode, he laughed at it, to ſee that *Solon* B imagined with written lawes, to bridell mens couetouſnes and iniuſtice. For ſuch lawes, ſayed he, doe rightly reſemble the ſpyders cobwebbes: bicauſe they take holde of litle flies and gnattes which fall into them, but the riche and mightie will breake and ronne through them at their will. *Solon* anſwered him, that men doe iuſtly keepe all couenants and bargaines which one make with another, bicauſe it is to the hinderāce of either partie to breake them: & euen ſo, he dyd ſo temper his lawes, that he made his cittizens knowe, it was more for their profit to obey lawe & iuſtice, then to breake it. Neuertheles afterwardes, matters proued rather according to *Anacharſis* compariſon, then agreable to the hope that *Solon* had conceyued. *Anacharſis* being by happe one daye in a common aſſembly of the people at ATHENS, ſayed that he maruelled much, why in the conſultations & meetings of the GRECIANS, wiſe men C propounded matters, and fooles dyd decide them. It is ſayed moreouer, that *Solon* was ſomtime in the cittie of MILETVM at *Thales* houſe, where he ſayed that he could not but maruell at *Thales*, that he would neuer marie to haue children. *Thales* gaue him neuer a worde at that preſent: but within fewe dayes after he ſuborned a ſtraunger, which ſayed that he came but newly home from ATHENS, departing from thence but tenne dayes before. *Solon* asked him immediately, What newes there? This ſtraunger whom *Thales* had ſchooled before, aunſwered: none other there, ſauing that they caried a young man to buriall, whom all the cittie followed, for that he was one of the greateſt mens ſonnes of the cittie, and the honeſteſt man withall, who at that preſent was out of the countrie, and had bene a long time (as they ſayed) abroade. O poore vnfortunate father, then ſayed *Solon*: and what was his name? I haue heard D him named, ſayed the ſtraunger, but I haue forgotten him nowe: ſauing that they all ſayed, he was a worthy wiſe man. So *Solon* ſtill trembling more and more for feare, at euery aunſwer of this ſtraunger: in the ende he could holde no longer, being full of trouble, but tolde his name him ſelfe vnto the ſtraunger, and asked him againe, if he were not the ſonne of *Solon* which was buried. The very ſame, ſayed the ſtraunger. *Solon* with that, like a mad man ſtraight beganne to beat his head, and to ſaye, and doe, like men impacient in affliction, and ouercome with ſorowe. But *Thales* laughing to ſee this pageant, ſtayed him, and ſayed. Loe, *Solon*, this is it that keepeth me from marying, and getting of children: which is of ſuch a violence, that thou ſeeſt it hath nowe ouercome thee, although otherwiſe thou arte ſtronge, and able to wreſtle with any. Howbeit for any thing he hath ſaied vnto thee, be of good cheere man, for it E is but a tale, and nothing ſo. *Hermippus* writeth, that *Patæcus* (he which ſayed he had *Eſops* ſowle) reciteth this ſtory thus. Neuertheles it lacketh iudgement, and the corage of a man alſo, to be afrayed to get things neceſſarie, fearing the loſſe of them: for by this reckoning, he ſhould neither eſteeme honour, goodes, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to loſe them. For we ſee that vertue it ſelfe, which is the greateſt and ſweeteſt riches a man can haue, decayeth oftimes through ſicknes, or els by phiſicke, and potions. Furthermore *Thales* ſelfe, although he was not maried, was not therefore free from this feare, onles he would confeſſe that he neither loued friends, kynſemen, nor countrie: howbeit *Thales* had an adopted ſonne, called *Cybiſtus*, which was his ſiſters ſonne. For our ſoule hauing in it a naturall inclination to loue, and being borne aſwell to loue, as to feele, to reaſon, or vnderſtand, and to remember: F hauing nothing of her owne whereupon ſhe might beſtowe that naturall loue, boroweth of other. As where there is a houſe or inheritaunce without lawfull heires, many times ſtraungers, and baſe borne children, doe creepe into the kinde affection of the owner, and when they

Anacharſis and Solons meeting.

Anacharſis ſaying of Solons written lawes.

Solons talke with Thales at Miletum, about mariage, for hauing of children.

We ſhould not let to get things neceſſarie, fearing to loſe them.

Cybiſtus Thales adopted ſonne.

The inſtinct of naturall loue.

haue once wonne & poſſeſſed his loue, they make him euer after to be kynde and tender ouer them. So that ye ſhall ſee many times men of ſuch a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that moue them to marie, and get lawfull children: and yet afterwardes are ready to dye for feare & ſorowe, when they ſee their baſtardes (that they haue gotten of their ſlaues or concubines) fall ſicke or dye, and doe vtter wordes farre vnmeete for men of noble corage. And ſome ſuch there be, that for the death of a dogge, or their horſe, are ſo out of harte, and take ſuch thought, that they are ready to goe into the grounde, they looke ſo pittifully. Other ſome are cleane contrarie, who though they haue loſt their children, forgone their friendes, or ſome gentleman deare vnto them, yet no ſorowfull worde hath commen from them, neither haue they done any vnſeemely thing: but haue paſſed the reſt of their life like wiſe, conſtant, and vertuous men. For it is not loue but weaknes, which breedeth theſe extreme ſorowes, and exceeding feare, in men that are not exerciſed, nor acquainted to fight againſt fortune with reaſon. And this is the cauſe that plucketh from them the pleaſure of that they loue and deſire, by reaſon of the continuall trouble, feare and griefe they feele, by thincking howe in time they maye be depriued of it. Nowe we muſt not arme our ſelues with pouertie, againſt the griefe of loſſe of goodes: neither with lacke of affection, againſt the loſſe of our friendes: neither with wante of mariage, againſt the death of children: but we muſt be armed with reaſon againſt misfortunes. Thus haue we ſufficiently enlarged this matter. The ATHENIANS hauing nowe ſuſteined a long and troubleſome warre againſt the MEGARIANS, for the poſſeſſion of the Ile of SALAMINA: were in the ende wearie of it, and made proclamation ſtraightly commaunding vpon payne of death, that no man ſhould preſume to preferre any more to the counſaill of the cittie, the title or queſtion of the poſſeſſion of the Ile of SALAMINA. *Solon* could not beare this open ſhame, and ſeeing the moſt parte of the luſtieſt youthes deſirous ſtill of warre though their tongues were tyed for feare of the proclamation: he fayned him ſelfe to be out of his wittes, and cauſed it to be geuen out that *Solon* was become a foole, and ſecretly he had made certaine lamentable verſes, which he had cunned without booke, to ſinge abroade the cittie. So one daye he ranne ſodainly out of his houſe with a garland on his head, and gotte him to the market place, where the people ſtraight ſwarmed like bees about him: and getting him vp vpon the ſtone where all proclamations are vſually made, out he ſingeth theſe Elegies he had made, which beganne after this ſorte.

Proclamation vpon paine of death no man to moue the counſell for the title of Salamina.

Solon fained madnes to recouer Salamina.

I here preſent my ſelfe (an Heraulde) in this caſe,
vvhich come from Salamina lande, that noble vvorthy place.
My minde in pelting proſe, ſhall neuer be expreſt,
But ſonge in verſe Heroycall, for ſo I thincke it beſt.

Solons Elegies of the Salaminians.

This Elegie is intituled SALAMINA, and conteineth a hundred verſes, which are excellently well written. And theſe being ſonge openly by *Solon* at that time, his friendes incontinently prayſed them beyond meaſure, and ſpecially *Piſiſtratus*: and they went about perſuading the people that were preſent, to credit that he ſpake. Hereupon the matter was ſo handled amongeſt them, that by and by the proclamation was reuoked, and they beganne to followe the warres with greater furie then before, appointing *Solon* to be generall in the ſame. But the common tale and reporte is, that he went by ſea with *Piſiſtratus* vnto the temple of *Venus*, ſurnamed *Coliade*: where he founde all the women at a ſolemne feaſt and ſacrifice, which they made of cuſtome to the goddeſſe. He taking occaſion thereby, ſent from thence a truſty man of his owne vnto the MEGARIANS, which then had SALAMINA: whom he inſtructed to fayne him ſelfe a reuolted traytour, & that he came of purpoſe to tell them, that if they would but goe with him, they might take all the chief ladyes and gentlewomen of ATHENS on a ſodaine. The MEGARIANS eaſely beleeued him, and ſhipped forthwith certaine ſouldiers to goe with him. But when *Solon* perceyued the ſhippe vnder ſayle comming from SALAMINA, he commaunded the women to departe, and in ſteade of them he put luſty beardles ſpringalles into their apparell, and gaue them litle ſhorte daggers to conuey vnder their clothes, commaunding them to playe & daunce together vpon the ſea ſide, vntill their enemies were landed, and their ſhippe at anker: and ſo it came to paſſe. For the MEGARIANS being deceyued by that they ſawe a farre of, as ſoone as euer they came to the ſhore ſide, dyd lande in heapes,

Of the temple of Venus Coliade. Strab. lib 4. & Pauſan of the Athenians.

Solons ſtratageame.

A heapes, one in anothers necke, euen for greedines to take these women: but not a man of them escaped, for they were slayne euery mothers sonne. This stratageame being finely handled, & to good effect, the ATHENIANS tooke sea straight, and costed ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA: which they tooke vpon the sodaine, and wanne it without much resistaunce. Other saye that it was not taken after this sorte: but that *Apollo Delphicus* gaue *Solon* first such an oracle. *Solon wanne Salamina.*

Thou shalt first vvinne by vovves and sacrifice, of vvhose dead bones, the dust engraued lies,
the helpe of lordes and demy goddes full bright: in vvesterne soyle, Æsopia that hight.

By order of this oracle, he one night passed ouer to SALAMINA, & dyd sacrifice to *Peripemus*, & to *Cichris*, demy goddes of the countrie. Which done, the ATHENIANS deliuered him fiue hundred men, who willingly offered them selues: & the cittie made an accorde with them,
B that if they tooke the Ile of SALAMINA, they should beare greatest authoritie in the common weale. *Solon* imbarked his souldiers into diuers fisher botes, and appointed a galliot of thirtie owers to come after him, & he ankred hard by the cittie of SALAMINA, vnder the pointe which looketh towards the Ile of NEGREPONT. The MEGARIANS which were within SALAMINA, hauing by chaunce heard some inckling of it, but yet knew nothing of certaintie: ranne presently in hurly burley to arme them, and manned out a shippe to descrie what it was. But they fondly comming within daunger, were taken by *Solon*, who clapped the MEGARIANS vnder hatches fast bounde, and in their roomes put aborde in their shippe the choycest souldiers he had of the ATHENIANS, commaunding them to set their course direct vpon the cittie, and to keepe them selues as close out of sight as could be. And he him self with all the rest of his soul-
C diers landed presently, and marched to encounter with the MEGARIANS, which were come out into the fielde. Now whilest they were fighting together, *Solons* men whom he had sent in the MEGARIANS shippe, entred the hauen, & wanne the towne. This is certainly true, & testified by that which is shewed yet at this daye. For to keepe a memoriall hereof, a shippe of ATHENS arriueth quietly at the first, & by & by those that are in the shippe make a great showte, and a man armed leaping out of the shippe, ronneth showting towardes the rocke called Sciradion, which is as they come from the firme lande: and hard by the same is the temple of *Mars*, which *Solon* built there after he had ouercome the MEGARIANS in battell, from whence he sent backe againe those prisoners that he had taken (which were saued from the slaughter of the battell) without any ransome paying. Neuertheles, the MEGARIANS were sharpely bent
D still, to recouer SALAMINA again. Much hurte being done & suffered on both sides: both parts in the ende made the LACEDÆMONIANS iudges of the quarrell. But vpon iudgement geuen, common reporte is, that *Homers* authoritie dyd *Solon* good seruice, bicause he did adde these verses to the number of shippes, which are in the Iliades of *Homer*, which he rehearsed before the iudges, as if they had bene in deede written by *Homer*. *Great fryfe betwext the Megarians & Athenians for Salamina. Iliad. lib. 2.*

Aiax that champion stovvte, did leade vvith him in charge,
twvelue shippes from Salamina soyle, vvhich he had left at large,
and euen those selfe same shippes, in battell did he cast
and place in order for to fight, vvith enmies force at last.
In that same very place, vvhereas it seemed then
E *the captaines vvhich from Athens came, imbattelled had their men.*

Howbeit the ATHENIANS selues thinke, it was but a tale of pleasure: and saye that *Solon* made it appeare to the iudges, that *Philæus*, and *Euryfaces* (both *Aiax* sonnes) were made free denizens of ATHENS. Whereupon they gaue the Ile of SALAMINA vnto the ATHENIANS, & one of them came to dwell in a place called Brauron, in the country of ATTICA: and the other in a towne called MELITVM. And for due proofe thereof, they saye there is yet a certen canton or quarter of the countrie of ATTICA, which is called the canton of the *Philæides*, after the name of this *Philæus*, where *Pisistratus* was borne. And it is sayed moreouer, that *Solon* (bicause he would throughly conuince the MEGARIANS) did alleage that the SALAMINIANS buried not the dead after the MEGARIANS manner, but after the ATHENIANS manner. For in ME-
F GARA they burie the dead with their faces to the East: and in ATHENS their faces are towards the West. Yet *Hereas* the *Megarian* denieth it, saying that the MEGARIANS dyd burie them

The manner of burial with the Megarians & the Athenians.

also with their faces towards the West: alleaging moreouer, that at ATHENS euerie corse had his owne beere or coffin by it selfe, & that at MEGARA they dyd put three or foure corses together. They saye also there were certaine oracles of *Apollo Pythias*, which dyd greatly helpe *Solon*, by which the god called SALAMINA, IONIA. Their strife was iudged by fiue Arbitrators, all SPARTANS borne: that is to saye, *Critolaidas*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypsechidas*, *Anaxilas*, & *Cleomenes*. *Solon* vndoutedly wonne great glory & honour by this exployte, yet was he much more honoured & esteemed, for the oration he made in defence of the tẽple of *Apollo*, in the cittie of DELPHES: declaring that it was not meete to be suffered, that the CYRRHÆIANS should at their pleasure abuse the sanctuarie of the oracle, & that they should ayde the DELPHIANS in honour and reuerence of *Apollo*. Whereupon the counsell of the *Amphictyons*, being moued with his words and persuasions, proclaimed warres against the CYRRHÆIANS; as diuers other doe witnesse, and specially *Aristotle*, in the storie he wrote of those that wanne the *Pythian* games, where he ascribeth vnto *Solon* the honour of that determination. Neuertheles *Hermippus* sayeth, *Solon* was not made generall of their armie, as *Euanthes* Samian hath written. For *Æschines* the Orator wrote no such thing of him: & in the chronicles of the DELPHIANS they finde, that one *Alcmæon*, & not *Solon*, was the generall of the ATHENIANS. Now the cittie of ATHENS had a long time bene vexed and troubled through *Cylons* heynous offence, euer sence the yere that *Megacles* (gouernour of the cittie of ATHENS) dyd with fayer words handle so the confederates of the rebellion of *Cylon*, which had taken sanctuarie within the liberties of the temple of *Minerua*: that he persuaded them to be wise, and to present themselues before the iudges, holding by a threede, which they should tye about the base of the image of the goddesse where she stoode, bicause they should not lose their libertie. But when they were come to the place of the honorable goddesses so called (which be the images of the furies) comming downe to present themselues before the iudges, the threede brake of it self. Then *Megacles*, and other officers his cõpanions, layed holde on them presently, saying that it was a manifest signe that the goddesse *Minerua* refused to saue thẽ. So those they tooke, & all they could laye hands of, were immediately stoned to death without the cittie: the rest which tooke the altars for refuge, were slaine there also. And none were saued, but such as had made meanes to the gouernours wiues of the citie, to intreate for them: which from that time forth were euer hated of the people, and commonly called the abiects and excommunicates. Who being the issues of the rebelles that rose with *Cylon*, chaunced to rise again in credit, & growing to great authoritie, they neuer left quarrelling & fighting continually with th'offspring of *Megacles*. These factions were greatest & highest in *Solons* time: who being of authoritie, & seeing the people thus diuided in two parts, he stepped in betweene them, with the chiefest men of ATHENS, & did so persuade & intreate those whom they called the abiects & excõmunicates, that they were contented to be iudged. So three hundred of the chiefest cittizens were chosen iudges to heare this matter. The accuser was *Myron Phlyeian*. This matter was heard and pleaded, & by sentẽce of the iudges, the excommunicates were condẽned. Those that were aliue, to perpetuall exile: & the bones of them that were dead, to be digged vp, & throwen out of the confines of the territorie of ATHENS. But whilest the cittie of ATHENS was occupied with these vprores, the MEGARIANS wisely caught holde of the occasion deliuered, and set vpon the ATHENIANS, tooke frõ them the hauen of NYSÆA, & recouered againe out of their handes, the Ile of SALAMINA. Furthermore, all the cittie was possessed with a certen superstitious feare: for some sayed, that sprites were come againe, and straunge sightes were seene. The prognosticatours also sayed, they perceiued by their sacrifices, the cittie was defiled with some abhominable & wicked things, which were of necessitie to be purged and throwen out. Hereupon they sent into CRETA for *Epimenides Phæstian*, whom they reckoned the seuenth of the wise men, at the least such as will not allowe *Periander* for one of the number. He was a holy and deuoute man, and very wise in celestiall things, by inspiration from aboue: by reason whereof, men of his time called him the newe *Curetes*, that is to saye, Prophet: and he was thought the sonne of a Nymphe called Baltè. When he was come to ATHENS, and growen in friendshippe with *Solon*: he dyd helpe him much, and made his waye for establishing of his lawes. For he acquainted the ATHENIANS to make their sacrifices much lighter, and of lesse

Solon defendeth the cause of the tẽple of Delphes.

Epimenides Phæstus taken for one of the 7. sages, excluding Periander.

A leſſe coſte: & brought the cittizēs to be more moderate in their mourning, with cutting of certaine ſeuere and barbarous ceremonies, which the moſt parte of the women obſerued in their mourning, & he ordeined certain ſacrifices which he would haue done immediately after the obſequies of the dead. But that which exceeded all the reſt was, that by vſing the cittizēs vnto holines & deuotion, daylie ſacrifices, prayers vnto the godds, purging of them ſelues, & hūble offerings: he wanne mens hartes by litle & litle, to yelde them more cōfirmable to iuſtice, & to be more inclined to cōcorde & vnity. It is reported alſo that *Epimenides*, whē he ſaw the hauen of Munychia, & had long cōſidered of it: told thoſe about him, that men were very blinde in foreſeeing things to come. For if the ATHENIANS (ſayed he) knew, what hurt this hauen would bring thē: they would eate it (as they ſaye) with their teethe. It is ſayed alſo that *Thales* did pro-
B gnoſticate ſuch a like thing, who after his deathe commaunded they ſhould burie his bodie, in ſome vile place of no reckoning, with in the territorie of the MILESIANS, ſaying that one daye there ſhould be the place of a cittie. *Epimenides* therfore being maruelouſly eſteemed of euery man for theſe cauſes, was greatly honoured of the ATHENIANS, and they offered him great preſents of money and other things, but he would take nothing, and only prayed them to geue him a boughe of the holy olyue: which they graunted him, and ſo he returned ſhortely home into CRETA. Nowe that this ſedition of *Cylon* was vtterly appeaſed in ATHENS, for that the excommunicates were baniſhed the countrie: the citty fell againe into their olde troubles and diſſentions about the gouernment of the common weale: & they were deuided into ſo diuers partes and factions, as there were people of ſundry places & territories within the countrie of
C ATTICA. For there were the people of the mountaines, the people of the vallies, and the people of the ſea coaſte. Thoſe of the mountaines, tooke the cōmon peoples parte for their liues. Thoſe of the valley, would a fewe of the beſt cittizens ſhould carie the ſwaye. The coaſte men would, that neither of thē ſhould preuaile, bicauſe they would haue had a meane gouernmēt, & mingled of them both. Furthermore, the faction betwene the poore & riche, proceeding of their vnequalitie, was at that time very great. By reaſon whereof the cittie was in great daunger, and it ſeemed there was no waye to pacifie or take vp theſe controuerſies, vnles ſome tyraunt happened to riſe, that would take vpon him to rule the whole. For all the cōmon people were ſo ſore indetted to the riche, that either they plowed their landes, & yelded them the ſixt parte of their croppe: (for which cauſe they were called *Hectemorij* and ſeruants) or els they
D borowed money of them at vſurie, vpon gage of their bodies to ſerue it out. And if they were not able to paye them, then were they by the law deliuered to their creditours, who kept them as bonde men & ſlaues in their houſes, or els they ſent them into ſtraunge coūtries to be ſold: & many euen for very pouertie were forced to ſell their owne children (for there was no lawe to forbid the contrarie) or els to forſake their cittie & countrie, for the extreme cruelty & hard dealing of theſe abominable vſurers their creditours. Inſomuch as many of the luſtieſt & ſtowteſt of them, banded together in cōpanies, & incoraged one another, not to ſuffer & beare any lenger ſuch extremitie, but to chooſe them a ſtowte & truſty captaine, that might ſet them at libertie, and redeeme thoſe out of captiuity, which were iudged to be bondmen & ſeruants, for lacke of paying of their detts at their dayes appointed: & ſo to make againe a newe diuiſion of
E all landes and tenements, and wholy to chaunge and turne vp the whole ſtate & gouernment. Then the wiſeſt men of the cittie, who ſawe *Solon* only neither partner with the riche in their oppreſſion, neither partaker with the poore in their neceſſitie: made ſute to him, that it would pleaſe him to take the matter in hande, & to appeaſe and pacifie all theſe broyles and ſedition. Yet *Phanias* Lesbian writeth, that he vſed a ſubtiltie, whereby he deceiued both the one and the other ſide, concerning the cōmon weale. For he ſecretly promiſed the poore to deuide the lands againe: & the riche alſo, to confirme their couenants & bargaines. Howſoeuer it fell out, it is very certain that *Solon* frō the beginning made it a great matter, & was very ſcrupulous to deale betwene them: fearing the couetouſnes of the one, & arrogancie of the other. Howbeit in the end he was choſen gouernour after *Philōbrotus*, & was made reformer of the rigour of the
F lawes, & the tēperer of the ſtate & cōmō weale, by cōſent & agreemēt of both parties. The rich accepted him, bicauſe he was no begger: the poore did alſo like him, bicauſe he was an honeſt man. They ſaye moreouer, that one word & ſentēce which he ſpake (which at that preſent was

Solon pacified the ſedition at Athens.

The miſerie of dett, and vſurie.

Solons equitie and vprightnes.

Solon by ſubtiltie ſet order betwext the poore & rich.

Solon choſen reformer of the lawe, and chief gouernour.

rife in euery mans mouthe) that equalitie dyd breede no ſtryfe: did aſwell pleaſe the riche and wealthie, as the poore and needie. For the one ſorte conceyued of this worde equalitie, that he would meaſure all things according to the qualitie of the man: & the other tooke it for their purpoſe, that he would meaſure things by the number, & by the polle only. Thus the captaines of both factions perſuaded & prayed him, boldly to take vpon him that ſoueraigne authoritie, ſithence he had the whole cittie nowe at his commaundement. The neawters alſo of euery parte, when they ſawe it very harde to pacifie theſe things with lawe and reaſon, were well content that the wiſeſt, and honeſteſt man, ſhould alone haue the royall power in his handes. Some ſaye alſo that there was ſuch an oracle of *Apollo*.

Sitt thou at helme, as gouernour to ſteere
to guyde our courſe, and rule the rovvling shippe,
for thou shalt ſee, full many Athenians there,
vvill take thy parte, and after thee vvill trippe.

Solō refuſeth to be a tyranne.

Tynnondas, and Pittacus tyrannes.

But his familier friendes aboue all rebuked him, ſaying he was to be accompted no better then a beaſt, if for feare of the name of tyranne, he would refuſe to take vpon him a Kingdome: which is the moſt iuſt and honorable ſtate, if one take it vpon him that is an honeſt man. As in olde time, *Tynnondas* made him ſelfe King of thoſe of *Negrepont*, with their conſent: and as *Pittacus* was then preſently of thoſe of METELIN. Notwithſtanding, all theſe goodly reaſons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they ſaye he aunſwered his friendes, that principalitie and tyrannie, was in deede a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, whē he was once entered into it. And in certen verſes that he wrote to *Phocus*, thus he ſayed:

Solons aunſwer for tyrannie.

I neither blushe, nor yet repent my ſelfe,
that haue preſerude, my natiue ſoyle allvvayes,
and that therein (to hourde vp trashe and pelfe)
no tyrants thought, could once eclypſe my prayſe.
No might could moue, my minde to any vvronge,
vvhich might beblot, the glory of my name:
for ſo I thought, to liue in honour longe,
and farre excell all other men for fame.

Hereby appeareth plainely, that euen before he was choſen reformer of the ſtate, to ſtabliſh newe lawes: he was then of great countenaunce and authoritie. But he him ſelfe writeth, that many ſayed of him thus, after he had refuſed the occaſion of vſurping of this tyrannie:

Suer, Solon vvas a foole, and of a bashefull minde,
that vvould refuſe the great good happe, vvhich goddes to him aſſignde.
The praye vvas in his handes, yet durſt he neuer drawve,
the net therefore: but ſtoode abasht, and like a daſtarde dawve.
For had not that ſo bene, he vvould (for one dayes raigne,
to be a King in Athens tovvne) him ſelfe (all quicke) haue flayen.
And eke ſubuerted quyte, his familie vvithall,
So ſvvete it is to rule the roſte, yclad in princely pall.

Thus brought he common rumor to taber on his head. Nowe, notwithſtanding he had refuſed the kingdome, yet he waxed nothing the more remiſſe nor ſofte therefore in gouerning, neither would he bowe for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his lawes to their liking, that had choſen him their reformer. For where the miſchief was tollerable, he dyd not ſtraight plucke it vp by the rootes: neither dyd he ſo chaūge the ſtate, as he might haue done, leaſt if he ſhould haue attempted to turne vpſidowne the whole gouernment, he might afterwards haue bene neuer able to ſettle & ſtabliſhe the ſame againe. Therefore he only altered that, which he thought by reaſon he would perſuade his cittizens vnto, or els by force he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he ſaied, ſower with ſweete, & force with iuſtice. And herewith agreeth his aunſwer that he made afterwards, vnto one that asked him, if he had made the beſt lawes he could for the ATHENIANS? yea ſuer, ſayeth he, ſuch as they were to receiue. And this that followeth alſo, they haue euer ſince obſerued in the Athenian tōgue: to make certē things

Excellent temperature.

pleaſaunt

A pleasaunt, that be hatefull, finely conueying them vnder culler of pleasing names. As calling whores, lemans: taxes, contributions: garrisons, gardes: prisones, houses. And all this came vp first by *Solons* inuẽtion, who called cleering of detts, *Seisachtheian*: in English, discharge. For the first chaunge & reformation he made in gouernment was this: he ordeined that all manner of detts past should be cleere, and no bodye should aske his detter any thing for the time past. That no man should thenceforth lende money out to vsurie, vpon couenants for the bodye to be bounde, if it were not repayed. Howbeit some write (as *Androtion* among other) that the poore were cõtẽted that the interest only for vsury should be moderated, without taking away the whole dett: & that *Solon* called this easie & gentle discharge, *Seisachtheian*, with crying vp the value of money. For he raised the pound of siluer, being before but three score and thirtene
B Drachmes, full vp to an hundred: so they which were to paye great summes of money, payed by tale as much as they ought, but with lesse number of peces then the dett could haue bene payed when it was borowed. And so the detters gayned much, & the creditours lost nothing. Neuertheles the more parte of them which haue written the same, saye, that this crying vp of money, was a generall discharge of all detts, conditions, & couenaunts vpon the same: whereto the very Poemes them selues, which *Solon* wrote, doe seeme to agree. For he glorieth, & breaketh forth in his verses, that he had taken away all bawkes & marcks, that separated mens lands through the countrie of ATTICA: & that now he had set at libertie, that which before was in bondage. And that of the cittizens of ATHENS, which for lacke of payment of their dettes had bene condẽned for slaues to their creditours, he had brought many home again out of straũge
C coũtries, where they had bene so long, that they had forgotten to speake their naturall tongue: & other which remained at home in captiuitie, he had nowe set them all at good libertie. But while he was a doing this, men saye a thing thwarted him, that troubled him maruelously. For hauing framed an Edict for clearing of all detts, and lacking only a litle to grace it with words, and to geue it some prety preface, that otherwise was ready to be proclaymed: he opened him selfe somewhat to certaine of his familiers whom he trusted (as *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*) & tolde them how he would not medle with landes and possessions, but would only cleere and cut of all mãner of detts. These men before the proclamation came out, went presently to the money men, & borowed great summes of money of them, & layed it out straight vpon lãde. So when the proclamation came out, they kept the landes they had purchased, but restored not
D the money they had borowed. This fowle parte of theirs made *Solon* very ill spoken of, & wrõgfully blamed: as if he had not only suffered it, but had bene partaker of this wrong, & iniustice. Notwithstãding he cleared him self of this slaunderous reporte, losing fiue talents by his owne lawe. For it was well knowen that so much was due vnto him, & he was the first that following his owne proclamation, dyd clearely release his detters of the same. Other saye he was owing fifteene talents: and among the same, *Polyzelus* the *Rhodian* is one that affirmeth it. Notwithstanding they euer after called *Solons* friendes, *Greocopides*, cutters of detts. This lawe neither liked the one nor the other sorte. For it greatly offended the riche, for cancelling their bondes: and it much more misliked the poore, bicause all landes and possessions they gaped for, were not made againe common, & euery bodye a like riche and wealthie, as *Lycurgus* had made the
E LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Lycurgus* was the eleuẽth descended of the right line from *Hercules*, & had many yeres bene king of LACEDÆMON, where he had gotten great authoritie, & made him self many friends: all which things together, dyd greatly helpe him to execute that, which he wisely had imagined for the order of his common weale. Yet also, he vsed more persuasion then force, a good witnes thereof, the losse of his eye: preferring a lawe before his priuate iniurie, which hath power to preserue a cittie long in vnion and concorde, and to make cittizens to be neither poore nor riche. *Solon* could not attain to this, for he was born in a popular state, & a man but of meane wealth: Howbeit he did what he could possible, with the power he had, as one seeking to winne no credit with his cittizẽs, but onely by his counsaile. Now, that he got the ill will of the more parte of the cittie, by his proclamation which he made: he him self doth
F witnesse it, saying:

Euen those vvhich earst, did beare me frendly face,
and spake full fayer, vvhere euer I them met:

Things hatefull made pleasaunt with sweete wordes.

Cleering of detts, Solons first lawe.

Vsurie forbidden vpon gage of the bodie.

The value of money cried vp by Solon.

Lawes would be kept secret till they be published.

Ill consciences by craft preuent lawe.

A good lawemaker, beginneth to doe iustice in him selfe.

rife in euery mans mouthe) that equalitie dyd breede no ſtryfe: did aſwell pleaſe the riche and wealthie, as the poore and needie. For the one ſorte conceyued of this worde equalitie, that he would meaſure all things according to the qualitie of the man: & the other tooke it for their purpoſe, that he would meaſure things by the number, & by the polle only. Thus the captaines of both factions perſuaded & prayed him, boldly to take vpon him that ſoueraigne authoritie, ſithence he had the whole cittie nowe at his commaundement. The neawters alſo of euery parte, when they ſawe it very harde to pacifie theſe things with lawe and reaſon, were well content that the wiſeſt, and honeſteſt man, ſhould alone haue the royall power in his handes. Some ſaye alſo that there was ſuch an oracle of *Apollo*.

Sitt thou at helme, as gouernour to ſteere
to guyde our courſe, and rule the rovvling shippe,
for thou shalt ſee, full many Athenians there,
vvill take thy parte, and after thee vvill trippe.

Solō refuſeth to be a tyranne.

Tynnondas, and Pittacus tyrannes.

But his familier friendes aboue all rebuked him, ſaying he was to be accompted no better then a beaſt, if for feare of the name of tyranne, he would refuſe to take vpon him a Kingdome: which is the moſt iuſt and honorable ſtate, if one take it vpon him that is an honeſt man. As in olde time, *Tynnondas* made him ſelfe King of thoſe of *Negrepont*, with their conſent: and as *Pittacus* was then preſently of thoſe of METELIN. Notwithſtanding, all theſe goodly reaſons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they ſaye he aunſwered his friendes, that principalitie and tyrannie, was in deede a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, whē he was once entered into it. And in certen verſes that he wrote to *Phocus*, thus he ſayed:

Solons aunſwer for tyrannie.

I neither blushe, nor yet repent my ſelfe,
that haue preſerude, my natiue ſoyle all vvayes,
and that therein (to hourde vp trashe and pelfe)
no tyrants thought, could once eclypſe my prayſe.
No might could moue, my minde to any vvronge,
vvhich might beblot, the glory of my name:
for ſo I thought, to liue in honour longe,
and farre excell all other men for fame.

Hereby appeareth plainely, that euen before he was choſen reformer of the ſtate, to ſtabliſh newe lawes: he was then of great countenaunce and authoritie. But he him ſelfe writeth, that many ſayed of him thus, after he had refuſed the occaſion of vſurping of this tyrannie:

Suer, Solon vvas a foole, and of a bashefull minde,
that vvould refuſe the great good happe, vvhich goddes to him aſsignde.
The praye vvas in his handes, yet durſt he neuer drawve,
the net therefore: but ſtoode abasht, and like a daſtarde dawve.
For had not that ſo bene, he vvould (for one dayes raigne,
to be a King in Athens tovvne) him ſelfe (all quicke) haue flayen.
And eke ſubuerted quyte, his familie vvithall,
So ſvvete it is to rule the roſte, yclad in princely pall.

Thus brought he common rumor to taber on his head. Nowe, notwithſtanding he had refuſed the kingdome, yet he waxed nothing the more remiſſe nor ſofte therefore in gouerning, neither would he bowe for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his lawes to their liking, that had choſen him their reformer. For where the miſchief was tollerable, he dyd not ſtraight plucke it vp by the rootes: neither dyd he ſo chaūge the ſtate, as he might haue done, leaſt if he ſhould haue attempted to turne vpſidowne the whole gouernment, he might afterwards haue bene neuer able to ſettle & ſtabliſhe the ſame againe. Therefore he only altered that, which he thought by reaſon he would perſuade his cittizens vnto, or els by force he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he ſaied, ſower with ſweete, & force with iuſtice. And herewith agreeth his aunſwer that he made afterwards, vnto one that asked him, if he had made the beſt lawes he could for the ATHENIANS? yea ſuer, ſayeth he, ſuch as they were to receiue. And this that followeth alſo, they haue euer ſince obſerued in the Athenian tōgue: to make certē things pleaſaunt

Excellent temperature.

A pleaſaunt, that be hatefull, finely conueying them vnder culler of pleaſing names. As calling whores, lemans: taxes, contributions: garriſons, gardes: priſones, houſes. And all this came vp firſt by *Solons* inuẽtion, who called cleering of detts, *Seiſachtheian*: in Engliſh, diſcharge. For the firſt chaunge & reformation he made in gouernment was this: he ordeined that all manner of detts paſt ſhould be cleere, and no bodye ſhould aske his detter any thing for the time paſt. That no man ſhould thenceforth lende money out to vſurie, vpon couenants for the bodye to be bounde, if it were not repayed. Howbeit ſome write (as *Androtion* among other) that the poore were cõtẽted that the intereſt only for vſury ſhould be moderated, without taking away the whole dett: & that *Solon* called this eaſie & gentle diſcharge, *Seiſachtheian*, with crying vp the value of money. For he raiſed the pound of ſiluer, being before but three ſcore and thirtene B Drachmes, full vp to an hundred: ſo they which were to paye great ſummes of money, payed by tale as much as they ought, but with leſſe number of peces then the dett could haue bene payed when it was borowed. And ſo the detters gayned much, & the creditours loſt nothing. Neuertheles the more parte of them which haue written the ſame, ſaye, that this crying vp of money, was a generall diſcharge of all detts, conditions, & couenaunts vpon the ſame: whereto the very Poemes them ſelues, which *Solon* wrote, doe ſeeme to agree. For he glorieth, & breaketh forth in his verſes, that he had taken away all bawkes & marcks, that ſeparated mens lands through the countrie of ATTICA: & that now he had ſet at libertie, that which before was in bondage. And that of the cittizens of ATHẽNS, which for lacke of payment of their dettes had bene condẽned for ſlaues to their creditours, he had brought many home again out of ſtraũge C coũtries, where they had bene ſo long, that they had forgotten to ſpeake their naturall tongue: & other which remained at home in captiuitie, he had nowe ſet them all at good libertie. But while he was a doing this, men ſaye a thing thwarted him, that troubled him maruelouſly. For hauing framed an Edict for clearing of all detts, and lacking only a litle to grace it with words, and to geue it ſome prety preface, that otherwiſe was ready to be proclaymed: he opened him ſelfe ſomewhat to certaine of his familiers whom he truſted (as *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*) & tolde them how he would not medle with landes and poſſeſſions, but would only cleere and cut of all mãner of detts. Theſe men before the proclamation came out, went preſently to the money men, & borowed great ſummes of money of them, & layed it out ſtraight vpon lãde. So when the proclamation came out, they kept the landes they had purchaſed, but reſtored not D the money they had borowed. This fowle parte of theirs made *Solon* very ill ſpoken of, & wrõgfully blamed: as if he had not only ſuffered it, but had bene partaker of this wrong, & iniuſtice. Notwithſtãding he cleared him ſelf of this ſlaunderous reporte, loſing fiue talents by his owne lawe. For it was well knowen that ſo much was due vnto him, & he was the firſt that following his owne proclamation, dyd clearely releaſe his detters of the ſame. Other ſaye he was owing fifteene talents: and among the ſame, *Polyzelus* the *Rhodian* is one that affirmeth it. Notwithſtanding they euer after called *Solons* friendes, *Greocopides*, cutters of detts. This lawe neither liked the one nor the other ſorte. For it greatly offended the riche, for cancelling their bondes: and it much more miſliked the poore, bicauſe all landes and poſſeſſions they gaped for, were not made againe common, & euery bodye a like riche and wealthie, as *Lycurgus* had made the E LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Lycurgus* was the eleuẽth deſcended of the right line from *Hercules*, & had many yeres bene king of LACEDÆMON, where he had gotten great authoritie, & made him ſelf many friends: all which things together, dyd greatly helpe him to execute that, which he wiſely had imagined for the order of his common weale. Yet alſo, he vſed more perſuaſion then force, a good witnes thereof, the loſſe of his eye: preferring a lawe before his priuate iniurie, which hath power to preſerue a cittie long in vnion and concorde, and to make cittizens to be neither poore nor riche. *Solon* could not attain to this, for he was born in a popular ſtate, & a man but of meane wealth: Howbeit he did what he could poſſible, with the power he had, as one ſeeking to winne no credit with his cittizẽs, but onely by his counſaile. Now, that he got the ill will of the more parte of the cittie, by his proclamation which he made: he him ſelf doth F witneſſe it, ſaying:

Things hatefull made pleaſaunt with ſweete wordes.

Cleering of detts, Solons firſt lawe.

Vſurie forbidden vpon gage of the bodie.

The value of money cried vp by Solon.

Lawes would be kept ſecret till they be publiſhed.

Ill conſciences by craft preuent lawe.

A good lawemaker, beginneth to doe iuſtice in him ſelfe.

Euen thoſe vvhich earſt, did beare me frendly face,
and ſhake full fayer, vvhere euer I them met:

gan nowe beginne, to looke full grym of grace,
and were (like foes) in force against me set.
As if I had done them, some spite or scorne,
or open wrong, which were not to be borne.

Neuertheles he sayeth immediately after, that with the same authoritie and power he had, a man possibly

Could not controll, the peoples mindes:
nor still their braynes, which wrought like windes.

But shortely after, hauing a feeling of the benefit of his ordinaunce, and euery one forgetting his priuate quarrell: they altogether made a common sacrifice, which they called the sacrifice of *Seisachthia*, or discharge, and chose *Solon* generall reformer of the lawe, and of the whole state of the cõmon weale, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will. As the offices of state, common assemblies, voyces in election, iudgemẽts in iustice, and the bodie of the Senate. And they gaue him also full power and authoritie, to sesse and taxe any of them, to appointe the number, what time the sesse should continewe, and to keepe, confirme, and disanull at his pleasure, any of the auncient lawes and customes then in being. To beginne withall, he first tooke away all *Dracons* bloudy lawes, sauing for murder, and man slaughter, which were to seuere & cruell. For almost he dyd ordaine but one kinde of punishment, for all kinde of faultes and offences, which was death. So that they which were condemned for idlenes, were iudged to dye. And pety larceny, as robbing mens horteyards, & gardens of fruite, or erbes, was as seuerely punished: as those who had committed sacriledge or murder. *Demades* therefore encountered it pleasauntly, when he sayed: that *Dracons* lawes were not written with incke, but with bloud. And *Draco* him selfe being asked one daye, why his punishmẽts were so vnequall, as death for all kinde of faultes: he aunswered. Bicause he thought the least offence worthie so much punishment: and for the greatest, he found none more grieuous. Then *Solon* being desirous to haue the chief offices of the cittie to remaine in riche mens handes, as already they dyd, and yet to mingle the authoritie of gouernment in such sorte, as the meaner people might beare a litle swaye, which they neuer could before: he made an estimate of the goodes of euery priuate cittizen. And those which he founde yerely worthe fiue hundred bussh ells of corne, & other liquide fruites and vpwards, he called *Pentacosiomedimnes*: as to saye, fiue hundred bussh ell men of reuenue. And those that had three hundred bussh ells a yere, and were able to keepe a horse of seruice, he put in the second degree, and called them knightes. They that might dispend but two hundred bussh ells a yere, were put in the thirde place, & called *Zeugites*. All other vnder those, were called *Thetes*, as ye would saye, hyerlings, or craftes men liuing of their labour: whom he dyd not admit to beare any office in the cittie, neither were they taken as free cittizens, sauing they had voyces in elections, and assemblies of the cittie, and in iudgements, where the people wholy iudged. This at the first seemed nothing, but afterwardes they felt it was to great purpose: for hereby the most parte of priuate quarrells and strifes that grewe among them, were in the ende layed open before the people. For he suffered those to appeale vnto the people, which thought they had wrong iudgement in their causes. Furthermore, bicause his lawes were written somewhat obscurely, and might be diuersely taken and interpreted: this dyd geue a great deale more authoritie and power to the iudges. For, considering all their controuersies could not be ended, and iudged by expresse lawe: they were driuen of necessitie allwayes to ronne to the iudges, and debated their matters before them. In so muche as the iudges by this meanes came to be somewhat aboue the lawe: for they dyd euen expounde it as they would them selues. *Solon* selfdoth note this equall diuision of the publicke authoritie, in a place of his poesies, where he sayeth.

Solons absolute authority in the common weale.

Solon tooke awaye all Dracõs lawes.

Solon rateth euerie cittizen at a certen summe.

Pentacosiomedimni.
Zeugitæ.
Thetes.

The darknes of the lawe increased, the authoritie of the iudge.

Suche powver haue I geuen, to common peoples hande,
as might become their meane estate, with equity to stande:
and as I haue not pluckt, from them their dignitie,
so haue I not to much increast, their small authoritie.
Vnto the riche likewise, I haue allowed no more,
then well might seeme (in iust conceit) sufficient for their store.

And ſo I haue for both prouided in ſuch vviſe,
that neither ſhall eche other vvrong, nor ſeeme for to deſpiſe.

Yet conſidering it was meete to prouide for the pouertie of the common ſorte of people: he ſuffered any man that would, to take vpon him the defence, of any poore mans caſe that had the wrong. For if a man were hurte, beaten, forced, or otherwiſe wronged: any other man that would, might lawfully ſue the offendour, and proſecute lawe againſt him. And this was a wiſe lawe ordeined of him, to accuſtome his cittizens to be ſorie one for anothers hurte, & ſo to feele it, as if any parte of his owne bodie had bene iniured. And they ſaye he made an aunſwer on a time, agreable to this law. For, being asked what cittie he thought beſt gouerned: he aunſwered. That cittie where ſuch as receyue no wronge, doe as earneſtly defend wrõg offered to other, as the very wrong & iniurie had bene done vnto them ſelues. He erected alſo the coũſaill of the *Areopagites*, of thoſe magiſtrates of the cittie, out of which they did yerely chooſe their gouernour: & he him ſelf had bene of that number, for that he had bene gouernour for a yere. Wherfore perceyuing now the people were growen to a ſtomake, & hawtines of minde, bicauſe they were cleare diſcharged of their detts: he ſet one vp for matters of ſtate, another counſell of an hundred choſen out of euery tribe, whereof foure hũdred of them were to conſult & debate of all matters, before they were propounded to the people: that when the great counſell of the people at large ſhould be aſſembled, no matters ſhould be put forth, onles it had bene before well conſidered of, & digeſted, by the counſell of the foure hundred. Moreouer, he ordeined the higher courte ſhould haue the chiefe authoritie & power ouer all things, and chiefly to ſee the lawe executed and mainteined: ſuppoſing that the common weale being ſettled, and ſtayed with theſe two courtes (as with two ſtronge anker holdes) it ſhould be the leſſe turmoyled and troubled, and the people alſo better pacified and quieted. The moſt parte of writers holde this opinion, that it was *Solon* which erected the counſaill of the *Areopagites*, as we haue ſayed, and it is very likely to be true, for that *Dracon* in all his lawes and ordinaunces made no manner of mention of the *Areopagites*, but allwayes ſpeaketh to the *Ephetes* (which were iudges of life and death) when he ſpake of murder, or of any mans death. Notwithſtanding, the eight law of the thirteenth table of *Solon* ſayeth thus, in theſe very words. All ſuch as haue bene baniſhed or detected of naughty life, before *Solon* made his laws, ſhalbe reſtored againe to their goodes and good name, except thoſe which were condemned by order of the counſaill of the *Areopagites*, or by the *Ephetes*, or by the Kings in open courte, for murder, and death of any man, or for aſpiring to vſurpe tyrannie. Theſe wordes to the contrarie, ſeeme to proue and teſtifie, that the counſell of the *Areopagites* was, before *Solon* was choſen reformer of the lawes. For howe could offenders and wicked men be condemned, by order of the counſell of the *Areopagites* before *Solon*, if *Solon* was the firſt that gaue it authoritie to iudge? onles a man will ſaye peraduenture, that he would a litle helpe the matter of his lawes which were obſcure and darke, and would ſupply that they lacked, with expounding of the ſame by them. Thoſe which ſhalbe founde attainted and conuicted of any matter, that hath bene heard before the counſaill of the *Areopagites*, the *Ephetes*, or the gouernours of the cittie when this lawe ſhall come forth: ſhall ſtand condemned ſtill, and all other ſhalbe pardoned, reſtored, and ſet at libertie. Howſoeuer it is, ſure that was his intent and meaning. Furthermore amongeſt the reſt of his lawes, one of them in deede was of his owne deuiſe: for the like was neuer ſtabliſhed els where. And it is that lawe, that pronounceth him defamed, and vnhoneſt, who in a ciuill vprore among the cittizens, ſitteth ſtill a looker on, and a neawter, and taketh parte with neither ſide. Whereby his minde was as it ſhould appeare, that priuate men ſhould not be only carefull to put them ſelues & their cauſes in ſafety, nor yet ſhould be careles for others mens matters, or thincke it a vertue not to medle with the miſeries and miſfortunes of their countrie, but from the beginning of euery ſedition that they ſhould ioyne with thoſe that take the iuſteſt cauſe in hande, and rather to hazarde them ſelues with ſuch, then to tarie looking (without putting them ſelues in daunger) which of the two ſhould haue the victorie. There is another lawe alſo, which at the firſt ſight me thinketh is very vnhoneſt and fond. That if any man according to the lawe hath matched with a riche heire & inheritour, and of him ſelfe is impotent, and vnable to doe the office of a husband, ſhe maye law-

The counſell of the Areopagites.

3 Counſells erected in Athens.

Other lawes of Solon.

A lawe againſt neawters.

An act for matching with inheritours.

fully lye with any whom ſhe liketh, of her husbands neareſt kinſemen. Howbeit ſome affirme, A
that it is a wiſe made lawe for thoſe, which knowing them ſelues vnmeete to entertaine wedlocke, will for couetouſnes of landes, marye with riche heires and poſſeſſioners, and minde to abuſe poore gentlewomen vnder the colour of lawe: and will thincke to force and reſtraine nature. For, ſeeing the lawe ſuffereth an inheritour or poſſeſſioner thus ill beſtowed, at her pleaſure to be bolde with any of her husbands kynne: men will either leaue to purchaſe ſuch mariages, or if they be ſo careles that they will nedes marye, it ſhalbe to their extreme ſhame and ignominie, and ſo ſhall they deſeruedly paye for their greedy couetouſnes. And the lawe is well made alſo, bicauſe the wife hath not ſcope to all her husbands kynſemen, but vnto one choyce man whom ſhe liketh beſt of his houſe: to the ende that the children that ſhalbe borne, ſhalbe at the leaſt of her husbands bloude and kynred. This alſo confirmeth the ſame, B
that ſuch a newe maryed wife ſhould be ſhut vp with her husband, and eate a quince with him: and that he alſo which maryeth ſuch an inheritour, ſhould of duety ſee her thryſe a moneth at the leaſt. For although he get no children of her, yet it is an honour the husband doth to his wife, arguing that he taketh her for an honeſt woman, that he loueth her, and that he eſteemeth of her. Beſides, it taketh awaye many miſlikings and diſpleaſures which oftentimes happen in ſuch caſes, and keepeth loue and good will waking, that it dye not vtterly betweene them. Furthermore, he tooke awaye all ioynters and dowries in other mariages, and willed that the wiues ſhould bring their husbands but three gownes only, with ſome other litle moueables of ſmall value, and without any other thing as it were: vtterly forbidding that they ſhould buye their husbands, or that they ſhould make marchaundiſe of mariages, C
as of other trades to gaine, but would that man and woman ſhould marye together for iſſue, for pleaſure, and for loue, but in no caſe for money. And for proofe hereof, *Dionyſius* the tyranne of SICILE, one daye aunſwered his mother (which would needes be maried to a young man of SYRACVSA) in this ſorte. I haue power (ſaieth he) to breake the lawes of SYRACVSA, by hauing the Kingdome: but to force the law of nature, or to make mariage without the reaſonable compaſſe of age, that paſſeth my reache and power. So is it not tolerable, and much leſſe allowable alſo, that ſuch diſorder ſhould be in well ordered citties, that ſuch vncomely and vnfit mariages ſhould be made, betweene coples of ſo vnequall yeres: conſidering there is no meete nor neceſſary ende of ſuch matches. A wiſe gouernour of a cittie, or a iudge and reformer of lawes and manners, might well ſaye to an olde man that ſhould D
marye with a young mayde, as the Poet ſayeth of *Philoctetes*:

Ah ſeely vvretche, hovv trymme a man arte thou,
at theſe young yeres, for to be maryed novve?

Solon forbiddeth iointers and dowries.

Dionyſius ſaying of mariages.

And finding a young man in an olde riche womans houſe, getting his liuing by riding of her errants, and waxing fat as they ſaye the partridge doth by treading of the hennes: he maye take him from thence, to beſtowe him on ſome young mayde that ſhall haue neede of a husband. And thus much for this matter. But they greatly commend another lawe of *Solons*, which forbiddeth to ſpeake ill of the dead. For it is a good and godly thing to thinke, that they ought not to touche the dead, no more than to touche holy things: and men ſhould take great heede to offende thoſe that are departed out of this world, beſides it is a token of wiſe- E
dome and ciuillitie, to beware of immortall enemies. He commaunded alſo in the ſelfe ſame lawe, that no man ſhould ſpeake ill of the liuing, ſpecially in Churches, during diuine ſeruice, or in counſaill chamber of the cittie, nor in the Theaters whileſt games were a playing: vpon payne of three ſiluer *Drachmes to be payed to him that was iniured, & two to the common treaſurie. For he thought it to much ſhameles boldnes, in no place to keepe in ones choller, and moreouer, that ſuch lacked ciuillitie and good manners: and yet altogether to ſuppreſſe and ſmother it, he knewe it was not only a harde matter, but to ſome natures vnpoſſible. And he that maketh lawes, muſt haue regarde to the common poſſibilitie of men, if he will puniſhe litle, with profitable example, and not much without ſome profit. So was he marueloufly well thought of, for the lawe that he made touching willes and teſtaments. For before, F
men might not lawfully make their heires whom they would, but the goodes came to the childrē or kynred of the teſtatour. But he leauing it at libertie, to diſpoſe their goods where they

A law forbidding to ſpeake euill of the dead.

** Drachme.*

A lawe for willes and teſtaments.

A they thought good, ſo they had no children of their owne: dyd therein preferre friendſhip before kynred, and good will and fauour before neceſſitie and conſtraínte, and ſo made euery one lorde and maſter of his owne goodes. Yet he dyd not ſimply and a like allowe all ſortes of giftes, howſoeuer they were made: but thoſe only which were made by men of ſound memorie, or by thoſe whoſe wittes fayled them not by extreme ſicknes, or through drincks, medicines, poyſonings, charmes, or other ſuch violence and extraordinarie meanes, neither yet through the intiſements and perſuaſions of women. As thincking very wiſely, there was no difference at all betweene thoſe that were euidently forced by conſtraint, and thoſe that were compaſſed and wrought by ſubornation at length to doe a thing againſt their will, taking fraude in this caſe equall with violence, and pleaſure with ſorowe, as paſſions with mad-
B nes, which commonly haue as much force the one as the other, to drawe and driue men from reaſon. He made another lawe alſo, in which he appointed women their times to goe abroade into the fieldes, their mourning, their feaſtes and ſacrifices, plucking from them all diſorder and wilfull libertie, which they vſed before. For he dyd forbid that they ſhould carie out of the cittie with them aboue three gownes, and to take vittells with them aboue the value of an halfe pennie, neither basket nor pannier aboue a cubite highe: and ſpecially he dyd forbid them to goe in the night, other then in their coche, and that a torche ſhould be caried before them. He dyd forbid them alſo at the buriall of the dead, to teare and ſpoyle themſelues with blowes, to make lamentations in verſes, to weepe at the funeralles of a ſtraunger not being their kinſeman, to ſacrifice an oxe on the graue of the dead, to burie aboue three
C gownes with the corſe, to goe to other mens graues, but at the very time of burying the corſe: all which or the moſt parte of them, are forbidden by our lawes at this daye. Moreouer, thoſe lawes appointe a penaltie vpon ſuch women as offend in the ſame, to be diſtrayned for, by certaine officers expreſſely named, to controll and reforme the abuſes of women, as womaniſh perſones and faynte harted, which ſuffer them ſelues to be ouercome with ſuch paſſions and fondnes in their mourning. And perceyuing that the cittie of ATHENS beganne to repleniſh daylie more and more, by mens repayring thither from all partes, and by reaſon of the great aſſured ſafetie, and libertie that they founde there: and alſo conſidering howe the greateſt parte of the Realme became in manner heathy, and was very barren, and that men traffeking the ſeas, are not wonte to bring any marchaundiſe to thoſe, which can geue them nothing a-
D gaine in exchaunge: he beganne to practiſe that his cittizens ſhould giue them ſelues vnto craftes and occupations, and made a lawe, that the ſonne ſhould not be bounde to relieue his father being olde, onles he had ſet him in his youth to ſome occupation. It was a wiſe parte of *Lycurgus* (who dwelt in a cittie where was no reſorte of ſtraungers, and had ſo great a territorie as could haue furniſhed twiſe as many people, as *Euripides* ſayeth, and moreouer on all ſides was enuironned with a great number of ſlaues of the ILOTES, whom it was needefull to keepe ſtill in labour and worcke continually) to haue his cittizens allwayes occupied in exerciſes of feates of armes, without making them to learne any other ſcience, but diſcharged them of all other miſerable occupations and handy craftes. But *Solon* framing his lawes vnto things, & not things vnto lawes, when he ſawe the countrie of ATTICA ſo leane and barren,
E that it could hardely bring forth to ſuſteine thoſe that tilled the grounde only, and therefore much more impoſſible to keepe ſo great a multitude of idle people as were in ATHENS: thought it very requiſite to ſet vp occupations, and to geue them countenaunce and eſtimation. Therefore he ordeined, that the counſaill of the *Areopagites*, ſhould haue full power, and authoritie to enquier how euery man liued in the cittie, & alſo to puniſhe ſuch as they found idle people, and dyd not labour. But this was thought to ſeuere and ſtraight a lawe which he ordeined (as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth) that the children borne of common harlotts and ſtrumpets ſhould not be bounde to relieue their fathers. For he that maketh no accompt of matrimonie, plainely ſheweth that he tooke not a wife to haue children, but only to ſatisfie his luſt and pleaſure: and ſo ſuch an one hath his iuſt reward, and is diſapointed of the reue-
F rẽce that a father ought to haue of his children, ſince through his owne faulte the birth of his childe falleth out to his reproche. Yet to ſaye truely, in *Solons* lawes touching women, there are many obſurdities, as they fall out ill fauoredly. For he maketh it lawfull for any man to kill an

A lawe for womens going abroade.

Craftes and occupations aduaunced.

The authoritie of the courte and counſaile of the Areopagites.

adulterer taking him with the facte. But he that rauisheth or forcibly taketh awaye a free woman, is only condemned to paye a hundred siluer * drachmes. And he that was the *Pandor* to procure her, should only paye twenty drachmes. Onles she had bene a common strumpet or curtisan: for such doe iustefy open accesse, to all that will hier them. Furthermore, he doth forbid any persone to sell his daughters or sisters, onles the father or brother had taken them, abusing them selues before mariage. Me thincketh it is farre from purpose and reason, with seueritie to punish a thing in one place, and ouer lightly to passe it ouer in another: or to set some light fine on ones head for a great faulte, and after to discharge him, as it were but a matter of sporte. Onles they will excuse it thus, that money being very harde & scante at that time in ATHENS, those fines were then very great & grieuous to paye. For in setting out the charges of offerings which should be made in sacrifices, he appointed a weather to be a conuenient offering, and he setteth a busshell of corne at a siluer drachme. More he ordeined, that they which wonne any of the games at ATHENS, should paye to the common treasurie an hundred drachmes. And those that wõne any of the games *Olympicall*, fiue hũdred drachmes. Also he appointed that he which brought a he woulfe, should haue fiue drachmes, & him one drachme for reward of a she woulfe. Whereof as *Demetrius Phalerian* writeth: the one was the price of an oxe, and the other of a mutton. For, touching the rates he ordeined in the sixtenth table of his lawes mete for burnt sacrifices, it is likely he dyd rate them at a much higher price, then ordinarilie they were worth: and yet notwithstanding, the price which he setteth, is very litle in comparison of that which they are worth at this daye. Nowe it was a custome euer amongest the ATHENIANS to kill their woulfes, bicause all their coũtrie laye for pasture, & not for tillage. Some there be that saye, the tribes of the people of ATHENS haue not bene called after the names of the children of *Ion*, as the common opinion hath bene: but that they were called after their diuers trades & manners of liuing, which they tooke them selues vnto from the beginning. For, such as gaue them selues vnto the warres, were called *Oplites*: as who would saye, men of armes. Those that wrought in their occupations, were called *Ergades*: as much to saye, as men of occupation. The other two which were husbandmen, & followed the plough, were called *Teleontes*: as you would saye, labouring men. And those that kept beastes & cattell, were called *Ægicores*: as much to saye, as heard men. Nowe, forasmuch as the whole prouince of ATTICA was very drye, and had great lacke of water, being not full of riuers, ronning streames, nor lakes, nor yet stored with any great nũber of springs, insomuch as they are driuen there to vse (through the most parte of the countrie) water drawen out of welles made with mens handes: he made such an order, that where there was any well within the space of an Hippicon, that euery bodye within that circuite, might come and drawe water onely at that well, for his vse and necessitie. Hippicon is the distaunce of foure furlonges, which is halfe a mile: & those that dwelt further of, should goe seeke their water in other places where they would. But if they had digged tenne yardes deepe in their grounde, and could finde no water in the bottome, in this case, they might lawfully goe to their next neighbours well, and take a pot full of water conteining six gallons, twise a daye: iudging it great reason that necessitie should be holpen, but not that idlenes should be cherished. He appointed also the spaces that should be kept & obserued by those, that would set or plant trees in their ground, as being a man very skilfull in these matters. For he ordeined, that whosoeuer would plante any kynde of trees in his grounde, he should set them fiue foote a sonder one from another: but for the figge tree and olyue tree specially, that they should in any case be nine foote a sonder, bicause these two trees doe spread out their branches farre of, & they cannot stand neere other trees, but they must needes hurte them very much. For besides that they drawe awaye the same that doth nourishe the other trees, they cast also a certaine moisture & steame vpon them, that is very hurtefull & incõmodious. More he ordeined, that whosoeuer would digge a pytte or hole in his grounde, he should digge it as farre of from his neighbours pyt, as the pytte he digged was in depth to the bottome. And he that would set vp a hiue of bees in his grounde, he should set them at the least three hundred foote from other hiues set about him before. And of the fruites of the earth, he was contented they should transporte and sell only oyle out of the Realme to straungers, but no other fruite or graine. He ordeined that the gouernour

A B C D E F

* *Drachmæ.*

The tribes of the Athenias howe they were called.

An acte for welles.

An acte for planting and setting of trees.

A uernour of the cittie ſhould yerely proclaime open curſes againſt thoſe that ſhould doe to the contrarie, or els he him ſelfe making default therein, ſhould be fined at a hundred drachmes. *Drachmæ.* This ordinaunce is in the firſt table of *Solon* lawes, and therefore we maye not altogether diſcredit thoſe which ſaye, they did forbid in the olde time that men ſhould carie figges out of the countrie of ATTICA, and that from thence it came that theſe picke thanckes, which bewraye & accuſe them that tranſported figges, were called *Sycophantes*. He made another lawe alſo againſt the hurte that beaſtes might doe vnto men. Wherein he ordeined, that if a dogge did bite any man, he that ought him ſhould deliuer to him that was bitten, his dogge tyed to a logge of timber of foure cubites longe: & this was a very good deuiſe, to make men ſafe from dogges. But he was very ſtraight in one lawe he made, that no ſtraunger might be made deni-
B zen and free man of the cittie of ATHENS, onles he were a baniſhed man for euer out of his countrie, or els that he ſhould come & dwell there with all his familie, to exerciſe ſome craſte or ſcience. Notwithſtanding, they ſaye he made not this lawe ſo much to put ſtraungers from there freedome there, as to drawe them thither, aſſuring them by this ordinaunce, they might come and be free of the cittie: and he thought moreouer, that both the one & the other would be more faithfull to the common weale of ATHENS. The one of them, for that againſt their willes they were driuen to forſake their countrie: & the other ſorte, for that aduiſedly and willingly they were contented to forſake it. This alſo was another of *Solons* lawes, which he ordeined for thoſe that ſhould feaſt certē dayes at the towne houſe of the cittie, at other mens coſt. For he would not allow, that one man ſhould come often to feaſts there. And if any man were *Feaſts for townes men in the towne hall of Athēs.*
C inuited thither to the feaſt, and dyd refuſe to come: he dyd ſet a fine on his head, as reprouing the miſerable niggardlines of the one, and the preſumptuous arrogancy of the other, to contemne & deſpiſe common order. After he had made his lawes, he dyd ſtabliſhe them to continewe for the ſpace of one hundred yeres, and they were written in tables of wood called *Axones*, *Axones.* which were made more long then broade, in the which they were graueh: whereof there remaine ſome monuments yet in our time, which are to be ſeene in the towne hall of the cittie of ATHENS. *Ariſtotle* ſayeth, that theſe tables were called *Cyrbes*. And *Cratinus* alſo the Comi- *Cyrbes.*
call poet ſayeth in one place, of *Solon* & *Dracon*: that *Cyrbes* was a veſſell or panne wherein they dyd frye millet or hirſe. Howbeit others ſaye, that *Cyrbes* properly were the tables, which conteined the ordinaunces of the ſacrifices: and *Axones* were the other tables, that concerned the
D common weale. So, all the counſels & magiſtrates together dyd ſweare, that they would kepe *Solons* lawes them ſelues, & alſo cauſe them to be obſerued of others throughly & particularly. Then euery one of the *Theſmothetes* (which were certaine officers attēdaunt on the counſell, *Theſmothetes.* & had ſpeciall charge to ſee the lawes obſerued) dyd ſolēnly ſweare in the open market place, neere the ſtone where the proclamations are proclaimed: and euery of them, both promiſed, & vowed openly to keepe the ſame lawes, & that if any of them dyd in any one pointe breake the ſaid ordinaunces, then they were content that ſuch offender ſhould paye to the temple of *Apollo*, at the cittie of DELPHES, an image of fine golde, that ſhould waye as much as him ſelf. Moreouer *Solon* ſeeing the diſorder of the moneths, & the mouing of the moone, which followed not the courſe of the ſunne, & vſed nót to riſe & fall when the ſunne doth, but oftetimes
E in one daye, it doth both touche & paſſe the ſunne: he was the firſt that called the chaunge of the moone, Ene caì néa, as much to ſaye, as olde and newe moone. Allowing that which appeared before the coniunction, to be of the moneth paſt: & that which ſhewed it ſelf after the coniunction, to be of the moneth following. And he was the firſt alſo (in my opinion) that vnderſtoode *Homer* rightly, when he ſayed: then beginneth the moneth when it endeth. The day following the chaunge, he called *Neomenia*, as much to ſaye, as the newe moneth, or the newe moone. After the twenty day of the moneth which they called *Icada*, he reckoned not the reſt of the moneth, as increaſing, but as in the wane: & gathered it by ſeing the light of the moone decreaſing vntill the thirtie day. Now after his lawes were come abroade, & proclaimed, there came ſome daylie vnto him, which either praiſed them, or miſliked them: & prayed him either
F to take awaye, or to adde ſome thing vnto them. Many againe came & asked him, howe he vnderſtoode ſome ſentēce of his lawes: & requeſted him to declare his meaning, & how it ſhould be taken. Wherefore conſidering howe it were to no purpoſe to refuſe to doe it, and againe

howe it would get him much enuie & ill will to yelde thereunto: he determined (happen what would) to winde him selfe out of these bryars, and to flye the gronings, complaints, and quarrells of his cittizens. For he sayeth him selfe: A

Full harde it is, all mindes content to haue,
and specially in matters harde and graue.

So, to conuey him self a while out of the waye, he tooke vpon him to be master of a shippe in a certaine voyage, and asked licence for tenne yeres of the ATHENIANS to goe beyond sea, hoping by that time the ATHENIANS would be very well acquainted with his lawes. So went he to the seas, & the first place of his arriuall was in EGYPT, where he remained a while, as he him self sayeth. *Solōs trauell.*

Euen there vvhere Nylus, vvith his crooked cranckes
by Canobe, falles into the sea banckes. B

He went to his booke there, and dyd conferre a certaine time with *Psenophis Heliopolitan*, and *Sonchis Saitan*, two of the wisest priestes at that time that were in EGYPT: whom when he heard rehearse the storie of the Iles ATLANTIDES as *Plato* writeth, he proued to put the same in verse, & dyd send it abroade through GRECE. At his departure out of EGYPT he went into CYPRVS, where he had great curtesy & friendshipp of one of the princes of that countrie, called *Philocyprus*, who was lorde of a prety litle cittie which *Demophon* (*Theseus* sonne) caused to be built vpon the riuer of Clarie, & was of a goodly strong situation, but in a very leane and barren coūtrie. Whereupō *Solon* tolde him, it would doe better a great deale to remoue it out of that place, into a very fayer & pleasaunt valley that laye vnderneath it, and there to make it larger & statelier then it was: which was done according to his persuasiō. And *Solon* self being present at it, was made ouerseer of the buildings, which he dyd helpe to deuise and order in good sorte, aswell in respect of pleasure, as for force and defence: insomuch as many people came from other places to dwell there. And herein many other lordes of the countrie dyd followe th' example of this *Philocyprus*, who to honour *Solon*, called his cittie SOLES, which before was called ÆPIA. *Solon* in his Elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his wordes vnto *Philocyprus*, as followeth. *Clarius fl.* C *AEpia called Soles.*

So graunt the goddes, that thou, and thine offspring
maye clyme to great, and passing princely state:
long time to liue, in Soles florishing.
And that they graunt, my shippe and me good gate D
vvhen I from hence, by seas shall take my vvaye:
that vvith her harpe, dame Venus doe vouchesafe
to vvaft me still, vntill she maye conueye
my selfe againe, into my countrey safe.
Since I haue bene, the only meane and man,
vvhich here to build, this cittie first beganne.

And as for the meeting & talke betwext him & king *Cræsus*, I know there are that by distāce of time will proue it but a fable, & deuised of pleasure: but for my parte I will not reiect, nor cōdemne so famous an historie, receiued & approued by so many graue testimonies. Moreouer it is very agreable to *Solons* māners & nature, & also not vnlike to his wisedom & magnanimitie: E although in all pointes it agreeth not with certaine tables (which they call Chronicles) where they haue busily noted the order and course of times which euen to this daye, many haue curiously sought to correct, & could yet neuer discusse it, nor accorde all contrarieties & manifest repugnaunces in the same. *Solon* at the desire & request of *Cræsus*, went to see him in the cittie of SARDIS. When *Solon* was come thither, he seemed to be in the selfe same taking that a man was once reported to be: who being borne & bred vp on the mayne lande, & had neuer seene the sea neither farre nor neere, did imagine euery riuer that he sawe had bene the sea. So *Solon* passing alongest *Cræsus* palace, & meeting by the waye many of the lordes of his courte richely apparelled, & carying great traines of seruing men, & souldiers about them: thought euer that one of them had bene the King, vntill he was brought vnto *Cræsus* selfe. Who was F passing richely arrayed, what for precious stones & iuells, & for riche cullered silkes, layed on with curious goldsmithes worke, & all to shewe him selfe to *Solon* in most stately, sumptuous, & *Solon sawe king Cræsus in the cittie of Sardis.*

magni-

A magnificent manner. Who perceiuing by *Solons* repayre to his presence, that he shewed no manner of signe, nor countenance of woundring, to see so great a state before him, neither had geuen out any word neere or likely to that which *Cræsus* looked for in his owne imagination, but rather had deliuered speaches for men of iudgement and vnderstanding to know, how inwardly he much did mislike *Cræsus* foolish vanitie & base minde: then *Cræsus* commaunded all his treasuries to be opened where his golde & siluer laye, next that they should shewe him his riche & sumptuous wardroppes, although that needed not: for to see *Cræsus* self, it was enough to discerne his nature & condition. After he had seene all ouer & ouer, being brought againe vnto the presence of the King: *Cræsus* asked him, if euer he had seene any mā more happy than him self was? *Solon* aūswered him, I haue: & that was one *Tellus* a cittizen of ATHENS, who was

Cræsus question to Solon touching happines.

B a maruelous honest man, & had left his children behind him in good estimatiō, & well to liue, & lastly, was most happy at his death, by dying honorably in the field, in defence of his coūtrie. *Cræsus* hearing this aunswer, beganne to iudge him a man of litle witte, or of grosse vnderstanding, bicause he did not thincke that to haue store of gold & siluer, was the only ioye & felicitie of the world, & that he would preferre the life & death of a meane & priuate man as more happy, than all the riches & power of so mightie a King. Notwithstanding all this, *Cræsus* yet asked him again: What other man beside *Tellus* he had seene happier than him self? *Solon* aunswered him, that he had seene *Cleobis* & *Biton*, which were both brethern, & loued one another singularly well, & their mother in such sorte: that vpon a solemne festiuall daye, when she

Solon esteemed Tellus a happie man.

Cleobis & Biton, happy mē.

C should goe to the tēple of *Iuno* in her coche drawen with oxen: bicause they taried to long ere they could be brought, they both willingly yoked them selues by the necks, & drue their mothers coche in stead of the oxen, which maruelously reioyced her, and she was thought most happy of all other, to haue borne two such sonnes. Afterwards when they had done sacrifice to the goddesse, & made good cheere at the feast of this sacrifice, they went to bed: but they rose not againe the next morning, for they were found dead without suffering hurte or sorowe, after they had receyued so much glorie & honour. *Cræsus* then could no lōger bridell in his pacience, but breaking out in choller, sayed vnto him: why, doest theu recken me than in no degree of happy men? *Solon* would neither flatter him, nor further increase his heate, but aūswered him thus: O King of LYDIANS, the godds haue geuē vs GRECIANS all things in a meane;

Solon commēdeth the meane.

& amongest other things chiefly, a base & popular wisedome, not princely nor noble: which,

D considering howe mans life is subiect to infinite chaunges, doth forbid vs to trust or glorie in these worldly riches. For time bringeth daylie misfortunes vnto man, which he neuer thought of, nor looked for. But when the goddes haue continued a mans good fortune to his end, then we thinke that man happy and blessed, and neuer before. Otherwise, if we should iudge a man happy that liueth, considering he is euer in daunger of chaūge during life: we should be much like to him, who iudgeth him the victorie before hande, that is still a fighting, & maye be ouercomen, hauing no suertie yet to carie it away. After *Solon* had spoken these words, he departed from the Kings presence, and returned backe againe, leauing king *Cræsus* offended, but nothing the wiser, nor amended. Nowe *Æsope* that wrote the fables, being at that time in the cittie of SARDIS, & sent for thither by the King, who entertained him very honorably: was ve-

No man happie before his ende.

E ry sorie to see that the King had geuen *Solon* no better entertainement: so by waye of aduise he said vnto him. O *Solon*, either we must not come to princes at all, or els we must seeke to please & content them. But *Solon* turning it to the contrary, aunswered him: either we must not come to princes, or we must needes tell them truely, & counsell them for the best. So *Cræsus* made light accompt of *Solon* at that time. But after he had lost the battell against *Cyrus*, and that his cittie was taken, him self became prisoner, & was bounde fast to a gibbet, ouer a great stacke of wood, to be burnt in the sight of all the PERSIANS, & of *Cyrus* his enemie: he then cried out as lowde as he could, thryse together. O *Solon*. *Cyrus* being abashed, sent to aske him, whether this *Solon* he only cried vpon in his extreme miserie, was a god or man. *Cræsus* kept it not secret from him, but sayed: he was one of the wise men of GRECE, whom I sent for to come vnto me

Æsops saying to Solon.

Solons aunswer to Æsope.

King Cræsus wordes of Solon hanging vpō a gibbes to be burnt.

F on a certaine time, not to learne any thing of him which I stoode in neede of, but only that he might witnesse my felicitie, which then I dyd enioye: the losse whereof is nowe more hurtefull, than the enioying of the same was good or profitable. But nowe (alas) to late I

Riches are but wordes & opinion.

know it, that the riches I poſſeſſed then, were but words & opinion, all which are turned now to my bitter ſorowe, and to preſent and remediles calamitie. Which the wiſe GRECIAN conſidering then, and foreſeeing a farre of by my doings at that time, the inſtant miſerie I ſuffer nowe: gaue me warning I ſhould marke the ende of my life, and that I ſhould not to farre preſume of my ſelfe, as puffed vp then with vaine glorie of opinion of happines, the ground ther. of being ſo ſlippery, and of ſo litle ſuertie. Theſe wordes being reported vnto *Cyrus*, who was wiſer than *Craeſus*, & ſeeing *Solons* ſaying confirmed by ſo notable an example: he dyd not only deliuer *Craeſus* from preſent perill of death, but euer after honoured him ſo long as he liued. Thus had *Solon* glorie, for ſauing the honour of one of theſe Kings: & the life of the other, by his graue & wiſe counſaill. But during the time of his abſence, great ſeditions roſe at ATHENS amongeſt the inhabitants, who had gotten them ſeuerall heades amongeſt them: as thoſe of the vallie had made *Lycurgus* their head. The coaſt men, *Megacles*, the ſonne of *Alcmæon*. And thoſe of the mountaines, *Piſiſtratus*: with whom all artificers & crafts men liuing of their hādie labour were ioyned, which were the ſtowteſt againſt the riche. So that notwithſtanding the cittie kept *Solons* lawes and ordinaunces, yet was there not that man but gaped for a chaunge, and deſired to ſee things in another ſtate: either parties hoping their condition would mende by chaunge, and that euery of them ſhould be better than their aduerſaries. The whole common weale broyling thus with troubles, *Solon* arriued at ATHENS, where euery mā did honour and reuerence him, howbeit he was no more able to ſpeake alowde in open aſſembly to the people, nor to deale in matters as he had done before, bicauſe his age would not ſuffer him: & therefore he ſpake with euery one of the heades of the ſeuerall factions a parte, trying if he could agree and reconcile them together againe. Whereunto *Piſiſtratus* ſeemed to be more willing then any of the reſt, for he was curteous, and maruelous fayer ſpoken, and ſhewed him ſelfe beſides, very good and pittiefull to the poore, and temperate alſo to his enemies: further, if any good quality were lacking in him, he dyd ſo finely counterfeate it, that men imagined it was more in him, than in thoſe that naturally had it in them in deede. As to be a quiet man, no medler, contented with his owne, aſpiring no higher, and hating thoſe which would attempt to chaunge the preſent ſtate of the common weale, and would practiſe any innouation. By this arte and fine manner of his, he deceyued the poore common people. Howbeit *Solon* found him ſtraight, and ſawe the marke he ſhot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and ſought ſtill to winne him, and bring him to reaſon, ſaying oftetimes, both to him ſelfe, and to others. That who ſo could plucke out of his head the worme of ambition, by which he aſpired to be the chiefeſt, and could heale him of his greedy deſire to rule: there could not be a man of more vertue, or a better cittizen than he would proue. About this time begāne *Theſpis* to ſet out his tragedies, which was a thing that much delited the people for the rarenes thereof, being not many poets yet in number, to ſtriue one againſt another for victorie, as afterwards there were. *Solon* being naturally deſirous to heare and learne, and by reaſon of his age ſeeking to paſſe his time awaye in ſportes, in muſicke, & making good cheere more then euer he dyd: went one daye to ſee *Theſpis*, who played a parte him ſelfe, as the olde facion of the Poets was, and after the playe was ended, he called him to him, and asked him: if he were not aſhamed to lye ſo openly in the face of the worlde. *Theſpis* aunſwered him, that it was not materiall to doe or ſaye any ſuch things, conſidering all was but in ſporte. Then *Solon* beating the grounde with his ſtaffe he had in his hande: but if we commend lying in ſporte (q. he) we ſhall finde it afterwards in good earneſt, in all our bargaines & dealings. Shortely after *Piſiſtratus* hauing wounded him ſelf, and bloudied all his bodie ouer, cauſed his men to carie him in his coche into the market place, where he put the people in an vprore, & tolde them that they were his enemies that thus traiterouſly had hādled & arraied him, for that he ſtoode with them about the gouerning of the cōmon weale: inſomuch as many of thē were maruelouſly offended, & mutined by & by, crying out it was ſhamefully done. Then *Solon* drawing neere ſayed vnto him, O thou ſonne of *Hippocrates*, thou doeſt ill fauoredly coūterfeate the perſone of *Homers Vlyſſes*: for thou haſt whipped thy ſelf to deceiue thy cittizēs, as he did teare & ſcratch him ſelf, to deceiue his enemies. Notwithſtanding this, the common people were ſtill in vprore, being ready to take armes for *Piſiſtratus*: and there was a generall counſell aſſembled, in the which one *Ariſton* ſpake,

Sedition at Athēs in Solons abſence.

Solon returneth to Athens.

Piſiſtratus wicked craft & ſubtiltie.

Theſpis a maker of tragedies.

Solon reproued Theſpis for lying.

A ſpake, that they ſhould graunte fiftie men, to cary holberds and maſes before *Piſiſtratus* for garde of his perſone. But *Solon* going vp into the pulpit for orations, ſtowtely inuayed againſt it: and perſuaded the people with many reaſons, like vnto theſe he wrote afterwards in verſe.

Eche one of you (ô men) in priuate actes,
can playe the foxe, for ſlye and ſubtill craft:
But vvhen you come, yfore (in all your factes)
then are you blinde, dull vvitted and bedaft.
For pleaſaunt ſpeathe, and painted flatterie,
beguile you ſtill, the vvhich you neuer ſpye.

But in the ende, ſeeing the poore people dyd tumult ſtill, taking *Piſiſtratus* parte, and that
B the riche fled here and there, he went his waye alſo, ſaying: he had ſhewed him ſelfe wiſer than ſome, and hardier than other. Meaning, wiſer than thoſe which ſawe not *Piſiſtratus* reache and fetche: and hardier than they which knewe very well he dyd aſpire to be King, and yet neuertheles durſt not reſiſt him. The people went on with the motion of *Ariſton*, and authoriſed the ſame, touching the graunte of halberders: limiting no number, but ſuffered him to haue about him and to aſſemble, as many as he would, vntill ſuch time as he had gotten poſſeſſion of the caſtell. Then the cittie was marueloufly affrayed and amazed: and preſently *Megacles*, and all thoſe which were of the houſe of the *Alcmeonides* dyd flye. *Solon*, who for yeares was now at his laſt caſt, and had no man to ſticke vnto him: went notwithſtanding into
C the market place, and ſpake to the cittizens whom he found there, and rebuked their beaſtlines, and faynte cowardly hartes, and encouraged them not to loſe their libertie. He ſpake at that time notably, and worthie memorie, which euer after was remembred. Before ſayed he, you might more eaſely haue ſtayed this preſent tyrannie: but nowe that it is already facioned, you ſhall winne more glorie, vtterly to ſuppreſſe it. But for all his goodly reaſons, he found no man that would hearken to him, they were all ſo amazed. Wherefore he hied him home againe, and tooke his weapons out of his houſe, and layed them before his gate in the middeſt of the ſtreete, ſaying. For my parte, I haue done what I can poſſible, to helpe and defend the lawes and liberties of my countrie. So from that time he betooke him ſelfe vnto his eaſe, and neuer after delt any more in matters of ſtate, or common weale. His friends dyd counſell him to flye; but all they could not perſuade him to it. For he kept his houſe, and gaue him ſelfe *Solons libertie & conſtancie.*
D to make verſes: in which he ſore reproued the ATHENIANS faults, ſaying:

If preſently, your burden heauy be:
yet murmure not againſt the godds therefore.
The fault is yours, as you your ſelues maye ſee,
vvhich graunted haue of mightie mars the lore,
to ſuch as nowe, by your direction
doe holde your necks, in this ſubiection.

His friends hereupon dyd warne him, to beware of ſuch ſpeaches, and to take hede what he ſayed: leaſt if it came vnto the tyrannes eares, he might put him to death for it. And further, they asked him wherein he truſted, that he ſpake ſo boldly. He aunſwered them, in my age.
E Howbeit *Piſiſtratus* after he had obteined his purpoſe, ſending for him vpon his worde and faith, dyd honour and entertaine him ſo well, that *Solon* in the ende became one of his counſaill, and approued many things which he dyd. For *Piſiſtratus* him ſelfe dyd ſtraightly keepe, and cauſed his friends to keepe *Solons* lawes. Inſomuch as when he was called by proces into the courte of the *Areopagites* for a murther, euen at that time when he was a tyrante: he preſented him ſelfe very modeſtly to aunſwer his accuſation, and to purge him ſelfe thereof. But his accuſer let fall the matter, and followed it no further. *Piſiſtratus* him ſelfe alſo dyd make newe lawes: as this. That he that had bene maymed, and made lame of any member in the *A good lawe for reward of ſeruice.*
warres, ſhould be mainteined all his life long, at the common charges of the cittie. The ſelfe ſame was before decreed by *Therſippus* (as *Heraclides* writeth) by *Solons* perſuaſion: who dyd
F preferre it to the counſell. *Piſiſtratus* afterwards tooke holde of the motion, and from thence forth made it a generall lawe. *Theophraſtus* ſayeth alſo, it was *Piſiſtratus*, and not *Solon*, that

made the lawe for idlenes: which was the only cauſe that the countrie of ATTICA became more fruitefull, being better manured: and the cittie of ATHENS waxed more quiet. But *Solon* hauing begonne to write the ſtorie of the Iles ATLANTIDES in verſe (which he had learned of the wiſe men of the cittie of SAIS in EGYPT, and was very neceſſary for the ATHENIANS) grewe wearye, and gaue it ouer in mid waye: not for any matters or buſines that troubled him, as *Plato* ſayed, but only for his age, and bicauſe he feared the tediouſnes of the worke. For otherwiſe he had leyſure enough, as appeareth by his verſes where he ſayeth:

I growue olde, and yet I learne ſtill.

And in another place where he ſayeth,

Nouue Venus yeldes me ſuuete delights,
and Bacchus lends me comfort ſtill:
the muſes eke, refreshe my ſprights,
and much relieue my vveary vvill.
Theſe be the pointes of perfect eaſe,
vvhich all mens mindes oftetimes doe pleaſe.

Plato afterwards for beawtifying of the ſtorie and fables of the Iles ATLANTIDES, was deſirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by waye of ſpeache haue broken vp a field or laye lande of his owne, or that this gifte had deſcended to him of right from *Solon*. He beganne to raiſe vp a ſtately fronte vnto the ſame, and encloſed it with high walles, and large ſquared courtes at the entrie thereof: ſuch was it, as neuer any other worke, fable, or poeticall inuention had euer ſo notable, or the like. But bicauſe he beganne a litle to late, he ended his life before his worke, leauing the readers more ſorowfull for that was left vnwritten, than they tooke pleaſure in that they founde written. For euen as in the cittie of ATHENS, the temple of *Iupiter Olympian* only remained vnperfect: ſo the wiſdome of *Plato* (amongeſt many goodly matters of his that haue come abroade) left none of them vnperfect, but the only tale of the Iles ATLANTIDES. *Solon* liued long time after *Piſiſtratus* had vſurped the tyrannie, as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth. Howbeit *Phanias Epheſian* writeth, that he liued not aboue two yeres after. For *Piſiſtratus* vſurped tyrannicall power in the yere that *Comias* was chief gouernour in ATHENS. And *Phanias* writeth, that *Solon* dyed in the yere that *Hegeſtratus* was gouernour, which was the next yere after that. And where ſome ſaye, the aſhes of his bodie were after his death ſtrawed abroade through the Ile of SALAMINA: that ſeemeth to be but a fable, and altogether vntrue. Neuertheles it hath bene written by many notable authours, and amongeſt others, by *Ariſtotle* the philoſopher.

The ende of Solons life.

THE

THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS
Valerius Publicola.

NOWE we haue declared what *Solon* was, we haue thought good to compare him with *Publicola*, to whom the ROMAINE people for an honour gaue that ſurname: for he was called before *Publius Valerius*, deſcended from that auncient *Valerius*, who was one of the chiefeſt worckers and meanes, to bring the ROMAINES and the SABYNES that were mortall enemies, to ioyne together as one people. For it was he that moſt moued the two Kings to agree, and ioyne together. *Publicola* being deſcended of him, whileſt the Kings dyd rule yet at ROME, was in very great eſtimation, aſwell for his eloquence, as for his riches: vſing the one rightly and freely, for the maintenaunce of iuſtice, and the other liberally and curteouſly, for the relief of the poore. So that it was manifeſt, if the Realme came to be conuerted into a publicke ſtate, he ſhould be one of the chiefeſt men of the ſame. It chaunced that king *Tarquine* ſurnamed the prowde, being come to the crowne by no good lawfull meane, but contrarylie by indirect and wicked wayes, and behauing him ſelfe not like a King, but like a cruell tyrante: the people much hated and deteſted him, by reaſon of the death of *Lucretia* (which killed her ſelfe for that ſhe was forcibly rauiſhed by him) & ſo the whole cittie roſe and rebelled againſt him. *Lucius Brutus* taking vpon him to be the head and captaine of this inſurrection and rebellion, dyd ioyne firſt with this *Valerius*: who dyd greately fauour and aſſiſt his enterpriſe, and did helpe him to drine out king *Tarquine* with all his houſe & familie. Nowe whileſt they were thincking that the people would chuſe ſome one alone to be chief ruler ouer them, in ſtead of a King: *Valerius* kept him ſelfe quiet, as yelding willingly vnto *Brutus* the firſt place, who was meeteſt for it, hauing bene the chief authour and worcker of their recouered libertie. But when they ſawe the name of *Monarchie* (as much to ſaye, as ſoueraintie alone) was diſpleaſaunt to the people, and that they would like better to haue the rule deuided vnto two, and how for this cauſe they would rather chooſe two Conſuls: *Valerius* then begāne to hope, he ſhould be the ſeconde perſōne with *Brutus*. Howbeit this hope fayled him. For againſt *Brutus* will, *Tarquinius Collatinus* (the husband of *Lucretia* was choſen Cōſul with him: not bicauſe he was a man of greater vertue, or of better eſtimation than *Valerius*. But the

The houſe of P. Valerius.

Tarquinius Superbus.

Valerius, Brutus companion, in expulſing the Kings.

Lucius Brutus. Tarquinius Collatinus Conſuls.

noble men of the cittie fearing the practises of the Kings abroade, which sought by all the fayer & flattering meanes they could to returne againe into the cittie: dyd determine to make such an one Consul, whom occasion forced to be their hard and heauy enemie, persuading them selues that *Tarquinius Collatinus* would for no respect yeld vnto them. *Valerius* tooke this matter greuously, but they had a mistrust in him, as if he would not doe any thing he could, for the benefit of his countrie: notwithstanding he had neuer any priuate iniurie offered him by the tyrannes. Wherfore, he repaired no more vnto the Senate to pleade for priuate men, and wholy gaue vp to medle in matters of state: insomuch as he gaue many occasion to thincke of his absence, and it troubled some men much, who feared least vpon this his misliking and withdrawing, he would fall to the Kings side, and so bring all the cittie in an vprore, considering it stoode then but in very tickle termes. But when *Brutus*, who stoode in iealousie of some, would by othe be assured of the Senate, & had appointed them a daye solemnely to take their othes vpon the sacrifices: *Valerius* then with a good cheerefull countenaunce came into the market place, and was the first that tooke his othe he would leaue nothing vndone, that might preiudice the *Tarquines*, but with all his able power he would fight against them, and defend the libertie of the cittie. This othe of his maruelously reioyced the Senate, & gaue great assuraunce also to the Consuls, but specially, bicause his dedes dyd shortly after performe his wordes. For there came ambassadours to Rome which brought letters from king *Tarquine*, full of sweete & lowly speaches to winne the fauour of the people, with commission to vse all the mildest meanes they could, to dulce and soften the hardened harts of the multitude: who declared how the King had left all pryde and crueltie, & ment to aske nought but reasonable things. The Consuls thought best to geue them open audience, and to suffer them to speake to the people. But *Valerius* was against it, declaring it might perill the state much, and deliuer occasion of new sturre vnto a multitude of poore people, which were more affrayed of warres, then of tyrannie. After that, there came other ambassadours also, which sayed that *Tarquine* would from thenceforth for euer geue ouer and renounce his title to the Kingdome, and to make any more warres, but besought them only, that they would at the least deliuer him and his friends their money and goods, that they might haue wherewithall to keepe them in their banishment. Many came on a pace, and were very ready to yeld to this request, and specially *Collatinus*, one of the Consuls who dyd fauour their motion. But *Brutus* that was a fast and resolute man, and very fierce in his harte, ranne immediately into the market place, crying out that his fellowe Consul was a traytour, and contented to graunt the tyrannes matter, and meanes to make warre vpon the cittie, where in deede they deserued not so much, as to be relieued in their exile. Hereupon the people assembled together, and the first that spake in this assembly, was a priuate man called *Gaius Minutius*, who speaking vnto *Brutus*, & to the whole assembly, sayed vnto them. O noble Consul & Senate, handle so the matter, that the tyrannes goods be rather in your custodie to make warre with them, than in theirs, to bring warre vpon your selues. Notwithstāding, the Romaines were of opinion, that hauing gotten the liberty, for which they fought with the tyrannes: they should not disapoint the offered peace, with keeping backe their goodes, but rather they should throwe their goods out after them. Howbeit this was the least parte of *Tarquines* intent, to seeke his goodes againe: but vnder pretence of that demaund, he secretly corrupted the people, and practised treason, which his ambassadours followed, pretending only to get the Kings goodes and his fauourers together, saying, that they had already solde some parte, and some parte they kept, and sent them daylie. So as by delaying the time in this sorte with such pretences, they had corrupted two of the best and auncientest houses of the cittie: to wit, the familie of the *Aquilians*, whereof there were three Senatours: and the familie of the *Vitellians*, whereof there were two Senatours: all which by their mothers, were Consul *Collatinus* nephewes. The *Vitellians* also were allied vnto *Brutus*, for he had maried their owne sister, & had many children by her. Of the which the *Vitellians* had drawen to their stringe, two of the eldest of them, bicause they familiarly frequented together, being cosin germaines: whom they had intised to be of their conspiracie, allying them with the house of the *Tarquines*, which was of great power, and through the which they might persuade them selues to rise to great honour & preferment by meanes of the Kings, rather than to trust

The first embassiate of king Tarquine for recouering his Realme.

Another embassiate from Tarquine demaunding his goodes.

Good counsell of Minutius.

Tarquines ambassadours practise treason.

The Aquilij and Vitellij with Brutus sonnes, traytours to their countrie.

A to truſt to their fathers willfull hardnes. For they called his ſeueritie to the wicked, hardnes: for that he would neuer pardone any. Furthermore *Brutus* had fayned him ſelfe mad, and a foole of long time for ſafety of his life, bicauſe the tyrannes ſhould not put him to death: ſo that the name of *Brutus* only remained. After theſe two young men had geuen their conſent to be of the confederacie, and had ſpoken with the *Aquilians*: they all thought good to be bounde one to another, with a great and horrible othe, drincking the bloude of a man, and ſhaking hands in his bowells, whom they would ſacrifice. This matter agreed vpon betweene them, they met together to put their ſacrifice in execution, in the houſe of the *Aquilians*. They had fittely pickt out a darcke place in the houſe to doe this ſacrifice in, & where almoſt no bodye came: yet it happened by chaunce, that one of the ſeruants of the houſe called *Vin-*
B *dicius*, had hidden him ſelfe there, vnknowing to the traytours, and of no ſet purpoſe, to ſpye and ſee what they dyd, or that he had any manner of inckling thereof before: but falling by chaunce vpon the matter, euen as the traytours came into that place with a countenaunce to doe ſome ſecret thing of importaunce, fearing to be ſeene, he kept him ſelfe cloſe, and laye behinde a coffer that was there, ſo that he ſawe all that was done, and what they ſayed and determined. The concluſion of their counſell in the ende was this, that they would kill both the Conſuls: and they wrote letters to *Tarquinius* aduertiſing the ſame, which they gaue vnto his ambaſſadours, being lodged in the houſe of the *Aquilians*, & were preſent at this concluſion. With this determination they departed from thence, and *Vindicius* came out alſo as ſecretly as he could, being maruelouſly troubled in minde, & at a maze howe to deale in this matter.
C For he thought it daungerous (as it was in deede) to goe and accuſe the two ſonnes vnto the father (which was *Brutus*) of ſo wicked and deteſtable a treaſon, and the nephewes vnto their vncle, which was *Collatinus*. On the other ſide alſo, he thought this was a ſecret, not to be imparted to any priuate perſone, and not poſſible for him to conceale it, that was bounde in duety to reueale it. So he reſolued at the laſt to goe to *Valerius* to bewraye this treaſon, of a ſpeciall affection to this man, by reaſon of his gentle and curteous vſing of men, geuing eaſy acceſſe and audience vnto any that came to ſpeake with him, and ſpecially for that he diſdained not to heare poore mens cauſes. *Vindicius* being gone to ſpeake with him, and hauing told him the whole conſpiracy before his brother *Marcus Valerius*, and his wife, he was a-
D baſhed and fearefull withall: whereupon he ſtayed him leaſt he ſhould ſlippe awaye, and locked him in a chamber, charging his wife to watche the doore, that no bodie went in nor out vnto him. And willed his brother alſo, that he ſhould goe and beſet the Kings palace round about, to intercept theſe letters if it were poſſible, and to ſee that none of their ſeruants fled. *Valerius* ſelfe being followed (according to his manner) with a great traine of his friendes and people that wayted on him, went ſtraight vnto the houſe of the *Aquilians*, who by chaunce were from home at that time: and entring in at the gate, without let or trouble of any man, he founde the letters in the chamber, where king *Tarquines* ambaſſadours laye. Whileſt he was thus occupied, the *Aquilians* hauing intelligence thereof, ranne home immediately, and founde *Valerius* cõming out at their gate. So they vould haue taken thoſe letters from him by force, and ſtrong hande. But *Valerius* and his company dyd reſiſt them, and moreouer hudded
E them with their gownes ouer their heads, and by force brought them (doe what they could) into the market place. The like was done alſo in the Kings palace, where *Marcus Valerius* founde other letters alſo wrapt vp in certaine fardells for their more ſafe cariage, and brought away with him by force into the market place, all the Kings ſeruaunts he founde there. There the Conſuls hauing cauſed ſilence to be made, *Valerius* ſent home to his houſe for this bondman *Vindicius*, to be brought before the Conſuls: then the traytours were openly accuſed, and their letters redde, and they had not the face to aunſwer one worde. All that were preſent, being amazed, honge downe their heades, and behelde the grounde, and not a man durſt once open his mouth to ſpeake, excepting a fewe, who to gratifie *Brutus*, beganne to ſay that they ſhould baniſhe them: and *Collatinus* alſo gaue them ſome hope, bicauſe he fell to weeping,
F and *Valerius* in like manner for that he held his peace. But *Brutus* calling his ſonnes by their names: come on (ſayed he) *Titus*, and thou *Valerius*, why doe you not aunſwer to that you are accuſed of? and hauing ſpoken thryſe vnto them to aunſwer, when he ſawe they ſtoode

The confederacy cõfirmed with drinking of mãs bloud.

Vindicius heareth all their treaſon.

The concluſion of their treaſon.

Vindicius bewrayeth the treaſon vnto Valerius.

Titus & Valerius, Brutus ſonnes.

mute,and ſayed nothing: he turned him to the ſergeants,and ſayed vnto them. They are now in your handes,doe iuſtice.So ſoone as he had ſpoken theſe wordes, the ſergeants layed holde immediately vpon the two young men,and tearing their clothes of their backs, bounde their hands behinde them, and then whipped them with roddes: which was ſuch a pittiefull ſight to all the people,that they could not finde in their hartes to behold it, but turned them ſelues another waye,bicauſe they would not ſee it.But contrariwiſe,they ſaye that their owne father had neuer his eye of them,neither dyd chaunge his auſtere and fierce countenaunce,with any pittie or naturall affection towards them, but ſtedfaſtly dyd beholde the puniſhement of his owne children,vntill they were layed flat on the grounde,and both their heads ſtriken of with an axe before him. When they were executed,*Brutus* roſe from the benche, and left the execution of the reſt vnto his fellowe Conſul. This was ſuch an acte, as men cannot ſufficiently prayſe, nor reproue enough. For either it was his excellent vertue, that made his minde ſo quiet, or els the greatnes of his miſerie that tooke awaye the feeling of his ſorowe: whereof neither the one nor the other was any ſmall matter, but paſſing the common nature of man, that hath in it both diuinenes, and ſomtime beaſtly brutiſhnes. But it is better the iudgement of men ſhould commend his fame,then that the affection of men by their iudgemēts ſhould diminiſhe his vertue. For the Romaines holde opinion, it was not ſo great an acte done of *Romulus* firſt to build Rome: as it was for *Brutus* to recouer Rome,and the beſt libertie thereof,and to renewe the auncient gouernment of the ſame. When *Brutus* was gone, all the people in the market place remained as they had bene in a maze, full of feare and wounder, and a great while without ſpeaking to ſee what was done. The *Aquilians* ſtraight grew bold, for that they ſawe the other Conſull *Collatinus* proceede gently, and mildly againſt them: and ſo made petition they might haue time geuen them to aunſwer to the articles they were accuſed of, and that they might haue their ſlaue and bondman *Vindicius* deliuered into their handes,bicauſe there was no reaſon he ſhould remaine with their accuſers. The Conſul ſeemed willing to yeld thereto,and was ready to breake vp the aſſembly thereupon. But *Valerius* ſayed, he would not deliuer *Vindicius* (who was among the aſſembly that attended vpon his perſone) and ſtayed the people beſides for departing awaye, leaſt they ſhould negligently let thoſe eſcape that had ſo wickedly ſought to betraye their countrie. Vntill he him ſelfe had layed handes vpon them, calling vpon *Brutus* to aſſiſt him, with open exclamation againſt *Collatinus*,that he dyd not behaue him ſelfe like a iuſt and true man, ſeeing his fellowe *Brutus* was forced for iuſtice ſake to ſee his owne ſonnes put to death: and he in contrary manner, to pleaſe a fewe women,ſought to let goe manifeſt traitours,and open enemies to their countrie.The Conſul being offended herewith,commaunded they ſhould bring awaye the bondman *Vindicius*. So the ſergeants making waye through the preaſe, layed handes vpon him to bring him awaye with them,and beganne to ſtrike at them which offered to reſiſt them. But *Valerius* friends ſtept out before them,and put them by.The people ſhowted ſtraight,& cried out for *Brutus*: who with this noyſe returned againe into the market place, and after ſilence made him,he ſpake in this wiſe.For mine own children,I alone haue bene their ſufficiēt iudg, to ſee them haue the law according to their deſeruings: the reſt I haue left freely to the iudgment of the people. Wherefore (ſayed he) if any man be diſpoſed to ſpeake, let him ſtand vp,and perſuade the people as he thinketh beſt.Then there needed no more wordes, but only to hearken what the people cried: who with one voyce & conſent condemned them,& cried execution,& accordingly they had their heades ſtriken of.Now was Conſull *Collatinus* long before had in ſome ſuſpition, as allied to the Kings,and diſliked for his ſurname, bicauſe he was called *Tarquinius*: who perceyuing him ſelfe in this caſe much hated and miſtruſted of the people, voluntarely yelded vp his Conſulſhippe, and departed the cittie. The people aſſembling then them ſelues, to place a ſucceſſour in his roome: they choſe *Valerius* in his roome,without the contradiction of any, for his faithfull trauaill and diligence beſtowed in this great matter. Then *Valerius* iudging that *Vindicius* the bondman had well deſerued alſo ſome recompence,cauſed him not only to be manumiſed by the whole graunte of the people, but made him a free man of the cittie beſides: and he was the firſt bondman manumiſed, that was made cittizen of Rome, with permiſſion alſo to geue his voyce in all elections of officers, in any

Brutus ſeeth his owne ſonnes puniſhed & executed.

Brutus,praiſed & reproued for the death of his ſonnes.

Collatinus ſofines perilous.

Valerius boldly appeacheth Collatinus of iniuſtice.

Collatinus reſigneth his Conſulſhippe, & departeth

ius choſul in

s the man d.

A in any company or tribe he would be enrolled in. Long time after that, and very lately, *Appius* to currie fauour with the common people, made it lawfull for bondmen manumiſed, to geue their voyces alſo in elections, as other cittizens dyd: and vnto this daye the perfect manumiſing and freeing of bondmen, is called *Vindicta*, after the name of this *Vindicius*, that was then made a free man. Theſe things thus paſſed ouer, the goodes of the Kings were geuen to the ſpoyle of the people, and their palaces were raſed and ouerthrowen. Nowe amongeſt other lands, the goodlieſt parte of the field of *Mars* was belõging vnto king *Tarquine*: the ſame they conſecrated forthwith vnto the god *Mars*, & not long before they had cut downe the wheat thereof. The ſheaues being yet in ſhocks in the field, they thought they might not grinde the wheate, nor make any commoditie of the profit thereof: wherefore they threwe both corne &

Vindicta ſo called, by reaſon of Vindicius.

Tarquines field cõſecrated to Mars.

B ſheaues into the riuer, & trees alſo which they had hewen downe & rooted vp, to the end that the field being dedicated to the god *Mars*, ſhould be left bare, without bearing any fruite at all. Theſe ſheaues thus throwẽ into the riuer, were caried down by the ſtreame not farre from thence, vnto a forde and ſhallowe place of the water, where they firſt dyd ſtaye, and dyd let the other which came after, that it could goe no further: there theſe heapes gathered together, and laye ſo cloſe one to another, that they beganne to ſincke and ſettle faſt in the water. Afterwards the ſtreame of the riuer brought downe continually ſuch mudde & grauell, that it euer increaſed the heape of corne more and more in ſuche ſorte, that the force of the water could no more remoue it from thence, but rather ſoftly preſſing and driuing it together, dyd firme and harden it, and made it growe ſo to lande. Thus this heape riſing ſtill in greatnes and

C firmenes, by reaſon that all that came downe the riuer ſtayed there, it grewe in the ende, and by time to ſpread ſo farre, that at this daye it is called the holy Ilande in Rome: in which are many goodly temples of diuers goddes, and ſundry walkes about it, and they call it in Latine, *Inter duos pontes*: in our tongue, betweene the two bridges. Yet ſome write, that this thing fell not out at that time when the field of the *Tarquines* was conſecrated vnto *Mars*: but that it happened afterwardes, when one of the *Veſtall Nunnes*, called *Tarquinia*, gaue a field of hers vnto the people, which was hard adioyning vnto *Tarquines* field. For which liberalitie and bowntie of hers, they dyd graunte her in recompẽſe many priuiledges, and dyd her great honour beſides. As amongeſt others, it was ordeined, that her word & witnes ſhould ſtand good, & be allowed, in matters iudiciall: which priuiledge, neuer womã beſides her ſelf dyd enioye.

Whereof the holy Iland came in Rome, that lieth betweene both bridges.

D By ſpeciall grace of the people alſo, it was graunted her, that ſhe might marie if ſhe thought it good: but yet ſhe would not accept the benefit of that offer. Thus you heare the reporte how this thing happened. *Tarquinius* then being paſt hope of euer entring into his Kingdome againe, went yet vnto the Thvscans for ſuccour, which were very glad of him: and ſo they leauied a great armie together, hoping to haue put him in his Kingdome againe. The Conſuls alſo hearing thereof, went out with their armie againſt him. Both the armies preſented them ſelues in battell raye, one againſt another, in the holy places conſecrated to the goddes: wherof the one was called the wodde *Arſia*, and the other the meadowe *Æſuuia*. And as both armies beganne to geue charge vpon eche other, *Aruns* the eldeſt ſonne of king *Tarquine*, and the Conſul *Brutus* encoũtered together, not by chaunce, but ſought for of ſet purpoſe to exe-

Tarquine cõmeth with a great power of the Thuſcans to wage battell with the Romaines.

Arſia ſilua.

Aruns & Brutus encountered, and ſlue eche other.

E cute the deadly fode and malice they dyd beare eache other. The one, as againſt a tyrante and enemie of the libertie of his countrie: the other, as againſt him that had bene chief authour & worker of their exile and expulſion. So they ſet ſpurres to their horſes, ſo ſoone as they had ſpyed eche other, with more fury then reaſon, and fought ſo deſperately together, that they both fell ſtarke dead to the ground. The firſt onſet of the battell being ſo cruell, the end thereof was no leſſe bloudy: vntill both the armies hauing receyued and done like damage to eche other, were parted by a maruelous great tempeſt that fell vpon them. Nowe was *Valerius* maruelouſly perplexed, for that he knewe not which of them wanne the field that daye: ſeeing his ſouldiers as ſorowfull for the great loſſe of their men lying dead before them, as they were glad of the ſlaughter and victorie of their enemies. For, to viewe the multitude of the ſlaine

F bodies of either ſide, the number was ſo equall in fight, that it was very hard to iudge, of which ſide fell out the greateſt ſlaughter: ſo that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the remaine of their campe, were perſuaded in their opinion, that they had rather loſt then wõne,

coniecturing a farre of the fall of their enemies. The night being come, ſuch things fell out, as maye be looked for after ſo terrible a battell. For when both campes were all layed to reſt, they ſaye the wodde wherein they laye incamped, quaked and trembled: and they heard a voyce ſaye, that onely one man more was ſlaine on the THVSCANS ſide, than on the ROMAINES parte. Out of doubt this was ſome voyce frō heauen: for the ROMAINES thereupō gaue a ſhrill ſhowte, as thoſe whoſe hartes receyued a newe quickening ſpirite or corage. The THVSCANS on the contrarie parte were ſo affrayed, that the moſt parte of them ſtole out of the campe, & ſcattered here and there: & there remained behind about the number of fiue thouſand men, whom the ROMAINES tooke priſoners euery one, and had the ſpoile of their campe. The carkaſſes were viewed afterwards, & they found that there were ſlaine in that battell, eleuen thouſand and three hundred of the THVSCANS: and of the ROMAINES, ſo many ſauing one. This battell was fought (as they ſaye) the laſt daye of Februarie, and the Conſul *Valerius* triumphed, being the firſt of the Conſuls that euer entered into ROME triumphing vpon a charet drawen with foure horſes, which ſight the people found honorable & goodly to beholde, & were not offended withall (as ſome ſeeme to reporte) nor yet dyd enuy him for that he beganne it. For if it had bene ſo, that cuſtome had not bene followed with ſo good acceptatiō, nor had cōtinued ſo many yeres as it dyd afterwards. They much commended alſo the honour he dyd to his fellowe Conſul *Brutus*, in ſetting out his funeralles & obſequies, at the which he made a funerall oration in his praiſe. They did ſo like & pleaſe the ROMAINES, that they haue euer ſince continued that cuſtome at the buriall of any noble man, or great perſonage, that he is openly praiſed at his buriall, by the worthieſt man that liueth among them. They reporte this funerall oration is farre more auncient then the firſt, that was made in GRECE in the like caſe: onles they will confirme that which the orator *Anaximenes* hath written, that the manner of praiſing the dead at their funeralls, was firſt of all inſtituted by *Solon*. But they dyd moſt enuye *Valerius*, and beare him grudge, bicauſe *Brutus* (whom the people did acknowledge for father of their libertie) would neuer be alone in office, but had procured twiſe, that they ſhould appoint *Valerius* fellowe Conſul with him. This man in contrariwiſe (ſayed the people) taking vpon him alone the rule & ſoueraintie, ſheweth plainely he will not be *Brutus* ſucceſſour in his Conſulſhippe, but *Tarquinius* ſelf in the Kingdome. For to great purpoſe was it to praiſe *Brutus* in wordes, & to followe *Tarquinius* in deedes: hauing borne before him ſelfe only all the maſes, the axes and the roddes, when he cometh abroade out of his owne houſe, which is farre greater, and more ſtately, then the Kings palace which he him ſelf ouerthrewe. And to ſaye truely, *Valerius* dwelt in a houſe a litle to ſumptuouſly built & ſeated, vpon the hāging of the hill called mount Velia: & bicauſe it ſtoode highe, it ouerlooked all the market place, ſo that any man might eaſely ſee from thence what was done there. Furthermore, it was very ill to come to it: but when he came out of his houſe, it was a maruelous pompe and ſtate to ſee him come downe from ſo highe a place, & with a traine after him, that caried the maieſtie of a Kings courte. But herein *Valerius* left a noble example, ſhewing howe much it importeth a noble man & magiſtrate, ruling weighty cauſes, to haue his eares open to heare, and willingly to receyue free ſpeache in ſteade of flatteries, & playne trothe in place of lyes. For, being enformed by ſome of his frieds how the people miſliked & complained of it, he ſtoode not in his owne conceit, neither was angrie with them: but forthwith ſet a worlde of workmen vpon it, earely in the morning before breake of daye, & cōmaunded them to plucke down his houſe, & to raſe it to the ground. Inſomuch as the next day following, whē the ROMAINES were gathered together in the market place, & ſawe this great ſodaine ruine, they much commended the noble acte & minde of *Valerius*, in doing that he dyd: but ſo were they angrie, and ſorie both, to ſee ſo fayer and ſtately a buylt houſe (which was an ornament to the cittie) ouerthrowen vpon a ſodaine. Much like in compariſon to a man, whom through ſpite and enuie they had vniuſtly put to death: and to ſee their chief magiſtrate alſo like a ſtraunger and a vacabonde, compelled to ſeeke his lodging in another mans houſe. For his friends receyued him into their houſes, vntill ſuch time as the people had geuen him a place, where they dyd build him a newe houſe, farre more orderly, and nothing ſo ſtately and curious as the firſt was, and it was in the ſame place, where the temple called *Vicus Publicus* ſtandeth at this daye. Now bicauſe he would not only reforme

The victory of the Romaines againſt the Thuſcans.

Valerius the firſt Conſul that euer triumphed vpon a charret.

The firſt beginning of funerall oration amōg the Romaines.

Anaximenes ſayeth, Solon was the firſt that inſtituted prayſes for the dead.

Valerius ſtately houſe ſtāding on moūt Velia.

Valerius a good example for magiſtrates.

Valerius ouerthrew his ſtately houſe.

The temple called Vicus Publicus.

A reforme his perſone, but the office of his Conſulſhippe, & alſo would frame him ſelfe to the good acceptation and liking of the people: where before he ſeemed vnto them to be feareſull, he put awaye the carying of the axes from the roddes, which the ſergeants vſed to beare before the Conſul. Moreouer when he came into the market place, where the people were aſſembled, he cauſed the roddes to be borne downewardes, as in token of reuerence of the ſoueraine maieſtie of the people: which all the magiſtrates obſerue yet at this daye. Nowe in all this humble ſhowe and lowlines of his, he dyd not ſo much imbaſe his dignitie and greatnes, which the common people thought him to haue at the firſt: as he dyd thereby cut of enuie from him, winning againe as much true authoritie, as in ſemblaunce he would ſeeme to haue loſt. For this made the people willinger to obey, and readier to ſubmit them
B ſelues vnto him: inſomuch as vpon this occaſion he was ſurnamed *Publicola*, as much to ſaye, as the people pleaſer. Which ſurname he kept euer after, and we from henceforth alſo writing the reſt of his life, will vſe no other name: for he was contented to ſuffer any man that would, to offer him ſelfe to aske the Conſulſhippe in *Brutus* place. But he yet not knowing what kynde of man they would ioyne fellowe Conſul with him, and fearing leaſt through enuie or ignoraunce, the party might thwart his purpoſe and meaning: employed his ſole power and authoritie whileſt he ruled alone, vpon highe and noble attempts. For firſt of all he ſupplied vp the number of Senatours that were greatly decayed, bicauſe king *Tarquine* had put ſome of them to death not long before, and other alſo had bene lately ſlaine in the warres: in whoſe places he had choſen newe Senatours, to the number of a hundred three
C ſcore and foure. After that, he made newe decrees and lawes, which greatly dyd aduaunce the authoritie of the people. The firſt lawe gaue libertie to all offendours, condemned by iudgement of the Conſuls, to appeale vnto the people. The ſecõd, that no man vpon payne of death ſhould take vpon him the exerciſe of any office, vnles he had come vnto it by the gifte of the people. The third was, and all in fauour of the poore, that the poore cittizens of ROME ſhould paye no more cuſtome, nor any impoſt whatſoeuer. This made euery man the more willing to geue him ſelfe to ſome craſte or occupation, when he ſawe his trauaill ſhould not be taxed, nor taken from him. As for the law that he made againſt thoſe that diſobeyed the Conſuls, it was founde to be ſo fauorable to the communaltie, as they thought it was rather made for the poore, than for the riche & great men. For the offendours & breakers of that lawe, were con-
D demned to paye for a penaltie, the value of fiue oxen, and two muttons. The price of a mutton was then, tenne oboles, and of an oxe, a hundred oboles. For in thoſe dayes, the ROMAINES had no ſtore of coined mony, otherwiſe, they lacked no ſheepe, nor other rother beaſts. Hereof it came, that to this daye they call their riches or ſubſtaunce, *Peculium*, bicauſe *Pecus* ſignifieth ſheepe and muttons. And in the olde time the ſtampe vpon their money was an oxe, a mutton, or a hogge: & ſome of them called their children *Bubulci*, which ſignifieth cowheards: others *Caprarij*, to ſaye goateheards: and others *Porcij*, as you would ſaye, ſwineheardes. Nowe though in all his other lawes, he was very fauorable & temperate toward the people: yet in that moderation, ſomtimes he dyd ſet grieuous paynes & puniſhements. For he made it lawfull to kill any man without any accuſation, that dyd aſpire to the Kingdome, & he dyd ſet the
E murderer free of all puniſhement: ſo he brought forth manifeſt proofe, that the parry ſlaine, had practiſed to make him ſelfe King. As being impoſſible a man ſhould pretend ſo greata matter, and no man ſhould finde it: and contrariwiſe being poſſible, albeit he were ſpyed, that otherwiſe he might attempt it, by making him ſelfe ſo ſtrong, that he needed not paſſe for the law. In this caſe he gaue euery man libertie by ſuch acte or meane, to preuent him if he could of diſcretion: who by ſtrength otherwiſe ſought to aſpire to reigne. They greatly commended him alſo for the lawe that he made touching the treaſure. For being very neceſſarie that euerie priuate cittizen ſhould according to his abilitie, be contributer to the charges and maintenaunce of the warres: he him ſelf would neither take ſuch collection into his charge, nor ſuffer any man of his to medle with the ſame, nor yet that it ſhould be layed in any priuate
F mans houſe, but he dyd ordeine that *Saturnes* tẽple ſhould be the treaſurie thereof. This order they keepe to this preſent daye. Furthermore, he graũted the people to chuſe two young men *Queſtores* of the ſame, as you would ſaye the treaſurers, to take the charge of this money:

Why Valerius was ſurnamed Publicola.

Publicolaes actes and lawes.

Whereof Peculium was called.

The firſt Queſtores.

Publius Veturius, Marc. Minutius.

and the two firſt which were choſen, were *Publius Veturius*, and *Marcus Minutius*, who gathered great ſummes of money together. For numbring the people by the polle, there were found a hundred and thirtie thouſand perſones which had payed ſubſidie, not reckoning in this accompt, orphanes, nor widowes, which were excepted from all payments. After he had eſtabliſhed all theſe things, he cauſed *Lucretius* (the father of *Lucretia*) to be choſen fellowe Conſul with him, vnto whom, for that he was his auncient, he gaue the vpper hande, and commaunded they ſhould carie before him the roddes, which were the ſignes of the chief magiſtrate: and euer ſince they haue geuen this honour vnto age. But *Lucretius* dying not long after his election, they choſe againe in his place *Marcius Horatius*, who held out the Conſulſhippe with *Publicola* the reſt of the yere. Nowe about that time king *Tarquine* remained in the coũtrie of THVSCANE, where he prepared a ſecõde armie againſt the ROMAINES, & there fell out a maruelous ſtraunge thing thereupon. For when he raigned king of ROME, he had almoſt made an ende of the building of the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, and was determined (whether by any oracle receyued, or vpon any fantaſy it is not knowen) to ſet vp a coche of earth baked by a potter, in the higheſt place of the temple, and he put it out to be done by certaine THVSCAN workemen of the cittie of VEIES: but whileſt they were in hand with the worcke, he was driuen out of his Realme. When the worckemen had formed this coche, and that they had put it into the fournes to bake it, it fell out contrarie to the nature of the earth, and the common order of their worcke put into the fournes. For the earth dyd not ſhut and cloſe together in the fire, nor dryed vp all the moiſture thereof: but rather to the contrarie it dyd ſwell to ſuch a bignes, and grewe ſo harde and ſtrong withall, that they were driuen to breake vp the head and walles of the fournes to get it out. The ſootheſayers dyd expounde this, that it was a celeſtiall token from aboue, and promiſed great proſperitie and increaſe of power vnto thoſe, that ſhould enioye this coche. Whereupon the VEIANS reſolued not to deliuer it vnto the ROMAINES that demaunded it, but aunſwered that it dyd belong vnto king *Tarquine*, and not vnto thoſe that had baniſhed him. Not many dayes after, there was a ſolemne feaſt of games for running of horſes in the cittie of VEIES, where they dyd alſo many other notable actes, worthy ſight according to their cuſtome. But after the game was played, he that had wonne the bell, being crowned in token of victorie as they dyd vſe at that time, brought his coche and horſes fayer and ſoftely out of the ſhowe place: and ſodainely the horſe being affrayed vpon no preſent cauſe or occaſion ſeene, whether it was by chaunce, or by ſome ſecret working from aboue, ranne as they had bene mad with their coche to the cittie of ROME. The coche driuer dyd what he could poſſible at the firſt to ſtaye them, by holding in the raynes, by clapping them on the backs, and ſpeaking gently to them: but in the ende, perceyuing he could doe no good, and that they would haue their ſwynge, he gaue place to their furie, & they neuer linne ronning, till they brought him neere to the Capitoll, where they ouerthrewe him and his coche, not farre from the gate called at this preſent, *Ratumena*. The VEIANS woundering much at this matter, and being affrayed withall: were contented the workmen ſhould deliuer their coche made of earth vnto the ROMAINES. Now concerning *Iupiter Capitolins* temple, king *Tarquine* the firſt (which was the ſonne of *Demaratus*) vowed in the warres that he made againſt the SABYNES, that he would buyld it. And *Tarquine* the prowde, being the ſonne of him that made this vowe dyd buyld it: howbeit he dyd not conſecrate it, bicauſe he was driuen out of his Kingdome before he had finiſhed it. When this temple was built and throughly finiſhed, & ſet forth with all his ornaments: *Publicola* was maruelouſly deſirous to haue the honour of the dedication thereof. But the noble men and Senatours enuying his glorie, being very angrie that he could not content himſelfe with all thoſe honours that he had receyued in peace, for the good lawes he had made, and in warres for the victories he had obteined & well deſerued, but further that he would ſeeke the honour of this dedication, which nothing dyd pertaine vnto him: they then dyd egge *Horatius*, & perſuaded him to make ſute for the ſame. Occaſion fell out at that time, that *Publicola* muſt haue the leading of the ROMAINES armie into the field: in the meane time, while *Publicola* was abſent, it was procured that the people gaue their voyces to *Horatius*, to conſecrate the temple, knowing they could not ſo well haue brought it to paſſe he being preſent. Other

Lucretius & Publicola Conſuls.

Publicola & Marcus Horatius Cõſuls.

A B C D E F

ſaye,

A saye, the Consuls drewe lotts betweene them, and that it lighted vpon *Publicola* to leade the armie against his will, and vpon *Horatius* to consecrate this temple, which maye be coniectured by the thing that fortuned in the dedication thereof. For all the people being assembled together in the Capitoll with great silence, on the fifteenth daye of the moneth of September, which is about the newe moone of the moneth which the GRECIANS call *Metagitnion*: *Horatius* hauing done all the ceremonies needefull in suche a case, and holding then the doores of the temple, as the vse was euen to vtter the solemne wordes of dedication: *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, hauing stoode a long time there at the temple doore, to take an oportunitie to speake, beganne to say alowde in this wise. My lorde Consul, your sonne is dead of a sicknes in the campe. This made all the assembly sorie to heare it, but it nothing amased
B *Horatius*, who spake only this muche. Cast his bodie then where you will for me, the thought is taken. So he continued on to ende his consecration. This was but a deuise and nothing true, of *Marcus Valerius*, only to make *Horatius* leaue of his consecration. *Horatius* in this shewed him selfe a maruelous resolute man, were it that he streight founde his deuise, or that he beleeued it to be true: for the sodainenes of the matter nothing altered him. The very like matter fell out in consecrating of the second temple. For this first which *Tarquine* had built and *Horatius* consecrated, was consumed by fyer in the ciuill warres: and the second was built vp againe by *Sylla*, who made no dedication of it. For *Catulus* set vp the superscription of the dedication, bicause *Sylla* dyed before he could dedicate it. The second temple was burnt againe not long after the troubles and tumultes which were at ROME, vn-
C der *Vitellius* the Emperour. The third in like manner was reedified and built againe by *Vespasian*, from the ground to the toppe. But this good happe he had aboue other: to see his worke perfited and finished before his death, and not ouerthrowen as it was immediately after his death. Wherein he dyd farre passe the happines of *Sylla*, who dyed before he could dedicate that he had built: and thother deceased before he sawe his worcke ouerthrowen. For all the Capitoll was burnt to the ground incontinently after his death. It is reported the only foundations of the first temple, cost *Tarquinius* fortie thousand *Pondos* of siluer. And to gyld only the temple which we see nowe in our time, they saye all the goodes and substaunce that the richest cittizen of ROME then had, will come nothing neere vnto it: for it cost aboue twelue thousand talents. The pillers of this temple are cut out of a quarrie of mar-
D bell, called pentlike marbell, and they were squared parpine, as thicke as long: these I sawe at ATHENS. But afterwardes they were cut againe, and polished in ROME, by which doing they got not so much grace, as they lost proportion: for they were made to slender, and left naked of their first beawtie. Nowe he that would wounder at the stately buylding of the Capitoll, if he came afterwardes vnto the palace *Domitian*, and dyd but see some galerie, porche, hall, or hotte house, or his concubines chambers: he would saye (in my opinion) as the poet *Epicharmus* sayed of a prodigall man.

How oft Iupiter Capitolins temple was burnt and buils againe.

How much was spent in building the Capitoll.

It is a fault, and folly both in thee
to lashe out giftes, and prodigall rewardes:
For fonde delights, without all rule that be,
E *regarding not what happens afterwardes.*

So might they iustly saye of *Domitian*. Thou art not liberall, nor deuoute vnto the goddes: but it is a vice thou hast to loue to buyld, and desirest (as they saye of olde *Midas*) that all about thee were turned to gold, and precious stones. And thus much for this matter. *Tarquine* after that great foughten battell wherein he lost his sonne (that was slaine by *Brutus* in fighting together hande to hande) went to the cittie of CLVSIVM, vnto king *Clarus Porsena*: the mightiest prince that raigned at that time in all ITALIE, and was both noble and a curteous prince. *Porsena* promised him ayde: & first of all he sent to ROME to summone the cit-
F tizens to receiue their King againe. But the ROMANES refusing the summones, he sent forthwith an Heraulde to proclaime open warres against them, and to tell them where, and when he would meete them: and then marched thitherwardes immediatly with a great armie. *Publicola* nowe being absent, was chosen Consul the second time, and *Titus Lucretius*

Domitians mad building humor.

Porsena proclaimeth warres with Rome.

Publicola & Titus Lucretius Consuls.

with him. When he was returned home againe to ROME, bicause he would exceede king *Porsena* in greatnes of minde, he begāne to buyld a cittie called SIGLIVRIA, euen when the King with all his armie was not farre frō ROME: & hauing walled it about to his maruelous charge, he sent thither seuen hundred cittizens to dwell there, to shewe that he made litle accompt of this warre. Howbeit *Porsena* at his coming dyd geue suche a lustie assault to the mount *Ianiculum*, that they draue out the souldiers which kept the same: who flying towards ROME, were pursued so harde with the enemies, that with them they had entered the towne, had not *Publicola* made a saly out to resist them. Who beganne a hotte skirmishe harde by the riuer of Tyber, & there sought to haue stayed the enemies to follow any further: which being the greater number, dyd ouerlaye the ROMAINES, & dyd hurte *Publicola* very sore in this skirmishe, so as he was caried away into the cittie in his souldiers armes. And euē so was the other Cōsul *Lucretius* hurte in like case: which so discoraged & frayed the ROMAINES, that they all tooke thē to their legges, & fled towards the cittie. The enemies pursued them at their heeles as farre as the wodden bridge: so that the cittie was in maruelous hazarde of taking vpon the sodaine. But *Horatius Cocles*, & *Herminius*, and *Lucretius*, two other of the chiefest noble young men of the cittie, stood with them to the defence of the bridge, & made head against the enemie. This *Horatius* was surnamed *Cocles* (as much to saye, as one eye) bicause he had lost one of them in the warres. Howbeit other writers saye, it was bicause of his flat nose which was so soncke into his head, that they sawe nothing to parte his eyes, but that the eye browes dyd meete together: by reason whereof the people thinking to surname him *Cyclops*, by corruption of the tōgue they called him (as they saye) *Cocles*. But howsoeuer it was, this *Horatius Cocles* had the courage to shew his face against the enemie, & to kepe the bridge, vntill such time as they had cut & broken it vp behind him. When he saw they had done that, armed as he was, & hurte in the hippe with a pike of the THVSCANS, he leaped into the riuer of Tyber, and saued him selfe by swimming vnto the other side. *Publicola* woundring at this manly acte of his, persuaded the ROMAINES straight, euery one according to his abilitie, to giue him so much as he spent in a daye: & afterwards also he caused the common treasury to geue him as much lande as he could compasse about with his plowe in a daye. Furthermore he made his image of brasse to be set vp in the temple of *Vulcane*, comforting by this honour his wounded hippe, whereof he was lame euer after. Nowe whilest king *Porsena* was hottely bent, very straightly to besiege ROME, there beganne a famine among the ROMAINES: & to encrease the daunger, there came a newe armie out of THVSCANE, which ouerranne, burnt, and made waste, all the territorie of ROME. Whereupon *Publicola* being chosen Consul, then the third time, thought he should neede to doe no more to resist *Porsena* bruely, but to be quiet only, & to looke well to the safe keeping of the cittie. Howbeit spying his oportunity, he secretly stole out of ROME with a power, & did set vpon the THVSCANS that destroyed the countrie about: & ouerthrew & slue of them, fiue thousand men. As for the historie of *Mutius*, many doe diuersely reporte it: but I will write it in such sorte, as I thincke shall best agree with the trothe. This *Mutius* was a worthie man in all respects, but specially for the warres. He deuising howe he might come to kill king *Porsena*, disguised him selfe in THVSCANS apparell, and speaking Thuscan very perfectly, went into his campe, and came to the Kings chayer, in the which he gaue audience: and not knowing him perfectly, he durst not aske which was he, least he should be discouered, but drue his sworde at aduenture, & slewe him whom he tooke to be King. Vpon that they layed holde on him, & examined him. And a panne full of fire being brought for the King that entēded to doe sacrifice vnto the goddes, *Mutius* held out his right hand ouer the fire, and boldly looking the King full in his face, whilest the flesh of his hand dyd frye of, he neuer chaunged hewe nor contenaunce: the King woundering to see so straunge a sight, called to them to withdraw the fire, and he him selfe dyd deliuer him his sworde againe. *Mutius* tooke it of him with his left hand, whereupon they saye afterwardes, he had geuen him the surname of *Scæuola*, as much to saye, as left handed, and told him in taking of it, Thou couldest not *Porsena* for feare haue ouercomed me, but nowe through curtesy thou hast wonne me. Therefore for goodwill I will reueale that vnto thee, which no force, nor extremitie could haue made me vtter. There are three hundred ROMAINES dispersed through thy campe, all which are prepared with like

Horatius Cocles why so called.

Good seruice rewarded.

Publicola Consul.

The noble acte of Mutius Scæuola.

How Mutius came by the name of Scæuola.

A like mindes to followe that I haue begonne, only gaping for oportunitie to put it in practise. The lot fell on me to be the firſt to breake the Iſe of this enterpriſe: & yet I am not ſorie my hande fayled, to kill ſo worthie a man, that deſerueth rather to be a friend, then an enemie vnto the Romaines. *Porſena* hearing this, did beleeue it, & euer after he gaue the more willing eare to thoſe that treated with him of peace: not ſo much (in my opinion) for that he feared the three hundred lying in waite to kill him, as for the admiration of the Romaines noble minde and great corage. All other writers call this man, *Mutius Scæuola*: howbeit *Athenodorus*, ſurnamed *Sandon*, in a booke he wrote vnto *Octauia*, *Auguſtus* ſiſter, ſayeth that he was alſo called *Opſig onus*. But *Publicola* taking king *Porſena* not to be ſo daũgerous an enemie to Rome, as he ſhould be a profitable friẽd & allie to the ſame: let him vnderſtand, that he was cõtẽted to

B make him iudge of the controuerſie betweene them & *Tarquine*. Whom he dyd many times prouoke to come & haue his cauſe heard before king *Porſena*, where he would iuſtifie to his face, that he was the naughtieſt & moſt wicked man of the world, & that he was iuſtly driuen out of his countrie. *Tarquine* ſharpely aunſwered, that he would make no man his iudge, and *Porſena* leaſt of all other, for that hauing promiſed him to put him againe in his Kingdom, he was nowe gone from his worde, and had chaunged his minde. *Porſena* was very angrie with this aunſwer, iudging this a manifeſt token that his cauſe was ill. Wherefore *Porſena* being ſolicited againe by his owne ſonne *Aruns*, who loued the Romaines, dyd eaſely graunte them peace vpon condition: that they ſhould redeliuer backe againe to him the lands they had gotten before within the countrie of Thvscan, with the priſoners alſo which they had taken in

C this warre, & in liew thereof he offered to deliuer to them againe the Romaines, that had fled from them vnto him. To confirme this peace, the Romaines deliuered him oſtages, tenne of the nobleſt mens ſonnes of the cittie, & ſo many of their daughters: emõg which, was *Valeria*, *Publicolaes* owne daughter. Peace being thus concluded, *Porſena* brake his armie, & withdrewe his ſtrength, truſting to the peace cõcluded. The Romaines daughters deliuered for oſtages, came downe to the riuers ſide to waſhe them, in a quiet place where the ſtreame ranne but gently, without any force or ſwiftnes at all. When they were there, and ſaw they had no garde about them, nor any came that waye, nor yet any botes going vp nor down the ſtreame: they had a deſire to ſwime ouer the riuer, which rãne with a ſwift ſtreame, & was maruelous deepe. Some ſaye, that one *Clælia* ſwamme the riuer vpon her horſe backe, & that ſhe did imbolden

D & incorage the other to ſwimme hard by her horſe ſide: & recouering the other bancke, and being paſt all daunger, they went & preſented them ſelues before *Publicola* the Conſul. Who neither commended them, nor liked the parte they had played, but was maruelous ſorie, fearing leaſt men would iudge him leſſe carefull to keepe his faith, then was king *Porſena*: & that he might ſuſpect the boldnes of theſe maidens, was but a crafty ſlight deuiſed of the Romaines. Therefore he tooke them all againe, & ſent them immediatly vnto king *Porſena*. Whereof *Tarquine* hauing intelligence, he layed an ambuſhe for them, that had the conduction of them. Who ſo ſoone as they were paſte the riuer, did ſhew them ſelues, & brake vpon the Romaines: they being farre fewer in number than the other, did yet very ſtowtely defend them ſelues. Now whileſt they were in earneſt fight together, *Valeria Publicolaes* daughter, and

E three of her fathers ſeruants, eſcaped through the middeſt of them, and ſaued them ſelues. The reſidue of the virgines remained in the middeſt among their ſwordes, in great daunger of their liues. *Aruns* king *Porſenas* ſonne aduertiſed hereof, ranne thither incõtinently to the reſcue: but when he came, the enemies fled, and the Romaines held on their iorney to redeliuer their oſtages. *Porſena* ſeeing them againe, asked which of them it was that beganne firſt to paſſe the riuer, and had encouraged the other to followe her. One pointed him vnto her, and told him her name was *Clælia*. He looked vpon her very earneſtly, and with a pleaſaunt countenaunce, and commaunded they ſhould bring him one of his beſt horſe in the ſtable, and the richeſt furniture he had for the ſame, and ſo he gaue it vnto her. Thoſe which holde opinion that none but *Clælia* paſſed the riuer a horſe backe, doe alledge this to proue

F their opinion true. Other doe denie it, ſaying that this Thvscan king, did onely honour her noble courage. Howſoeuer it was, they ſee her image a horſe backe in the holy ſtreete, as they goe to the palace: & ſome ſaye it is the ſtatue of *Valeria*, other of *Clælia*. After *Porſena*

Publicola maketh Porſena iudge, betwext them and the Tarquines.

Peace graunted the Romaines by Porſena.

The boldenes of Clælia and other Romaine virgines.

The liberalitie of king Porſena to the Romaines.

had made peace with the ROMAINES, in breaking vp his campe, he ſhewed his noble minde vnto them in many other things, and ſpecially in that he commaunded his ſouldiers they ſhould carie nothing but their armour and weapon only, leauing his campe full of corne, vittells, and other kynde of goodes. From whence this cuſtome came, that at this daye when they make open ſale of any thing belonging to the common weale, the ſergeant or common crier crieth, that they are king *Porſenas* goodes, and taken of thankefullnes and perpetuall memorie of his bowntie and liberalitie towards them. Further, *Porſenas* image ſtandeth adioyning to the palace where the Senate is vſed to be kept, which is made of great antike worke. Afterwardes the SABYNES inuading the ROMAINES territorie with a great force, *Marcus Valerius Publicolaes* brother, was then choſen Conſul, with one *Poſthumius Tubertus*. Howbeit all matters of weight and importaunce paſſed by *Publicolaes* counſell and authoritie, who was preſent at any thing that was done: and by whoſe meanes *Marcus* his brother, wanne two great battells, in the laſt whereof he ſlewe thirteene thouſand of his enemies, not loſing one of his owne men. For which his victories, beſides the honour of triumphe he had, the people alſo at their owne charges, built him a houſe, in the ſtreete of mounte Palatine, and graunted him moreouer that his doore ſhould open outwards into the ſtreete, where all others mens doores dyd open inwards into their houſe: ſignifying by graunte of this honour and priuiledge, that he ſhould allwayes haue benefit by the common weale. It is reported that the GRECIANS doores of their houſes in olde time, dyd all open outwards after that facion, & they doe cõiecture it by the comedies that are played. Where thoſe that would goe out of their houſes, dyd firſt knocke at their doores, and make a noyſe within the houſe, leaſt in opening their doore vpon a ſodaine, they might ouerthrowe or hurte him that taried at the ſtreete doore, or paſſed by the waye: who hearing the noyſe, had warning ſtraight to auoyde the daunger. The next yere after that, *Publicola* was choſen Conſul the fourth time, bicauſe they ſtoode in great doubt that the SABYNES and LATINES would ioyne together to make warres vpon them: beſides all this, there was a certaine ſuperſtitious feare ranne through the cittie, of ſome ill happe toward it, bicauſe moſt parte of the women with childe were deliuered of vnperfect children, lacking ſome one limme or other, & all of them came before their time. Wherfore *Publicola* looking in ſome of *Sybillaes* bookes, made priuate ſacrifice vnto *Pluto*, & did ſet vp againe ſome feaſtes & ſolemne games that were left of, & had bene commaunded before time to be kept by the oracle of *Apollo*. Theſe meanes hauing a litle reioyced the cittie with good hope, bicauſe they thought that the anger of the goddes had bene appeaſed: *Publicola* then begãne to prouide for the daũgers that they were threatned withall by men, for that newes was brought him that their enemies were vp in all places, & made great preparation to inuade them. Nowe there was at that time amongeſt the SABYNES, a great riche man called *Appius Clauſius*, very ſtrong and actiue of bodie, & otherwiſe a man of great reputation & eloquence, aboue all the reſt of his countrie men: but notwithſtãding, he was much enuied, and could not auoyde it, being a thing common to great men. He went about to ſtaye thoſe intended warres againſt the ROMAINES. Whereupon, many which before tooke occaſion to murmure againſt him, dyd nowe much more increaſe the ſame: with ſaying he ſought to mainteine the power of the ROMAINES, that afterwards by their ayde he might make him ſelfe tyranne & King of the countrie. The common people gaue eaſy eare vnto ſuch ſpeaches, & *Appius* perceyuing well enough how the ſouldiers hated him deadly, he feared they would complaine, & accuſe him. Wherefore being well backed & ſtoode to by his kynſemen, friends, and followers, he practiſed to make a ſturre among the SABYNES, which was the cauſe of ſtaying the warres againſt the ROMAINES. *Publicola*, alſo for his parte was very diligẽt, not only to vnderſtãd the originall cauſe of his ſedition, but to feede on further & increaſe the ſame, hauing gotten men meete for the purpoſe, which caried *Appius* ſuch a meſſage from him. That *Publicola* knewe very well he was a iuſt man, and one that would not be reuenged of his cittizens, to the generall hurte of his countrie, although the iniuries he receyued at their hands, deliuered him iuſt occaſion to doe it: neuertheles if he had any deſire to prouide for his ſafety and to repaire to ROME, leauing them which cauſeles wiſhed him ſo muche euill, they would both openly and priuately receyue him with that due honour which his ver-

Marcus Valerius, Poſthumius Tubertus Conſuls.

Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, triumpheth of the Sabynes.

tue

A tue deſerued and the worthines of the ROMAINE people required. *Clauſus* hauing long and many times conſidered this matter with him ſelfe, reſolued that it was the beſt waye he could take, making vertue of neceſſitie: & therefore being determined to doe it, he dyd procure his friends to doe as he dyd, & they got other alſo vnto them, ſo that he brought awaye with him out of the countrie of the SABYNES, fiue thouſand families with their wiues and children (of the quieteſt and moſt peacible people among the SABYNES) to dwel at ROME. *Publicola* being aduertiſed thereof before they came, dyd receyue them at their comming to ROME with great ioye, and all manner of good curteous enterteinment. For at their firſt coming, he made them all and their families free cittizens, & aſſigned vnto euery perſone of them two iugera of lande, (which cõteined one acre, one roode, eleuen pole, & 69. partes of a pole) by the riuer of Tyber:

Appius Clauſius goeth to dwel at Rome.

B & vnto *Appius* ſelf he gaue him 25. iugera (to wit, 16. acres & 4. pole, 16. acres & a halfe, 4. pole & 76. partes of a pole) & receiued him into the nũber of the Senatours. And thus came he firſt vnto the gouernment of the common weale in ROME, where he did ſo wiſely behaue him ſelf, that in the end he came to be the chiefeſt man of dignitie & authoritie in ROME, ſo long as he liued. After his death, he left behind him the familie of the *Claudians*, deſcẽding frõ him: which for honour, and worthines, gaue no place to the nobleſt familie in ROME. But nowe the ſedition amongeſt the SABYNES being pacified, by the departure of thoſe that were gone to ROME: the ſeditious gouernours would not ſuffer thoſe that remained to liue in peace, but ſtill cried out, it were to much ſhame for them, that *Clauſius* being a fugitiue, and become an enemie, ſhould honour their enemies abroade, that being preſent durſt not ſhewe ſo much at

The familie of the Claudians.

C home, and that the ROMAINES ſhould ſcape vnreuenged, who had done them ſuch apparant wronges. So they raiſed great force and power, and went and encamped with their armie neere the cittie of FIDENES, and layed an ambuſhe harde by ROME, in certen hidden and hollowe places, where they put a two thouſand choyce footemen, very well armed, and dyd appoint the next morning to ſend certaine light horſe men to runne and praye to ROME gates: commaunding them, that when the ROMAINES came out of the cittie to charge them, they ſhould ſeeme leyſurely to retire, vntill they had drawen them within daunger of their ambuſh. *Publicola* receyuing full intelligence of all their intention, by a traytour that fled from them vnto him, made due preparation to encounter with their priuie ambuſhe, and ſo deuided his armie in two partes: for he gaue his ſonne in lawe *Poſthumius Balbus*, three thouſand footemen,

D whom he ſent awaye by night, commaunding them the ſame night to take the hilles, in the bottome whereof the SABYNES were layed in ambuſhe. *Lucretius*, fellowe Conſull with *Publicola*, hauing the lighteſt and luſtieſt men of the cittie, was appointed to make head againſt the vaũtcurriers of the SABYNES, that minded to approche the gates. And *Publicola* with the reſt of the armie, marched a great compaſſe about to incloſe his enemies behinde. The next morning betimes, by chaunce it was a thick miſte, & at that preſent time *Poſthumius* coming down from the hilles, with great ſhowtes, charged them that laye in ambuſh. *Lucretius* on the other ſide, ſet vpon the light horſemen of the SABYNES: & *Publicola* fell vpon their campe. So that of all ſides the SABYNES enterpriſe had very ill ſucceſſe, for they had the worſt in euery place, & the ROMAINES killed them flying, without any turning againe to make reſiſtance. Thus the

E place which gaue them hope of beſt ſafety, turned moſt to their deadly ouerthrowe. For euery one of their companies ſuppoſing the other had bene whole & vnbroken, when a charge was geuen vpon them, dyd ſtraight breake, & neuer a company of them turned head toward their enemie. For they that were in the campe, ranne toward them which laye in ambuſhe: & thoſe which were in ambuſhe on the contrarie ſide, ranne towards them that were in cãpe. So that in flying, the one met with the other, and founde thoſe, towards whom they were flying to haue bene ſafe, to ſtand in as much neede of helpe as them ſelues. That which ſaued ſome that were not ſlaine, was the cittie of FIDENES, which was neere the campe, and ſpecially ſaued thoſe which fled thither. But ſuch as came ſhorte of the cittie, and could not in time recouer it, were all ſlaine in the fielde, or taken priſoners. As for the glorie of this ho-

The Sabynes ſlaine.

F norable victorie, albeit the ROMAINES were wonte to aſcribe all ſuche great notable matters to the ſpeciall prouidence and grace of the goddes, yet at that time notwithſtanding they dyd iudge, that this happy ſucceſſe fell out by the wiſe foreſight and valliantnes

of the captaine. For euery man that had ſerued in this iorney, had no other talke in his mouth, but that *Publicola* had deliuered their enemies into their handes, lame, and blinde, and as a man might ſaye, bounde hande and feete to kill them at their pleaſure. The people were maruelouſly enriched by this victorie, aſwell for the ſpoile, as for the ranſome of the priſoners that they had gotten. Nowe *Publicola* after he had triumphed, and left the gouernment of the cittie to thoſe, which were choſen Conſuls for the yere following: dyed incontinently, hauing liued as honorably and vertuouſly all the dayes of his life, as any man liuing might doe. The people then tooke order for his funeralles, that the charges thereof ſhould be defrayed by the cittie, as if they had neuer done him any honour in his life, and that they had bene ſtill debters vnto him for the noble ſeruice he had done vnto the ſtate and common weale whileſt he liued. Therefore towardes his funeralle charges, euery cittizen gaue a pece of money called a Quatrine. The women alſo for their parte, to honour his funeralles, agreed among them ſelues to mourne a whole yere in blackes for him, which was a great and honorable memoriall. He was buried alſo by expreſſe order of the people, within the cittie, in the ſtreate called Velia: and they graunted priuiledge alſo vnto all his poſteritie, to be buried in the ſelfe ſame place. Howbeit they doe no more burie any of his there. But when any dye, they bring the corſe vnto this place, and one holding a torche burning in his hande, doth put it vnder the place, and take it ſtraight awaye againe, to ſhewe that they haue libertie to burie him there, but that they willingly refuſe this honour: and this done, they carie the corſe awaye againe.

The death of Publicola.

His funeralles.

THE COMPARISON OF *Solon with Publicola.*

NOW E preſently to compare theſe two perſonages together, it ſeemeth they both had one vertue in them: which is not founde in any other of their liues which we haue written of before. And the ſame is, that the one hath bene a witnes, and the other a follower of him, to whom he was like. So as the ſentence that *Solon* ſpake to king *Cræſus*, touching *Tellus* felicitie & happines, might haue better bene applied vnto *Publicola*, than to *Tellus*: whom he iudged to be very happy, bicauſe he dyed honorably, he had liued vertuouſly, and had left behinde him goodly children. And yet *Solon* ſpeaketh nothing of his excellencie, or vertue, in any of his poemes: neither dyd he euer beare any honorable office in all his time, nor yet left any children that caried any great fame or renowme after his death. Whereas *Publicola* ſo long as he liued, was allwayes the chief man amongeſt the ROMAINES, of credit and authoritie: and afterwards ſince his death, certaine of the nobleſt families, and moſt auncient houſes of ROME, in theſe our dayes, as the *Publicoles*, the *Meſſales*, and

Publicola happie.

A & the VALERIANS for six hundred yeres continuance, doe referre the glorie of the nobilitie & auncietie of their house vnto him. Furthermore, *Tellus* was slaine by his enemies, fighting valliantly like a worthy honest man. But *Publicola* died after he had slaine his enemies: which is farre more great good happe, then to be slaine. For after he as generall had honorably serued his country in the warres, & had left them conquerers, hauing in his life time receyued all honours & triumphes due vnto his seruice: he attained to that happy end of life, which *Solon* accompted & esteemed, most happy & blessed. Also in wishing manner, he would his end should be lamented to his prayse, in a place where he confuteth *Mimnermus*, about the continuaunce of mans life, by saying:

Let not my death vvithout lamenting passe,
B *but rather let my friendes bevvayle the same:*
VVhose grieuous teares, and cries of out alas,
maye ofte resound the Eccho of my name.

If that be good happe, then most happy maketh he *Publicola*: for at his death, not only his friends and kinsefolkes, but the whole cittie also, and many a thousand persone besides, dyd bitterly bewayle the losse of him. For all the women of ROME dyd mourne for him in blacks, and dyd most pittiefully lament his death, as euery one of them had lost either father, brother, or husband.

True it is, that I couet goodes to haue:
but yet so got, as maye me not deprave.

Solon sayeth this, bicause vengeance followed ill gotten good. And *Publicola* tooke great
C heede, not only to get his goodes most iustly, but had regarde that those which he had; he spent most honestly in helping the needie. So that if *Solon* was iustly reputed the wisest man, we must needes confesse also that *Publicola* was the happiest. For what the one desired for the greatest and most perfect good, a man can haue in this worlde: the other hath wonne it, kept it, and vsed it all his life time, vntill the hower of his death. And thus hath *Solon* honoured *Publicola*, and *Publicola* hath done like vnto *Solon*, shewing him self a perfect example and looking glasse, where men maye see howe to gouerne a popular state: when he made his Consulshippe voyde of all pride & stately shewe, and became him self affable, curteous, and beloued of euerie bodie. So tooke he profit by many of his lawes. As when he ordeined, that the people only should haue authoritie to choose and create, all common officers and magistrates,
D and that they might appeale from any iudge to the people: as *Solon* when he suffered them to appeale vnto the iudges of the people. In deede *Publicola* dyd not create any newe Senate, as *Solon* dyd: but he dyd augment the first number, with as many persones almost as there were before. He dyd also first erect the office of *Quæstores*, for keeping of all fines, taxes, and other collections of money. Bicause the chiefest magistrate, if he were an honest man, should not for so light an occasion be taken, from the care of better and more weightie affayers: and if he were wickedly geuen and ill disposed, that he should haue no such meane or occasion to worke his wicked will, by hauing the treasure of the cittie in his handes, and to commaund what he lyst. Moreouer in hating the tyrānes, *Publicola* therein was farre more sharpe & terrible. For *Solon* in his lawes punished him that went about to make him selfe tyranne, yet after
E he was conuicted thereof by lawe: but *Publicola* ordeined that they should kill him, before the lawe dyd passe on him, that sought to be King. And where *Solon* iustly, and truely vaunteth him self, that being offered to be King & Lord of ATHENS, and that with the whole consent of the cittizens: yet he dyd notwithstanding refuse it. This vaunte and glorie is as due vnto *Publicola*: who finding the dignitie of a Consul tyrannicall, he brought it to be more lowly and fauorable [illegible] people, not taking vpon him all the authoritie he might lawfully haue done. And it seemeth that *Solon* knewe before him, what was the true and direct waye to gouerne a common weale vprightly. For he sayeth in one place:

Publicola erected the office of Quæstores.

Both great and small of powver, the better vvill obaye:
if vve to litle or to much, vpon them doe not laye.

F The discharging of dettes was proper to *Solon*, which was a full confirmation of libertie. For litle preuayleth lawe to make equalitie among cittizens, when dettes doe hinder the poore people to enioye the benefit thereof. And where it seemeth that they haue most liber-

tie, as in that they maye be choſen iudges and officers to ſpeake their opinion in the counſell, A
and geue their voyces alſo: there in deede are they moſt bounde and ſubiect, bicauſe they
doe but obaye the rich, in all they doe commaund. But yet in this acte there is a thinge more
wonderfull, and worthie to be noted. That commonly diſcharging of dettes, was wont to
breede great tumultes, and ſeditions in common weales. And *Solon* hauing vſed it in a very
good time (as the phiſitian ventring a daungerous medecine) dyd appeaſe the ſedition already
begonne, and did vtterly quenche through his glorie, and the common opinion they had of
his wiſdome and vertue, all the infamie and accuſation that might haue growen of that acte.
As for their firſt entrie into the gouernment, *Solons* beginning was farre more noble. For he
went before, and followed not another: and him ſelfe alone without any others helpe, dyd put
in execution the beſt, and more parte of all his notable and goodly lawes. Yet was *Publicolaes* B
ende and death much more glorious and happie. For *Solon* before he dyed, ſawe all his comon
wealthe ouerthrowen: but *Publicolaes* common weale continued whole as he left it, vntill the
broyle of ciuill warres beganne againe among them. *Solon*, after he had made his lawes, and
written them in wodden tables, leauing them without defence of any man, went his waye im-
mediatly out of the cittie of Athens. *Publicola* abiding continually in Rome gouerning the
ſtate, dyd throughly ſtabliſhe & confirme the lawes he made. Furthermore *Solon* hauing wiſe-
ly forſeene *Piſiſtratus* practiſes, aſpiring to make him ſelfe King: he could neuer let him for
all that, but was him ſelfe ouercome and oppreſſed with the tyrannie he ſawe ſtabliſhed in his
owne ſight, and in diſpight of him. Where *Publicola* ouerthrewe and dyd put downe a mightie
Kingdome, that had continued of long time, and was throughly ſtabliſhed: his vertue and de- C
ſire being equall with *Solons*, & hauing had beſides fortune fauorable, and ſufficient power to
execute, his vertuous and well diſpoſed minde. But as for warres and marſhall deedes, there is
no compariſon to be made betweene them. For *Daimachus Plataeian*, doth not attribute the
warres of the Megarians vnto *Solon*, as we haue written it: where *Publicola* being generall
of an armie, and fighting him ſelfe in perſone, hath wonne many great battells. And as for mat-
ters of peace and ciuill gouernment, *Solon* neuer durſt preſent him ſelf openly to perſuade the
enterpriſe of Salamina, but vnder a counterfeat madnes, and as a foole to make ſporte.
Where *Publicola* taking his aduenture from the beginning, ſhewed him ſelfe without diſſimu-
lation, an open enemie to *Tarquine*, and afterwardes he reuealed all the whole conſpiracie.
And when he had bene the only cauſe and autor of puniſhing the traitours, he dyd not only D
driue out of Rome the tyrannes ſelues in perſone, but tooke from them alſo all hope of re-
turne againe. Who hauing allwayes thus nobly & valliantly behaued him ſelf, without ſhrin-
king backe, or flying from ought that required force, a manly corage, or open reſiſtaunce: dyd
yet ſhewe him ſelfe diſcreete, where wiſedome was requiſite, or reaſon and perſuaſion neede-
full. As when he conningly wanne king *Porſena*, who was a dredfull enemie vnto him, and in-
uincible by force: whom he handled in ſuch good ſorte, that he made him his friend. Perad-
uenture ſome might ſtand in this and ſaye: that *Solon* recouered the Ile of Salamina vnto
the Athenians, which they would haue loſt. *Publicola* to the contrarie, reſtored the lands
vnto *Porſena* againe, which the Romaines had conquered before, within the countrie of
Thvscan. But the times in which theſe things were done, are allwayes to be conſidered of. E
A politicke precept. For a wiſe gouernour of a Realme, and politicke man, doth gouerne diuerſely according to the
occaſions offred, taking euery thing in his time wherein he will deale. And many times, in let-
ting goe one thing, he ſaueth the whole: and in loſing a litle, he gayneth much. As *Publicola*
dyd: who loſing a litle pece of another mans countrie which they had vſurped, ſaued by that
meanes all that was aſſuredly his owne. And whereas the Romaines thought he ſhould doe
very much for them, to ſaue their cittie only: he got them moreouer, all the goodes that were
in their enemies cãpe, which dyd beſiege them. And in making his enemie iudge of his quar-
rell, he wãne the victorie: winning that moreouer, which he would gladly haue geuen to haue
ouercome, and haue ſentence paſſe of his ſide. For the King their enemie dyd not only make
peace with them, but dyd alſo leaue them all his furniture, prouiſion, and munition for the F
warres: euen for the vertue, manhood, and iuſtice, which the great wiſedome of this Conſul
perſuaded *Porſena* to beleeue to be, in all the other Romaines.

The ende of Publicolaes life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Themiſtocles.

A THEMISTOCLES parentage dyd litle aduaunce his glorie: for his father *Neocles* was of ſmall reputation in ATHENS, being of the hundred of *Phrear*, & tribe of *Leontis*: of his mother an allien or ſtraunger: as theſe verſes doe witneſſe,

Abrotonon I am, yborne in Thracia,
and yet this highe good happe I haue, that into Grecia:
I haue brought forth a ſonne, Themiſtocles by name,
the glorie of the Greekiſhe bloods, and man of greateſt fame.

Howbeit *Phanias* writeth, that his mother was not a THRACIAN, but borne in the countrie of CARIA: and they doe not call her *Abrotonon*, but *Euterpé*. And B *Neanthes* ſayeth furthermore, that ſhe was of HALICARNASSVS, the chiefeſt cittie of all the Realme of CARIA. For which cauſe when the ſtraungers dyd aſſemble at *Cynoſargos* (a place of exerciſe without the gate dedicated to *Hercules*, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother was a mortall woman:) *Themiſtocles* perſuaded diuers youthes of the moſt honourable houſes, to goe down with him, & to annointe them ſelues at *Cynoſargos*, conningly thereby taking away the differēce betwene the right & alien ſorte. But ſetting a parte all theſe circumſtaunces, he was no doubt allied vnto the houſe of the *Lycomedians*: for *Themiſtocles* cauſed the chappell of this familie, which is in the village of PHLYES, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be buylt vp againe at his owne charges: and as *Simonides* ſayeth, he dyd ſet it forth and enriche it with pictures. Moreouer euery man doth confeſſe it, that euen from C his childhood they dyd perceyue he was geuen to be very whotte headed, ſturring, wiſe, and of good ſpirite, and enterpriſing of him ſelfe to doe great things, and borne to rule weighty cauſes. For at ſuch dayes and howers as he was taken from his booke, and had leaue to playe, he neuer played, nor would neuer be idle, as other children were: but they allwayes founde him conning ſome oration without booke, or making it alone by him ſelfe, and the ground of his matter was euer comonly, either to defend, or accuſe ſome of his companions. Whereupon his ſchoolemaſter obſeruing him, ofte ſayed vnto him: ſuer ſome great matter hangeth ouer thy head my boye, for it cannot be choſen but that one daye thou ſhalt doe ſome notable

Cynoſargos, a place of exerciſe dedicated to Hercules.

Themiſtocles towardnes.

good thing, or ſome extreme miſchief. Therefore when they went about to teache him any A
thing, only to checke his nature, or to facion him with good manner and ciuilitie, or to ſtudie
any matter for pleaſure or honeſt paſtime: he would ſlowly and careleſly learne of them. But
if they deliuered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning ſtate: they ſawe he
would beate at it maruelouſly, and would vnderſtande more then any could of his age and ca-
riage, truſting altogether to his naturall mother wit. This was the cauſe, that being mocked af-
terwardes by ſome that had ſtudied humanitie, and other liberall ſciences, he was driuen for
reuenge and his owne defence, to aunſwer with great and ſtowte wordes, ſaying, that in deede
he could no skill to tune a harpe, nor a violl, nor to playe of a pſalterion: but if they dyd put
a cittie into his handes that was of ſmall name, weake, and litle, he knewe wayes enough how
to make it noble, ſtronge, and great. Neuertheles, *Steſimbrotus* writeth, how he went to *Ana-* B
Themiſtocles was Anaxagoras & Meliſſus ſcholler. *xagoras* ſchoole, and that vnder *Meliſſus* he ſtudied naturall philoſophie. But herein he was
greatly deceaued, for that he tooke no great hede vnto the time. For *Meliſſus* was captaine of
the SAMIANS againſt *Pericles*, at what time he dyd laye ſeige vnto the cittie of SAMOS. Now
this is true, *Pericles* was much younger then *Themiſtocles*, and *Anaxagoras* dwelt with *Pericles*
in his owne houſe. Therefore we haue better reaſon and occaſion to beleeue thoſe that write,
Mneſiphilus Phrearian. *Themiſtocles* dyd determine to followe *Mneſiphilus Phrearian*. For he was no profeſſed O-
rator, nor naturall philoſopher, as they termed it in that time: but made profeſſion of that
What wiſedome was in olde time. which then they called wiſedome. Which was no other thing, but a certen knowledge to
handle great cauſes, and an indeuour to haue a good wit and iudgment in matters of ſtate and
gouernment: which profeſſion beginning in *Solon*, dyd continue, and was taken vp from man C
to man, as a ſecte of philoſophie. But thoſe that came ſithence, haue mingled it with arte of
ſpeache, and by litle and litle haue tranſlated the exerciſe of deedes, vnto bare and curious
Howe the name of Sophiſters came vp. wordes: whereupon they were called *Sophiſters*, as who would ſaye, counterfeate wiſe men.
Notwithſtanding, when *Themiſtocles* beganne to medle with the gouernment of the common
weale, he followed much *Mneſiphilus*. In the firſt parte of his youth, his behauiour and doings
Themiſtocles youthe. were very light and vnconſtant, as one caried awaye with a raſhe head, and without any order
or diſcretion: by reaſon whereof his manners & conditions ſeemed maruelouſly to chaunge,
and oftimes fell into very ill fauored euents, as him ſelf dyd afterwards confeſſe by ſaying: that
a ragged colte oftimes proues a good horſe, ſpecially if he be well ridden, and broken as he
ſhould be. Other tales which ſome will ſeeme to adde to this, are in my opinion but fables. As D
that his father dyd diſinherite him, and that his mother for very care and ſorowe ſhe tooke to
ſee the lewde life of her ſonne, dyd kill her ſelf. For there are that write to the contrary, that his
father being deſirous to take him from dealing in gouernment, dyd goe and ſhewe him all a-
longeſt the ſea ſhore, the ſhippewracks and ribbes of olde gallyes caſt here and there, whereof
no reckoning was made, and ſayed to him: thus the people vſe their gouernours, when they
can ſerue no lenger. Howſoeuer it was, it is moſt true that *Themiſtocles* earneſtly gaue him ſelf
to ſtate, and was ſodainely taken with deſire of glorie. For euen at his firſt entrie, bicauſe he
would ſet foote before the prowdeſt, he ſtoode at pyke againſt the greateſt and mightieſt per-
The priuie grudge betwext Themiſtocles and Ariſtides. ſones, that bare the ſwaye and gouernment, and ſpecially againſt *Ariſtides*, *Lyſimachus* ſonne,
who euer encountered him, and was ſtill his aduerſarie oppoſite. Yet it ſeemeth the euil will E
he conceyued toward him, came of a very light cauſe. For they both loued *Steſilaus*, that was
borne in the cittie of TEOS, as *Ariſton* the philoſopher writeth. And after this iealouſie was
kindled betweene them, they allwayes tooke contrary parte one againſt another, not only in
their priuate likings, but alſo in the gouernment of the cõmon weale. Yet I am perſuaded, that
the difference of their manners & conditions, did much encreaſe the grudge and diſcorde be-
Ariſtides a iuſt man. twext them. For *Ariſtides* being by nature a very good man, a iuſt dealer, & honeſt of life, and
one that in all his doings would neuer flatter the people, nor ſerue his owne glorie, but rather
to the contrary would doe, would ſaye, & counſaill allwayes for the moſt benefit & cõmoditie
of the commõ weale: was oftetimes enforced to reſiſt *Themiſtocles*, & diſapoint his ambition,
being euer buſilie mouing the people, to take ſome new matter in hande. For they reporte of F
Themiſtocles ambition. him, that he was ſo inflamed with deſire of glorie, & to enterpriſe great matters, that being but
a very yoõg man at the battell of *Marathon*, where there was no talke but of the worthines of
captaine

A captaine *Miltiades* that had wonne the battell: he was found many times solitarilie there alone deuising with him self: besides, they saye he could then take no rest in the night, neither would goe to playes in the daye time, nor would keepe companie with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell them that woūdred to see him so in his muses, and chaunged, and asked him what he ayled: that *Miltiades* victorie would not let him sleepe, bicause other thought this ouerthrow at MARATHON, would haue made an end of all warres. Howbeit *Themistocles* was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therefore he daylie studied howe to preuent them, and how to see to the safetie of GREECE, & before occasion offered, he did exercise his cittie in feats of warre, foreseeing what should followe after. Wherefore, where the cittizēs of ATHENS before dyd vse to
B deuide among them selues the reuenue of their mines of siluer, which were in a parte of ATTICA called LAVRION: he alone was the first that durst speake to the people, & persuade them, that from thenceforth they should cease that distribution among them selues, & employe the money of the same in making of gallyes, to make warres against the ÆGINETES. For their warres of all GREECE were most cruell, bicause they were lords of the sea, & had so great a nūber of shippes. This persuasion drue the cittizens more easely to *Themistocles* minde, than the threatning them with king *Darius*, or the *Persians* would haue done: who were farre from them, & not feared that they would come neere vnto them. So this oportunitie taken of the hatred & iealousie betwene the ATHENIANS & the ÆGINETES, made the people to agree, of the said money to make an hundred gallyes, with which they fought against king *Xerxes*, & did
C ouercome him by sea. Now after this good beginning & successe, he wanne the cittizēs by degrees to bende their force to sea, declaring vnto them, howe by lande they were scant able to make heade against their equalles, whereas by their power at sea, they should not only defende them selues from the barbarous people, but moreouer be able to cōmaund all GREECE. Hereupon he made them good mariners, & passing sea men, as *Plato* sayeth, where before they were stowte & valliant souldiers by lande. This gaue his enemies occasion to cast it in his teethe afterwards, that he had taken away from the ATHENIANS the pike & the target, & had brought them to the bāke & the ower: & so he got the vpper hand of *Miltiades*. Who inueyed against him in that, as *Stesimbrotus* writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this sea seruice to passe, whether thereby he dyd ouerthrow the iustice of the comō weale or not, I leaue that
D to the philosophers to dispute. But that the preseruation of all GREECE stoode at that time vpō the sea, & that the gallyes only were the cause of setting vp ATHENS againe: *Xerxes* him self is a sufficient witnes, besides other proofes that might be brought thereof. For his armie by lāde being yet whole, & vnset on, when he saw his armie by sea broken, dispersed, & souncke, he fled straight vpon it, confessing as it were that he was nowe to weake to deale any more with the GREECIANS, & left *Mardonius* his lieutenant in GREECE, of purpose in my opinion, rather to let that the GREECIANS should not followe him, then for any hope he had to ouercome thē. Some write of *Themistocles*, that he was a very good husband for his own profit, & carefull to looke to his things: for he dyd spende liberally, & loued ofte to make sacrifices, & honorably to receyue & entertaine straūgers: wherefore he had good reason to be carefull to get, to defraye
E his charges. Other to the cōtrary, blame him much, that he was to nere, & miserable: for some saye, he would sell presents of meate that were geuen him. He dyd aske one *Philides* ona time, which had a brede of mares, a colte of gifte: who denying him flatly, he was so angrie, that he threatned him ere it were long he would make his house the horse of wodde, with the which TROIA was taken. Meaning couertly to let him vnderstande, that he would shortly set strife & quarrel betwext him, & his neareſt kinsemen & familliar friends. It is true that he was the most ambitious man of the world. For when he was but a youg man, & scantly knowen, he earnestly intreated one *Epicles*, borne at HERMIONNA, an excellent player of the citherne, & counted at that time the conningest man in all ATHENS at that instrument, that he would come & teache his arte at his house: and all was no more, but that many people being desirous to heare him
F playe, should aske for his house, & come thither to him. And one yere when he went vnto the feast & assembly of the playes Olympicall, he would nedes keepe open house for all commers, haue his tents richely furnished, & a great traine of seruants & all other furniture, only to con-

Themistocles perſuaded his countriemen to make gallyes.

The Athenians bēt their force to sea, by Themistocles perſuasion.

Themistocles a good husbād to looke for his profit.

Themistocles extremely ambitious.

ſtone, which he founde there by chaunce, or purpoſely brought thither for that purpoſe, where there was very good harber for ſhippes, and fit places alſo to lye in. Theſe were the wordes, that the IONIANS ſhould take the GREECIANS partes being their founders and aunceſters, & ſuch as fought for their libertie: or at the leaſt they ſhould trouble the armie of the barbarous people, & doe them all the miſchief they could, when the GREECIANS ſhould come to fight with them. By theſe words he hoped either to bring the IONIANS to take their parte, or at the leaſt he ſhould make the barbarous people iealous & miſtruſtfull of them. *Xerxes* being already entred in the vppermoſt parte of the prouince of DORICA, into the countrie of PHOCIDA, burning & deſtroying the townes & citties of the PHOCIANS: the other GREECIANS laye ſtill & ſuffered the inuaſion, notwithſtanding the ATHENIANS did requeſt them to mete with the barbarous armie in BOEOTIA, to ſaue the countrie of ATTICA, as before they had done, when they wēt by ſea to ARTEMISIVM. But they would not hearkē to it in no wiſe, & all was bicauſe they were deſirous they ſhould drawe to the ſtraite of PELOPONNESVS, and there they ſhould aſſemble the whole ſtrength and power of GREECE within the barre of the ſame, & make a ſtrong ſubſtantiall walle from the one ſea to the other. The ATHENIANS were very angrie at this deuiſe, & were half diſcoraged & out of harte, to ſee thē ſelues thus forſakē and caſt of, by the reſt of the GREECIANS. For it was out of all ſpeache that they alone ſhould fight againſt ſo many thouſands of enemies: & therefore their only remedy was, to leaue their cittie: & to get them to the ſea. The people were very vnwilling to liſten hereūto, making their reckoning it was nedeles to be carefull to ouercome, or to ſaue them ſelues, hauing once forſaken the tēples of their godds, & the graues of their parents. Wherfore *Themiſtocles* ſeeing that neither reaſon, nor mans perſuaſion could bring the people to like his opinion: he beganne to frame a deuiſe (as men doe vſe ſomtimes in tragedies) & to threaten the ATHENIANS with ſignes from heauen, with oracles & aunſwers from the goddes. And the occaſion of *Mineruaes* draggō ſerued his turne for a celeſtiall ſigne & token, which by good fortune dyd not appeare in thoſe dayes in the tēple as it was wont to doe: & the prieſts found the ſacrifices which were daylie offered to him, whole & vntouched by any. Wherefore being enformed by *Themiſtocles* what they ſhould doe, they ſpred a brute abroade amongeſt the people, that the goddeſſe *Minerua*, the protectour & defendour of the cittie, had forſaken it, pointing them the waye vnto the ſea. And againe he wanne them by a prophecie, which cōmaunded them to ſaue them ſelues in walles of wodd: ſaying, that the walles of wodd dyd ſignifie nothing els but ſhippes. And for this cauſe he ſaied, *Apollo* in his oracle called SALAMINA diuine, not miſerable nor vnfortunate, bicauſe it ſhould geue the name of a moſt happy victorie which the GREECIANS ſhould get there. And ſo at the laſt they following his counſell, he made this decree, that they ſhould leaue the cittie of ATHENS to the cuſtodie of the goddeſſe *Pallas*, that was lady & gouernour of the country, & that all thoſe which were of age to carie any weapon ſhould get thē to the gallyes: & for the reſt, that euery man ſhould ſee his wife, children, & bondmen placed in ſome ſuer place as well as he could. After this decree was paſt & authoriſed by the people, the moſt parte of them did conuey their aged fathers & mothers, their wiues & litle children, into the cittie of TROEZEN, where the TROEZENIANS receyued them very louingly & gently. For they gaue order that they ſhould be entertained of the cōmon charge, allowing them a pece, two obulos of their money a daye, & ſuffered the young children to gather fruite whereſoeuer they founde it: & furthermore dyd hier ſchoolemaſters at the charge of the cōmon wealth, to bring them vp at ſchoole. He that was the pēner of this decree, was one called *Nicagoras*. The ATHENIANS at that time, had no comō money, but the Senate of the *Areopagites* (as *Ariſtotle* ſayeth) furniſhed euery ſouldier with eight drachmas, which was the only meane that the gallyes were armed. Yet *Clidemus* writeth, that this was a crafte deuiſed of *Themiſtocles*. The ATHENIANS being come downe vnto the hauen of PIRÆA, he made as though *Pallas* tergat (on the which *Meduſus* heade was grauen) had bene loſt, & was not found with the image of the goddeſſe: and faining to ſeeke for it, he ranſacked euery corner of the gallyes, and founde a great deale of ſiluer which priuate perſones had hidden amongeſt their fardells. This money was brought out vnto the people, and by this meanes the ſouldiers that were ſhipped had wherewithall, to prouide them of neceſſary things. When time came that they were

Wodden walles ſignifie ſhipps.

The Athenians forſake Athens by Themiſtocles perſuaſion, & doe goe to the ſea.

to

A to departe the hauen, & that all the cittie of ATHENS had taken ſea: one waye it was a pittie to beholde them. Another waye it made all ſortes to wounder, that conſidered the boldnes and corage of thoſe men, which before ſent awaye their fathers, and mothers from them, and were nothing moued at the teares, cries, ſherikes, & imbraſings of their wiues, their children, & departures, but ſtowtly and reſolutely helde on their courſe to SALAMINA. Notwithſtanding, there were many olde cittizens left ſtill of neceſſitie in ATHENS, bicauſe they could not be remoued for very extreme age, which ſturred many with compaſſion toward them. There was beſides, a certen pittie that made mens harts to yerne, when they ſaw the poore doggs, beaſts, & cattell ronne vp & downe bleating, mowing, and howling out alowde after their maſters, in token of ſorowe, when they dyd imbarke. Amongeſt theſe, there goeth a ſtraunge tale of *Xan-*

B *thippus* dogge, who was *Pericles* father: which for ſorowe his maſter had left him behinde him, dyd caſt him ſelf after into the ſea, & ſwimming ſtill by the galleys ſide wherein his maſter was, he helde on to the Ile of SALAMINA, where ſo ſone as the poore curre lãded, his breath fayled him, & dyed preſently. They ſaye, at this daye the place called the doggs graue, is the very place where he was buried. Theſe were ſtraũge acts of *Themiſtocles*, that beholding the ATHENIANS ſory for the abſence of *Ariſtides*, and fearing leaſt of ſpyte he taking parte with the barbarous nation, might haue bene the ruine & diſtruction of the ſtate of GREECE, being baniſhed fiue yeres alſo before the warres, by *Themiſtocles* procurement: that he dyd ſet forth a decree, that all thoſe which had bene baniſhed for a time, might returne home againe, to doe, to ſaye, & to geue counſell to the cittizens in thoſe things, which they thought beſt for the preſeruation of

C GREECE. And alſo where *Eurybiades*, being generall of the GREECIANS whole army by ſea, for the worthines of the cittie of SPARTA, but otherwiſe a rancke coward at time of neede, would in any caſe departe from thence, & retire into the goulfe of PELOPONNESVS, where all the army of the PELOPONNESIANS was by lande aſſembled: that *Themiſtocles* withſtood him, and did hinder it all he could. At that time alſo it was, that *Themiſtocles* made ſo notable aunſwers, which ſpecially are noted, & gathered together. For when *Eurybiades* ſayed one day vnto him. *Themiſtocles*, thoſe that at playes & games doe riſe before the company, are whiſtled at. It is true, ſaid *Themiſtocles*: but thoſe that tarie laſt ſo, doe neuer winne any game. Another time *Eurybiades* hauing a ſtaffe in his hande lift it vp, as though he would haue ſtriken him. Strike & thou wilt, ſaid he, ſo thou wilt heare me. *Eurybiades* woũdring to ſee him ſo pacíẽt, ſuffered him

D then to ſaye what he would. Then *Themiſtocles* beganne to bring him to reaſon: but one that ſtoode by ſayed vnto him. *Themiſtocles*, for a man that hath neither cittie nor houſe, it is an ill parte to will others that haue, to forſake all. *Themiſtocles* turning to him, replied. We haue willingly forſaken our houſes and walles, ſayed he, cowardly beaſte that thou arte, bicauſe we would not become ſlaues for feare to loſe things, that haue neither ſoule nor life. And yet our cittie I tell thee is the greateſt of all GREECE: for it is a fleete of two hundred galleys ready to fight, which are come hither to ſaue you if you liſt. But if you will needes goe your wayes, & forſake vs the ſeconde time: you ſhall heare tell ere it be long, that the ATHENIANS haue another free cittie, & haue poſſeſſed againe as much good land, as that they haue already loſt. Theſe wordes made *Eurybiades* preſently thincke, and feare, that the ATHENIANS would

E not goe, and that they would forſake them. And as another *Eretrian* was about to vtter his reaſon againſt *Themiſtocles* opinion: he could not but aunſwer him. Alas, and muſt you my maſters talke of warres to, that are like to a Sleue? In deede you haue a ſworde, but you lacke a harte. Some write, that whileſt *Themiſtocles* was talking thus from his galley, they ſpyed an owle flying on the right hande of the ſhippes, which came to light on one of the maſtes of the galleys: and that hereupon all the other GREECIANS dyd agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by ſea. But when the fleete of their enemies ſhippes ſhewed on the coaſtes of ATTICA, harde by the hauen *Phalericus*, and couered all the riuers thereabouts, as farre as any bodie could ſee, and that king *Xerxes* him ſelfe was come in perſone with all his army by lande, to campe by the ſea ſide: ſo that his whole power both by lande

F and ſea might be ſeene in ſight: then the GREECIANS had forgotten all *Themiſtocles* goodly perſuaſions, and beganne to incline againe to the PELOPONNESIANS, conſidering how they might recouer the goulfe of PELOPONNESVS, and they dyd growe very angry, when any man

Xanthippus dogge.

The dogges graue.

Ariſtides returneth from baniſhement by Themiſtocles decree.

Notable aunſwers of Themiſtocles.

The Sleue is a fiſhe facioned like a ſworde.

went about to talke of any other matter. To be ſhorte, it was concluded that they ſhould ſayle awaye the next night following,&the maſters of the ſhippes had order geuen them to make all things readie for them to departe. *Themiſtocles* perceyuing their determination, he was maruelous angry in his minde, that the GREECIANS would thus diſperſe them ſelues a ſonder, repairing euery man to his owne cittie, and leauing the aduantage which the nature of the place,& the ſtraight of the arme of the ſea,where they laye in harber together,did offer them: and ſo he bethought him ſelfe howe this was to be holpen. Sodainely the practiſe of one *Sicinus* came into his minde, who being a PERSIAN borne, and taken priſoner before in the warres, loued *Themiſtocles* very well, and was ſchoolemaſter to his children. This *Sicinus* he ſecretly ſent vnto the king of PERSIA, to aduertiſe him that *Themiſtocles* (generall of the ATHENIANS) was very deſirous to become his maieſties ſeruaunte, and that he dyd let him vnderſtand betimes, that the GREECIANS were determined to flye: and therefore that he wiſhed him not to let them ſcape, but to ſet vpon them, whileſt they were troubled and affrayed,and farre from their army by lande, to the ende that vpon a ſodaine he might ouerthrowe their whole power by ſea. *Xerxes* ſuppoſing this intelligence came from a man that wiſhed him well, receyued the meſſenger with great ioye, and thereupon gaue preſent order to his captaines by ſea, that they ſhould imbarke their men into the other ſhippes at better leyſure, and that preſently they ſhould put out with all poſſible ſpeede, two hundred ſayle to followe the GREECIANS in the taile, to ſhut vp the foreland of the ſtraite, and to compaſſe the Iles all about, that not one of his enemies ſhippes ſhould ſcape: and ſo it fell out. Then *Ariſtides* (*Lyſimachus* ſonne) being the firſt that perceyued it, went to *Themiſtocles* tente, though he was his enemie, and through his only meanes had bene baniſhed before,as ye haue heard: and calling him out,told him how they were enuironned. *Themiſtocles*, who knewe well enough the goodnes of this man, being very glad he came at that time to ſeeke him out, declared vnto him the pollicie he had vſed by the meſſage of *Sicinus*, praying him to put to his helpe to ſtaye the GREECIANS, and to procure with him, conſidering his worde had more authoritie among them, that they would fight within the ſtraight of SALAMINA. *Ariſtides* commending his great wiſdome, went to deale with the captaines of the other gallyes, and to procure them to fight. For all this, they would not credit that he ſayed, vntill ſuch time as there arriued a galley of TENEDIENA, whereof one *Panetius* was captaine,who being ſtolen out of the hoſte of the barbarous army, brought certen newes, that the ſtraight out of doubt was ſhut vp. So that beſides the neceſſitie which dyd vrge them, the ſpight which the GREECIANS conceyued thereof,dyd prouoke them to hazard the battell. The next morning by breake of daye, king *Xerxes* placed him ſelfe on a maruelous ſteepe highe hill,from whence he might deſcerne his whole flete, and the ordering of his army by ſea, aboue the temple of *Hercules*, as *Phanodemus* writeth. Which is the narrowe waye or channell betwext the Ile of SALAMINA,and the coaſt of ATTICA: or as *Aceſtodorus* ſayeth, vpon the confines of the territories of MEGARA, aboue the pointe which they commonly call the hornes. There *Xerxes* ſet vp a throne of golde, and had about him many ſecretaries, to write all that was done in the battell. But as *Themiſtocles* was ſacrificing vnto the goddes in his galley that was admiral,they brought to him three young priſoners, fayer of complexion, richely arrayed with gold and iuells,whom they ſayed were the children of *Sandaucé* the kings ſiſter,and of prince *Autarctus*. So ſoone as *Euphrantides* the ſoothſayer had ſeene them, and at their arriuall obſerued there roſe a great bright flame out of the ſacrifice, and at the very ſelfe ſame inſtant that one on his right hand had ſneeſed: he tooke *Themiſtocles* by the hand, and willed him to ſacrifice all thoſe three priſoners vnto the god *Bacchus*, ſurnamed *Omeſtes*, as much to ſaye,as the cruell *Bacchus*: for in doing it, the GREECIANS ſhould not only be ſaued,but they ſhould haue the victorie ouer their enemies. *Themiſtocles* woundred much, to heare ſo ſtraunge and terrible a commaundement of the ſoothſayer. Neuertheles, the comon ſorte following his cuſtome,which is,to promiſe ſafety ſoner in the greateſt daungers,& moſt deſperate caſes,by ſtraunge & vnreaſonable, rather then by reaſonable and ordinary meanes: they beganne to call vpon the god with one voyce,and bringing the three priſoners neere vnto the altar,they compelled him to performe the ſacrifice in that ſorte as the ſoothſayer had appointed.

Themiſtocles ſtratageame, by the which he wanne the battell at Salamina.

Themiſtocles & Ariſtides conſent together to geue battell.

A appointed. *Phanias Lesbian*, an excellent philosopher, and well seene in stories and antiquities, reporteth this matter thus. As for the number of the shippes of the barbarous nauie: *Æschylus* the poet, in a tragedie which he intituled the PERSIANS, knowing certainely the trothe, sayeth thus:

King Xerxes had, a thousand shippes I knowve,
amongest the vvhich, tvvo hundred vvere (I trovve)
and seuen: vvhich all the rest dyd ouersayle
vvith svvifter course. This is vvithouten fayle.

Xerxes king of Persia had a thousand ships.

The ATHENIANS had nine score, in euery one of the which there were eightene souldiers, whereof foure of them were archers, and all the rest armed men. *Themistocles* also did with no
B lesse skill & wisedom choose his time & place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, vntill the hower was come, that of ordinarie custome the sea winde arose, and brought in a rough tyde within the channell, which dyd not hurt the GRÆCIAN gallyes, being made lowe and snugge, but greatly offended the PERSIAN gallyes, being highe cargged, heauie, & not yare of steredge, and made them lye sidelong to the GREECIANS, who fiercely set vpon them hauing allwayes an eye to *Themistocles* direction, that best foresawe their aduãtage. At the same time, *Ariamenes*, *Xerxes* admirall, a man of great valure and worthiest of the Kings brethern, be stowed arrowes and dartes as it were from the walles of a castell, charging the gallye of *Aminias Decelian*, and *Sosicles Pedian*, which were ioyned and grappled with him, and fiercely entring the same, was by them valliantly receyued vpon their pikes, and thrust ouer borde into
C the sea. Whose bodie floting amongest other shippewracks ARTEMISIA knowing, caused to be caried to king *Xerxes*. Nowe whilest this battell stoode in these termes, they saye that there appeared a great flame in the element, toward the cittie of ELEVSIN, and that a lowde voyce was heard through all the plaine of THRIASIA vnto the sea, as if there had bene a nũber of men together, that had songe out alowde, the holy songe of *Iacchus*. And it seemed by litle and litle, that there rose a clowde in the ayer from those which sange: that left the land, & came & lighted on the gallyes in the sea. Other affirmed, that they sawe armed men, which did reache out their hands from the Ile of ÆGINA, towards the GREECIAN gallyes: & they thought they were the ÆACIDES, for whose helpe they all prayed before the battell was begonne. The first man of the ATHENIANS that tooke any of the enemies shippes, was *Lycomedes*, a captaine of a
D gallye: who hauing takẽ very rich furniture & flagges, did afterwards cõsecrate them to *Apollo* laurell: as ye would saye victorious. The other GREECIANS in the fronte being equall in nũber with the barbarous shipps, by reason of the straightnes of the arme of the sea wherein they fought, & so straightned as they could not fight but by one & one, where by the BARBARIANS disorderly layed one another abourde, that they did hinder them selues with their ouer multitude: & in the end were so sore pressed vpon by the GREECIANS, that they were cõstrayned to flye by night, after they had fought & mainteined battell, vntil it was very darke. So the GRÆCIANS wanne that glorious & famous victorie: of the which maye truly be affirmed that, as *Simonides* sayeth:

Ariamenes Xerxes admirall.

The Grecians victorie of the Persians nauy by sea.

VVas neuer yet, nor Greeke nor Barbarous crevv
that could by sea, so many men subdevv:
E *Nor that obteind, so famous victorie*
in any fight, against their enemie.

Thus was the victorie wonne through the valliantnes and corage of those that fought that battell, but especially through *Themistocles* great policie and wisdome. After this battell *Xerxes* being mad for his losse, thought to fill vp the arme of the sea, and to passe his armie by lande, vpon a bridge, into the Ile of SALAMINA. *Themistocles*, bicause he would feele *Aristides* opinion, tolde him as they were talking together, that he thought best to goe and occupie the straight of HELLESPONT with the armie by sea, to breake the bridge of shippes which *Xerxes* had caused to be made: to the ende, said he, that we maye take ASIA into EVROPE. *Aristides* liked not this opinion. for we haue (said he) fought all this while against this barbarous
F King, who thought but to playe with vs: But if we shut him within GREECE, and bring him to fight of necessitie to saue his life: such an enemie that commaundeth so great an armie, will no more stand still as a looker on, and set at his ease vnder his golden pauilion, to see the pastime

of the battell, but will proue euerie waye, and be him ſelfe in euery place at all aſſayes to ſaue him ſelf from ſuch a ſtraight & daunger. Thus with politicke care & foreſight, he maye eaſely amend his former faulte committed by negligence, and doe well enough, when he ſhall ſee his life and Kingdome both depend vpon it. Therefore *Themiſtocles*, I would thincke not beſt to breake his bridge at all, which he hath cauſed to be made: but rather if we could, to build another to it, to driue him out of EVROPE as ſone as we could. *Themiſtocles* then replied: Seeing you thincke this were good to be done, we muſt all laye our heades together, to deuiſe, how he maye be forced to come out aſſone as we could. They breaking of with this reſolutiō, *Themiſtocles* ſent immediately one of the Kings enuches, called *Arſaces*, that was one of the gromes of his chāber, whom he found out amōgeſt the priſoners, & by him he ſent this meſſage vnto the King. That the GREECIANS hauing wōne the battell of him by ſea, had decreed in their counſell, how they would goe to the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, to breake the bridge of ſhippes he had cauſed to be made there. Whereof he thought good to aduertiſe him, for the goodwil he did beare him, and to the ende he might bethincke him betimes, to get him away to the ſea within his own dominion, and ſo paſſe backe againe into ASIA as ſone as he could; whileſt he gaue order to his allies and cōfederates, to ſtaye following him at the poope. The barbarous King vnderſtading theſe newes, was ſo affrayed, that he hoyſed away with all poſſible ſpeede. The further foreſight and great wiſdome of *Themiſtocles*, and *Ariſtides*, in marine cauſes, dyd manifeſtly appeare afterwards in the battell the GREECIANS fought before the cittie of PLATEA, againſt *Mardonius*, king *Xerxes* lieutenante: who hauing but a ſmall power of the King his ſoueraines there, dyd yet put the GREECIANS to great diſtreſſe, and in hazard to haue loſt all. Of all the townes and cities that fought in this battell, *Herodotus* writeth, that the cittie of ÆGINA wanne the fame for valliantnes aboue the reſt: & of priuate men, among the GRECIANS, *Themiſtocles* was iudged the worthieſt man: although it was ſore againſt their willes, bicauſe they enuied much his glory. For after the battell done, all the captaines being gotten into the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, and hauing ſworne vpon the altar of their ſacrifices, that they would geue their voyces after their conſciences, to thoſe they thought had beſt deſerued it: euery one gaue him ſelfe the firſt place for worthines, and the ſeconde vnto *Themiſtocles*. The LACEDÆMONIANS caried him into SPARTA, where they iudged the honour and dignitie to their admirall *Eurybiades*: but the wiſedome and pollicie they attributed to *Themiſtocles*. In token thereof they gaue him an oliue braunche, and the goodlieſt coche that was in their cittie: and moreouer they ſent three hundred of their luſty youthes to accompany him, and conducte him out of their countrie. They ſaye, at the next feaſtes and aſſembly of the playes Olympicall that were made after this victorie: when *Themiſtocles* was once come into the ſhowe place where theſe games were played, the people looked no more on them that fought, but all caſt their eyes on him, ſhewing him to the ſtraungers which knewe him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their handes dyd witneſſe howe much they eſteemed him. Whereat he him ſelfe tooke ſo great delite, that he confeſſed to his familiar friends, he then dyd reape the fruite and benefit of his ſundry and painefull ſeruices he had taken in hande, for the preſeruation of GREECE: ſo ambitious was he of nature, & couetous of honour, as we maye eaſely perceyue by certen of his dedes and notable ſayings they haue noted of him. For being choſen admirall of ATHENS he neuer diſpatched any cauſes priuate or publicke, howſoeuer they fell out, vntill the very daye of his departure, and taking ſhippe: and all bicauſe that men ſeeing him ryd much buſines at once, and to ſpeake with ſo many perſones together, they ſhould eſteeme him to be the notabler man, & of the greater authoritie. Another time he walked vpon the ſandes by the ſea ſide, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the ſea had caſt vp vpon the ſhore: and ſeing ſome of them that had on ſtill their chaynes of golde, and bracelets, he paſſed by on his waye, but ſhewed them yet to his familiar friende that followed him, and ſayed vnto him: take thou thoſe, for thou art not *Themiſtocles*. And vnto one *Antiphates*, who in his youth had bene a goodly young boye, and at that time dyd ſcornefully behaue him ſelfe vnto him, making no reckoning of him: and now that he ſawe him in authoritie came to ſee him, he ſayed. O my young ſonne, and friend: we are both euen at one time (but to late) growen wiſe. He ſayed the ATHENIANS dyd not eſteeme

Ariſtides counſell vnto Themiſtocles, for the breaking of Xerxes bridge.

Themiſtocles ſtratageame.

Themiſtocles honored aboue all the Grecians.

Themiſtocles ambition noted.

Themiſtocles ſayings.

A eſteeme of him in time of peace: but when any ſtorme of warres were towardes, and they ſtoode in any daunger, they ranne to him then, as they ronne to the ſhadowe of a plane tree, vpon any ſodaine raine: and after fayer weather come againe, they cut awaye then the braunches, and bowghes thereof. There was a man borne in the Ile of SERIPHA, who being fallen out with him, dyd caſt him in the teethe, that it was not for his worthines, but for the noble cittie wherein he was borne, that he had wonne ſuch glorie. Thou ſayeſt true ſayed he: but neither ſhould I euer haue wonne any great honour, if I had bene a SERIPHIAN, nor thou alſo if thou haddeſt bene an ATHENIAN. An other time one of the captaines of the cittie, hauing done good ſeruice vnto the common weale, made boaſt before *Themiſtocles*, and compared his ſeruice equall with his. *Themiſtocles* to aunſwer him, *A prety tale of Themiſtocles.*

B tolde him a prety tale. That the working daye brawled on a time with the holy daye, repining againſt her, that he laboured for his liuing continually, and howe ſhe dyd nothing but fill her bellie, and ſpende that they had gotten. Thou haſt reaſon ſayed the holy daye. But if I had not bene before thee, thou haddeſt not bene here nowe. And ſo, if I had not bene then: where had you my maſters bene nowe? His owne ſonne was a litle to ſawſie with his mother, and with him alſo, bearing him ſelf ouer boldely of her good will, by meanes of her cockering of him. Whereupō being merely diſpoſed, he would ſaye that his ſonne could doe more then any mā in all GREECE. For, ſayeth he, the ATHENIANS commaunde the GRÆCIANS, I commaunde the ATHENIANS, my wife commaundeth me, and my ſonne commaundeth her. Moreouer bicauſe he would be ſingular by him ſelfe aboue all other men: hauing a pece of lande he *Themiſtocles ſaying of his ſonne.*

C would ſell, he willed the crier to proclaime open ſale of it in the market place, and with all he ſhould adde vnto the ſale, that his lande laye by a good neighbour. An other time, two men being ſuters to his daughter, he preferred the honeſter before the richer, ſaying: he had rather haue to his ſonne in lawe a man that lacked goodes, then goodes to lacke a man. Theſe were *Themiſtocles* pleaſaunt conceites and aunſwers. But after he had done all theſe things we haue ſpoken of before, he tooke in hande to buylde againe the cittie and walles of ATHENS, and dyd corrupt the officers of LACEDÆMONIA with money, to the end *Themiſtocles buyld againe the walles of the cittie of Athens.*

D they ſhould not hinder his purpoſe, as *Theopompus* writeth. Or as all other ſaye when he had deceyued them by this ſubtiltie, he went vnto SPARTA as ambaſſadour, ſent thither of purpoſe vpon the complaintes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that the ATHENIANS dyd incloſe their cittie againe with walles, who were accuſed vnto the counſaill of SPARTA, by an orator called *Poliarchus*, who was ſent thither from the ÆGINETES, of purpoſe to proſecute this matter againſt the ATHENIANS. *Themiſtocles* ſtowtely denied it to them, and prayed them for better vnderſtanding of the trothe, they would ſende ſome of their men thither to ſee it. This was but a fetche only to winne by this delaye, the ATHENIANS *A ſubtile fetche of Themiſtocles.*

E ſo muche more time to rayſe vp their walles, and that the ATHENIANS ſhould keepe as oſtages for ſuertie of his perſone, thoſe they ſhould ſend to ATHENS, to bring backe the reporte thereof: and ſo it fell out. For the LACEDÆMONIANS being informed of the trothe as it was, dyd him no hurte, but diſſembling the miſliking they had to be thus abuſed by him, ſent him awaye ſafe and ſounde. Afterwardes he made them alſo mende and fortifie the hauen of PIRÆA, hauing conſidered the ſituation of the place, and all to incline *The hauen of Pirea fortified.*

F the cittie to the ſea. Wherein he dyd directly contrary to all the counſell of the auncient kings of ATHENS: who ſeeking (as they ſaye) to withdrawe their people from the ſea, and to accuſtome them to liue vpon the lande, by planting, ſowing, and plowing their groundes, dyd deuiſe and geue out abroade, the fable they tell of the goddeſſe *Pallas*. And that is this, how ſhe contending with *Neptune* about the patronage of the country of ATHENS, brought forth and ſhewed to the iudges the olyue tree, by meanes whereof ſhe preuayled, and obteined the preheminence. Euen ſo *Themiſtocles* dyd not ioyne the hauen of PIRÆA, vnto the cittie of ATHENS, as the comicall poet *Ariſtophanes* ſayeth: but rather ioyned the cittie vnto the hauen PIRÆA, and the lande vnto the ſea. By this meanes he made the people ſtrong againſt the nobilitie, and brought the communaltie to waxe bolder then they were before, by reaſon the rule and authoritie fell into the handes of ſaylers, mariners, pilottes, ſhippemaſters, and ſuch kinde of ſeafaring men: ſo as the pulpet where all the oracles were

made, ſtoode in the market place of PNYX, and dyd looke towardes the ſea. But the thirtie tyrannes that came in afterwardes, dyd remoue it, and turne it towardes the lande: holding opinion to be ſtrong by ſea, was it that dyd mainteine the authoritie of the popular ſtate. And that contrariwiſe they which liue by the labour and toyle of the earthe, doe more willingly like the gouernment of Nobilitie. *Themiſtocles* called to minde another matter alſo of greater importance, to make the cittie of ATHENS of a greater power by ſea. For after the retire of *Xerxes*, and that all the fleete and nauie of the GRÆCIANS wintered in the hauen of PAGASES: he ſayed one daye in an open aſſembly of the people, that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficiall for them, but it was not to be tolde openly. The people willed him then to imparte it to *Ariſtides*: and if he thought it good, they would execute it ſpeedely. *Themiſtocles* then tolde *Ariſtides*: the thing he had conſidered of, was to burne the Arcenal where the GRÆCIANS nauy laye, and to ſet on fire all their ſhippes. *Ariſtides* hearing his purpoſe, returned to the people, and tolde them: howe nothing could be more profitable, but with all more vniuſt, then that which *Themiſtocles* had deuiſed. The ATHENIANS then willed *Ariſtides* it ſhould be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the LACEDÆMONIANS had exhibited their petition to the counſell of the *Amphictyons* (that is the generall counſaill of all the ſtates of GRÆCE aſſembled) howe the townes and citties of GRÆCE which had not bene parties with the GRÆCIANS to the league, againſt the barbarous people, ſhould be put of wholy from this counſaill. *Themiſtocles* dowting of the ARGIVES, the THESSALIANS, and the THEBANS alſo ſhould by this meanes be exempted, that the LACEDÆMONIANS would be then the greater number in voyces, and by this meanes might doe what they would in this counſell: he ſpake ſo conſideratly for the citties which they would haue thus diſcharged, that he made the petitioners in the aſſembly vtterly to chaunge their opinion. Declaring, howe there were but one and thirtie citties compriſed only the league, and yet that ſome of them were very weake and ſmall: and howe it were no reaſon, that reiecting all the reſt of GREECE, the greateſt authoritie of this counſaill ſhould fall into the handes of two or three of the chiefeſt citties alone. For this cauſe chiefly the LACEDÆMONIANS dyd euer beare him extreme hatred, and dyd ſet vp *Cimon* all they could, to be allwayes aduerſary oppoſite vnto him, and as it were to bearde him in all matters of ſtate, and the gouernment of ATHENS. They procured him beſides, the ill will and diſpleaſure of all the friendes and confederates of the ATHENIANS, for that he went ſayling ſtill to and fro alongeſt the Iles, exacting money of the inhabitants of the ſame. And this is to be knowen by the matter propounded by him to the ANDRIANS (of whom he would haue had money) and by the aunſwer they made him, as *Herodotus* writeth. Which was, howe he had brought them two mightie goddes: Loue, and Force. And they aunſwered him againe, that they alſo had two great goddeſſes, which kept them from geuing of him any money: Pouertie, and Impoſſibilitie. And to make this good alſo: *Timocreon* the *Rhodian* poet galled him to the quicke, when he ſharpely taunted him, for calling many home againe for money that were baniſhed: and howe for couetouſnes of money he had betrayed, and forſaken, his hoſte and friende. The verſes wherein this matter is mentioned, are to this effecte.

The equitie of the Athenians.

Themiſtocles goddes, Loue and Force.

The Andrians goddeſſes. Powertie, Impoſſibilitie.

VVho liſt commend vvorthy Pauſanias,
Xanthippus or good Leotychides,
yet ſhall I ſeeme but light thereof to paſſe,
compared vvith valliant Ariſtides.
For yet vvas naye, the like in Athens tovvne,
nor neuer ſhall come none of like renovvne.
Themiſtocles by right and due deſerte,
is hated of Latona, for his lyes,
and for he bare a traitrous vvicked harte,
vvho like a vvretche, & nigard did deuiſe,
for ſmall revvardes, his hoſt Timocreon
to holde, out of his countrie Ialiſon.

He

A *He tooke for bribe (vniustly yet therevvhile)*
of redy coyne three talents fayre and bright,
revvoking such as pleased him, from exile
and banishing full many a vvorthy vvight.
Or putting them to death, vvithout cause tolde,
he gat thereby, great heapes of coyne and golde.
But in the ende (ô right reuvvarde for such)
this bribing vvretch, vvas forced for to holde,
a tipling hovvthe, most like a clovvne or snvvhe,
at holy feastes and pastimes manifold,
B *vvhich vvere amongest the people in those dayes*
Isthmicians folke, dyd vse the like allvvayes.
And there he serued, his gests vvith cold meat still,
vvhilest they that tasted of his cookerie,
gan vvrishe that they (to ease their vveary vvill)
had neuer liued to see the treccherie,
of false Themistocles, and that he might
no longer liue, vvhich vvrought them such despight.

After this, he dyd more openly blase him to the worlde, when he was banished and condemned: in a songe that had beginning thus.

C *O Muse, let these my verses be dispersd,*
throughout all Grece, since they deserue no lesse:
and since the truthe vvhich is in them rehearst,
deserueth fame, vvhom no man should suppresse.

They saye the cause was, why this *Timocreon* was banished: the friendshippe which he had with the Barbarous people, and for geuing them intelligence. Whereof *Themistocles* was one that iudicially condemned him. Wherefore when *Themistocles* him selfe was accused afterwards of the same faulte, *Timocreon* then made these verses following against him.

Timocreon vvas not vvithout his pheere,
vvhich did conferre vvith Medes priuely,
D *Since others no, the selfe same blame might beare,*
no foxes lurke in dennes as vvell as I.

Besides these verses, *Themistocles* owne cittizens for the ill will they bare him, were contented to heare him ill spoken of. Therefore while he sought wayes, to redresse all this: he was driuen to vse such meane, which more increased their hatred toward him. For in his orations to the people, he dyd ofte remember them of the good seruice he had done them: and perceyuing howe they were offended withall, he was driuen to saye. Why, are ye weary so ofte to receyue good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him also, when he surnamed *Diana* (in the dedication of her temple he made vnto her) *Aristobule*, as much to saye, as the good counseller: meaning thereby, howe he had geuen graue and wise counsell, both vnto
E his cittie, and to all the rest of the Grecians. He built this temple also neere his house, in a place called *Melita*, where the hangemen doe cast the dead bodies of those that were executed, and throwe the ragges and halters endes of those that were hanged, or otherwise put to death by lawe. There was also in our dayes in the temple of *Diana Aristobule*, a litle image of *Themistocles*, which shewed plainely, that he was not only wise, and of a noble minde, but also of a great maiestie and countenaunce in face. In the ende, the Athenians banished him Athens for fiue yeres, bicause they would plucke downe his ouergreat corage and authoritie, as they dyd vse to serue those, whose greatnes they thought to be more, then common equalitie that ought to be among cittizens would beare. For this manner of banishment for a time, called *Ostracismon*, was no punishment for any faulte committed, but a mitigation and taking
F away of the enuie of the people, which delited to plucke downe their stomaks that to much seemed to exceede in greatnes: and by this meanes they tooke awaye the poyson of his malice, with diminishing his glorie and honour. So *Themistocles* being banished Athens, went

Themistocles banished for fiue yeres.

to dwell in Argos. In this meane season, *Pausanias* trecchery fell out, which gaue his enemies occasion to lye heauie on his backe. But he which became his accuser, & was partener of the treason, was one called *Leobotes* (*Alcmeons* sonne) borne in a village called Agravla. Besides this, the Spartans also dyd sit on his skirtes, & charged him sorely. For *Pausanias* neuer before reuealed to *Themistocles* the treason he had purposed, although he was his very familliar friende. But after he sawe *Themistocles* was banished, and dyd take his exile very vnpaciently: then *Pausanias* was bolde to open his treason to him, to procure him to take his parte, and shewed him the letters the king of Persia had written to him, and all to sturre him vp against the Græcians, as against vngratefull and vnnaturall people. Howbeit *Themistocles* shooke him of, and tolde him plainely he would be no partener of his treason. Notwithstanding, he neuer reuealed it to any liuing creature, nor discouered the practise he intended: hoping either he would haue geuen it ouer, or that shortely it would appeare by some other meane, considering he so fondly aspired to things of great daunger, and without purpose or possibilite. After *Pausanias* was condemned, and had suffered paynes of death for the same: they found amongest his papers, certaine writings and letters, which made *Themistocles* to be very sore suspected. Whereupon the Lacedæmonians on the one side cried out of him: and his enemies and ill willers at Athens accused him on th'other side. To the which he made aunswer by letters from the beginning, and wrote vnto the people, it was not likely that he (who sought all the waies to rule, and was not borne to serue, neither had any minde thereto) would euer haue thought in his heade, to sell his owne libertie, and the Græcians also vnto the Barbarous people their enemies. Notwithstanding this purgation of his, the people by the procurement of his enemies, sent to apprehende him, and to bring him before the states of all Græce, to be iudged by that counsaill. Whereof *Themistocles* hauing intelligence in time, he dyd conuey him selfe into the Ile of Corphv, bicause the citie there was greatly beholding to him, for a certen pleasure in time paste he had done them. For they being at sute and strife with the Corinthians, he tooke vp the matter betweene them, and gaue iudgement on their side, & condemned the Corinthians to paye them twety talents damages: and did set downe an order, that they should occupie the Ile of Levcade in cõmon together, as ground that had bene inhabited with the people, aswell of the one cittie, as of the other. From thence he fled to *Epirus*, whether being followed by the Athenians, & the Lacedæmonians, he was compelled to venter him selfe vpon a doubtfull and very daungerous hope. For he went to yelde him selfe into the hands of *Admetus*, king of the Molossians. Who hauing heretofore made certen requestes vnto the Athenians, and being shamefully denied them by meanes of *Themistocles* (who then was at his chiefest height and authoritie) the King was maruelously offended with him: and it was a clere case in deede, that if he could then haue layed handes on him, he would haue bene reuenged of him throughly. Howbeit feeling the present miserie of his exile, he thought he might lesse feare the Kings olde quarrell and displeasure, then the freshe hate & enuie of his contriemen. Whereupon he went vnto king *Admetus*, trusting to his mercie, and became an humble suter to him in a straunge extraordinarie sorte. For he tooke the Kings litle young sonne in his armes, and went and kneeled downe before the altar in his chappell: which humble manner of suinge the Molossians take to be most effectuall, and such as they dare not denie, nor refuse. Some saye that Queene *Phthia* her selfe, the Kings wife, dyd enforme him of this their country custome and manner, & brought her litle sonne also neere vnto the altar. Other write also, that it was *Admetus* him selfe that taught & shewed him this inforcing manner of petition, only for a cloke to excuse him selfe to those that should come to demaunde *Themistocles* of him: that by duetie of religion he was so straightly bounde & restrained, that he might not deliuer him out of his protection. In this meane time, *Epicrates Acharnian* founde the meanes secretly to conuey *Themistocles* wife and children out of Athens, & dyd send them priuelie vnto him: whereupon he was afterwards accused, & put to death, vpon *Cimons* accusation & motion, as *Stesimbrotus* writeth. Who not remembring those matters I knowe not howe, or making as though *Themistocles* had not remembred him selfe, doth saye, that *Themistocles* sayled into Sicile, where he sought to mary *Hierons* daughter, the tyranne of Syracvsa: promising him if he would let him haue her, he would

Pausanias reuealeth his treason vnto Themistocles.

Themistocles suspected of treason.

Themistocles fled into the Ile of Corphu.

The manner of supplicatiõ among the Molossians.

A would affure him to conquer all GRECE for him, and to bring them vnder his obedience. But *Hieron* refuſing this offer, *Themiſtocles* went from thence into ASIA: but that is not likely. For *Theophraſtus* writeth in his booke intituled of Kingdomes, that *Hieron* hauing ſent certain running horſes to the feaſt of games Olympicall, & hauing ſet vp a maruelous riche and ſumptuous tent there: *Themiſtocles* made an oration to the GRECIANS, declaring vnto them how they ſhould teare the tyrannes tente in peces, and not to ſuffer his horſes to ronne with other ſwifte and light horſes, and to cary away the price in thoſe holy games. *Thucydides* againe declareth, howe he went vnto the other ſea, and imbarked in the cittie of PYDNE, being knowen of neuer a man in the ſhippe, vntill ſuch time as the winde beganne to carie them into the Ile of NAXOS, which the ATHENIANS by chaunce dyd beſiege at that time, where being afeard
B to be ſet on lande, he was forced to bewraye him ſelf to the maſter of the ſhippe, & the maſters mate, and wrought them, what with fayer wordes and what with threates (by ſaying he would accuſe them to the ATHENIANS, that they dyd not ignorantly receiue him in, but hiered for money) ſo as he compelled them to ſayle on further, and to cary him into ASIA. As for his goodes, his friendes ſaued the moſt parte of them, and ſent them into ASIA to him. But for thoſe that came to light, and were confiſcate vnto the ſtate: *Theopompus* writeth, they dyd amounte to the value of one hundred talents. And *Theophraſtus* ſayeth, but to foure ſcore talents only. So that all his goodes was not worth three talents, when he beganne to gouerne the ſtate of the common weale. when he came vnto the cittie of CVMA, he perceyued that all the coaſtes by ſea were layed for him to apprehende him, and that he had many ſpyalls
C vpon him: among the which, theſe were two ſpeciall noted men, *Ergoteles*, and one *Pythodorus*, the reward being very great, for men that ſought their gayne any waye they could. For the king of PERSIA had proclaymed by ſound of trũpet, two hundred talẽts to him that brought him *Themiſtocles*. Whereupon he fled vnto a litle towne of ÆOLIA, called ÆGES, where no liuing bodie knewe him, but his hoſt only, called *Nicogenes*: who was the richeſt man of all the ÆOLIANS, and knewe all the noble men of authoritie that were about the king of PERSIA. *Themiſtocles* continued hidden certen dayes in his houſe: in which time, on a night after the feaſt of a ſacrifice, one *Olbius*, ſchoolemaſter to *Nicogenes* children, by ſome ſecret working of the goddes, ſodainely fell beſides him ſelfe, and beganne to ſinge theſe verſes out alowde.

D *Doe thou beleeue, vvhat ſo the night the tells*
and geue thy voyce, thy counſell and conceipts
Vnto the night, in darck ſomnes that dvvells,
thereon alſo thy victorie avvaits.

Themiſtocles dreame.

The next night following, *Themiſtocles* being faſt aſleepe in his bed, dreamed that a ſnake wounde it ſelfe round about his bellie, and glided vpwardes to his necke, vntill it touched his face, and ſodainely then it became an eagle, and imbraced him with his winges: and ſo at length dyd lifte him vp into the ayer, and caried him a maruelous waye of, vntill he thought he ſawe a golden rodde (ſuche as Heraulde vſe to carie in their handes) whereupon the eagle dyd ſet him, and ſo was deliuered of all this feare and trouble he thought him ſelfe in. The trothe was, *Nicogenes* had this deuiſe in his heade, howe he might bring him ſafe to
E the king of PERSIAES courte. The Barbarous nations for the moſt parte (and ſpecially the PERSIANS) are of a very ſtraunge nature, and maruelous iealous ouer their women, and that not onely of their wiues, but alſo of their bonde women, and concubines: which they keepe ſo ſtraightly locked vp, that no man euer ſeeth them abroade at any time, but are allwayes like houſedoues kept within doores. And when they haue any occaſion to goe into the country, they are caried in cloſe coches couered all about, that no man can looke into them. *Themiſtocles* was conueyed into one of theſe coches dreſt after this manner, and had warned his men to aunſwer thoſe they met by the waye, that asked whom they caried: howe it was a young GRECIAN gentlewoman of the countrie of IONIA, which they caried to the courte for a noble man there. *Thucydides*, and *Charon Lampſacenian* ſaye, he went thither after the
F death of *Xerxes*, and ſpake with his ſonne there. But *Ephorus*, *Dino*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides*, and many other write, that he ſpake with him ſelfe. Yet notwithſtanding it appeareth that *Thucydides* wordes doe beſt agree with the chronicles & tables, recording the ſucceſſion of times,

The Perſians iealous of their wiues.

Howe Themiſtocles was conueyed to the king of Perſias courte.

although they be of no great certaintie. *Themiſtocles* being come nowe to the ſwordes poinse (as it were) and to the extremitie of his daunger: dyd firſt preſent him ſelfe vnto one *Artabanus*, Colonell of a thouſand footemen, and ſayed vnto him. Syr, I am a GRECIAN borne, and deſire to ſpeake with the King: I haue matters of importance to open to his maieſtie, and ſuch as I knowe he will thanckefully receyue. *Artabanus* aunſwered him in this manner. My friend ſyr ſtraunger, the lawes and cuſtomes of men are diuers, and ſome take one thing for honeſt, others ſome another thing: but it is moſt honeſty for all men, to keepe and obſerue the lawes and manners of their owne countrie. For you GRECIANS haue the name to loue libertie, and equalitie aboue all things: & for vs, amongeſt all the goodly lawes and cuſtomes we haue, we eſteeme this aboue the reſt: to reuerence and honour our King, as the image of the god of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and ſtate. Wherefore, if thou wilt facion thy ſelfe after our manner to honour the King, thou mayeſt both ſee him, and ſpeake with him: but if thou haue another minde with thee, then muſt thou of neceſſitie vſe ſome third perſone for thy meane. For this is the manner of our countrie: the King neuer geueth audience to any man, that hath not firſt honoured him. *Themiſtocles* hearing what he ſayed, aunſwered him againe. My lord *Artabanus*, the great good will I beare vnto the King, and the deſire I haue to aduaunce his glorie and power, is the only cauſe of my preſent repaire vnto his courte: therefore I meane not only to obey your lawes (ſince it hath ſo pleaſed the goddes to rayſe vp the noble empire of PERSIA vnto this greatnes) but will cauſe many other people alſo to honour the King, more then there doe at this preſent. Therefore let there be no ſtaye, but that my ſelfe in perſone maye deliuer to the King that I haue to ſaye vnto him. Well, ſayed *Artabanus*: whom then ſhall we ſaye thou arte? For by thy ſpeache it ſeemeth, thou art a man of no meane ſtate and condition. *Themiſtocles* aunſwered him: as for that *Artabanus*, none ſhall knowe before the King him ſelfe. Thus doth *Phanias* reporte it. But *Eratoſthenes*, in his booke he wrote of riches, addeth further: howe *Themiſtocles* had acceſſe vnto this *Artabanus*, being recommended to the King by a woman of ERETRIA, whom the King kept. *Themiſtocles* being brought to his preſence, after he had preſented his humble duety and reuerence to him, ſtoode on his feete, and ſayed neuer a worde, vntill the King commaũded the interpreter to aske him what he was? and he aunſwered. Maye it pleaſe your maieſtie, ô noble King: I am *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*, a baniſhed man out of my countrie by the GRECIANS, who humbly repayreth to your highnes, knowing I haue done great hurt to the PERSIANS, but I perſuade my ſelf I haue done them farre more good then harme. For I it was that kept the GRECIANS backe they dyd not follow you, whẽ the ſtate of GRECE was deliuered from thraldome, and my natiue country from daunger, and that I knew I ſtoode then in good ſtate to pleaſure you. Nowe for me, I finde all mens good willes agreable, to my preſent miſery and calamitie: for I come determined, moſt humbly to thancke your highnes, for any grace and fauour you ſhall ſhewe me, & alſo to craue humble pardone, if your maieſty be yet offended with me. And therfore licence me (moſt noble King) to beſeche you, that taking mine enemies the GRECIANS for witneſſes of the pleaſures I haue done the PERSIAN nation, you will of your princely grace vſe my harde fortune, as a good occaſion to ſhewe your honorable vertue, rather then to ſatisfie the paſſion of your heate and choller. For in ſauing my life, your maieſtie ſaueth an humble ſuter that put him ſelfe to your mercie: and in putting me to death, you ſhall ryd away an enemy of the GRECIANS. Hauing ſpoken thus theſe words, he ſayed further. That the goddes, by diuers ſignes and tokens had procured him, to come to ſubmit him ſelfe vnto him, and tolde the King what viſion he had ſeene in his dreame in *Nicogenes* houſe: and declared alſo the oracle of *Iupiter Dodonian*, who had commaunded him that he ſhould goe vnto him that was called as a god, and howe he thought it was the perſone of his maieſtie, bicauſe that god and he in trothe were called both great Kings. The King hauing thus heard him ſpeake, gaue him then no preſent aunſwer againe, notwithſtanding he maruelouſly wondred at his great wiſedome and boldenes. But afterwardes amongeſt his familiars the King ſayed, he thought him ſelfe very happy to mete with the good fortune of *Themiſtocles* comming to him: and ſo beſought his great god *Arimanius*, that he would allwayes ſend his enemies ſuch mindes, as to baniſhe the greateſt, & wiſeſt men amongeſt them.

The Perſians honour their King as the image of the god of nature.

Themiſtocles talke with the king of Perſia.

It is

A It is reported also he did sacrifice vnto the goddes, to geue them thankes therefore, and disposed him selfe presently to be merry, Insomuch as dreaming in the night, in the middest of his dreame he cried out three times together for ioye: I haue *Themistocles* the *Athenian*. The next morning the King hauing sent for the chiefest lordes of his courte, he made *Themistocles* also to be brought before him: who looked for no goodnes at all, specially when he sawe the souldiers warding at the courte gates, geue him ill countenaunce and language both, when they beheld him, and vnderstoode his name. Moreouer, *Roxanes*, one of the captaines as *Themistocles* passed by him going to the King (who was set in his chayer of state, and euery man keeping silence) softely sighing, sayed vnto him. O thou Greekish serpent, subtill and malicious: the Kings good fortune hath brought thee hether. Neuertheles when he came to the King, & had

B once againe made him a very humble and lowe reuerence: the King saluted him, & spake very curteously to him, saying. I am nowe your detter of two hundred talents, for presenting your self. It is good reason I should deliuer you the money promised him that should haue brought you: but I geue you a further warrante, be bolde I charge you, & speake your minde freely, saye what you thinke of the state of GRECE. *Themistocles* then aunswered him. That mens wordes did properly resemble the stories and imagery in a pece of arras: for both in the one & in the other, the goodly images of either of them are seene, when they are vnfolded and layed open. Contrariwise they appeare not, but are lost, when they are shut vp, & close folded: whereupon he sayed to the King, he must nedes require some further time of aunswer. The King liked his comparison passingly well, & willed him to appointe his owne time. *Themistocles* asked a yere:

C in which time hauing pretily learned the Persian tongue, he afterwards spake to the King himselfe without any interpreter. So, suche as were no courtiers, thought he only talked with the King of matters of GRECE. But bicause the chaunge & alteration of the courte fell out great at that time, the noble men imagined he had bene so bolde to comon with the King of them also. Thereupon they greatly enuied him, & afterwardes murmured much against him. For in deede the king dyd honour *Themistocles* aboue all other straũgers whatsoeuer they were. On a time the king had him out a hunting with him, he made him see his mother, with whom he grewe familliar: and by the kings owne commaundement he was to heare the disputations of the wise men of PERSIA touching secret philosophie, which they call magike. *Demaratus* the LACEDÆMONIAN being at that time in the courte of PERSIA, the king willing him to aske

D what gifte he would. He besought the king to graũt him this fauour: to licẽce him to goe vp & down the cittie of SARDIS, with his royall hat on his head, as the kings of PERSIA doe. *Mithropaustes*, the kings cosin, taking him by the hãd, sayed vnto him. *Demaratus*, the kings hatte thou demaundest, and if it were on thy heade, it would couer but litle wit: Naye though *Iupiter* dyd geue thee his lightning in thy hande, yet that would not make thee *Iupiter*. But the king gaue him so sharpe a repulse for his vnreasonable request, & was so angrie with him for it, that it was thought he would neuer haue forgeuen him: howbeit *Themistocles* was so earnest a suter for him, that he brought him into fauour againe. And the reporte goeth, that the kings successours which haue bene since that time, vnder whom the PERSIANS haue had more dealings with the GRECIANS, then in former dayes: when they would retaine any great

E state or personage of GRECE into their seruice, they wrote vnto him, and promised him they would make him greater about them, then euer was *Themistocles* about *Xerxes*. That which is written of him, doth also confirme it. For he being stept vp to great countenaunce and authoritie, & followed with great traines of suters after him by reason of his greatnes: seing him self one daye very honorably serued at his table, & with all sortes of daintie meates, he turned him to his childrẽ, & sayed vnto them. My sonnes, we should haue bene vndone, if we had not bene vndone. The most writers doe agree, that he had giuen him the reuenue of 3. cities for his allowance of bread, wine & vittailes: to wit, MAGNESIA, LAMPSACVS, & MYVNTA. But *Neãthes Cyzicenũs*, & *Phanias*, doe adde two other cities more, PERCOTA, & PALESCEPSIA: the one to defraye his charges of apparell, & the other for his lodging. Afterwards *Themistocles* going into

F the lowe countries towards the sea, to take order against the practises of the GRECIANS: there was a PERSIAN lord called *Epixies* (gouernour of highe PHRYGIA) that had layed a traine to kill him (hauing of long time hiered certaine murderers of PISIDIA to doe it) so soone as he

An excellent comparison of Themistocles.

Themistocles honoured of the king of Persia.

Demaratus fond demãde of the King.

Themistocles had the reuenue of three cities allowed him for his dyet.

Themistocles escaped murder by a warning he had in his sleepe.

should come into a towne of his gouernment, called the Lyons head. But as he slept on a daye A in his house in the after none, the mother of the goddes appeared vnto him, and sayed, *Themistocles*, goe not to the Lyons heade, for feare thou mete with the Lyon: and for this warning, I doe aske thy daughter *Mnesiptolema* for my seruante. *Themistocles* waking sodainely out of his dreame, made his prayer vnto the goddesse, and turning out of the highe waye, fetched another compasse about. Afterwardes hauing passed that towne, he tooke his lodging being benighted: but one of the beastes which caried his tente, fell by the waye, vnfortunatly in a riuer, and all his arras and tapestry hangings being throughly wet, his seruaunts were driuen to laye them out a drying by moone light. The *Pisidians* that laye in wayte, and could not discerne by moone light that they were hangings layed out to drye, thought it had bene the very tente *Themistocles* selfe dyd lye in: whereupon they went vnto it with their swordes B drawen in their handes, hoping to haue taken him sleeping. But when they were come thither, and beganne to lifte vp a pece of the hangings: some of the people of *Themistocles* (which kept watche) perceyuing them, ranne vpon them, and tooke them. So *Themistocles* hauing escaped this daunger, wondred greately at the fauour of the goddesse which had appeared vnto him. In recompence whereof, when he was in the cittie of MAGNESIA, he built a temple vnto *Dindymena*, and made his daughter *Mnesiptolema* prioresse of the same. As he passed by the cittie of SARDIS for his recreation, he went to visite the temples, and offerings that had bene geuen there. So he sawe an image of a mayden in copper, in the temple of the mother of the goddes, being two yeardes highe, which they called the *Hydrophora*: as much to saye, as the water carier. And it was a statue, which him selfe had heretofore dedica- C ted, and caused to be made, with the fines of those that had payed forfeytures, for stealing or turning awaye the water course at ATHENS, at suche time as he was master surueyer of the water workes and conduites there. Wherfore, whether *Themistocles* was sory to see this goodly image a prisoner in the handes of the Barbarous people, or that he would showe vnto the ATHENIANS the greatnes of his credit and authoritie through all the Kings dominions: he spake to the gouernour of LYDIA, & prayed him for his sake that he would send this image againe to ATHENS. But this Barbarous gouernour was very angry with his requeste, and tolde him he would aduertise the King thereof. Then *Themistocles* beganne to be afeard, & was driuen to seeke to the gouernours women and concubines, whom he got for money to intreate him, and so made fayre weather againe with the gouernour. But from thenceforth, he tooke D better garde of him selfe in all his doings, greatly fearing the enuy of the Barbarous people. For he progressed not vp and downe ASIA, as *Theopompus* writeth, but laye a long time in the cittie of MAGNESIA, quietly enioying the Kings gratious giftes bestowed on him: where he was honoured & reuerenced for one of the greateste persones of PERSIA, whileste the King was els where occupied in the affayres of the highe prouinces of ASIA, and had no leysure to thincke vpon those of GRECE. But when newes was brought him, that ÆGYPT was rebelled, by meanes of the fauour & assistance of the ATHENIANS, & that the GRECIANS gallyes dyd scowre the seas euen vnto the Ile of CYPRVS, & vnto the coastes of CILICIA, & that *Cimon* had all the sea in subiection: that made him then to bende all his thoughts howe to resist the GRECIANS, that their greatnes might not turne to his hurte. Then commissions went out E to leauy men, to assemble captaines, & to dispatche postes vnto *Themistocles* at MAGNESIA, with the Kings letters, straightly charging him to haue an eye to the GRECIANS doings, and moreouer that he should faithfully keepe his promise he had made to him. But he, to shewe that he neither maliced his cittizens, nor was moued with the desire of greatnes and authoritie he might haue growen vnto in those warres, or els for that he thought the Kings expectation would proue to a greater matter, then he could ende or wade through, considering GRECE was full at that time of famous captaines, and that *Cimon* amongest the rest had maruelous good fortune, and that it should be a reproche to him to stayne the glorie of so many noble actes, so many triumphes, and so great victories as *Cimon* had done and wonne: he tooke a wise resolution with him selfe, to make suche an ende of his life, as the F fame thereof deserued. For he made a solemne sacrifice vnto the goddes, and feasted at the same all his friends. And, after he had taken his leaue of them all, he drancke bulles bloude,

Themistocles loue to his country.

The manner of Themistocles death.

as

A as moſt men thincke (or as other ſaye) poyſon, which diſpatcheth a man in foure and twenty howers, and ſo ended his dayes in the cittie of MAGNESIA, after he had liued threeſcore and fiue yeres, and the moſt parte of them allwayes in office, and great charge. It is written, that the king of PERSIA vnderſtanding the cauſe and manner of his deathe, dyd more eſteeme him afterwards, then he dyd before, and that euer after he continued to vſe his friends and familliars in very good ſorte. For he left children behinde him, which he had of *Archippa* (*Lyſanders* daughter) of the towne of ALOPECIA: *Archeptolis*, *Polyeuctus*, and *Cleophantus*, of whom *Plato* the philoſopher maketh mention, ſaying that he was a good man at armes, but otherwiſe that there was no goodnes in him. His other ſonnes that were elder, as *Neocles*, dyed being bitten with a horſe: and as for *Diocles* another ſonne, his grandfather *Lyſander* dyd a- *Themiſtocles children.*

B dopt him for his ſonne. He had many daughters, of the which *Mneſiptolema* (which he had by a ſeconde wife) was maried vnto her halfe brother *Artheptolis*, for they were not both of one venter. An other called *Italia*, was maried vnto one *Panthides* of CHIO. *Sybaris*, vnto *Nicomedes* an ATHENIAN. And *Nicomacha*, vnto *Pharſicles*, *Themiſtocles* nephue: vnto whom her brethern dyd mary her within the cittie of MAGNESIA, after the death of their father. This *Pharſicles* dyd bring vp ASIA, which was the youngeſt of all his daughters. Furthermore, his ſumptuous tumbe ſtandeth yet in the market place of MAGNESIA. But that *Andocides* writeth of his bones, in a booke he made to his friendes, is not to be credited, which was: that the ATHENIANS hauing founde the aſhes of his bones, dyd caſt them vp into the ayer, as a deuiſe to ſturre vp the noble men againſt the people. And *Themiſtocles tumbe and relickes.*

C *Phylarchus* in his hiſtorie (much like vnto the fayned ſubtilties of a tragedie) bringeth in I can not tell what *Neocles*, and *Demopolis*, for *Themiſtocles* ſonnes, to moue the readers with compaſſion. Howbeit no man is ſo ſimple, but will iudge it ſtraight a very fayning and deuiſe. *Diodorus* the coſmographer alſo, in a booke he hath written of tumbes and monuments ſayeth, by coniecture, rather then of any certen knowledge: that alongeſt the hauen of PIRAEA, coming towardes the head of *Alcimus*, there is a forelande in forme of an elbowe, within the which when they haue doubled the pointe, the ſea is allwayes calme, and there they finde a great and long foundation or baſe, vpon the which there is as it were the forme of an altar, and that is (ſayeth he) *Themiſtocles* tumbe. And he ſuppoſeth that *Plato* the comicall poet doth witneſſe it in theſe verſes.

D *Thy graue is ſet and plaſt, comodiouſly,*
Where paſſengers and marchants that come by
Maye viſite thee, and where it maye regarde,
All ſuch as ſeeke that porte to be their warde.
Somtimes alſo it maye reioyce to ſee,
The bloudy fights, vpon the ſea that be.

Honour donne to Themiſtocles after his death.

And furthermore, thoſe of MAGNESIA dyd inſtitute certen honours vnto the iſſue of *Themiſtocles*, which continew yet vnto this daye. And in my time, another *Themiſtocles* alſo of ATHENS dyd enioy the ſame honours, with whom I was familliarly conuerſante in the houſe of *Ammonius* the philoſopher.

The ende of Themiſtocles life.

THE LIFE OF
Furius Camillus.

AMONGEST many great matters which are ſpoken of this *Furius Camillus*, this ſeemeth moſt ſtraunge and wonderfull aboue the reſt. That he hauing borne the chiefeſt offices of charge in his countrie, and hauing done many notable and worthy deedes in the ſame: as one that was choſen fiue times *Dictator*, and had triumphed foure times, and had wonne him ſelfe the name & title of the ſeconde founder of Rome, and yet neuer came to be Conſul. But the only cauſe thereof was, that the common weale of Rome ſtoode then in ſuch ſtate and ſorte. The people were then at diſſention with the Senate. They would chuſe no more Conſuls, but other kynde of gouernours whom they called *Tribuni militares*: theſe dyd all things with like power & authoritie as the Conſuls, yet were they nothing ſo odious vnto the people, by reaſon of the number that was of them. For it was ſome hope to them that could ill beare the rule of the ſmall number of nobilitie, that the gouernment of the ſtate being put into ſixe, and not into two officers hands, their rule would be the eaſier, and tollerabler. Nowe *Camillus* being at that time in his beſt credit and authoritie, and in the prime and glorie of his doings, dyd not deſire to be made Conſul without the good-will of the people, although whileſt he was in authoritie, there were many times Conſuls created. But to all other offices and dignities, he was called, and choſen. He behaued him ſelfe in ſuch ſorte, that when he was alone, he made his authoritie comon to other: and when he had companions & aſſociates, the glorie of all redounded to him ſelf alone. The cauſe whereof, was his modeſtie on the one ſide, for he commaunded euer without enuie: and his great wiſedome and ſufficiencie on the other ſide, for the which all others willingly gaue him place, and yelded to him. The houſe of the *Furians* being at that time of no great fame, he was the firſt that beganne to ſet him ſelf forwards. For in a great battell which was fought againſt the *Æques* and *Volſces*, he being but a priuate man at armes vnder the *Dictator Poſthumius Tubertus*, was the firſt that riding out of the army, aduaunced him ſelfe, and gaue the charge. And being ronne into the thighe at that time with a ſtaffe broken vpon his thighe, he plucked the trunchen out, and retired not for all that: but geuing chardge againe vpon the ſtowteſt of the enemies, he fought it out ſo valliantly to the encoraging of other, that he was the chief cauſe they turned their backes. Whereupon, to requite his ſeruice done at that time (beſides other honours

Why Camillus neuer came to be Conſul.

The authoritie of a fewe, odious to the common people.

Camillus wiſedome and modeſtie.

Camillus hurte.

A honours they dyd him) they made him *Censor*: an office at that time of great preheminence & dignitie. In his office of Censorshippe, he dyd two notable acts. The one very honest: when he brought men that were not maried, to marie the women whom the warres had left widows, which were in nũber many. To this he got them partly by persuasion, & partly by threatnings, to set roũd fines vpõ their heads that refused. The other very necessary: in that he brought the orphanes to be cõtributories, vnto taxes, & subsidies, which before payed nothing. The cause thereof was, the continuall warres, about the which the common weale susteined great charges: but specially about the siege of the citie of the VEIANS (which some call VENETANIANS) that was a very sore burden to thẽ at that time. For it was the capitall cittie of all THVSCAN, the which for store of armour, & nũber of souldiers, was nothing inferiour vnto the cittie of Rome.

Camillus acts in his Censorshippe.

The cittie of Veies besieged.

B For the VEIANS being growẽ to stomake & corage in time, by reason of their wealth & prosperitie, & for the sundry great battells they had fought against the ROMAINES, that contẽded with them for glory and empire: now it fell so out, that they finding them selues weakened by many great ouerthrowes, which they had receyued of the ROMAINES, they did let fall their former peacokes brauery, & ambition, to byd them battell any more in the fielde. Howbeit the inhabitants of the cittie of VEIES hauing raised the walles, & made very great high rãpers, beganne to fortifie them selues, & made good prouision for armour & munition, besides store of corne, shotte, & other necessary things: they valliantly, & without feare of any thing, defended the siege of the ROMAINES, that cõtinued long time, & was no lesse hard & painefull vnto thẽ that did besiege, then it was vnto those that were besieged. For where the ROMAINES were wõt

C before time to keepe their houses in the winter season, and the field only in the sommer time: that was the first time they were compelled by the captaines and *Tribuni militares*, to buylde fortes, and to intrenche their campe with a wall, euen in their enemies countrie, and to winter abroade as they were wont to lye in the campe in sommer. Nowe this siege had continued seuen whole yeres together. The captaines were burdened that they dyd not their dueties, nor stoode manfully to their charge: whereupon in the end they were discharged, and other captaines placed in their roomes to followe the siege. Among those, *Camillus* was one, whom then the seconde time they created *Tribunus militaris*. Who notwithstanding dyd nothing then in that siege, bicause it was his happe by lot, to make warres vpon the PHALERIANS, and the CAPENATES. These people whilest the ROMAINES were occupied other where, had

The siege cõtinued seuen yeres together.

Camillus twise chosen Tribune of the souldiers.

D inuaded their countrie, and done them great harme, during the time of their warre with the THVSCANS. But *Camillus* hauing ouerthrowen a great number of them in the fielde, had the rest in chase, and draue them to take their cittie, and dyd shut them vp within their owne walles. The chaunce that happened at the lake of ALBANVS, about the time the THVSCAN warres were greatest, dyd maruelously amate the ROMAINES, being no lesse wounderfull, then the most straunge and vncredible thing that could be tolde by man. For they could not finde out the cause of it by common reason, nor any naturall grounde: considering it was in the later end of Autumne, and sommer was ended, and that there had not bene much rayne, nor notable sowthewinds. And although there are many lakes, many brooks & riuers, many springs, and other waters in ITALIE: yet some of them dried vp altogether, other ranne but faintely

The wonderfull ouerflowing of the lake Albanus.

E by reason of the drought, and all the riuers then were (as they are wont to be commonly in sommer) very lowe, and there was scante any water. But the lake ALBANVS contrariwise, that cometh from no other place, neither runneth any whether out of him selfe, being enuironned all about with hilles and mountaines, and where the earthe is good: beganne to swell, and rise to euery mans sight, without any cause at all (but secret and hidden vnto the goddes alone) and went allwayes increasing alongest those hilles sides, vntill suche time as it came to be euen with the height of the highest mountaine, gathering vpwardes still without any waues or tempest of weather at all. This at the first, made poore shepeheardes and heardemen, keeping their cattell thereaboutes, maruelously affrayed. But at the lengthe when the earthe and weight of one of the hilles (which kepte in the lake as a walle,

F from running ouer into the felde) beganne to breake by reason of the waight, and great quantitie of water, that ranne straight with a maruelous extreme force and violence ouer all the arrable landes and groundes planted with trees, and so tooke his course into the

sea: the ROMAINES then not alone, but the whole inhabitants of ITALY were wounderfully affrayed, and iudged that it was some signe and prognostication of some wounderfull thing to come. And there was no other newes currante in the campe, which laye at siege of the cittie of VEIES: insomuch as the very brute of it flewe ouer the walles of the cittie, vnto them that were besieged. And as it happeneth very ofte in long sieges, that those which lye in campe doe oftentimes talke with them that are besieged: there was a ROMAINE who fell acquainted, and commonly vsed to talke familiarly with one of the cittie, who could tell of many olde & straunge things done and happened, and was very skillfull aboue any other in the cittie, in the arte of diuination, or soothesaying. The ROMAINE then tolde him one daye the violent breaking out of the lake ALBANVS, and perceyuing that the other after he had heard him, was as mery as a pye at the matter, and that he gibed at their siege: he tolde him further, that this wounderfull chaunce was not only happened vnto the ROMAINES at that time, but that they had bene acquainted with many other farre more straunge then this, which he would very willingly open vnto him, to see if there were any remedy, that though the affaires of the common weale had but harde succesſe, yet he would procure that his owne priuate matters might prosper well with him. The VEIAN aunswered him, he would heare them with a goodwill, & gaue good eare vnto him, hoping to haue heard some great secret. So the ROMAINE training him on still from one matter to another, holding on his waye, vntill he sawe he was a good distance of from the gates of the cittie, he sodainely cought holde on him, and by strong hand caried him awaye with him, and with helpe of other souldiers which came ronning out of the campe vnto him, he brought him to the captaines. The VEIAN seeing him self thus forciblie vsed, and knowing also that fatall desteny cannot be auoyded, beganne to declare vnto the ROMAINES, the auncient oracles and prophecies touching the fortune of their cittie: by which it was reported vnto them, that the cittie of VEIES should neuer be taken, vntill the enemie had causeſ the water of the lake ALBANVS (which should breake out) to be brought backe againe, and to turne it some other waye from thence, that it should not fall into the sea. This was caried vnto the Senate at ROME, to be consulted of in counsail: and there it was determined they should send to the oracle of *Apollo*, at the cittie of DELPHES, and aske him what they should doe therein. So thither were sent great and notable men, *Cossus Licinius*, *Valerius Politus*, and *Fabius Ambustus*: who hauing ended their iorney by sea, and receyued aunswer of that they demaunded, returned home againe, and amongest other oracles they brought one that sayed thus. That through negligence they had omitted some auncient ceremonies in the holy dayes of the Latines. And another willed them, that they should by all possible meanes they could, keepe the water of the lake ALBANVS that it fell not into the sea, and should (if it were possible) bring it backe againe into his old place: if not, that yet they should cut as many trenches and ditches as might be, that it might be droncke vp in the middest of the fields. When these oracles were vnderstanded, the priests prepared all things for diuine seruice, and the people went about the water of the lake to turne it againe. After these things were done, the Senate in the tenth yere of the warres against the VEIANS, put of all those which dyd beare office, and created *Camillus Dictator*, who named for generall of the horse men, *Cornelius Scipio*. And before he went in hande with any thing, he made a vowe vnto the goddes, that if it pleased them to graunte a happy ende of these warres, in honour of them he would celebrate great playes, and buyld a temple vnto the goddesse which the ROMAINES call *Matuta*: which seemeth to be her whom we call *Leucothea*, considering the ceremonies done in these sacrifices. For they cause a chamber mayde to enter into her temple, & there they boxe her about the eares. Then they put her out of the temple, and doe embrace their brothers children rather then their owne. They make many other ceremonies, and they are much like vnto those that are done vnto *Bacchus* nurces, and to the misfortunes that chaunced vnto *Ino*, by reason of her husbands concubine. After all these vowes and prayers made, he entred with his army into the FALISSIANS territories, whom he ouerthrewe in a great battell, together with the CAPENATES also, which came to ayde them. From thence he went to the siege of the cittie of VEIES, where perceyuing to take it by assaulte, was not to be wonne without great daunger: he beganne to vndermine it (finding the earth all about very minable) and with all

The craftie of a Romaine.

An oracle brought from Delphes.

Camillus chosen Dictator.

Matuta. Leucothea.

A all ſo deepe, that the enemies could perceyue nothing. Nowe when his mining fell out according to his good hope, he gaue an aſſaulte to the walles in all places alike about the cittie at one inſtante, to bring out all the inhabitants of the cittie to man the walles. Whileſt they were all thus vpon the walles to make defence: *Camillus* ſouldiers entred ſecretly through the mines within the caſtell, harde by the temple of *Iuno*: which was the chiefe Churche of all the cittie, and whereunto the cittizens had moſt deuotion. They ſaye that euen at that preſent time the generall of the THVSCANS dyd ſacrifice vnto the goddes, & that his ſoothesayer hauing conſidered the intrells of the beaſtes offered vp in ſacrifice, cried out alowde, that the goddes gaue the victorie vnto him, which ſhould happen to come vpon them in this ſacrifice. The ROMAINES which were within the mine hearing this, brake the earth incontinently, and leaped
B out, crying, and making noyſe with their weapons: wherewith the enemies were ſo aſtonied, that they fled vpon it, and ſo the ROMAINES tooke the intrells, and caried them vnto *Camillus*. And theſe be euen much like the Poets tales and fables. Howbeit *Camillus* hauing by this meanes taken the cittie, and ſeeing from the toppe of the caſtell the infinite goodes & riches within the cittie, which the ſouldiers ſpoyled & made hauoke of, he wept for very pittie. And when thoſe that were about him tolde him he was a happy man: he lift vp his handes vnto heauen, and made this prayer. O mightie god *Iupiter*, and you ô goddes, which ſee and iudge mens good and ill worckes: you knowe right well, that we haue not willingly (without wrong and cauſe offered vs) begonne this warre, but iuſtly, and by compulſion, to be reuenged of a cittie our enemie, which hath done vs great iniuries. But if to conteruayle this our great good
C proſperitie, and victorie, ſome bitter aduerſitie and ouerthrowe be predeſtined vnto vs: I beſeeche you then (moſt mercifull goddes) in ſparing our cittie of ROME, and this her army, you will (with as litle hurte as maye be) let it all fall and light vpon my perſone alone. And as he had ſpoken theſe wordes, and was turning on his right hande (according to the manner of the ROMAINES after they haue prayed vnto the goddes) he fell downe flat before them all. The ſtanders by taking this fall for an ill token, were ſomwhat troubled with the matter: but after he got vp on his feete againe, he tolde them that the thing he requeſted of the goddes was happened vnto him. And that was, a litle hurte, in exchaunge of a great good fortune. So the whole cittie being ſpoyled and rifled, he was alſo deſirous to carie *Iunos* image to ROME, to accompliſhe the vowe he had made. And hauing ſent for worckemen for this purpoſe, he dyd
D ſacrifice firſt vnto the goddeſſe, beſeching her to accept well of the ROMAINES good will, & that ſhe would willingly vowcheſafe to come and dwell with the other goddes, who had the protection of the cittie of ROME. Some ſaye, that the image aunſwered, ſhe was contenred. But *Liuius* writeth that *Camillus* made this prayer, as he touched the image, and that the aſſiſtants aunſwered ſhe was contented, and would goe with a goodwill. Yet they which doe affirme, it was the image ſelfe that ſpake, doe fauour this miracle, grounding their proofe vpon the opinion of the fortune of ROME: the which, from ſo baſe and meane beginning had impoſſibly attained vnto ſo highe glorie and power as it had, without the ſingular fauour of the goddes, and that hath manifeſtly appeared vnto the world, by ſundry great proofes and examples. They bring forth alſo ſuch other like wonders. As, that images haue heretofore let fall
E droppes of ſwet from them: that they haue bene heard to ſighe: that they haue turned: and that they haue made certen ſignes with their eyes, as we finde written in many auncient ſtories. And we could our ſelues alſo tell ſuch like wonders, which we haue heard men of our time affirme, which are not vncredible, nor lightly to be condemned. But for ſuch matters, it is as daungerous to geue to much credit to them, as alſo to diſcredit them to much, by reaſon of the weaknes of mans nature, which hath no certen boundes, nor can rule it ſelf, but ronneth ſomtimes after vanitie and ſuperſtition, and otherwhile alſo diſpiſeth and contemneth holy and diuine matters: and therefore the meane is the vertue, & not to goe to farre in this, as in all other things beſides, it is the beſt. Nowe *Camillus*, whether his late enterpriſe performed, in winning a cittie that ſtoode out with ROME, & helde ſiege with them tenne yeres to-
F gether, had put him into an ouerweninge or conceipt of him ſelfe: or that the wordes of the people, which dyd bleſſe and prayſe him, had made him looke highe, and preſume vpon him ſelfe, more then became the modeſtie of a ciuill magiſtrate, and gouernour of the common

The cittie of Veies taken by mining.

Camillus prayer when Veies was taken.

Fayned wonders of images.

Plutarches iudgement of miracles.

weale,& one that was ſubiect to the lawe:he ſhewed a ſtately triumphe,ſet forth with all riche furniture,& ſpecially for that him ſelf was caried through Rome vpon his triumphant charret drawen with foure fayer white courſers. This, neuer captaine nor generall before him durſt vndertake to doe, neither any euer after him attẽpted it: for they thinke it is a ſacred cariage, and only mete for the King,and father of the goddes.This bred him much enuy amongeſt the cittizẽs,which had not bene acquainted with ſo great ſtatelynes. There was another occaſion alſo that made them miſlike him much:which was,bicauſe he ſtood againſt the lawe put forth that they ſhould deuide the cittie of Rome. For the *Tribunes* of the people dyd ſet out an Edict,that the Senate & people of Rome ſhould be deuided into two partes: and that thoſe on whom the lotte ſhould fall, ſhould abide ſtill in Rome, and the other ſhould goe dwell in the newe wonne cittie of Veies. Theſe were the reaſons to perſuade this: that both the one and the other ſorte ſhould be richer then they were before,& ſhould more eaſely keepe their lands and goodes from the inuaſion of their enemies,by meanes of theſe two great citties.The people which were multiplied nowe into great numbers, & had ſerued duetifully & dauẽgerouſly, thought it the beſt waye in the worlde:Therefore they ſtill cried out,and thronged with great tumulte,about their pulpit for orations, praying that this lawe might be put vnto the voyces of the people.But the whole Senate,and wiſeſt cittizens among them,iudging this motion of the Tribunes would be the deſtruction,and not the diuiſion of the cittie of Rome: could in no wiſe abide it ſhould goe any further.Whereupon they went & prayed *Camillus* helpe:who fearing to bring it to the pointe,whether the lawe ſhould paſſe or no,dyd allwayes ſeeke new occaſions and letts,ſtill to delaye & put of the matter,& ſtaye the confirmation of this lawe. For theſe cauſes, he was hated of the common people But the originall & apparant cauſe of the peoples ill will towards him,was for taking from them the tenth parte of their ſpoyles: and it was not altogether without ſome reaſon, and to ſaye truely the people dyd him much wrong to beare him ſuch malice for that.For before he went to the cittie of Veies, he made a ſolẽne vowe to offer the tenth parte vnto the goddes,of the ſpoyles of the cittie,if he wãne the ſame. But when it was taken and ſacked,whether it was that he was lothe to trouble the cittizens, or hauing a worlde of buſines in his head, that he eaſely forgate his vowe: he ſuffered the ſouldiers to deuide the ſpoyle amongeſt them,& to take the benefit to them ſelues. Shortely after he was diſcharged of his charge, he dyd enforme the Senate of his vowe. Furthermore, the ſootheſayers made reporte at that very time,howe they knew by certaine ſignes and tokens of their ſacrifices,that the goddes were offended for ſomwhat, and howe they muſt of neceſſitie be pacified againe.Whereupon the Senate preſently made an order,where it was vnpoſſible euery man ſhould bring in againe the ſelfe ſame things he had gotten, to make a newe diuiſion of euery mans ſhare: that euery one therefore vpon his othe ſhould preſent the tenthe parte of his gaynes he had gotten by that bootie.There was great trouble about it.They were driuen to vſe great extremitie to the poore ſouldiers(which had traueled ſore,and taken great paynes in the warres) to make them to reſtore backe ſuch a coloppe out of their gaine, and the rather bicauſe many of them had already ſpent it euery penney: and for this trouble,they all cried out with open mouth againſt *Camillus*. But he being ſet vp,and not knowing otherwiſe howe to excuſe him ſelfe, was forced to bring forth as cold and as vnreaſonable an excuſe as he could make, which was: forſoothe he had forgotten his vowe he had made. The people notwithſtanding were eger ſtill againſt him,ſaying: howe he had vowed then to offer the tenth parte of the enemies goodes to the goddes, and that nowe he would performe it with the tenthes of the cittizens goodes. Neuertheles, euery man hauing brought that he ſhould for his parte: it was thought good they ſhould cauſe a maſſie cuppe of golde to be made, to ſend to the temple of *Apollo* at Delphes. And ſmall ſtore of golde being in the cittie of Rome, as the officers of the cittie were ſerching vp and downe to get it: the women of Rome of their owne voluntary willes without motion, agreed among them ſelues, that they would departe with all the iuells they had, towardes the making vp of this offering, which came to the weight of eight talents. In recompence whereof,to honour them withall: the Senate ordeined that they ſhould be prayſed openly with funerall orations at their buriall,as they dyd vſe at honorable and noble mens obſequies. For before that lawe, it was not the

Camillus ſtately triumphe of the Veians.

A lawe for the people of Rome to dwell at Veies.

The chiefeſt cauſe of the peoples malice againſt Camillus.

A cuppe of golde ſent to Delphes.

The ladyes of Rome gaue their iuells towards the making of it.

What time womens prayſes beganne at funeralls in Rome.

A the manner to prayſe women openly at their funeralles. Nowe there were appointed three of the nobleſt men of the cittie to goe to carie this offering, & they ſent them out in a galley well manned, ſtored alſo with good mariners, & trimly ſet forth in all triumphing manner: howbeit both in ſtorme, & calme weather, they were in daunger of their liues. For after that they had ſcaped drowning very narrowly by tempeſt, when the winde was downe againe, they fell into another daunger, which they eſcaped alſo beyond all hope. For harde by the Iles of ÆOLVS, the gallyes of the LIPARIANS fell vpon them, as if they had bene rouers. But when the LIPARIANS ſawe they made no reſiſtance, & intreated them, holding vp their hands: they gaue no further charge vpon them, but only faſtened their gallye vnto theirs. So when they had haled them to the ſhore, they declared they were pirates, & offered to make porte ſale of the men &
B goodes, as if they had bene a lawfull priſe: & had ſolde them in deede, had not the wiſedome & authoritie of *Timeſitheus* letted them, who was gouernour at that time of the cittie, and had great a doe to perſuade them to let them goe. And he dyd not ſo leaue them, but ſent out certaine of his owne ſhippes to accompanie them in their iorney, who dyd helpe them to goe and performe their offering. For which curteſie of his, the ROMAINES afterwardes dyd him great honour at ROME, according to his well deſeruing. The Tribunes of the people beganne nowe to ſet a foote againe the lawe for the deuiding of the inhabitans of ROME vnto the cittie of VEIES. But the warres of the FALISCES fell out happely at that time, wherby the noble men dyd chooſe ſuch officers as they would. So they choſe *Camillus*, *Tribunus militaris* of the ſouldiers, and fiue other to aſſiſte him, the ſeruice in that caſe requiring a generall,
C that caried both authoritie & reputation among them, as an olde experienced ſouldier in the warres. When the people had confirmed the election, *Camillus* immediatly entred the territories of the FALISCES with the ROMAINES armie, where he layed ſiege vnto the cittie of the FALERIANS, being very well fortified, vitteled and ſtored, with all other munition of warre. Knowing therefore that it was no ſmall attempt to winne this cittie, and that it would not be done in a ſhorte time: he pollitikely ſought (whatſoeuer came of it) to keepe his coũtrimẽ occupied about ſome thing, & to ſtaye them for going home, leaſt by repayring to ROME, they ſhould haue many occaſions to rebell, & raiſe ſome ciuill diſſention. For the ROMAINES dyd wiſely vſe this remedie: to diſperſe abroade like good phiſicians, the humours which troubled the quiet ſtate of their cõmon weale at home. But the FALERIANS truſting in the ſituation of
D their cittie, which was very ſtrong in all partes, made ſo litle accompt of the ſiege: that thoſe which kept not watche vpon the walles, walked vp and downe in their gownes in the cittie, without any weapon about them, and their children went to ſchoole, the ſchoolemaſter alſo would commonly leade them abroade out of the cittie a walking, to playe and paſſe the time by the towne walles. For the whole cittie had one common ſchoolemaſter, as the GRECIANS alſo haue, which doe bring vp their children from litle ones in company together, bicauſe one maye be familiarly acquainted with an other. This ſchoolemaſter ſpying his time to doe the FALERIANS a ſhrewd turne, dyd accuſtomably take all his ſcholers out of the cittie with him, to playe, not farre from the walles at the beginning, & afterwards brought them into the cittie againe, after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroade thus once
E or twiſe, he trayned them out euery daye a litle further, to make them to be bolde, perſuading them there was no daunger. But at the length, one daye hauing gotten all the cittizẽs children with him, he led them within the watche of the ROMAINES campe, & there deliuered all his ſcholers into their handes, & prayed them they would bring him vnto their generall. So they did. And when he came before *Camillus*, he begãne to tell him that he was ſchoolemaſter vnto all theſe children, neuertheles that he dyd more eſteeme to haue his grace and fauour, then regarde his office he had by this name & title. *Camillus* hearing what he ſayed, & beholding his threacherous parte, he ſayed to thoſe that were about him. Warre of it ſelfe ſurely is an euill thing, for in warres many iniuries & miſchieues are done: neuertheles amõg good men there is a law & diſcipline, which doth forbid thẽ to ſeeke victorie by wicked & traiterous meanes, &
F that a noble & worthie generall ſhould make warre, & procure victorie, by truſting to his own valliantnes, & not by anothers vilenes & villanie. Therefore he commaunded his ſergeants to teare the clothes of the backe of this vile ſchoolemaſter, & to binde his hands behinde him: &

Camillus choſen Tribune of the ſouldiers.

Camillus beſiegeth the Falerians.

Camillus worthie acte to the ſchoolemaſter, betraying the Faleriās children.

A noble ſaying of Camillus, and wiſe precept for warres.

Valiantnes to be preferred before villanie.

that they ſhould geue the children roddes & whippes in their handes, to whippe the traitour backe againe into the cittie, that had thus betrayed them, & grieued their parents. Now when the FALERIANS heard newes that the ſchoolemaſter had thus betrayed them, all the cittie fell a weeping (as euery man maye thinke for ſo great a loſſe) and men & women ranne together one in anothers necke, to the town walles, & gates of the cittie, like people out of their wittes; they were ſo troubled. When they came thither, they ſaw their childrē bringing their ſchoolemaſter backe againe, ſtarcke naked and bownde, whipping of him, & calling *Camillus* their father, their god, and their ſauiour: ſo that not only the fathers and mothers of the children, but all other the cittizens alſo in generall, dyd conceyue in them ſelues a wonderfull admiration and great loue, of the wiſedome, goodnes, and iuſtice of *Camillus*. So that euen preſently they called a counſaill, and there it was concluded they ſhould ſend ambaſſadours forthwith vnto him, to put their liues and goodes to his mercy and fauour. *Camillus* ſent their ambaſſadours vnto ROME, where audience being geuen vnto them by the Senate, the ambaſſadours ſayed, Bicauſe the ROMAINES preferred iuſtice aboue victorie, they taught them to be better contented to ſubmit them ſelues vnto them, then to be their own men at libertie: confeſſing their vertue dyd more ouercome them, then any force or power could doe. The Senate diſpatched letters vnto *Camillus*, giuing him commiſſion to doe and determine as he thought good. So he hauing taken a certen ſumme of money of the FALERIANS, dyd furthermore make peace and league with all the reſt of the FALISCES: and thereupon returned backe againe to ROME. But the ſouldiers grudged maruelouſly at it. For they ſtoode in hope to haue had the ſacking of the cittie. When there was no remedie, but they muſt needes returne home emptie handed, they beganne to accuſe *Camillus* to the reſt of the cittizens, as ſone as they came to ROME, ſaying: he loued not the common people, and howe for ſpite he diſapointed their army of the ſpoyle. On the other ſide, the Tribunes of the people beganne to reuiue the lawe, for the deuiding of the inhabitants of ROME, and were ready to paſſe it by the voyces of the people. *Camillus* not fearing the ill will of the commons, dyd boldely ſpeake, and doe in open preſence, all he could againſt it. So that plainely he was the chiefeſt cauſe, that the people againſt their willes (intreate what they could) were driuen to let it alone. But withall they were ſo ſpitefull againſt him, that notwithſtanding his ſorowe and misfortune for the death of his ſonne (dying of a ſickenes) was great: they would not of malice once take pittie or compaſſion of him. The loſſe whereof (albeit he was of a very good & curteous nature) was ſo grieuous, and made him ſo vnquiet: that being accuſed before the people, he ſturred not once out of his houſe, but was locked vp with the women, which lamented for his ſonne departed. He that dyd accuſe him, was one *Lucius Apuleius*, burdening him that he had ſtolen and taken awaye, parte of the ſpoyle of the THVSCANS: and ſayed, they had ſeene certen braſen gates at his houſe, which had bene brought out of THVSCAN. Nowe the people were ſo maliciouſly bent againſt him, that euery man might ſee, if they could once take him in a trippe, vpon any aduantage whatſoeuer, they would douteles haue condemned him. Wherefore calling together his friendes and ſouldiers that had ſerued vnder him in the warres, or that had taken charge with him, which were many in number: he earneſtly beſought them, that they would not ſuffer him thus vilely to be condemned, through falſe and vniuſt accuſations layed againſt him, nor to be ſo ſcorned and defamed by his enemies. His friends hauing layed their heades together, and conſulted thereupon, made him aunſwer: howe for his iudgment they could not remedy it, but if he were condemned, they would all ioyne together with a very goodwill, to helpe to paye his fine. But he being of minde not to beare ſuch an open ſhame and ignominie, determined in choller to leaue the cittie, and to exile him ſelfe from it. And after he had taken his leaue of his wife & children, bidding them farewell: he went out of his houſe to the gates of the cittie, & ſayed neuer a word. When he came thither, he ſtayed ſodainely, & returning backe againe, he lift vp his hands towards the Capitoll, and made his prayers vnto the godds: that if it were of very ſpight and malice, and not of iuſt deſeruing, that the common people compelled him thus ſhamefully to forſake the cittie, that the ROMAINES might quickely repente them, and in the face of the worlde might wiſhe for him, and haue nede of him. After he had made theſe prayers againſt the cittizens (as *Achilles* dyd againſt the GRECIANS) he went his way, & was condemned

The Faliſciās by their ambaſſadours doe yelde thē ſelues and goodes vnto Camillus.

The meſſage of the ambaſſadours of the Faliſciās vnto the Romaines.

Camillus tooke a ſumme of money of the Falerians, and made peace with all the reſt of the Faliſces.

Lucius Apuleius accuſed Camillus.

The equitie of the Romaines who would not peruert the lawe though they dearely loued Camillus: but willingly offered to paye his fine.

Camillus prayer before his departure out of Rome.

Camillus exileth him ſelfe from Rome.

A condemned for his contempte, in the ſumme of fifteene thouſand *Aſſes* of the ROMAINE coyne, which make of Greekiſhe money, a thouſand fiue hundred *Drachmas* of ſiluer: for an *As* was a litle pece of money, wherof tenne of them made a ROMAINE penney. Howbeit there was not a ROMAINE of any vnderſtãding, but beleeued certenly that ſome great puniſhment would followe them incontinently, and that the wrong & iniurie they had done him would be quickely requited, with ſome moſt ſharpe and terrible reuenge, not only vnpleaſaunt to thinke vpon, but further moſt notable to be ſpoken of through the world. There fell out ſo ſodainely vpon it, ſuch miſchief toward the cittie of ROME, and the preſent time alſo brought forth ſuch occaſion of daunger and deſtruction thereof, to their ſhame & infamie: that it was vncertaine whether it happened by chaunce, or els it was the handie worcke of ſome god, that would not

B ſuffer vertue recompẽced with ingratitude, to paſſe vnreuenged. Their firſt token that threatned ſome great miſchief to light vpon them, was the death of *Iulius*, one of the Cenſors: for the ROMAINES doe greately reuerẽce the office of a Cenſor, and eſteeme it as a ſacred place. The ſeconde token that happened a litle before *Camillus* exile, was: that one *Marcus Cæditius*, a man but of meane qualitie, and none of the Senatours (but otherwiſe a fayre conditioned honeſt man, and of good conſcience) tolde the *Tribuni militares* of a thing that was to be well conſidered of. For he ſayed that the night before, as he was going on his waye in the newe ſtreete, he heard one call him alowde: and returning backe to ſee what it was, he ſawe no liuing creature, but only heard a voyce bigger then a mans, which ſayed vnto him. *Marcus Cæditius*, goe thy waye to morrowe morning to the *Tribuni militares*, and byd them looke

C quickely for the GAVLES. The *Tribunes* were mery at the matter, and made but a ieaſt at his warning, and ſtraight after followed the condemnation of *Camillus*. Nowe as touching the GAVLES. They came (as they ſaye) of the CELTÆ, whoſe country not being able to maintein the multitudes of them, they were driuen to goe ſeeke other countryes to inhabite in: and there were amongeſt them many thouſands of young men of ſeruice and good ſouldiers, but yet more women and litle children by a great number. Of theſe people, ſome of them went towards the north ſea, paſſing the mountaines RIPHEI, and dyd dwell in the extreme partes of EVROPE. Other of them remained betwene the mountaines PIRENEI, and the greateſt mountaines of the ALPES, neere vnto the SENONES, and the CELTORII. There they continued a long time, vntill they fortuned in the ende to taſte of the wine, which was firſt

D brought out of ITALIE vnto them. Which drinke they found ſo good, and were ſo delited with it, that ſodainely they armed themſelues: and taking their wiues and children with them, they went directly towards the ALPES, to goe ſeeke out the country that brought forth ſuch fruite, iudging all other countries in reſpect of that, to be but wilde and barren. It is ſayed, that the firſt man which brought wine vnto them, and that dyd procure them to paſſe into ITALIE, was a noble man of THVSCAN called *Arron*, and otherwiſe of no ill diſpoſed nature: howbeit he was ſubiect to this misfortune following. He was tutor vnto an orphan childe, the richeſt that was at that time in all the countrie of THVSCAN, and of complexion was wonderfull fayer: he was called *Lucumo*. This orphan was brought vp in *Arrons* houſe of a childe, and though he was growen to mans ſtate, yet he would not goe from him, fayning he was ſo well,

E and to his liking. But in deede the cauſe was, that he loued his maiſtres (*Arrons* wife) whom ſecretly he had enioyed a long time, and ſhe him, that made him like his continuance there. Howbeit in the ende, loue hauing ſo poſſeſſed them both, that neither parte could withdrawe from other, much leſſe culler that they had long enioyed: the young man ſtole her away from him, and kept her ſtill by force. *Arron* put him in ſute, but he preuayled not: for *Lucumo* ouerweyed him with friends, money, giftes, and charges. But he tooke it ſo greuouſly, that he left his country: and hauing heard talke of the GAVLES, he went vnto them, and was their guide to bring them into ITALIE. So they conquered at their firſt coming all that country which the THVSCANS helde in olde time, beginning at the foote of the mountaines, and ſtretched out in length from one ſea vnto the other which enuironneth ITALIE, as the names them

F ſelues doe witneſſe. For they call yet that ſea which looketh vnto the northe, the Adriatick ſea: by reaſon of a cittie built ſometime by the THVSCANS, which was called *Adria*. The other, which lieth directly ouer againſt the South, is called the THVSCAN ſea. All that countrie

Tokens of the warres of the Gaules.

The originall beginning of the Gaules.

Arrõ a Thuſcan the procurer of the Gaules coming into Italie.

Lacke of iuſtice, the cauſe of the deſtruction & conqueſt of Thuſcan by the Gaules.

The power of the Thuſcans in olde time.

is well planted with trees,& hath goodly pleasaunt pastures for beastes and cattell to feede in, & is notably watered with goodly ronning riuers. There was also at that time eighteene fayer great cities in that country,all of them very strong and well seated, aswell for to enriche the inhabitants thereof by traffike,as to make them to liue delicately for pleasure. All these cities the Gavles had wonne, and had expulsed the Thvscans, but this was done long time before. Now the Gavles being further entred into Thvscan,dyd besiege the cittie of Clvsivm. Thereupon the Clvsians seeking ayde of the Romaines, besought them they would send letters and ambassadours vnto these barbarous people in their fauour. They sent vnto them three of the best and most honorable persones of the cittie, all three of the house of the *Fabians*. The Gavles receyued them very curteously, bicause of the name of Rome and leauing to assaulte the cittie,they gaue them audience. The Romaine ambassadours dyd aske them,what iniurie the Clvsians had done vnto them, that they came to make warres with them. *Brennus* king of the Gavles, hearing this question, smiled, and aunswered them thus. The Clvsians doe vs wrong in this: they being but fewe people together, & not able to occupie much lande,doe notwithstanding possesse much,and will let vs haue no parte with them,that are straungers,and out of our country, and stande in neede of seate and habitation. The like wrong was offered vnto you Romaines in old time,by those of Alba,by the Fidenates, and the Ardeates: and not long sithence,by the Veians,& the Capenates: and partly by the Falisces and the Volsces: against whom ye haue taken, & doe take armes, at all times. And as ofte as they will let ye haue no parte of their goods, ye imprison their persones,robbe and spoyle their goodes,and distroye their cities. And in doing this,ye doe them no wrong at all,but followe the oldest lawe that is in the worlde, which euer leaueth vnto the stronger,that which the weaker can not keepe and enioye. Beginning with the goddes, & ending with beastes: the which haue this propertie in nature,that the bigger and stronger haue euer the vauntage of the weaker and lesser. Therefore,leaue your pittie to see the Clvsians besieged, least you teache vs Gavles to take compassion also of those you haue oppressed. By this aunswer the Romaines knewe very wel,there was no waye to make peace with king *Brennus*. Wherefore they entred into the cittie of Clvsivm, and incoraged the inhabitants to salye out with them vpon these barbarous people: either bicause they had a desire to proue the valliantnes of the Gavles, or els to shewe their owne corage and manhoode. So the cittizens went out, and skirmished with them harde by the walles: in the which one of the *Fabians*,called *Quintus Fabius Ambustus*, being excellently well horsed, and putting spurres to him, dyd set vpon a goodly bigge personage of the Gavles, that had aduaunced him selfe farre before all the troupe of his companions. He was not knowen at the first encounter, as well for the sodaine meeting and skirmishing together, as for that his glistering armour dimmed the eyes of the enemies. But after he had slaine the Gavle, and came to strippe him: *Brennus* then knewe him, and protested against him, calling the goddes to witnesse, howe he had broken the lawe of armes, that coming as an ambassadour, he had taken vpon him the forme of an enemie. Hereupon *Brennus* forthwith left skirmishing,and raising the seige from Clvsivm, marched with his army vnto Rome gates. And to the ende the Romaines might knowe, that the Gavles were not well pleased for the iniurie they had receyued: to haue an honest culler to beginne warres with the Romaines, he sent an Herauld before to Rome, to demaunde liuerie of the man that had offended him, that he might punish him accordingly. In the meane time,he him selfe came marching after, by small iourneys to receyue their aunswer. The Senate hereupon assembled,& many of the Senatours blamed the rashnes of the *Fabians*: but most of all,the priestes called *Fæciales*. For they followed it very earnestly, as a matter that concerned religion,& the honour of the godds: declaring how the Senate,in discharge of all the residue of the cittie of the offence cõmitted,should laye the whole waight and burden of it vpon him alone,that only had done the facte. *Numa Pompilius*,the iustest and most peaceable of all the kings of Rome that had bene, was he that first erected the colledge of these Fæciales,and dyd ordeine that they should be the keepers of peace, and the iudges to heare and allowe all the causes,for the which they should iustely beginne any warres. Neuertheles,the Senate in the ende turned ouer the ordering of the matter, vnto the whole will and iudgment

Clusium a cittie of Thuscã besieged by the Gaules.

Brennus king of the Gaules.

Fabius Ambustus a Romaine, breaketh the common lawe of all nations.

Brennus reproueth Fabius for breaking the lawe of armes.

Numa Pompilius erected the colledge of the Fæciales.

A iudgment of the people, before whom these priestes *Feciales* dyd also accuse *Fabius Ambustus*. The people made so litle accõpt of their propounded religion, & honour of the godds in that case: that in stede of deliuering of this *Fabius* vnto the enemy, they dyd choose him for one of the Tribunes of the souldiers with his brothers. The GAVLES vnderstanding this, were so furious & angrie thereat, that they would no lenger linger their iourneis, but marched with all spede vnto ROME. The people that dwelt by the high wayes where they should passe by, were maruelously affrayed to see the multitude of them, & their braue & vniuersall furniture: & beginning to doubt the furie of their rage, they imagined first of all that they would destroye all the chãpion country before them, & afterwardes would take all the strong cities. They cõtrariwise dyd take nothing at all out of the fieldes, neither dyd any hurte or displeasure vnto any

The Gaules marche towards Rome.

B bodie: but passing by their cities, cried out they went to ROME, and would haue no warres but with the ROMAINES, and howe otherwise they desired to be friendes with all the worlde. These barbarous people marching on in this wise towards ROME, the Tribunes of the souldiers brought their army to the field to encounter them. They were no lesse in number then the GAVLES, for they were fourty thousand footemen. Howbeit most part of them were rawe souldiers, that had neuer serued in the warres before. They were very careles of the goddes, & dissolute in matters of religion: for they passed neither for good signes in their sacrifices, neither to aske coũsaill of their soothesayers, which the ROMAINES were religiously wont to doe, before they gaue any battaill. To make the matter worse: the number of the captaines hauing power and authoritie alike, dyd asmuche (or more then the rest) disorder and confounde their

The Romaines armie were 40000 footemen.

To many rulers of an armie, doe confound all order, and putteth the army in perill.

C doings. For ofte times before, in farre lesser matters and daungers then these, they dyd vse to chuse speciall officers that had sole & soueraine authoritie, which they called *Dictators*: knowing very well of how great importance it is, in daungerous times to haue but one head & generall, to cõmaũnd all, & to haue supreme authoritie of iustice in his hands, & not to be bound to deliuer accõpt of his doings to any. The iniury also which they had to vngratefully done to *Camillus*, brought great mischief & incõueniẽce then vpon them. For the captaines after him, durst no more commaunde the people roughly, but euer after dyd flatter them much. When their army was nowe brought into the field, they encamped them selues by a litle riuer called *Allia*, about the eleuẽth stone from ROME, and not farre from the place where the same riuer falleth into *Tyber*. Thither came the barbarous army to them, who ouerthrew them in battell,

Allia fl.

D by their disorder & lacke of gouernment. For the left pointe or winge of their battell was broken of at the first by the GAVLES, who charged them so furiously, that they draue them hedlõg into the riuer. The right wing then retiring out of the plain, before they had any charge geuẽ, & hauing gotten certen hilles hard by them: they had litle hurte, & most of them sauing them selues, did recouer ROME again. The rest that escaped after the enemies were weary of killing, fled by night vnto the cittie of VEIES, thinking ROME had bene lost, & all the cittie put to the sword. This ouerthrowe was on the lõgest daye in sommer, the moone being at the full: & the daye before fortuned the great slaughter of the *Fabians*, of the which were slaine by the THVSCANS in one daye 300. all of a name. The very daye it self was afterwards called *Alliade*, of the name of the litle riuer, by the which the 2. ouerthrow was geuen. But for the differẽce of dayes,

The battell at the riuer of Allia where the Gaules wanne the field of the Romaines.

300. of a name slaine in one daye.

E that some of thẽ are naturally vnfortunate, or that *Heraclitus* the philosopher had reason to reproue the poet *Hesiodus*, for makĩg some days good, & some dayes ill, as though he vnderstood they were not all of one nature: we haue writtẽ & declared our opinion therof in other places. Yet, bicause the matter deliuereth present occasiõ to speake of the same, peraduẽture it wil not be amisse to alleage a few exãples of it only. It fortuned the BOEOTIANS on a time to wine two honorable victories, on the first daye of the moneth they call *Hippodromus* (and which the ATHENIANS call *Hecatombæon*) that is now the moneth of Iune, by either of the which they did still restore the GRECIANS to their libertie. The first was the battell of LEVCTRES. The secõd was the battell of GERASTE, which was two hũdred yeres before, when they ouercame LATTAMIAS, & the THESSALIANS in battell. The PERSIANS contrarily were ouercome in battail

F by the GRECIANS, the sixt daye of August, at the iorney of MARATHON. The third day, at the battell of PLATEES. And on the selfe same daye, neere vnto MYCALA. On the fiue and twenty daye, at the fight of ARBELES, the ATHENIANS wanne the battell by sea, neere vnto

Ile of NAXOS, vnder the charge and gouernment of *Chabrias*, about the full of the moone, in the moneth of August. And on the twenty of the same moneth, they wanne the battell of SALAMINA: as we haue written more amplie in our historie of difference of dayes. The moneth of Aprill also brought to the barbarous people many notable losses. For *Alexander* the great, ouercame the generall of the king of PERSIA, at the fielde of GRANICA, in the sayed moneth. The CARTHAGINIANS also were vanquished in SICILE by *Timoleon*, on the seuen & twenty daye thereof. On which daye also it is thought the cittie of TROYE was taken: as *Ephorus*, *Callisthenes*, *Damastes*, and *Phylarchus*, haue written in their histories. Nowe contrariwise. The moneth of Iulye, which the BOEOTIANS call *Panemus*, hath not bene gratious to the GRECIANS. For on the seuen daye of the same, they were ouerthrowen by *Antipater* at the battell of CRANON, which was their vtter destruction. They had before also lost a battell the same moneth, neere vnto the cittie of CHAERONEA, by king *Phillippe*. On the same daye also, and in the very self moneth and yere, those which came into ITALIE with king *Archidamus*, were slaine euery one of them, by the barbarous people of the coūtry. The CARTHAGINIANS also feare the seuen & twenty daye of the same moneth, as the daye which had before time brought them into many great and sorowfull calamities. Contrarilie also, I knowe very well, how about the feast of mysteries, the cittie of THEBES was destroyed by *Alexander*, & that the ATHENIANS were compelled to receyue a garrison of souldiers into their cittie, about the twenty daye of August, at which time they made the holie procession of the mysteries of *Iacchus*. And on the self day the ROMAINES lost their armie, & their generall *Cæpio*, who was slaine by the CIMBRES. And how afterwards vnder the leading of *Lucullus*, they ouercame king *Tigranes*, & the ARMENIANS. And that *Attalus*, & *Pompey* also, dyed both on the selfe same daye they were borne. To conclude, infinite examples of men might be brought, vnto whom after like reuolutions of time, there happened notable chaunces of good or ill. But to returne againe vnto our historie. The daye of this ouerthrowe, is one of those which the ROMAINES take for one of the vnfortunateſt dayes that euer came vnto them. And by reason of that day, they reckon two other dayes of euery moneth very vnfortunate, engendred through feare & superstition, which spreadeth farre (as commonly it doth) vpon such sinister misfortunes. But for this matter, we haue written it more largely & exquisitly in the booke we made, of the ceremonies & customes of the ROMAINES. Now after this battell lost, if the GAVLES had hottely pursued the chase of their flying enemies, nothing could haue saued ROME from being taken, & the inhabitāts therof from being put vnto the sword. For the ROMAINES that fled from the battell, brought such a feare vpon those that receyued them, and filled the whole cittie of ROME with such greif & trēbling: that they wist not what to doe. The barbarous people againe, beleeuing litle their victorie was so great as it was, fell to make good cheere for so great a ioye receiued, & deuided among them the spoyle of their enemies goods they found in the campe. So gaue they time & leysure by this meanes, to the multitude of people that fled out of ROME, to seeke them some place of safety: & to such as remained still, they left good hope to saue them selues, & to make someprouision for defence. Thereupon they all fortified them selues within moūt Capitoll, & storing it with all kind of vitaill, armor, & munition, they wholy dyd forsake the rest of the cittie. But the first worke they tooke in hande was this. They dyd bring into their sayed forte, parte of their sacred relickes: & the professed *Vestalls* brought thither also their holy fire & all other their holy monumēts. Some writers saye, that they had nothing els in keeping, but the sempiternall fyer, & were so consecrated by king *Numa*, who dyd first institute, that the fyer should be worshipped, as the beginning of all things. For that it is the most motiue & quickest substance that is of all naturall things: notwithstanding, that generation also is a mouing, or at the least not done without motion. For we see, that all other substance which lacketh heate, remaineth idle, & without action, & sturreth not, no more then doth a dead thing, which craueth the force and heate of fyre: as the soule it selfe recouering heate, beginneth somewhat to moue, and disposeth it selfe to doe, and suffer some thing. Wherefore *Numa* being (as they saye) a man of great learning and vnderstanding, who for his wisedome was reported to talke many times with the *Muses*, dyd consecrate the same as a most sacred thing, and commaunded that they neuer should suffer that fyre to goe out, and but keepe it, as they would preserue the

The Romaines superstition in obseruing of dayes.

The holy fier.

The force of fyer.

A the liuely image of the eternall God, the only King & maker of the worlde. Other saye, that the fyer burned continually there before the holy & sacred things, signifying a kinde and manner of purification, which opinion the GRECIANS holde also: howbeit behinde the same fyer, there were certen hidden things, which in no case any might see, but those holy *Vestall Nunes*. Many also holde an opinion, that the *Palladium* of TROYE (as much to say, as *Pallas* image) is hidden also there, which was brought by *Æneas* into ITALIE. Other doe reporte also, that *Dardanus*, at that time when he first beganne to buylde the cittie of TROYE, brought thither the holy images of the goddes of SAMOTHRACIA, and he dyd offer them vp there: and howe *Æneas* after the cittie was taken, dyd steale them awaye, and kept them vntill he came to dwell in ITALIE. Some other also, that take vpon them to knowe more therein then the
B common sorte, doe holde opinion, that there are two pipes not very great, whereof the one is emptie and standeth open, the other is full & fast locked vp, howbeit they are not to be seene but by these holy *Nunnes*. Other thincke also, that these imaginers inuented that they spake of their owne heads, bicause the *Vestall Nunnes* dyd cast all that they could put in at that time, into two pipes, which they buried after in the grounde, within the temple of *Quirinus*: and herefore that very place carieth the surname at this daye of pipes. Howbeit they caried about them the most precious things they had, & fled alongest the riuer. Where one *Lucius Albinus* (one of the common people) flying also, & hauing brought away his wife & litle children, and other household stuffe he had in a carte, by chaunce he lighted vpon the *Vestall Nunnes* in the waye. But so sone as he perceyued these holy *Nunnes* (carying the blessed relickes and iuells in
C their armes, dedicated vnto the seruice of the goddes) all alone, & that they were wearie with going a foote: he caused his wife and his children to come out of the carte, & tooke downe all his goodes also, & willed them to get them vp, and flye into some cittie or towne of GRECE. Thus, me thought I could not well passe ouer with silence, *Albinus* reuerence & deuotion he shewed vnto the goddes, in so daungerous a time & pinche of extremitie. Furthermore the priests of other goddes, & the most honorablest olde men of the cittie of ROME (that had bene Cõsuls before time, or had past the honour of triumphe) had not the harte to forsake ROME: but putting on all their most holy robes & vestments dyd vowe, and as it were willingly sacrificed them selues vnto the fortune that should befall them, for the safety of their countrie. And vsing certain words & prayers which their high bishoppe *Fabius* had taught them, they went *Fabius chief bishoppe of Rome.*
D euen thus apparelled into the great market place, & dyd sit them downe there, in chayers of iuory, expecting the good will & pleasure of the godds what should become of them. But within three dayes after, *Brennus* came to ROME with his army: who finding the gates of the cittie *Rome taken of the Gaules.* all open, & the walles without watche, he dowted some deuise in it, & feared some priuie ambush had bene layed, as one hardly beleeuing to haue found the ROMAINES of so base a mind, as to forsake their cittie. After being enformed of the troth, he entred into ROME by the gate *Collina*, & tooke the same, litle more thẽ three hũdred & three score yeres after it was first builded: if it be true at the least there hath remained any certen chronicles of those times vnto this present daye, considering the trouble & confusion of that time hath made many things more vncerteine then that, dowtefull vnto vs. But so it was, that the rumor ranne to GREECE incon-
E tinently howe ROME was taken, but yet withall somwhat doubtefully & vncertainely. For *Heraclides Ponticus* (who was about that time) sayeth in a certen booke he wrote of the soule, that there was newes come from the West parte, that an armie which came from the HYPERBORIANS, had taken a cittie of GRECE called ROME, situated in that country neere the great sea. But I wonder not that *Heraclides* (who hath written so many other fables & lyes) dyd amplifie the true newes of the taking of ROME, with adding to of his owne deuise, of the HYPERBORIANS, & by the great sea. It is a most true tale, that *Aristotle* the philosopher had certain know- *Aristotles testimonie of the taking of Rome.*
ledge it was taken by the GAVLES: howbeit he sayeth also it was recouered againe afterwards by one called *Lucius*: where in deede it was, by *Marcus Camillus*, & not by *Lucius*. But all this in
F manner is spoken by cõiecture. Moreouer, *Brennus* being entred ROME, dyd appointe parte of *The maieflie of the olde Senatours set in the market place of Rome.* his souldiers to besiege those which were gotten into moũt Capitoll. And he with the residue of his armie, marched on towards the market place: where when he saw the aunciẽt Senatours set so grauely in their chayers, & spake neuer a word, nor offered once to rise, though they saw

their enemies come armed towards them, neither chaunged coũtenance, nor culler at all, but leaned ſoftely on their ſtaues they had in their hands, ſeeming to be nothing affrayed nor abaſhed, but looked one vpon another, he marueloufly wondred at it. This their ſo ſtraunge manner at the firſt dyd ſo dampe the GAVLES, that for a ſpace they ſtoode ſtill, and were in doubte to come neere to touche them, fearing leaſt they had bene ſome goddes: vntill ſuche time, as one of them went boldely vnto *Marcus Papyrius*, & layed his hand fayer & ſoftely vpon his lõg bearde. But *Papyrius* gaue him ſuch a rappe on his pate with his ſtaffe, that he made the bloud ronne about his eares. This barbarous beaſte was in ſuch a rage with the blowe, that he drue out his ſworde, and ſlewe him. The other ſouldiers alſo killed all the reſt afterwardes: and ſo the GAVLES continued many dayes ſpoyling and ſacking all thinges they founde in the houſes, and in the ende dyd ſet them all a fyer, and deſtroyed them euery one, for deſpite of thoſe that kept the forte of the Capitoll, that would not yeld vpon their ſummons, but valliantly repulſed them when they ſcaled the walles. For this cauſe they raſed the whole cittie, and put all to the ſworde that came in their handes, young and olde, man, woman, and childe.

The cittie of Rome raſed by the Gaules.

Nowe this ſiege continuing long, and the ROMAINES holding them out very ſtowtely, vittells beganne to growe ſcante in the campe of the GAVLES, in ſo much as they were driuen of force to ſeeke it abroade without the cittie. Hereupon they deuided them ſelues, whereof ſome remained ſtill with the King at the ſiege of the Capitoll: and the reſt went a forraging, and ſpoyling all the champion countrie and villages thereaboutes, ſcattered as it were by bandes & companies, ſome here, ſome there, fearing nothing, nor paſſing vpon watch or warde, they liued in ſuche ſecuritie of their victorie. Howbeit the greateſt company amongeſt them, went by fortune towardes the cittie of ARDEA, where *Camillus* dwelt, liuing like a priuate man, medling with no matters of ſtate from the time of his exile, vntill that preſent time. But then he beganne not to bethinke him ſelf as a man that was in ſafety, and might haue eſcaped the handes of his enemies, but rather ſought to deuiſe and finde out all the meanes he could to ſubdewe them if occaſion were ſo offered. Whereupon, conſidering that the inhabitants of ARDEA were enough in number to ſet vpon them, although faynte harted, and cowardly, by reaſon of the ſlouth and negligence of their gouernours and captaines, who had no manner of experience in the warres: he beganne to caſt out theſe words among the young men. That they ſhould not thinke the ROMAINES misfortune fell vpon them, through the valliantnes of the GAVLES, nor that their calamitie (who had refuſed good counſaill) had happened vnto them by any worke or acte of the GAVLES, hauing done nothing for their parte to make them carie awaye the victorie: but that they ſhould thinke, it was no other thing, but fortune alone, that would needes ſhewe her power. Therefore, that it were nowe a notable and honorable enterpriſe (although ſomewhat daungerous) to driue theſe ſtraungers and barbarous people out of their countrie: conſidering that the only ende of their victorie was, but to deſtroye and conſume as fire, all that fell into their hands. Wherefore if they would but only take a good luſty harte and corage vnto them, he would with opportunitie, and place, aſſure them the victorie, without any daunger. The young men were pleaſed with theſe words of life & comforte. Whereupon *Camillus* went to breake the matter alſo vnto the magiſtrates & counſellours: and hauing drawen them by perſuaſion vnto this enterpriſe, he armed all that were of age to carie armor, & would not ſuffer a man to goe out of the cittie, for feare leaſt the enemies (which were not farre of) ſhould haue intelligẽce of the ſame. Now after the GAVLES had rõne ouer all the chãpion countrie, & were loden with all ſorts of ſpoyles, they did encãpe them ſelues negligẽtly in open fields, & neuer charged watch nor warde: but hauing their full cariage of wine layed them down to ſlepe, & made no noyſe at all in their cãpe. *Camillus* being aduertiſed therof by his ſeuerall skowtes, cauſed the ARDEANS with as litle noyſe as might be, forthwith to goe out into the fields: & hauing marched ſomwhat roũdly the diſtance betwene the cittie, & the cãpe of the GAVLES, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his ſoldiers make great ſhowtes & cries, & the trũpets to be ſoũded on euery ſide, to put a feare in their enemies, who yet with all the lowde noyſe they made, could hardly be made to wake, they were ſo deadly drõke. Yet there were ſome notwithſtãding, that for feare to be takẽ tardy, dyd buſtle vp at this ſodaine noyſe: & coming to them ſelues, fell to their weapons to reſiſt *Camillus*

The citie of Ardea.

Camillus wordes vnto the Ardeans in excuſe of the Romaines.

Camillus perſuadeth the Ardeans to take armes againſt the Gaules.

A *millus*, which were ſlayne by and by. The reſt, & the greateſt number of them, laye here & there ſcattered in the middeſt of the field, without any weapon, dead a ſleepe, ſtarcke droncke with wine, & were put to the ſworde, & neuer ſtrake ſtroke. Thoſe that fled out of the campe that night (which were but fewe in number) were ouerthrowen alſo the next daye, by the horſe men which followed & killed them, as they tooke them ſtraggling here & there in the fieldes. The brute of this victorie was blowen abroade incontinently through all the townes and villages thereabouts, which cauſed many young men to come & ioyne them ſelues to *Camillus*: but ſpecially the ROMAINES deſired the ſame, that had ſaued thē ſelues in the cittie of VEIES, after the battell loſt at ALLIA, who made their mones amongeſt them ſelues there, ſaying. O goddes, what a captaine hath fortune taken from the cittie of ROME? What honour hath the B cittie of ARDEA by the valliantnes and worthy deedes of *Camillus*: and in the meane ſeaſon, his naturall cittie that brought him forth, is now loſt, & vtterly deſtroyed? We, for lacke of a captaine to leade vs, are ſhut vp here within others walles, & doe nothing but ſuffer ITALIE in the meane ſpace to goe to ruine, & vtter deſtruction before our eyes. Why then doe we not ſend to the ARDEANS for our captaine? or why doe we not arme our ſelues, to goe vnto him? For he is nowe no more a baniſhed man, nor we poore cittizens: ſince our cittie is poſſeſſed with the forein power, of our hatefull enemies. So they all agreed to this counſaill, & ſent vnto *Camillus* to beſeche him to be their captaine, and leade them. But he made aunſwer, he would in no caſe conſent vnto it, vnles they that were beſieged in the Capitoll had lawfully firſt confirmed it by their voyces. For thoſe (ſayed he) ſo long as they remaine within the cittie, doe re- C preſent the ſtate & bodie thereof. Therefore if they cōmaunded him to take this charge vpon him, he would moſt willingly obey them: if otherwiſe they miſliked of it, that thē he would not medle againſt their good willes & cōmaundement. They hauing receaued this aunſwer, there was not a ROMAINE amongeſt them, but greatly honored & extolled the wiſedome & iuſtice of *Camillus*. But nowe they knewe not how to make them priuie to it, that were beſieged in the Capitoll: for they ſawe no poſſibilitie to conuey a meſſenger to them: conſidering the enemies were lordes of the cittie, & layed ſeige to it. Howbeit there was one *Pontius Cominius* amōgeſt the young men (a man of a meane houſe, but yet deſirous of honour & glory) that offered him ſelf very willingly to venter to get in if he could. So he tooke no letters to cary to them which were beſieged, for feare leaſt they might be intercepted, & ſo they ſhould diſcouer *Camillus* in- D tētion: but putting on an ill fauoured gowne vpon him, he cōueyed certen peces of corcke vnder it, & traueling at none dayes kept on his waye without feare, vntill he came to ROME, bringing darke night with him. And bicauſe he could not paſſe ouer the bridge, for that the Barbarous people kept watche vpō it: he wrapped ſuch clothes as he had, about his necke (which were not many, nor heauy) & tooke the riuer, & ſwimming with theſe corcks he had brought, at the length he got ouer to the other ſide where the cittie ſtoode. Then taking vp thoſe lanes allwayes where he thought the enemies were not, ſeeing fire, & hearing noyſe in other places, he wēt to the gate Carmentale, where he found more ſilēce then in other places: on the which ſide alſo, the hill of the Capitoll was more ſtepe and vpright, by reaſon of the great rocks that were harde to clime vp vpon. But he digged & crept vp ſo long amongeſt them, that he got vp E with great payn vnto the wall of the fortreſſe, on the which ſide alſo the enemie kept no watch: & ſaluting the watche of the Capitoll, he told them what he was. So they plucked him vp vnto them, & brought him to the magiſtrates that ruled then. Who cauſed the Senate to aſſemble preſently, vnto whom he told the newes of *Camillus* victorie, which they had not heard of before: & therewith alſo he dyd declare vnto thē, the determination of the ROMAINE ſouldiers that were abroade, which was, to make *Camillus* their captaine & general, & did perſuade them alſo to graūt him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad whō the cittizēs gaue their conſents to obey. When they heard this, all that were within the Capitoll, conſulted thereupon amōgeſt them ſelues, & ſo did chuſe *Camillus Dictator*, & returned the meſſenger *Pōtius Cominius* backe againe, the ſelf ſame way he came vnto them. His fortune in returning backe, was F like vnto his coming thither: for the enemies neuer ſawe him. And ſo he brought reporte vnto thē that were abroad, of the Senates decree & conſent, whereof they all were maruelous glad. Thus came *Camillus* to take this charge of generall vpon him, & found there were twēty thou-

Camillus ſlue the Gaules hard by Ardea.

Pōtius Cominius got vp into the Capitoll at Rome.

Camillus choſen Dictator the ſecond time.

ſand good fighting men abroade,and well armed.Then got he further ayde alſo of their allies and confederates,and prepared daylie to goe and ſet vpon the enemies. So was *Camillus* choſen nowe *Dictator* the ſeconde time, and went vnto the cittie of VEIES, where he ſpake with the ROMAINE ſouldiers that were there, and leauied a great number of the allies beſides, to goe fight with the enemies as ſone as he could. But whileſt *Camillus* was thus a preparing, certen of the Barbarous people in ROME, walking out by chaunce on that ſide of the Capitoll where *Pontius Cominius* had gotten vp the night before: ſpied in diuers places the printes of his feete and hands,as he had griped & gotten holde,ſtill digging to get vp,& ſawe the weedes and erbes alſo growing vpon the rocks,& the earth in like manner,flat troden down. Whereupon they went preſently vnto the King,to let him vnderſtãde the ſame: who forthwith came to vewe the place. And hauing conſidered it well,he dyd nothing at that time:but when darke night was come,he called a companie of the lighteſt GAVLES together, and that vſed moſt to digge in mountaines,& ſayed vnto them.Our enemies them ſelues doe ſhew vs the waye how to take them,which we could not haue founde out but by them ſelues. For they hauing gone vp before vs,doe geue vs eaſely to vnderſtãde,it is no impoſſible thing for vs to clime vp alſo. Wherefore,we were vtterly ſhamed,hauing already begõne well,if we ſhould fayle alſo to end well: & to leaue this place as vnuincible. For if it were eaſie for one man alone, by digging to clime vp to the height thereof: much leſſe is it harde for many to get vp one after another, ſo that one doe helpe another.Therefore Syrs,I aſſure you,thoſe that doe take paynes to get vp, ſhalbe honorably rewarded, according to their iuſt deſerte.When the King had ſpoken theſe wordes vnto the GAVLES, they fell to it luſtely euery man to get vp: & about midnight, they beganne many of them to digge,& make ſtepps vp to the rocke one after another,as ſoftly as could poſſibly,with catching holde the beſt they could,by the hãging of the rocke,which they found very ſteepe,but neuertheles eaſier to clime,then they tooke it at the beginning. So that the formeſt of them being come to the toppe of the rocke, were now ready to take the walle, & to ſet vpon the watche that ſlept: for there was neither man nor dogge that heard them. It chañced then there were holy geſe kept in the temple of *Iuno*,which at other times were wont to be fed till their croppes were full:but vittells being very ſtraite,& ſcante at that time euen to finde the men,the poore geſe were ſo hard handled, & ſo litle regarded, that they were in mãner ſtarued for lacke of meate. This fowle in deede naturally is very quicke of hearing,& ſo is ſhe alſo very fearefull by nature:& being in manner famiſhed with their harde allowance,they were ſo much the more waking,& eaſier to be afrayed. Vpõ this occaſion therfore, they heard the cõming of the GAVLES,& alſo beganne to ronne vp & downe & crie for feare:with which noyſe they did wake thoſe that were within the caſtell.The GAVLES being bewrayed by theſe fooliſhe geſe, left their ſtealing vpon them, & came in with all the open noyſe & terrour they could.The ROMAINES hearing this larum, euery man tooke ſuch weapon as came firſt to his hand, & they ranne ſodainely to reſcue that place from whence they vnderſtoode the noyſe: among thoſe,the formeſt man of all was *Marcus Manlius*,a man that had bene Cõſul,who had a luſty bodye,& as ſtowte a harte.His happe being to mete with two of the GAVLES together, as one of them was lifting vp his axe to knocke him on the head, he preuẽted him,& ſtrake of his hand with his ſword,and clapt his target on the others face ſo fiercely, that he threwe him backward down the rocke:& cõming afterwards vnto the walle with others that ranne thither with him,he repulſed the reſt of the GAVLES that were gotten vp,who were not many in nũber,neither did any great acte.Thus the ROMAINES hauing eſcaped this daũger,the next morning they threw the captaine hedlong down the rocks from the caſtell,who had charge of the watche the night before: & gaue *Manlius* in recompence of the good ſeruice he had done, a more honorable then profitable rewarde,which was this.Euery man of them gaue him halfe a pound of the country wheate, which they call *Far*, and the fourth parte of the meaſure of wine, which the GRECIANS call *Cotile*: and this might be about a quarte, being the ordinary allowance of euery man by the daye. After this repulſe, the GAVLES beganne to be diſcoraged, partely for that their vitailles fayled them, and durſt no more forage abroade in the fieldes for feare of *Camillus*: and partly alſo for that the plague came amongeſt them, being lodged amongeſt heapes of dead bodies, lying in euery place aboue ground without buriall,

The Gaules clime vp to the Capitoll in the night.

The holy geſe ſaued the Capitoll.

Marcus Mãlius repulſed the Gaules from the Capitoll.

The Gaules vexed with the plague at Rome.

A and amongeſt burnt houſes deſtroyed, where the aſhes being blowen very high by the winde & vehemẽcy of heate, dyd geue a drie perſing ayer, that dyd maruelouſly poyſon their bodies when they came to drawe in the breathe of it. But the greateſt cauſe of all their miſchief was, the chaunge of their wonted dyet. Who comming out of a freſhe countrie, where there were excellent pleaſaunt places to retire vnto, to auoyde the diſcommoditie of the parching heate of the ſommer, were nowe in a naughty plaine countrie for them to remaine in, in the latter ſeaſon of the yere. All theſe things together dyd heape diſeaſes vpon them, beſides the long continuaunce of the ſiege about the Capitoll (for it was then about the ſeuenth moneth) by reaſon whereof there grewe a maruelous death in their campe, through the great numbers of them that dyed daylie, and laye vnburied. But notwithſtanding all the death and trouble of the
B Gavles, the poore beſieged Romaines were nothing holpen the more, the famine ſtill dyd growe ſo faſt vpõ them. And bicauſe they could heare nothing of *Camillus*, they were growen almoſt vnto a deſpaire: and ſend vnto him they could not, the Gavles kept ſo ſtraight watche vpon them in the cittie. Whereupon both parties finding them ſelues in harde ſtate, firſt the watche of either ſide beganne to caſt out wordes of peace amongeſt them ſelues: and afterwards by cõſent of the heades, *Sulpitius*, Tribune of the ſouldiers, came to parle with *Brennus*. In which parle it was articled: that the Romaines ſhould paye a thouſand pounde weight of golde, and that the Gavles ſhould incontinently after the receipt of the ſame, departe out of their cittie, and all their territories. This decree being paſſed by othe from both, the golde was brought. And whẽ it came to be weyed, the Gavles at the firſt priuely begãne to deale falſe-
C ly with them: but afterwardes they openly ſtayed the ballance, and would not let them waye no more, whereat the Romaines beganne to be angrie with them. Then *Brennus*, in ſcorne & mockery, to deſpight them more, pluckt of his ſworde, girdell and all, and put it into the ballance where the gold was wayed. *Sulpitius* ſeeing that: asked him what he ment by it? *Brennus* aunſwered him: what canne it ſignifie els, but ſorrowe to the vanquiſhed. This worde euer after ranne as a common prouerbe in the peoples mouthes. Some of the Romaines tooke this vile parte of theirs in ſuch ſcorne, that they would needes take the gold from them againe by force, and ſo returne into their holde, to abide the ſiege ſtill, as they had done before. Other were of opinion to the contrary, and thought it beſt with pacience to put vp this ſcorne of theirs, and not to thincke it was a ſhame to paye more then they had promiſed: but only to
D paye it by cõpulſion as they dyd, by misfortune of time, was to thincke it rather neceſſary, then honorable. And as they were debating the matter thus, aſwell amongeſt them ſelues, as with the Gavles: *Camillus* came to Rome gates with his armie, and vnderſtanding all what had paſſed betweene them, he commaunded the reſt of the army to marche fayer and ſoftely after him in good order, and he in the meane ſeaſon with the beſt choyſe men he had, went before with all ſpeede. Aſſone as the other Romaines within the cittie had ſpied him, they ſhowted out for ioye, and receaued him euery one with great reuerence, without any more wordes, as their ſoueraine captaine and prince, who had power ouer them all. And *Camillus* taking the golde out of the skales, gaue it vnto his men, and commaunded the Gavles preſently to take vp their skales, and to get them going: for, ſayeth he, it is not the Romaines
E manner to keepe their countrie with golde, but with the ſworde. Then *Brennus* beganne to be hotte, and tolde him it was not honorably done of him, to breake the accorde that had paſſed betweene them before by othe. Whereunto *Camillus* ſtowtely aunſwered him againe, that accorde was of no validitie. For he being created *Dictator* before, all other officers and magiſtrates whatſoeuer, & their actes, by his election were made of no authoritie: and ſeeing therefore they had delte with men, that had no power of them ſelues to accorde to any matter, they were to ſpeake to him, if they required ought. For he alone had abſolute authoritie to pardone them if they repented, and would aske it: or els to puniſhe them, and make their bodies aunſwer the damages and loſſe his cuntry had by them ſuſteyned. Theſe wordes made *Brennus* madde as a march hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their ſwordes of all ſides, and
F layed luſtely one at an other as they could, within the houſes, and in open ſtreetes, where they could ſet no battell in order. But *Brennus* ſodainely remembring him ſelfe that it was no euen matche for him, retired with his men about him into his campe, before he had loſt many of

The Romaines went about to redeeme their libertie of the Gaules with golde.

Camillus came to Rome with his army.

Camillus ſpeaketh ſtowtely to Brennus king of the Gaules.

his people. The next night following, he departed out of Rome with all his army, and went to encãpe him ſelf about a three ſcore furlong from thence, in the highe way that goeth towards the cittie of the Gabians. *Camillus* with his whole army well appointed, went after him immediatly, & ſhowed at his campe by the breake of daye. The Romaines hauing taken harte againe vnto them, dyd luſtely geue them battell: the ſame continued longe, very cruell and doubtefull, vntill the Gavles at the length were ouerthrowen, and their campe taken with great ſlaughter. As for thoſe that dyd eſcape the furie of the battell, they were killed, ſome by the Romaines ſelues, who hottely followed the chaſe after the battell broken: the reſidue of them, and the greateſt parte, were ſlaine by thoſe of the citties and villages neere abouts, that dyd ſet vpon them as they fled ſcatteringly here and there in the fields. And thus was the cittie of Rome ſtraungely againe recouered, that was before ſtraungely wonne and loſt, after it had continued ſeuen moneths in the handes of the barbarous people. For they entred Rome about the fiftenth daye of Iulye: and they were driuen out againe, about the thirtenth daye of Februarye following. So *Camillus* triumphed as beſeemed him, and as one that had ſaued and deliuered his countrie out of the handes of their enemies, and ſet Rome againe at libertie. Thoſe that had bene abroade all the time of this ſiege, came into Rome againe, following his triumphing charret: and thoſe that had bene beſieged within the Capitoll (looking for no other but to haue dyed by famin) went and preſented them ſelues before him, and eche one embraced other, in weeping wiſe for ioye. The prieſtes and miniſters of the temples alſo, preſented their holy iuells, whole and vndefaced, which ſome of them had buried in the ground within the cittie ſelfe: and others ſome had caried awaye with them, when they fled out of Rome. All theſe the people dyd as gladly ſee, as if the goddes them ſelues had returned home againe into their cittie. After they had ſacrificed vnto the goddes, and rendred them moſt humble thankes, and had purged their cittie, as they had bene taught by men experienced in thoſe matters for ſatisfaction of the goddes: *Camillus* beganne againe to buylde vp the temples that were there before, harde by the which he buylt another newe one alſo to the god *Aius Locutius*, in that very place where *Marcus Ceditius* heard the voyce warne him of the coming of the Gavles. So by *Camillus* good diligence, and the prieſtes great paynes and trauaill, the ſituations of theſe temples were with muche a doe founde out againe. But when they were to buylde againe all the reſt of the cittie, that was wholy burnt, and deſtroyed to the grounde: the people had no minde to it, but euer ſhrinked backe, to put any hande to the worcke, for that they lacked all thinges neceſſarie to beginne the ſame. Furthermore, waying their late and long ſuſteined trouble and miſeries, they were fitter to take their eaſe and reſt, then to beginne newe labour and toyle, to kill their hartes and bodies altogether. For, neither were their bodies able to performe it, nor yet their goods to reache to the charge of it. Wherefore diſpoſing their mindes to dwell in the cittie of Veies, Which remained whole, vntouched, and furniſhed of all thinges to receaue them: they deliuered to the pratling Orators (whoſe tongues dyd neuer ceaſe to ſpeake *placentia* to the people) trimme occaſion to ſet this matter abroache. So they gaue good eare, and were willing to heare certen ſeditious wordes ſpoken againſt *Camillus*, which were theſe. That for his priuate ambition he would depriue them of a cittie well furniſhed already, and would againſt their willes compell them to lodge in their owne houſes, wholy burnt and pulled downe. And moreouer, how he would make them to rayſe vp againe the great ruine the fire had made, to the ende the people might call him, not only captaine and generall of the Romaines, but the founder of Rome alſo, & ſo drown *Romulus* honorable title thereof. The Senate conſidering of this matter, & fearing ſome tumulte among the people: they would not ſuffer *Camillus* to leaue his *Dictator* ſhippe before the ende of the yere, notwithſtanding no man euer enioyed that office aboue ſixe moneths. Then *Camillus* for his parte dyd much endeuour him ſelfe, to comforte & appeaſe the people, praying them all he could to tarie: and further pointed with his finger vnto the graues of their auncеſters, and put them in minde alſo of the holy places dedicated to the goddes, and ſanctified by king *Numa*, or by *Romulus*, or by other Kings. But amongeſt many other tokens drawen out of holy and diuine things, he forgate not to bring for example, the heade of a man feunde newe and freſhe, in making the foundations of the Capitoll, as if that

Camillus ouerthroweth the armie of the Gaules.

Rome was 7. moneths in the handes of the Gaules.

Camillus triumphed of the Gaules.

The buſie headed Orators ſtirre the people to tumulte againſt Camillus.

Camillus Dictatorſhippe proroged.

Camillus perſuaded the people what he could to dwell in Rome, and to leaue Veies.

A if that place by fatall deſteny had bene once choſen to be the heade and chief of all ITALIE. And moreouer, that the holy fyer of the goddeſſe *Veſta* (which ſence the warres had bene kindled againe by the holy *Veſtall Nunnes*) would againe come to be put out by them, if they did forſake their naturall cittie, beſides the great ſhame and diſhonour it would be vnto them, to ſee it inhabited in time to come by vnknowe ſtraungers, or els to be left a common field and paſture, for beaſtes and cattell to graze in. Such ſorowfull examples and griefes, the honeſt naturall borne cittizens, dyd euer blowe into the peoples eares, aſwell priuately, as openly. The people againe to the contrarie, dyd make their hartes to yerne for pittie, when they layed before their eyes their penurie, and pouertie they ſuſteined: and beſought them alſo not to enforce them to gather and ioyne together againe the broken peces of a ſpoyled cittie (as
B of a ſhippewracke that had caſt them naked into the ſea, hauing only ſaued bare life and perſones) ſence that they had another cittie neere at hande and ready to receaue them. So *Camillus* counſell was, that the Senate ſhould conſulte vpon this matter, and deliuer their abſolute opinion herein: which was done. And in this counſell, he him ſelf brought forth many probable reaſons, why they ſhould not leaue in any caſe, the place of their naturall birth and country: and ſo dyd many other Senatours in like caſe, fauoring that opinion. Laſt of all, after theſe perſuaſions, he commaunded *Lucius Lucretius* (whoſe manner was to ſpeake firſt in ſuch aſſemblies) that he ſhould ſtand vp and deliuer his opinion, & that the reſt alſo in order as they ſat, ſhould ſaye their mindes. So euery man keeping ſilence, as *Lucretius* was ready to ſpeake, at that preſent time there paſſed by their coũſaill houſe, a captaine with his bãde that warded
C that daye, who ſpake alowde to his enſigne bearer that went formeſt, to ſtaye, and ſet downe his enſigne there: for, ſayed he, here is a very good place for vs to warde in. Theſe wordes being heard vp into the Senate houſe, euen as they ſtoode all in a doubte & maze what would be the reſolution of this matter: *Lucretius* beganne to ſaye, that he moſt humbly thancked the goddes, and allowed of the captaines iudgment, and ſo euery one of the reſt in their order, ſayed as much. Moreouer there was a wonderfull chaunge and alteration of minde ſodainely among the common people: for euery man dyd perſuade & encorage his fellowe liuely to put his hand to this worke. Inſomuch as tarying for no diuiſion or appointing out of ſtreetes, nor ſetting out euery man his place he ſhould builde in: they fell to worke of all handes, euerie one choſing that place he liked beſt, & was moſt cõmodious for their building, without any other
D order or diuiſion amongeſt them. Whereupon, they ronning to this building on a head, the ſtreetes were cõfuſed on heapes together, & their houſes all built out of order & vniformitie. For the reporte goeth, that the whole cittie (as well cõmon as priuate buildings) was built vp new againe in a yere. But the ſurueyours, to whom *Camillus* had geuen charge to finde out all the holy places where the tẽples had bene ouerthrowen: as they went about mount *Pallatine*, they came by chaunce to the place, where the chappell of *Mars* had ſtoode, which the GAVLES had wholy burnt and deſtroyed, as they had done all the reſt. They making cleane the place, and ſurueying euery corner, dyd finde by chaunce *Romulus* augures crooked ſtaffe hidden vnder a great mount of aſhes. This ſtaffe is crooked at one of the endes, and they call it *Lituus*, which ſoothe ſayers doe vſe to quarter out the regions of the element, when they will
E beholde the flying of birdes to tell of things to come. *Romulus* that was very skillfull in this arte, dyd vſe this ſtaffe: and after he was taken awaye from all mens ſights, the prieſts tooke it, and kept it as a holy relicke, ſuffering no creature to laye hands on it. Nowe they founde this ſtaffe whole and vnbroken, where all things els were conſumed and periſhed by fire, they were in a maruelous ioye thereat. For they interpreted this to be a ſigne, of the euerlaſting continuaunce of the cittie of ROME. But before they could make an ende of all their building, there grewe a newe warre againe vpon them. For at one very inſtante, all the ÆQVES, the VOLSCES, and the LATINES, entred with all their might and mayne into the territories of the ROMAINES. The THVSCANS alſo went then and beſieged SVTRIVM, that was in league & amitie with the ROMAINES. The *Tribuni militares* got them ſtraight to the field with their
F armie, and encamped about mount *Martian*. The LATINES beſieged them ſo ſtraightely, that their army ſtoode in great daunger to be ouerthrowen, & they were driuen to ſende to ROME for a newe ſupplie. Thereupon the ROMAINES dyd chooſe *Camillus Dictator* againe the third

Rome is built againe.

Rome was newe built againe in a yere.

Romulus augures ſtaffe founde hole after Rome was burne.

Camillus choſen Dictator the third time.

time. The occaſion of this warre is reported two manner of wayes: whereof I will declare the A
firſt, which I doe conceyue to be but a tale. They ſaye the LATINES ſent vnto the ROMAINES,
to demaunde ſome of their free maydes in mariage: which they dyd either to make a quarell
of warre, or els as deſirous in deede, to ioyne both the peoples againe by newe mariages. The
ROMAINES were amaſed very much at this, and ſore troubled, as not knowing howe to aun-
ſwer them, they were ſo affrayed of warres. For they were yet ſcante newe ſetled at home, and
dreaded much leſt this demaunde of their daughters, was but a ſummons made to geue them
hoſtages, which they finely cloked vnder the name of alliãce in mariage. Some ſaye that there
was at that time a bonde mayde called *Tutola*, or as ſome ſaye, *Philotis*, that went vnto the Se-
Tutola, or Philotis craft & ſubtiltie. nate, and counſelled them they ſhould ſende her awaye with ſome other fayer maydes ſlaues,
dreſſed vp like gentlewomen, & then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this deuiſe, B
and choſe ſuch a number of bonde maydes as ſhe deſired to haue, & trimming them vp in fine
apparell, begawded with chaines of golde and iuells, they ſent them forth to the LATINES,
who were encamped not farre from the cittie. When night was come, the other maydes hyd
their enemies ſwords. But this *Tutola, or Philotis* (call her as you will) dyd clime vp to the toppe
of a wilde figge tree, from which ſhe ſhewed a burning torche vnto the ROMAINES, hauing
made ſhifte to hange ſomwhat behinde her, to keepe the light from ſight of the enemies. For
this ſignall the Senate of ROME had ſecretly appointed her to ſet vp, which was the cauſe that
the iſſuing out of the ſouldiers being commaunded to goe out in the night, was full of trouble
and tumulte. For being preſſed by their captaines, they called one another, and there was great
Rome deliuered frõ warres by Tutola the bondmayde. a doe to put them into ordre of battell. Thus they went to take their enemies ſleeping, who C
nothing miſtruſting the ſame, were ſlaine the moſt parte of them within their cãpe. This was
done on the fifte day of the moneth called then *Quintilis*, & now is named *Iulye*: at which time
they doe yet celebrate a certaine feaſt in remembraunce of that acte. For firſt of all, going out
of the citie, they call alowde many of their fellowes names which are moſt common: as *Caius*,
Marcus, and *Lucius*, ſhowing thereby howe one of them called another after that ſorte, as they
went in great haſte out of the cittie. Afterwardes all the mayde ſeruauntes of the cittie being
The maydens feaſte, called Nonæ Capratinæ. trimmely apparelled, goe playing vp and downe the towne, pleaſauntly ieaſting with, thoſe
they mete: and in the ende they make as though they fought together, in token that they
dyd helpe the ROMAINES at that time to deſtroye the LATINES. Then they are feaſted, ſit-
ting vnder bowers made with wilde figge tree boughes: and this feaſte daye is called, *Nonæ* D
Capratinæ, by reaſon of the wilde figge tree (as ſome thincke) from the toppe whereof, the
bonde mayde ſhewed to the ROMAINES the burning torche. For the ROMAINES call the
wilde figge tree, *Caprificus*. Other ſaye, that all theſe things are done and ſpoken, in remem-
brance of the miſchaũce that happened vnto *Romulus*, whẽ he was taken out of their ſight, the
ſame day without the gats of the citty, at which time there roſe a ſodain miſte & darke clowd.
Or as ſome other ſaye, that then was the eclypſe of the ſunne: and they holde opinion that the
day was named *Nonæ Capratinæ*, bicauſe *Capra* in the ROMAIN tõgue, ſignifieth a goate. *Romu-
lus* vaniſhed out of mens ſightes, as he was making an oration vnto his people, neere vnto the
place which is called goate marſhe, as we haue mentioned more at large in his life. The 2. oc-
caſion & beginning of this warre (according to the opinion of moſt writers) was, that *Camillus* E
being choſen *Dictator* the third time, & knowing that the *Trib. militares* with their army were
ſtraightly beſieged by the LATINES, and VOLSCES: he was inforced to arme all the old men,
who for very age were priuiledged from further ſeruice in warres. And hauing fetched a great
cõpaſſe about moũt *Martian*, bicauſe he would not be ſeene of his enemies, he came to lodge
his campe behind them, where he raiſed fiers, to make the ROMAINES knowe that were beſie-
ged, how he was come: which as ſone as they pceiued, they tooke to thẽ corage again, & deter-
mined to fight. But the LATINES & VOLSCES kept within their cãpe, & dyd entrenche & for-
tifie thẽ ſelues with a wall of wodd, which they layed a croſſe, bicauſe they ſaw they were beſet
both before & behind: & determined to tary the releeſe of a new ſupply, as well of their owne,
as of ſome further ayde beſides frõ the THVSCANS, which thing *Camillus* pceauing, & fearing F
leaſt they ſhould ſerue him, as he had already hãdled thẽ by cõpaſſing of him again behind: he
thought it neceſſary to preuẽt this. So cõſidering the incloſure & fortificatiõ of their cãpe was

all

A all of wodde, and that euery morning commonly, there came a great winde from the side of the mountaines, he made prouision of a number of fire brandes. And leading out his armie into the fields by breake of day, he appointed one parte of them to geue charge vpon the enemies on the one side, with great noyse and showting: and he with the other parte determined to rayse fier on the cõtrary side, from whence the winde should come, looking for oportunitie to doe the same. When he sawe the sunne vp, and the winde beginning to whistle, blowing a good gale from the side of the hilles, & that the skirmishe was begonne on the other side: then he gaue a signall vnto the companie he led with him, to set vpon the enemies, and made them throwe into the inclosure of their campe, diuers potts & dartes with fire, so that the flame finding matter to catche holde of, in this inclosure of wodde, & trees layed ouerthwart, dyd raise
B straight an exceding great flame in the ayer, & still got waye inwards into the Latines cãpe. Whereupon the Latines being vnprouided of present remedy to quenche the flame, and seeing their campe a fyre all about their eares: they gathered them selues together at the first in a very small roome. Neuertheles, they were inforced in the ende to get them into the field, & there they founde their enemies ready armed, & in battell raye. So as fewe of those escaped that came into the field, & their fellowes that remained within their cãpe, were burnt to death with fyer, vntill the Romaines them selues came to quench it for greedines of their spoyle & goodes. When all this was done, *Camillus* left his sonne in the campe, to keepe the prisoners & spoyles: & he him self, with the rest of the armie, went to inuade his enemies contrie, where he tooke the cittie of Æqves. Then after he had ouercome the Volsces, he led his army pre-
C sently from thence vnto the cittie of Svtrivm. For he had not yet harde of their misfortune. Therefore he hasted him self to ayde them, bicause he thought they were yet besieged by the Thvscans. But suche was their harde fortune, that they had already yelded vp their cittie by composition, & saued no parte of their goodes, but the very clothes they had on their backs. So being turned out of all they had, they met *Camillus* by the waye as they were wandring abroad, lamenting their miserie, with their wiues & litle young children: whose miserie went to the very harte of *Camillus*, when he beheld their lamentable state. Furthermore, when he sawe the Romaines weepe for pittie also, to see the mone that these vnfortunate people made vnto him, and that it greued them hartely to beholde their great mischaunce: he determined with him self not to deferre reuenge, but presently to goe the selfe same daye before the cittie
D of Svtrivm, imagining that he should finde the Thvscans out of order, without keeping watch, & attending nothing but making good cheere, bicause they had newly taken a wealthy riche cittie, where they had left neuer an enemy in the same to hurte them, neither feared any abroad to come neere to assaulte them. And in deede it fell out rightly as he gessed. For he had not only passed through the territories of the cittie, without any intelligence geuen to the enemies within the same: but he was come to the very gates, and had taken the walles, before they hard any thing of his coming, by reason they neither kept watch nor warde, but were dispersed abroade in the cittie, in euery house, eating and drincking droncke together. Insomuch as when they knew their enemies were already within the cittie, they were so full fraight with meate & wine, that the most of their wittes serued them not so much as to flye, but tarried vn-
E till they were slaine or taken, like beastes in the houses. Thus was the cittie of Svtrivm twise taken in one daye. And it chaunced that those which had wonne it, lost it: & those which had lost it, recouered it againe by *Camillus* meanes. Who deserued both the honour and entrie of triumphe into Rome: the which wanne him no lesse good will and glorie, then the two first before had done prayse, and gotten fame. For euen his greatest enemies that most spighted and enuied his former noble actes, ascribing them rather to fortune that fauored him, then to his valliantnes or worthines: were forced nowe by this deede of his to confesse, that his wisedome and valliantnes deserued prayse and commendation to the skyes. *Camillus* of all his enemies had one most bitter to him, which was *Marcus Manlius*, that was the first man
F that gaue the Gavles the repulse that night they had entered the walles of the Capitoll, and had thought to haue taken it: whereupon they gaue him the surname of *Capitolinus*. He aspiring to be the chief of the cittie, & finding no direct waye to exceede the glory of *Camillus*, tooke the broade highe waye of them that practise tyrannie. For he beganne to flatter

Camillus fiue tage geue Assault gainst the Latines and Volsces.

Camillus fiue the Latines.

Camillus tooke the cittie of Aeques.

Camillus wanne the cittie of Sutrith.

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus moueth sedition.

Flattery and hypocrifie winneth the multitude & common people.

the common people, and ſpecially thoſe that were indebted: he tooke vpon him to defende their cauſes, and pleaded their caſe at the barre againſt their creditours. Sometimes he tooke the debters out of the creditours handes and caried them awaye by force, that for lacke of abilitie to paye, were by rigour of the lawe condemned to be bonde ſlaues. But by this practiſe, in ſhorte time he gotte him a maruelous number of ſuche needie followers, and poore men, that the noble men and honeſt cittizens were affrayed of the inſolent partes they played, and of the continuall troubles and tumultes they daylie ſtirred vp in the market place. Therefore ſuſpecting the worſt in this caſe, they dyd chooſe *Quintus Capitolinus Dictator*: who cauſed the ſayed *Manlius* immediately to be apprehended, and committed him to priſon. Whereupon the people beganne to chaunge their apparell: which they were neuer wont to doe, but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing leaſt ſome cõmotion would ryſe hereupon, they dyd ſet him at libertie againe. He being thus out of priſon, was no whit the better, nor wiſer thereby, but dyd ſtill ſtirre vp the commons, more boldely and ſeditiouſly, then before. Then was *Camillus* choſen againe *Tribunus militaris*, and *Manlius* was accuſed in his time of office. But when this matter came to pleading, the ſight of the Capitoll troubled his accuſers much. For the very place it ſelfe where *Manlius* had repulſed the GAVLES by night, and defended the Capitoll, was eaſely ſeene from the market place, where the matter was a hearing: and he him ſelfe pointing with his hande, ſhewed the place vnto the goddes, and weeping tenderly he layed before them the remembraunce of the hazarde of his life, in fighting for their ſafety. This dyd moue the iudges hartes to pittie, ſo as they knew not what to doe, but many times they dyd put ouer the hearing of his caſe vnto another daye, and neither would they geue iudgement, knowing he was conuicted by manifeſt proofes: neither could they vſe the ſeueritie of the lawe vpon him, bicauſe the place of his ſo notable good ſeruice was euer ſtill before their eyes. Wherefore *Camillus* finding the cauſe of delaye of iuſtice, dyd make the place of iudgement to be remoued without the cittie, into a place called the wodde *Petelian*, from whence they could not ſee the Capitoll. And there the accuſers gaue apparent euidence againſt him: and the iudges conſidering all his wicked practiſes, conceaued a iuſt cauſe to puniſhe him, as he had deſerued. So they gaue ſentence of death againſt him: that he ſhould be caried to the mount Capitoll, and there to be throwen downe hedlonge the rockes thereof. Thus, one, and the ſelfe place was a memory of his notable good ſeruice, and alſo a memoriall of his miſerable and vnfortunate end. Beſides all this, they raſed his houſe, and built in the ſame place a temple to the goddeſſe they call *Moneta*: and made a lawe alſo, that no *Patrician* from thenceforth ſhould dwell any more in the mount Capitoll. *Camillus* after this, being called againe to take the office of *Tribunus militaris* the ſixt time: he ſought to excuſe him ſelfe aſwell for that he ſawe he was well ſtepte in yeres, as alſo for that he feared fortunes ſpight, or ſome miſhappe, after he had obteined ſuch glorie for his noble actes and ſeruice. Howbeit the moſt apparent cauſe of his excuſe, was his ſickenes, which troubled him much at that time. But the people would allowe no excuſe by any meanes, but cried out, they dyd not deſire he ſhould fight a foote nor a horſe backe, but that he ſhould only geue counſaill, and commaunde: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to leade the armie with one of his companions named *Lucius Furius*, againſt their enemies the PRÆNESTINES, and the VOLSCES, who ioyning together, dyd inuade the confines of the ROMAINES friendes. So he led his army out immediately to the field, and camped as neere the enemy as he could: being minded for his parte to drawe the warres out in length, that he might fight afterwards (if neede required) when he had recouered ſtrength. But *Furius* contrarilie coueting glorie, was whottely bent to hazarde the battell, whatſoeuer perill came of it: and to this ende he ſturred vp, and incoraged the captaines of euerie priuate bande. Wherfore *Camillus* fearing leaſt they ſhould thinke, for ill will he bare the young men, that he went about to hinder and take awaye the meanes to winne their honour, and to doe ſome noble acte: ſuffered *Furius* againſt his will to put his men in order of battell, and he in the meane ſeaſon by reaſon of his ſicknes, remained with a fewe about him in the campe. So went *Lucius* vpon a head to preſent battell to the enemie, & ſo was he as headilie alſo ouerthrowen. But *Camillus* hearing the ROMAINES were ouerthrowen: ſicke as he was vpon his bedde,

Mãlius clapt in priſon by Q. Capitolinus Dictator.

Camillus coſen againe Tribunus militaris.

Marcus Mãlius Capitolinus put to death.

Lucius Furius gaue battell to the Praneſtines and Volſces, and was ouerthrowen.

A bedde, got vp, and taking his houſeholde ſeruantes with him, he went in haſte to the gates of the campe, and paſſed through thoſe that fled, vntill he came to mete with the enemies that had them in chaſe. The ROMAINES ſeeing this that were already entred into the campe, they followed him at the heeles forthwith: and thoſe that fled alſo without, when they ſawe him, they gathered together, and put them ſelues againe in arraye before him, and perſuaded one another not to forſake their captaine. So their enemies hereupon ſtayed their chaſing, and would purſue no further that daye. But the next morning, *Camillus* leading his armie into the fielde, gaue them battell, and wanne the field of them by plaine force: and following the victorie harde, he entred amongeſt them that fled into their campe pelmel, or hand ouerheade, and ſlue the moſt parte of them euen there. After this victorie, he was aduertiſed howe the
B THVSCANS had taken the cittie of SVTRIVM, and had put to the ſworde all the inhabitants of the ſame, which were the ROMAINES cittizens. Whereupon he ſent to ROME the greateſt parte of his army, and keeping with him the lighteſt and luſtieſt men, went and gaue aſſaulte vnto the THVSCANS, that nowe were harbored in the cittie of SVTRIVM. Which when he had wonne againe, he ſlue parte of them, and the other ſaued them ſelues by flight. After this, he returned to ROME with an exceeding ſpoyle, confirming by experience, the wiſedome of the ROMAINES, who dyd not feare the age nor ſicknes of a good captaine that was experte and valliant: but had choſen him againſt his will, though he was both olde and ſicke, and preferred him farre before the younger and luſtier that made ſute to haue the charge. Newes being brought vnto the Senate, that the THVSCVLANIANS were reuolted, they ſent *Camillus*
C thither againe, willing him of fiue other companions to take out one he liked beſt, euery of the which deſired to be choſen, and made their ſute vnto him for the ſame. But he refuſing all other, dyd choſe againe *Lucius Furius* beyounde all expectation of men, ſeeing not long before he needes would againſt his will hazarde battell, in which he was ouerthrowen. Howbeit *Camillus*, hauing a deſire (as I thincke) to hyde his faulte and ſhame he had receaued: dyd of curteſie preferre him before all other. Nowe the THVSCVLANIANS hearing of *Camillus* coming againſt them, ſubtilly ſought to culler the faulte they had already committed. Wherefore they put out a great number of people into the fields, ſome to plowe, other to keepe the beaſtes, as if they had bene in beſt peace: and dyd ſet the gates of the cittie wide open, ſent their children openly to ſchoole, their artificers wrought their occupation in their ſhoppes,
D the men of hauiour & honeſt cittizens walked in the market place in their long gownes, & the officers and gouernours of the cittie went vp and downe to euery houſe, commaunding them to prepare lodgings for the ROMAINES, as if they had ſtoode in no feare at all, and as though they had committed no faulte. Howbeit all theſe fine fetches could not make *Camillus* beleeue, but that they had an intent to rebell againſt the ROMAINES: yet they made *Camillus* pittie them, ſeeing they repented them of that they had determined to doe. So he commaunded them to goe to Rome to the Senate, to craue pardone of their faulte: and he him ſelfe dyd helpe them, not only to purge their cittie of any intent of rebellion, but alſo to get them the priuiledge and freedome of ROME. And theſe be the chiefeſt acts *Camillus* dyd in the ſixt time of his tribuneſhippe. After this, one *Licinius Stolo* moued great ſedition in the cittie, betwene
E the common people, and the Senate. For he would in any caſe that of the two Conſuls, which were choſen yerely, the one of them ſhould be a commoner, and not that both of them ſhould be of the auncient noble families, called *Patricians*. The Tribunes of the people were choſen, but the election of the Conſuls, the people ſtayed: ſo that the common wealth went to decaye, and declined to greater troubles, then euer it dyd before, for lacke of gouernment. But to
F ſuppreſſe this, the Senate created *Camillus* the fourth time *Dictator*: but this was ſore againſt his will, bicauſe it miſliked the people muche. Furthermore, he would not complaine of the people, for that they hauing ſerued vnder him in many warres and battells, might boldely, and truely ſaye vnto him: that he had done more notable acts by them in the warres, then he had done by the *Patricians* in peace. Yet was he created *Dictator* in deſpight, to rule the people, and of enuie in the noble men towards them. Thus neceſſitie dyd vrge him, either by force to ſuppreſſe the people, if he were the ſtronger in this diſſention: or els that he him ſelf ſhould be ſuppreſſed, if he became the weaker. *Camillus* notwithſtanding, preparing to preuent this

Camillus wanne the fielde of the Prænestines and Volsces.

Camillus ſlue the Thuſcians at Sutrium.

Camillus ſent again againſt the Thuſculanians.

The craftie of the Thuſculanians.

Graue ſedition moued in Rome by Licinius Stolo.

Camillus created Dictator the fourth time.

mischief, and knowing the daye the Tribunes had determined, to preferre the passing of their lawe by voyces of the people: he gaue warning by proclamations set vpon postes, that the same very daye he would muster the people, and all was but to drawe them from the market place into the field of *Mars*, and dyd set great penalties vpon those that should be lacking at the musters, and would presume to disobey. The Tribunes of the people on the contrarie parte, dyd withstande his threates, and sware they would condemne *Camillus* selfe in fiftie thousand Drachmas of siluer, if he dyd not let the people alone, but would goe about to disturbe them for geuing their voyces to such lawe, as they liked of. *Camillus* perceauing this, and fearing to be condemned, and banished once againe, which would fall out very ill for him, being nowe an olde man, and one that had done so many great and notable actes, or els for that he thought him selfe not strong enough to withstande the force of the people: he kept his house that daye, fayning him selfe to be sicke, and certaine other dayes following, and in the ende he gaue vp his office. Thereupon the Senate chose in his place another *Dictator*, who named the same *Licinius Stolo* general of the horse men, that was the author and furtherer of all this sedition: and besides dyd suffer him to preferre another lawe, and to passe it by voyces of the people, that aboue all other lawes, dyd most trouble the *Patricians*. Which lawe dyd forbid any cittizen of Rome, to haue, or occupie aboue fiue hundred iugera, which amount to 330. acres and a halfe, 12. pole, and 121. partes of a pole. Then was this *Stolo* aloste, and of great estimation at that time: for that he had in despite of the Senate established this law. Howbeit shortely after it was found out, that him self had more number of acres then his owne lawe permitted. By reason whereof, he receaued the iuste punishment of his owne deuised forfaiture. Yet the most weightie matter of all this dissention that beganne first, and most of all troubled the Senate, touching the election of the Consuls, remained still vndetermined. But while these matters were thus in talke, the Romaines had certen intelligence, howe the Gaules were departed once againe from the Adriaticke sea, and were coming with a great power straight vnto Rome: vpon reporte of which newes, the warres followed immediately. For the Gaules destroyed the champion country as they went: and the poore country men that could not recouer Rome, were scattered here and there amongest the mountaines. The feare of this dyd somewhat appease the dissention. The people then assembling with the Senate, and the baser sorte with the noble, dyd all with one voyce and assent chuse *Camillus Dictator* the fifte time. He was nowe a very olde man, lacking litle of foure score yeres; but neuertheles, considering the necessitie and present daunger, without framing any excuse, or starting as he had before, he vndertooke the charge. Nowe that he had taken it vpon him, he presently leuied men, and prepared his army. And knowing very well howe the fiercenes of these barbarous Gaules consisted, in downe right blowes with their swordes, with which they would strike of heades and shoulders of men at a blowe, mangling them like bouchers, without any cast or skyll of fight: he caused iron salletts, and morians to be made for the most of his men, as smoothely wrought on the out side as could be, that their swordes lighting on them, should either slyde of, or breake. Moreouer, he caused their sheldes to haue barres made about them of copper, bicause the wodde selfe was not able to abide their blowes. Furthermore, he dyd teache his souldiers to cary long iauelines or punchion staues, wherewith they might wounde their enemies lifting vp their swordes to strike them. Nowe when the Gaules were come neere Rome, hauing pitched their campe vpon the riuer of *Anian*, and being full loden and stuffed with all kindes of spoyle and booties: then *Camillus* brought his armie also into the fielde, and went to lodge on a litle hill which was easie to get vpon, where there were many litles caues, so that the most of his army was all hidden and couered, and those that were seene, seemed to be retired thither into those highe places for an aduantage, and of feare. *Camillus* to increase this opinion more in his enemies, and to make them the bolder: dyd suffer them to come and spoyle euen to the foote of the hill where he was lodged, and stirred not once out to trouble them, but kept him selfe quiet in his campe and well fortified. Vntill such time as he spyed occasion of aduantage, that the best parte of their army were scattered here and there, a forraging all about the fieldes: and those which remained in their campe, fell to eating and drincking, as they vsed carelesly at all howres. Then *Camillus*

Licinius Stolo made a lawe for enioying of landes.

Stolo the first offender of the same law.

The Gaules come againe to Rome.

Camillus chosen Dictator the 5. time.

Howe Camillus appointed his souldiers with armour & weapon to fight with aduantage against the Gaules.

Anies fl.

A *millus* ſent very early before daye, his lighteſt armed men, to vexe and trouble the barbarous people in coming out of their campe, and to let them in any caſe from putting their men in order of battell: and he at the breake of daye, came downe into the plaine, and dyd ſet his other men being well armed, in good arraye, which were a great number, and luſtie fellowes, and were not as the barbarous people thought, fewe, and fearefull. This at the very firſt diſcoraged the hartes of the GAVLES maruelouſly, bicauſe they thought them ſelues diſhonored, that the ROMAINES ſhould charge vpon them firſt. Afterwardes alſo *Camillus* vantgarde dyd ſet vpon the GAVLES, and that on a ſodaine, before they had leyſure to put them ſelues in battell, or to order their troupes: compelling them to fight without order, as they met out of order by chaunce. In the ende alſo, *Camillus* came vpon the neckes of them, with
B all his whole force, and army together: againſt whom they ranne notwithſtanding, holding vp their naked ſwordes aloſte in their handes. But the ROMAINES thruſting with their armed iauelinges, receaued their enemies blowes vpon them, and thereby ſo rebated the edges of their ſwordes (their blades being very ſharpe and thinne grounde, and of ſo ſofte a temper) that they bowed againe, and ſtoode crooked vnreaſonably: and furthermore, hauing perſed their ſhieldes through with their punchingſtaues, the GAVLES armes were ſo clogd and wearied with them, the ROMAINES plucking them backe to them againe, that they threw away their ſwordes and ſhieldes, and flying in, cloſed with the ROMAINES, and caught holde of their iauelines, thincking by plaine force to haue wreſted them out of their handes. How-
beit they perceauing then the GAVLES were naked, fell ſtraight to their ſwordes: and ſo was *Camillus ſlue the Gaules againe.*
C the ſlaughter of their firſt ranckes very great. The other fled ſcatteringly here and there, all about the plaine: bicauſe *Camillus* had cauſed all the hilles and mountaines about them to be occupied and poſſeſſed. Neither dyd they retire towardes their campe, for that it was vnfortified, and alſo knewe well enough it would be eaſely taken. This battell (as they ſaye) was thirteene yeres after their taking of ROME before. But after that fielde, the ROMAINES corages were good enough againſt theſe barbarous GAVLES, whom they ſtoode in feare of before: thincking the firſt time they came, that they had not ouercomed them by force, but by reaſon of the plague that fell amongeſt them, or through ſome other ſtraunge chaunce.
For they dyd ſo feare them at that time, that they made a lawe, howe their prieſtes ſhould *The Romaines howe they exempted prieſtes from the warres.*
D be exempted from warres, ſo it were not againſt the GAVLES. This ouerthrowe was the laſt marſhall acte *Camillus* dyd in the warres. For, the taking of the cittie of VELITRES, was an accident depending vpon this iorney: bicauſe they yelded ſtraight vnto him, without ſtriking any ſtroke. But the ſeditiouſnes of the people of ROME about gouernment, and the chooſing of the yere Conſuls, was the hardeſt matter he euer had in hande. For they returning home to ROME ſtronge, and of greate power, by their late obteined victorie: woulde in any caſe haue one of the Conſuls to be choſen of a commoner, which was directly againſt their auncient cuſtome. But the Senate ſtowtely withſtoode it, and would not ſuffer *Camillus* to be put out of office: hoping the better by meanes of his authoritie, which was greate then, that they ſhould mainteine and continue their auncient dignitie, and prerogatiue of their nobilitie. But as *Camillus* was ſet in his chayer in the market place, where he hearde
E and diſpatched cauſes: there came a ſergeante to him, ſent from the Tribunes of the people, who commaunded him to followe him, and there withall layed violent handes vpon him, as he woulde haue caried him awaye by force. This made ſuche a terrible *Sedition at Rome about chooſing of Conſuls.*
tumulte and vprore, that the like was neuer ſeene before in the market place. For *Camillus* friendes draue the ſergeaunte backe behinde the chayer. The common people cried out againe to the ſergeant from beneath, pull him out of his chayer. This ſo amazed *Camillus*, that he knew not well what to ſaye to the matter. Notwithſtanding, he would not reſigne vp his office, but taking thoſe Senatours he had about him, he went vnto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept. And there, before he would goe into it, he returned backe againe vnto the Capitoll, & made his prayer vnto the goddes, that it would pleaſe them to
F bring his troubles againe to a quiet, and ſo made a ſolemne vowe and promiſe (if theſe tumultes and troubles might be pacified) that he woulde builde a temple of Concorde. When this matter came to debating before the Senate, there fell great contention and di-

Policy to yeld to neceſsitie. uerſitie of opinions among them: yet in the ende, the eaſieſt waye dyd carie it, and that was to graunt the common peoples deſire, that a commoner ſhould be choſen Conſul with a noble man. The *Dictator* hauing openly publiſhed to the people the Senates decree, confirming their deſire: the common people were ſo ioyfull, that at that preſente they let fall all their malice againſt the Nobilitie and Senate, and brought *Camillus* home to his houſe, with greate ſhowtes of ioye, and clapping of handes. The next morning all the people being aſſembled together in the market place, it was there decreed: that the temple of concorde ſhould be built at the common wealthes charge (according to the vowe *Camillus* had made) in ſuch a place, as it might be ſeene from the market place ſelfe, where all the aſſemblies for matters of counſell were made. And further, it was ordered that one daye more ſhould be added to the feaſtes of the LATINES: & that from thenceforth they ſhould ſolemniſe foure feſtiuall dayes, & ſhould preſently make generall ſacrifices vnto the goddes, in euerie temple of the cittie, to geue them thanckes: and in token of ioye, they ſhould all weare garlands vpon their heades for this reconciliation. So *Camillus* proceeding to election, there were choſen two Conſuls, *Marcus Æmilius* of the noble *Patricians*, and *Lucius Sextus* of the *Plebeians* or commoners. And this was the laſte acte that euer *Camillus* dyd. For, the next yere after, the plague was in ROME, and tooke awaye an infinite number of people that dyed, beſides many magiſtrates and officers of the cittie that departed: among whom, *Camillus* alſo left his life. Who notwithſtanding he had liued a long time, and had ended a reaſonable courſe of life: yet he was as ready to dye, and as paciently tooke his death, as any man liuing could haue done. Moreouer, the ROMAINES made more mone and lamentation for his deathe alone, then for all the reſt the plague had already conſumed.

Marcus AEmilius, Lucius Sextus Conſuls.

Camillus died of the plague.

The ende of Furius Camillus life.

THE LIFE OF *Pericles.*

CÆSAR seeing in Rome one daye certen riche & wealthy ſtraũgers, hauing litle dogges and munkeyes in their armes, and that they made maruelous much of them, he asked them if the women in their country had no children: wiſely reprouing them by his queſtion, for that they beſtowed their naturall loue & affection vpon brute beaſts, which they ſhould with all kindnes and loue beſtowe vpon creatures. Nature in like caſe alſo, hauing planted in our minds a naturall deſire to learne and vnderſtand, we are in reaſon to reproue thoſe that vainely abuſe this good deſire, fondly diſpoſing it to learne things vaine and vnprofitable: and to caſt behinde them in the meane ſeaſon things honeſt and neceſſarie to be learned. For as touching our outward ſence, which with paſſion receaueth impreſſiõ of the thing it ſeeth, peraduenture it wilbe neceſſarie to conſider indifferently the thing ſeene, whether it will fall out beneficiall or hurtefull vnto him: but ſo fareth it not with our vnderſtanding, for euery man maye at his pleaſure turne and diſpoſe that to the thinge he taketh delight in, the reaſon whereof we muſt allwayes employe to the beſt parte, and that not only to conſider and looke vpon the thing, but alſo to reape the beneſit and commoditie of the thing we ſee. For like as the eye is moſt delited with the lighteſt and freſheſt cullers: euen ſo we muſt geiue our mindes vnto thoſe ſightes, which by looking vpon them doe drawe profit and pleaſure vnto vs. For ſuch effects doth vertue bring: that either to heare or reade them, they doe printe in our hartes an earneſt loue aud deſire to followe them. But this followeth not in all other things we eſteeme, neither are we allwayes diſpoſed to deſire to doe the things we ſee wel done: but cõtrary oftentimes, when we like the worke, we miſlike the worke man, as cõmonly in making theſe perfumes and purple cullers. For both the one, & the other doe pleaſe vs well: but yet we take perfumers & diers to be men of a meane occupation. Therefore *Antiſthenes* aunſwered one very wiſely, that told him *Iſmenias* was an excellent player of the flute. But yet he is a naughtie man, ſayed he: otherwiſe he could not be ſo conning at the flute as he is. Euen ſo dyd *Philippe* king of Macedon ſaye to his ſonne *Alexander* the great on a time: that at a certen feaſt had ſong paſſing ſweetely, and like a maiſter of muſicke: Art thou not

VVit allwayes to be employed to good things.

Antiſthenes ſaying of a flute player.

aſhamed, ſonne, to ſinge ſo well? It is enough for a King to beſtowe his leyſure ſomtime to heare muſitians ſinge, and he doth much honour to the muſes to heare the maſters of the ſcience otherwhile, when one of them ſingeth to excell another. But he that perſonally ſhall beſtowe his time, exerciſing any meane ſcience: bringeth his paynes he hath taken in matters vnprofitable, a witnes againſt him ſelfe, to proue that he hath bene negligent to learne things honeſt and profitable. And there was neuer any young gentleman nobly borne, that ſeeing the image of *Iupiter* (which is in the cittie of PISA) deſired to become *Phidias*: nor *Polycletus*, for ſeeing of *Iuno* in the cittie of ARGOS: nor that deſired to be *Anacreon*, or *Philemon*, or *Archilochus*, for that they tooke pleaſure ſomtime to reade their workes. For it followeth not of neceſſitie, that though the worke delight, the workeman muſt needes be prayſed. And ſo in like caſe, ſuch things doe not profit thoſe which behold them, bicauſe they doe not moue affection in the hartes of the beholders to followe them, neither doe ſtirre vp affection to reſemble them, and much leſſe to conforme our ſelues vnto them. But vertue hath this ſingular propertie in all her actions: that ſhe maketh the man that knoweth her to affect her ſo, that ſtraight he liketh all her doings, and deſireth to followe thoſe that are vertuous. For, as for riches, we only deſire to haue them in poſſeſſion: but of vertue, we chiefly loue the deedes. Wherefore, we are contented to haue goodes from other men: but good deedes we would other ſhould haue from vs. For vertue is of this power, that ſhe allureth a mans minde preſently to vſe her, that wiſely conſidereth of her, and maketh him very deſirous in his harte to followe her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by the only vnderſtanding and knowledge of vertuous deedes, which ſodainely bringeth vnto him a reſolute deſire to doe the like. And this is the reaſon, why me thought I ſhould continew ſtill to write on the liues of noble men, and why I made alſo this tenthe booke: in the which are conteined the liues of *Pericles*, and *Fabius Maximus*, who mainteined warres againſt *Hanniball*. For they were both men very like together in many ſundry vertues, and ſpecially in curteſie and iuſtice: & for that they could paciently beare the follies of their people, and companions that were in charge of gouernment with them, they were maruelous profitable members for their countrie. But if we haue ſorted them well together, comparing the one with the other: you ſhall eaſely iudge that reade our writings of their liues. *Pericles* was of the tribe of the *Acamantides*, of the towne of CHOLARGVS, and of one of the beſt & moſt auncient families of the cittie of ATHENS, both by his father and mother. For *Xanthippus* his father (who ouercame in battell the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA in the iorney of *Mycala*) maried *Agariſte* that came of *Cliſthenes*, he who draue out of ATHENS *Piſiſtratus* offſpring, and valliantly ouerthrewe their tyrannie. Afterwards he eſtabliſhed lawes, and ordeined a very graue forme of gouernment, to mainteine his cittizens in peace and concorde together. This *Agariſte* dreamed one night, that ſhe was brought a bed of a lyon: and very ſhortely after ſhe was deliuered of *Pericles*, who was ſo well proportioned in all the partes of his bodie, that nothing could be mended, ſauing that his head was ſomwhat to long and out of proportion to the reſt of his bodie. And this is the only cauſe why all the ſtatues & images of him almoſt, are made with a helmet of his head: bicauſe the workemen as it ſhould ſeeme (and ſo it is moſt likely) were willing to hide the bleamiſhe of his deformitie. But the ATTICAN poets dyd call him *Schinocephalos*, aſmuch to ſaye, as headed like an onyon. For thoſe of ATTICA doe ſomtime name that which is called in the vulgar tongue *Scilla*, that is to ſaye, an onyon of barbarie: *Schinos*. And *Cratinus* the Comicall poet in his comedie he intituled *Chirones*, ſayed:

The power of vertue.

Pericles ſtocke.

Pericles mothers dreame.

Pericles had a long head.

Olde Saturne he, and dreadfull dyre debate
begotten haue, betvvene them Carnally,
this tyranne here, this heauy iollting pate,
in courte of goddes ſo termed vvorthely.

And againe alſo in that which he nameth *Nemeſis*, ſpeaking of him, he ſayeth:

Come Iupiter, come Iupiter,
Come iollithead, and come inkeeper.

And *Teleclides* mocking him alſo, ſayeth in a place:

Sometimes

A *Somtimes he ſtandes, amazed when he perceyues,*
that harde it vvere, ſufficiently to knovve,
in vvhat eſtate, his gouernment he leaues.
And then vvill he, be ſeldome ſeene by lovve,
ſuche heauy heapes, vvith in his braynes doe grovve.
But yet ſomtimes, out of that monſtruous pate
he thundreth faſt, and threatneth euery ſtate.

And *Eupolis* in a comedie which he intituled *Démi*: being very inquiſitiue, and asking particularly of euery one of the Orators (whom he fayned were returned out of hell) when they named *Pericles* the laſt man vnto him, he ſayed:

B *Truely thou haſt novv brought, vnto vs here that dvvell,*
the chief of all the captaines, that come from darkſome hell.

And as for muſicke, the moſt authors write, that *Damon* dyd teache him muſicke, of whoſe name (as men ſaye) they ſhould pronounce the firſt ſyllable ſhorte. Howbeit *Ariſtotle* ſayeth, that he was taught muſicke by *Pythoclides*. Howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that this *Damon* was a man of deepe vnderſtanding, and ſubtill in matters of gouernment: for, to hide from the people his ſufficiency therein, he gaue it out he was a muſitian, and dyd reſorte vnto *Pericles*, as a maſter wreſtler, or fenſer: but he taught him howe he ſhould deale in matters of ſtate. Notwithſtanding, in the ende he could not ſo conningly conuey this matter, but the people ſawe his harping and muſicke, was only a viſer to his other practiſe: wherefore C they dyd baniſh him ATHENS for fiue yeres, as a man that buſilie tooke vpon him to chaunge the ſtate of things, and that fauored tyrannie. And this gaue the Comicall poets matter to playe vpon him finely: among which *Plato* in a comedie of his, bringeth in a man that aſketh him: *Pericles ſtudies and teachers.*

O Chiron, tell me firſt: art thou in deede the man,
vvhich dyd inſtruct Pericles thus? make anſvver if thou can.

He was ſomtime alſo ſcholler to the philoſopher *Zenon*, who was borne in the cittie of ELEA, & taught naturall philoſophie, as *Parmenides* dyd: but his profeſſion was to thwarte and contrary all men, and to alledge a world of obiections in his diſputation, which were ſo intricate, that his aduerſarie replying againſt him, knewe not howe to aunſwer him, nor to D conclude his argument. The which *Timon Phliaſius* witneſſeth in theſe wordes, *Zenon Eleatean.*

Zenon vvas ſubtill ſure, and very eloquent,
and craftilie could vvinde a man, by vvaye of argument,
if ſo he vvere diſpoſed, his cunning to deſcrie,
or ſhovve the ſharpenes of his vvitt, to practiſe pollicie.

But *Anaxagoras Clazomenian* was he that was moſt familliar and conuerſaunt with him, and dyd put in him the maieſtie and grauity he ſhewed in all his ſayings, and doings, who dyd farre excell the common courſe of ordinarie Orators that pleaded before the people: and to be ſhorte, he it was that dyd facion his manners, altogether to cauſe that graue countenaunce which he dyd. For they called *Anaxagoras* in his time, *Nûs*, as much to ſaye, E as vnderſtanding. Either bicauſe they had his ſingular wit and capacitie in ſuche great admiration, being growen to ſearche out the cauſe of naturall things: or that he was the firſt man, who dyd aſcribe the diſpoſition and gouernment of this world, not vnto fortune or fatall neceſſitie, but vnto a pure, ſimple, and vnderſtanding minde, which doth ſeparate at the firſt mouing cauſe, the ſubſtaunce of ſuche like partes as are meſled and compounded of diuers ſubſtaunces, in all other bodies through the world. *Pericles* made maruelous vſe of *Anaxagoras*, who had fully inſtructed him in the knowledge of naturall things, and of thoſe ſpecially that worke aboue in the ayer and firmament. For he gaue not only to haue a great minde and an eloquent tongue, without any affectation, or groſſe countrie termes: but to a certen modeſt countenaunce that ſcantly ſmyled, very ſober in his gate, hauing a kynde of *Pericles maner and behauiour.*

ſounde in his voyce that he neuer loſt nor altered, and was of very honeſt behauiour, neuer troubled in his talke for any thing that croſſed him, and many other ſuche like things, as all that ſawe them in him, and conſidered them, could but wonder at him. But for proofe hereof, the reporte goeth, there was a naughty buſy fellowe on a time, that a whole daye together dyd nothing but rayle vpon *Pericles* in the market place, and reuile him to his face, with all the villanous wordes he could vſe. But *Pericles* put all vp quietly, and gaue him not a worde againe, diſpatching in the meane time matters of importaunce he had in hand, vntill night came, that he went ſoftly home to his houſe, ſhewing no alteration nor ſemblaunce of trouble at all, though this lewde varlet followed him at the heeles, with wordes of open defamation. And as he was ready to enter in at his owne doores, being darke night, he commaunded one of his men to take a torche, and to bring this man home to his houſe. Yet the poet *Ion* ſayeth, that *Pericles* was a very prowde man, and a ſtately, and that with his grauity and noble minde, there was mingled a certaine ſcorne and contempt of other: and contrarilie, he greatly prayſeth the ciuillitie, humanitie, and curteſie of *Cimon*, bicauſe he could facion him ſelfe to all companies. But letting paſſe that which the poet *Ion* ſayed: who would that vertue ſhould be full of tragicall diſcipline, bringing in with it, a certaine ſatyricall diſcourſe to moue laughture. Nowe *Zennon* contrariwiſe dyd counſell all thoſe, that ſayd *Pericles* grauity was a preſumption, and arrogancie: that they ſhould alſo followe him in his preſumption. For, to counterfeate in that ſorte things honeſt and vertuous, doth ſecretly with time breede an affection and deſire to loue them, and afterwardes with cuſtome euen effectually to vſe and followe them. So *Pericles* by keeping *Anaxagoras* company, dyd not onely profit him ſelfe in theſe things, but he learned beſides to put awaye all ſuperſtitious feare, of celeſtiall ſignes and impreſſions ſeene in the ayer. For to thoſe that are ignoraunte of the cauſes thereof, ſuche ſights are terrible, and to the godly alſo feareful, as if they were vtterly vndone: and all is, bicauſe they haue no certaine knowledge of the reaſon that naturall philoſophy yeldeth, which in ſteade of a fearefull ſuperſtition, would bring a true religion accompanied with aſſured hope of goodnes. Some ſaye a man brought *Pericles* one daye from his farme out of the countrie, a rammes head that had but one horne, and that the prognoſticator *Lampon* conſidering this head, that had but one ſtrong horne in the middeſt of his forehead, interpreted, that this was the ſignification thereof. That being two tribes and ſeuerall factions in the cittie of Athens touching gouernment, the one of *Pericles*, and the other of *Thucydides*: the power of both ſhould be brought into one, and ſpecially into his parte, in whoſe houſe this ſigne dyd happen. Further, it is ſayed that *Anaxagoras* being preſent, dyd cauſe the rammes head to be clouen in two peces, and ſhewed vnto them that ſtoode by, that the brayne of this ramme dyd not fill the panne of his naturall place, but incloſed it ſelfe in all partes, being narrowe like the poynte of an egge, in that parte where the horne tooke his firſt roote of budding out. So *Anaxagoras* was maruelouſly eſteemed at that preſent by all thoſe that ſtoode by: but ſo was *Lampon*, ſone after that *Thucydides* was driuen awaye, and that the gouernment of the whole common weale fell into the handes of *Pericles* alone. And it is not to be wondred at (in my opinion) that the naturall philoſopher and the prognoſticator dyd rightly mete together in trothe: the one directly telling the cauſe, and the other the ende of the euent as it fell out. For the profeſſion of the one, is to knowe howe it commeth: and of the other, wherefore it commeth, and to foretell what it betokeneth. For where ſome ſaye, that to ſhewe the cauſe, is to take awaye the ſignification of the ſigne: they do not conſider that in ſeeking to aboliſhe by this reaſon the wonderfull tokens and ſignes in the ayer, they doe take awaye thoſe alſo which are done by arte. As the noyſe of baſons, the lightes of fyre by the ſea ſide, and the ſhadowes of nedles or pointes of dyalles in the ſunne: all which things are done by ſome cauſe and handyworke, to be a ſigne and token of ſome thing. But this argument peraduenture maye ſerue better in another booke. And nowe againe to *Pericles*. Whileſt he was yet but a young man, the people ſtoode in awe of him, bicauſe he ſomwhat reſembled *Piſiſtratus* in his countenaunce: and the auncienteſt men of the cittie alſo were muche afeard of this ſofte voyce, his eloquent tongue, and ready vtteraunce, bicauſe

Pericles pacience.

The benefit of naturall philoſophie.

What was ſignified by the rammes head that had but one horne, & was found in Pericles grounde.

Pericles likened to Piſiſtratus.

in thoſe

A in thoſe he was *Piſiſtratus* vp and downe. Moreouer he was very riche and wealthy, and of one of the nobleſt families of the cittie, and thoſe were his friendes alſo that caried the only ſwaye and authoritie in the ſtate: whereupon, fearing leaſt they would baniſhe him with the baniſhement of *Oſtraciſmon*, he would not medle with gouernment in any caſe, although otherwiſe he ſhewed him ſelfe in warres very valliant and forward, and feared not to venter his perſone. But after that *Ariſtides* was dead, that *Themiſtocles* was driuen awaye, and that *Cimon* being euer in ſeruice in the warres as generall in forreine countries, was a long time out of GRECE: then he came to leane to the tribe of the poore people, preferring the multitude of the poore communaltie, aboue the ſmall number of Nobilitie and riche men, the which was directly againſt his nature. For of him ſelfe he was not popular, nor meanely geuen: but he B dyd it (as it ſhould ſeeme) to auoyde ſuſpition, that he ſhould pretend to make him ſelfe King. And bicauſe he ſawe *Cimon* was inclined alſo to take parte with the Nobilitie, and that he was ſingularly beloued and liked of all the honeſter ſorte: he to the contrarie enclined to the common people, purchaſing by this meanes ſafety to him ſelfe, and authoritie againſt *Cimon*. So he preſently beganne a newe courſe of life, ſince he had taken vpon him to deale in matters of ſtate: for they neuer ſawe him afterwardes at any time goe into the cittie, but to the market place, or to the Senate houſe. He gaue vp going to all feaſtes where he was bidden, and left the entertainment of his friendes, their company and familiaritie. So that in all his time wherein he gouerned the common weale, which was a long time, he neuer went out to ſupper to any of his friendes, vnles it were that he was once at a feaſt at his nephew *Euryptolemus* mariage: and then he taried there no longer, but while the ceremonie was a doing, C when they offer wine to the goddes, and ſo he roſe from the table. For theſe friendly meetings at ſuche feaſtes, doe much abaſe any counterfeate maieſtie or ſet countenaunce: and he ſhall haue much a doe to keepe grauity and reputation, ſhewing familiaritie to euery knowen friende in ſuch open places. For in perfect vertue, thoſe things truely are euer moſt excellent, which be moſt common: and in good and vertuous men there is nothing more admirable vnto ſtraungers, then their dayely conuerſation is to their friendes. *Pericles* nowe to preuent that the people ſhould not be glutted with ſeeing him to ofte, nor that they ſhould come much to him: they dyd ſee him but at ſome times, and then he would not talke in euery matter, neither came muche abroade among them, but reſerued him ſelfe (as *Critolaus* ſayed D they kept the SALAMINIAN galley at ATHENS) for matters of great importaunce. And in the meane ſeaſon, in other matters of ſmall moment, he delt by meanes of certaine orators his familliar friendes, amongeſt whom *Ephialtes* (as they ſaye) was one: he who tooke awaye the authoritie and power from the courte of *Areopagus*, and dyd geue to muche libertie to the people, as *Plato* ſayed. Vpon which occaſion, as the Comicall poets ſaye, he became ſo ſtowte and head ſtrong, that they could no more holde him backe, then a younge vnbrideled colte: and tooke ſuch a corage vpon him, that he would obaye no more, but inuaded the Ile of EVBOEA, and ſet vpon the other Ilandes. *Pericles* alſo bicauſe he would facion a phraſe of ſpeache, with a kynde of ſtyle altogether agreable to the manner of life and grauitie he had taken vpon him: he gaue him ſelfe to all matters which he had learned of *Anaxagoras*, E ſhadowing his reaſons of naturall philoſophie, with artificiall rethoricke. For hauing obteined a deepe vnderſtanding by ſtudying of philoſophie, and a ready waye effectually to ende any matter, he vndertoke to proue (beſides that nature had endued him with an excellent witte and capacitie, as the diuine *Plato* doth write, to bring any thing to ſerue his purpoſe) he dyd ſo artificially compaſſe it with eloquence, that he farre paſſed all the orators in his time. And for this cauſe was he (as they ſaye) ſurnamed *Olympius*, as muche to ſaye, as heauenly or diuine. But ſome are of opinion he had that ſurname, by reaſon of the common buildings and ſtately workes he rayſed vp in the cittie of ATHENS, that dyd muche ſet forth the ſame. Other thinke it was geuen him for his great authoritie and power he had in gouernment, aſwell in warres, as in peace. But it is no maruaill that this glorie was F geuen him, conſidering the many other qualities and vertues that were in him. Howbeit the comedies the Poetes cauſed to be played in thoſe times (in which there were many wordes ſpoken of him, ſome in earneſt, ſome in ſporte and ieaſt) doe witneſſe

Pericles firſt beginning to deale in the cõmõ wealth.

To much familiaritie breedeth contempt.

Ephialtes an orator.

Why Pericles was ſurnamed Olympius.

that he had that ſurname geuen him, chiefly for his eloquence. For it is reported, that he thundered and lightened in his oration to the people, & that his tongue was a terrible lightning. And touching this matter, they tell of an aunſwer *Thucydides*, *Mileſius* ſonne, ſhould pleaſauntly make concerning the force of *Pericles* eloquence. *Thucydides* was a noble man, and had long time contended againſt *Pericles* in matters of the common weale. *Archidamus*, king of LACEDÆMON, asked *Thucydides* on a time: whether he or *Pericles* wreſtled beſt. *Thucydides* made him aunſwer. When I haue geuen him an open fall before the face of the world, he can ſo excellently deny it, that he maketh the people beleeue he had no fall at all, and perſuadeth them the contrarie of that they ſawe. Notwithſtanding he was euer very graue and wiſe in ſpeaking. For euer when he went vp into the pulpit for orations to ſpeake to the people, he made his prayers vnto the goddes, that nothing might eſcape his mouthe, but that he might conſider before whether it would ſerue the purpoſe of his matter he treated on: yet are there none of his workes extant in writing, vnles it be ſome fewe lawes he made, and but very fewe of his notable ſayings are brought to light, ſaue only theſe. He ſayed on a time that they muſt take awaye the cittie of ÆGINA, bicauſe it was a ſtrawe lying in the eye of the hauen PIRÆA. And another time, he ſayed that he ſaw the warres a farre of, comming from PELOPONNESVS. Another time, as he tooke ſhippe with *Sophocles* (his companion in commiſſion with him as generall of the armie) who commended a fayer young boye they met as they came to the hauen: *Sophocles*, ſayed he, a gouernour muſt not only haue his handes, but alſo his eyes cleane. And *Steſimbrotus* writeth, that in a funerall oration he made in the prayſe of thoſe that were ſlaine in the warre of SAMOS: he ſayed they were immortall as the goddes. For we doe not ſee the goddes (ſayed he) as they be, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happines they enioye, we doe coniecture they are immortall: and the ſame things are in thoſe that dye in ſeruice, and defence of their countrie. Nowe where *Thucydides* doth write the gouernment of the common weale vnder *Pericles* to be as a gouernment of Nobilitie, and yet had apparaunce of a popular ſtate: it is true that in effect it was a Kingdome, bicauſe one alone dyd rule and gouerne the whole ſtate. And many other ſaye alſo, he was the firſt that brought in the cuſtome to deuide the enemies landes wonne by conqueſt among the people, and of the common money to make the people ſee playes and paſtimes, and that appointed them rewarde for all things. But this cuſtome was ill brought vp. For the common people that before were contented with litle, and got their liuing paynefully with ſwet of their browes: became nowe to be very vaine, ſumptuous, and riotous, by reaſon of theſe things brought vp then. The cauſe of the alteration doth eaſely appeare by thoſe things. For *Pericles* at his firſt comming, ſought to winne the fauour of the people, as we haue ſayed before, only to get like reputation that *Cimon* had wonne. But comming farre ſhorte of his wealthe and abilitie, to carie out the porte and charge that *Cimon* dyd, entertaining the poore, keeping open houſe to all commers, clothing poore olde people, breaking open beſides all incloſures and pales through all his landes, that euery one might with more libertie come in, and take the fruites thereof at their pleaſure: and ſeeing him ſelfe by theſe great meanes out gone farre in good will with the common people, by *Demonides* counſell and procurement (who was borne in the Ile of IOS) he brought in this diſtribution of the common money, as *Ariſtotle* writeth. And hauing wonne in a ſhorte time the fauour and good will of the common people, by diſtribution of the common treaſure, which he cauſed to be deuided among them, aſwell to haue place to ſee theſe playes, as for that they had rewarde to be preſent at the iudgementes, and by other ſuche like corruptions: he with the peoples helpe, dyd inuey againſt the courte of the *Areopagites*, wherof he neuer was any member. For it neuer came to be his happe to be yerely gouernour, nor keeper of the lawes, nor King of the ſacrifices, nor maſter of the warres: all which were offices choſen in auncient time by lot. And further, thoſe on whom the lot fell, if they had behaued them ſelues well in their office, they were called forwards, & raiſed to be of the bodie of this courte of the *Areopagites*. *Pericles* nowe by theſe meanes hauing obteined great credit and authoritie amongeſt the common people, he troubled the Senate of the *Areopagites* in ſuche ſorte, that he pluckt many matters from their hearing, by *Ephialtes* helpe: and

Thucydides, Pericles aduerſarie.

Pericles ſayings.

Pericles common wealthe.

The good deedes of Cimon.

Pericles large diſtribution diminiſhed, the Areopagit authoritie.

A and in time made *Cimon* to be banished ATHENS, as one that fauored the LACEDÆMONIANS, and contraried the common wealthe and authoritie of the people. Notwithstanding he was the noblest and richest persone of all the cittie, and one that had wonne so many glorious victories, and had so replenished ATHENS with the conquered spoyles of their enemies, as we haue declared in his life: so great was the authoritie of *Pericles* amongest the people. Nowe the banishment wherewith he was punished (which they called *Ostracismon*) was limited by the lawe for tenne yeres. In which space the LACEDÆMONIANS being come downe with a great armie into the countrie of TANAGRA, the ATHENIANS sent out their power presently against them. There *Cimon* willing to shewe the ATHENIANS by his deedes, that they had falsely accused him for fauoring the LACEDÆMONIANS: dyd armie B him self, and went on his country mens side, to fight in the companie of his tribe. But *Pericles* friends gathered together, and forced *Cimon* to departe thence as a banished man. And this was the cause that *Pericles* fought that daye more valliantly then euer he dyd, and he wanne the honour and name to haue done more in the persone of him selfe that daye, then any other of all the armie. At that battell also, all *Cimons* friends, whom *Pericles* had burdened likewise to fauour the LACEDÆMONIANS doings, dyed euery man of them that daye. Then the ATHENIANS repented them much that they had driuen *Cimon* away, and wished he were restored, after they had lost this battell vpon the confines of the countrie of ATTICA: bicause they feared sharpe warres would come vpon them againe at the next spring. Which thing when *Pericles* perceyued, he sought also to further that the common people desired: where- C fore he straight caused a decree to be made, that *Cimon* should be called home againe, which was done accordingly. Now when *Cimon* was returned, he aduised that peace should be made betwene both cities: for the LACEDÆMONIANS dyd loue *Cimon* very well, and contrarily they hated *Pericles*, and all other gouernours. Some notwithstanding doe write, that *Pericles* dyd neuer passe his consent to call him home againe, before suche time as they had made a secret agreement amongest them selues (by meanes of *Elpinice Cimons* sister) that *Cimon* should be sent out with an armie of two hundred galleys, to make warres in the king of PERSIA his dominions, & that *Pericles* should remaine at home with the authoritie of gouernment within the cittie. This *Elpinice* (*Cimos* sister) had once before intreated *Pericles* for her brother, at such time as he was accused before the iudge of treason. For *Pericles* was one of the committees, D to whom this accusation was referred by the people. *Elpinice* went vnto him, & besought him not to doe his worst vnto her brother. *Pericles* aunswered her merilie. Thou art to old *Elpinice*, thou art to olde, to goe through with these matters. Yet when his matter came to iudgement, & that his cause was pleaded: he rose but once to speake against him (for his owne discharge as it were) & went his waye when he had sayed, doing lesse hurte to *Cimon*, then any other of his accusers. How is *Idomeneus* to be credited nowe, who accuseth *Pericles* that he had caused the orator *Ephialtes* to be slaine by treason (that was his friende, and dyd alwayes counsell him, and take his parte in all kinde of gouernment of the common weale) only for the ielousie and enuie he dyd beare to his glorie? I can but muse why *Idomeneus* should speake so slaunderously against *Pericles*, vnles it were that his melancholy humour procured suche violent E speache: who though peraduenture he was not altogether blameles, yet he was euer nobly minded, and had a naturall desire of honour, in which kinde of men such furious cruell passions are seldome seene to breede. But this orator *Ephialtes* being cruell to those that tooke parte with the Nobilitie, bicause he would spare nor pardone no man for any offence whatsoeuer committed against the peoples authoritie, but dyd followe and persecute them with all rigour to the vttermost: his enemies layed waite for him by meanes of one *Aristodicus* TANAGRIAN, and they killed him by treason, as *Aristotle* writeth. In the meane time *Cimon* dyed in the Ile of CYPRVS, being generall of the armie of the ATHENIANS by sea. Where- F fore those that tooke parte with the Nobilitie, seeing *Pericles* was nowe growen very great, and that he went before all other cittizens of ATHENS, thincking it good to haue some one to sticke on their side against him, and to lessen thereby somewhat his authoritie, that he might not come to rule all as he would: they raised vp against him, one *Thucydides*, of the towne of ALOPECIA, a graue wise man, and father in lawe to *Cimon*. This *Thucydides* had lesse skill of

Pericles causeth Cimon to be banished Athens.

The Ostracismon.

Pericles calleth Cimon from exile.

Pericles moderation vnto Cimon.

The murther of Ephialtes.

Thucydides Pericles aduersary in the cõmõ wealth.

warres then *Cimon*, but vnderſtoode more in ciuill gouernment then he, for that he remained moſt parte of his time within the cittie: where continually inuaying againſt *Pericles* in his pulpit for orations to the people, in ſhorte time he had ſtirred vp a like companie againſt the faction of *Pericles*. For he kept the gentlemen and richer ſorte (which they call Nobilitie) from mingling with the common people, as they were before, when through the multitude of the commons their eſtate and dignitie was abſcured, and troden vnderfoote. Moreouer he dyd ſeparate them from the people, and dyd aſſemble them all as it were into one bodie, who came to be of equall power with the other faction, and dyd put (as a man will ſaye) a counterpeaſe into the ballance. For at the beginning there was but a litle ſecret grudge only betwene theſe two factions, as an artificiall flower ſet in the blade of a ſworde, which made thoſe ſhewe a litle, that dyd leane vnto the people: and the other alſo ſomwhat that fauored the Nobilitie. But the contention betwene theſe two perſones, was as a deepe cut, which deuided the cittie wholy in two factions: of the which the one was called the Nobilitie, and the other the communaltie. Therefore *Pericles* geuing yet more libertie vnto the people, dyd all things that might be to pleaſe them, ordeining continuall playes and games in the cittie, many feaſtes, banckers, and open paſtimes to entertaine the commons with ſuche honeſt pleaſures and deuiſes: and beſides all this, he ſent yerely an armie of three ſcore gallyes vnto the warres, into the which he put a great number of poore cittizens that tooke paye of the ſtate for nine moneths of the yere, and thereby they dyd learne together, and practiſe to be good ſea men. Furthermore he ſent into the countrie of Cherronesvs, a thouſand free men of the cittie to dwell there, and to deuide the landes amongeſt them: fiue hundred alſo into the Ile of Naxos: into the Ile of Andros, two hundred & fiftie: into Thracia, a thouſand to dwell with the Biſaltes: & other alſo into Italie, when the cittie of Sybaris was built againe, which afterwardes was ſurnamed the cittie of the Thvrians. All this he dyd to ryd the cittie of a number of idle people, who through idlenes beganne to be curious, and to deſire chaunge of things, as alſo to prouide for the neceſſitie of the poore townes men that had nothing. For, placing the naturall cittizens of Athens neere vnto their ſubiects and friendes, they ſerued as a garriſon to keepe them vnder, and dyd ſuppreſſe them alſo from attempting any alteration or chaunge. But that which deliteth moſt, and is the greateſt ornament vnto the cittie of Athens, which maketh ſtraungers moſt to wonder, and which alone doth bring ſufficient teſtimonie, to confirme that which is reported of the auncient power, riches, and great wealthe of Greece, to be true and not falſe: are the ſtately and ſumptuous buildings, which *Pericles* made to be built in the cittie of Athens. For it is the only acte of all other *Pericles* dyd, and which made his enemies moſt to ſpight him, and which they moſt accuſed him for, crying out vpon him in all counſailles & aſſemblies: that the people of Athens were openly defamed, for carying awaye the ready money of all Greece, which was left in the Ile of Delos to be ſafely kept there. And although they could with good honeſtie haue excuſed this facte, ſaying that *Pericles* had taken it from them, for feare of the barbarous people, to the ende to laye it vp in a more ſtronger place, where it ſhould be in better ſafetie: yet was this to ouergreat an iniurie offered vnto all the reſt of Greece, and to manifeſt a token of tyrannie alſo, to beholde before their eyes, howe we doe employe the money, which they were inforced to gather for the maintenaunce of the warres againſt the barbarous people, in gilding, building, and ſetting forth our cittie, like a glorious woman, all to be gawded with golde and precious ſtones, and howe we doe make images, and build vp temples of wonderfull & infinite charge. *Pericles* replied to the contrarie, and declared vnto the Athenians that they were not bounde to make any accompt of this money vnto their friendes and allies, conſidering that they fought for their ſafety, & that they kept the barbarous people farre from Greece, without troubling them to ſet out any one man, horſe, or ſhippe of theirs, the money only excepted, which is no more theirs that payed it, then theirs that receyued it, ſo they beſtowe it to that vſe they receyued it for. And their cittie being already very well furniſhed, and prouided of all things neceſſary for the warres, it was good reaſon they ſhould employe and beſtowe the ſurplus of the treaſure in things: which in time to come (and being throughly finiſhed) would make their fame eternall. Moreouer he ſayed that whileſt they continue building, they ſhould

A politicke care for idle perſones.

Sumptuous buildings erected by Pericles.

be

A be presently riche, by reason of the diuersitie of workes of all sortes, and other things which they should haue neede of: and to compasse these things the better, and to set them in hande, all manner of artificers and worke men (that would labour) should be set a worke. So should all the townes men, and inhabitants of the cittie, receyue paye and wages of the common treasure: and the cittie by this meanes should be greatly beawtified, and muche more able to mainteine it selfe. For suche as were stronge, and able men of bodie, and of yeres to carie weapon, had paye and entertainment of the common wealthe, which were sent abroade vnto the warres: and other that were not meete for warres, as craftes men, and labourers: he would also they should haue parte of the common treasure, but not without they earned it, and by doing somwhat. And this was his reason, and the cause that made him occupie
B the common people with great buildings, and deuises of works of diuers occupations, which could not be finished of long time: to the ende that the cittizens remaining at home, might haue a meane and waye to take parte of the common treasure, and enriche them selues, aswell as those that went to the warres, and serued on the sea, or els that laye in garrison to keepe any place or forte. For some gayned by bringing stuffe: as stones, brasse, yuory, gold, ebbany, & cypres. Other got, to worke and facion it: as carpinters, grauers, sownders, casters of images, masons, hewers of stone, dyers, goldsmithes, ioyners working in yuorie, painters, men that set in sundrie cullers of peces of stone or wodde, and turners. Other gayned to bring stuffe, & to furnishe them: as marchaunts, mariners, and shippemasters, for things they brought them by sea. And by lande other got also: as carte makers, cariers, carters, corde makers, sadlers, collermakers,
C & pyoners to make wayes plaine, & miners, & such like. Furthermore, euery science and crafte, as a captaine hauing souldiers, had also their armie of the worke men that serued them, labouring truely for their liuing, who serued as prētises & iorney men vnder the worke-masters: so the worke by this meanes dyd disperse abroade a common gayne to all sortes of people and ages, what occupation or trade soeuer they had. And thus came the buildings to rise in greatnes & sumptuousnes, being of excellent workemanshippe, & for grace & beawtie not comparable: bicause euery workeman in his science dyd striue what he could to excell others, to make his worke appeare greatest in sight, and to be most workemanly done in showe. But the greatest thing to be woundred at, was their speede and diligence. For where euery man thought those workes were not likely to be finished in many mens liues and ages, &
D from man to man: they were all done and finished, whilest one only gouernour continued still in credit and authoritie. And yet they saye, that in the same time, as one *Agatarchus* boasted him self, that he had quickly painted certen beastes: *Zeuxis* another painter hearing him, aunswered. And I contrarilie doe reioyce, that I am a long time in drawing of them. For cōmonly slight and sodaine drawing of any thing, cannot take deepe cullers, nor geue perfect beawty to the worke: but length of time, adding to the painters diligence and labour in making of the worke, maketh the cullers to continue for euer. For this cause therefore the workes *Pericles* made, are more wonderfull: bicause they were perfectly made in so shorte a time, and haue cōtinued so long a season. For euery one of those which were finished vp at that time, seemed then to be very auncient touching the beawtie thereof: and yet for the grace & continuance
E of the same, it looketh at this daye as if it were but newly done and finished, there is suche a certaine kynde of florishing freshnes in it, which letteth that the iniurie of time cannot impaire the sight thereof: As if euery one of those foresaid workes, had some liuing spirite in it, to make it seeme young and freshe: and a soule that liued euer, which kept them in their good continuing state. Now the chief surueyour generall of all these workes, was *Phidias*, albeit that there were many other excellent worke masters in euery science & occupation. For the temple of *Pallas*, which is called *Parthénon* (as a man would saye, the temple of the virgine, and is surnamed *Hecatompedon*, for that it is a hundred foote euery waye) was built by *Ictinus*, and *Callicrates*: and the chappell of *Eleusin* (where the secret ceremonies of the mysteries were made) was first founded by *Corebus*, who raised vp the first pillers in order, standing beneath
F on the ground, and dyd set them vp vnto the master chaptrells. But after he was dead, *Metagenes*, borne in the towne of XYPETA, turned the arches ouer, and then dyd set the pillers in order also which are aboue: and *Xenocles* of the towne of CHOLARGA, was he that made

Diuers artificers at Athēs.

the lanterne or toppe of the ſteeple which couereth the ſanctuarie: but the long wall which *Socrates* heard *Pericles* him ſelfe geue order for the building of it, was done by *Callicrates*, who vndertooke the worke. *Cratinus* the Poet, in a comedie he made, laugheth at this worke, to ſee how ſlowly it went forward, and how long it was a doing, ſaying:

Pericles long a goe, dyd ende this vvorke begonne:
and build it highe, vvith glorious vvordes, if ſo it had bene done.
But as for deedes (in dede) he built nothing at all,
but let it ſtande: as yet it ſtands, much liker for to fall.

The Odeon. And as for the Theater or place appointed for muſicke, where they heare all muſicians playe, and is called *Odeon*: it is very well made within with diuers ſeates & degrees, and many ranges of pillers, but the toppe of the roofe is altogether rounde, which is ſomwhat hanging downeward round about of it ſelfe, comming together into one pointe. And it is ſayed that this was made after the patterne and facion of king *Xerxes* royall pauilion, and that *Pericles* was the firſt deuiſer and maker of it. Wherefore *Cratinus* in another place of his comedie he maketh of the THRACIANS, doth playe very pretily vpon him, ſaying:

Pericles here doth come, Dan Iupiter ſurnamed,
(and onyons hed) vvhich hath in his great noddell finely framed,
The plot of Odeon, vvhen he deliuered vvas
from banishment, and daungers deepe, vvherein he long dyd paſſe.

Pericles was the firſt that made maruelous earneſt labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the daye of the feaſt called *Panathenæa*, they would ſet vp games for muſicke. And he him ſelfe being choſen ruler of theſe games, as iudge to reward the beſt deſeruer: ordained the manner the muſitians ſhould euer after keepe in their ſinging, playing on their flutes, or vpon the citherne, or other inſtruments of muſicke. So the firſt games that euer were for muſicke, were kept within the *Odeon*: and ſo were the other after them alſo, euer celebrated there. The gate and entring into the caſtell was made and finiſhed within the ſpace of fiue yeres, vnder the charge of *Mneſicles*, that was maſter of the workes. And whileſt theſe gates were a building, there happened a wonderfull chaunce, which declared very well that the goddeſſe *Minerua* dyd not miſlike the building, but that it pleaſed her maruelouſly. For one of the moſt painefulleſt workemen that wrought there, fell by miſchaunce from the height of the caſtell to the grounde, which fall dyd ſo ſore brooſe him, and he was ſo ſicke with all, that the phiſitians and ſurgeons had no hope of his life. *Pericles* being very ſorie for his miſchaunce, the goddeſſe appeared to him in his ſleepe in the night, and taught him a medicine, with the which he dyd eaſely heale the poore brooſed man, & that in ſhorte time. And this was the occaſion why he cauſed the image of the goddeſſe *Minerua* (otherwiſe called of healthe) to be caſt in braſſe, and ſet vp within the temple of the caſtell, neere vnto the altar which was there before, as they ſaye. But the golden image of *Minerua* was made by *Phidias*, and grauen round about the baſe: Who had the charge in manner of all other workes, and by reaſon of the good will *Pericles* bare him, he commaunded all the other workemen. And this made the one to be greatly enuied, and the other to be very ill ſpoken of. For their enemies gaue it out abroad, that *Phidias* receyued the gentlewomen of the cittie into his houſe, vnder culler to goe ſee his workes, and dyd conuey them to *Pericles*. Vpon this brute, the Comicall poets taking occaſion, dyd caſt out many ſlaunderous ſpeaches againſt *Pericles*, accuſing him that he kept one *Menippus* wife, who was his friend and lieutenante in the warres: and burdened him further, that *Pyrilampes*, one of his familiar friends alſo, brought vp fowle, and ſpecially peacoks, which he ſecretly ſent vnto the women that *Pericles* kept. But we muſt not wonder at theſe Satyres, that make profeſſion to ſpeake ſlaunderouſly againſt all the worlde, as it were to ſacrifice the iniuries and wronges they caſt vpon honorable and good men, to the ſpight and enuie of the people, as vnto wicked ſpirites: conſidering that *Steſimbrotus* THASIAN durſt falſely accuſe *Pericles* of deteſtable inceſt, and of abuſing his owne ſonnes wife. And this is the reaſon, in my opinion, why it is ſo hard a matter to come to the perfect knowledge of the trothe of auncient things, by the monuments of hiſtoriographers: conſidering long proceſſe of time, doth vtterly obſcure the trothe of matters, done in former times.

Pericles erected games for muſicke.

The Poets raiſe vp ſlaũders againſt Pericles.

A times. For euery written hiſtorie ſpeaking of men that are aliue, and of the time of things, whereof it maketh mention: ſomtime for hate and enuie, ſomtime for fauour or flatterie, doth diſguiſe and corrupt the troſhe. But *Pericles* perceyuing that the orators of *Thucydides* faction, in their common orations dyd ſtill crie out vpon him, that he dyd vainely waſte and conſume the common treaſure, and that he beſtowed vpon the workes, all the whole reuenue of the cittie: one daye when the people were aſſembled together, before them all he asked them, if they thought that the coſte beſtowed were to muche. The people aunſwered him: a great deale to muche. Well, ſaid he then, the charges ſhalbe mine (if you thinke good) and none of yours: prouided that no mans name be written vpon the workes, but mine onely. When *Pericles* had ſayed ſo, the people cried out alowde, they would none of that (either bi-

The noble ſaying of Pericles.

B cauſe that they wondred at the greatnes of his minde, or els for that they would not geue him the only honour and prayſe to haue done ſo ſumptuous and ſtately workes) but willed him that he ſhould ſee them ended at the common charges, without ſparing for any coſte. But in the end, falling out openly with *Thucydides*, & putting it to an aduēture which of them ſhould baniſhe other, with the baniſhment of *Oſtraciſmon*: *Pericles* got the vpper hand, and baniſhed *Thucydides* out of the cittie, & therewithall alſo ouerthrewe the contrarie faction againſt him. Now when he had rooted out all factions, and brought the cittie againe to vnitie & concorde, he founde then the whole power of ATHENS in his handes, and all the ATHENIANS matters at his diſpoſing. And hauing all the treaſure, armour, gallyes, the Iles, and the ſea, and a marueious ſeigniorie and Kingdome (that dyd enlarge it ſelfe partely ouer the GREGIANS, and

Thucydides baniſhed by Pericles.

Pericles power.

C partely ouer the barbarous people) ſo well fortified and ſtrengthened with the obedience of nations ſubiect vnto them, with the friendſhippe of Kings, & with the alliance of diuers other Princes & mightie Lords: then from that time forward he beganne to chaunge his manners, and from that he was wont to be toward the people, and not ſo eaſely to graunt to all the peoples willes and deſires, no more then as it were to contrarie windes. Furthermore he altered his ouer gentle and popular manner of gouernment which he vſed vntill that time, as to delicate & to effeminate an harmonie of muſike, and dyd conuert it vnto an imperious gouernment, or rather to a kingly authoritie: but yet held ſtill a direct courſe, and kept him ſelf euer vpright without fault, as one that dyd, ſayed, and counſelled that, which was moſt expedient for the common weale. He many times brought on the people by perſuaſions and reaſons, to

Pericles ſomwhat altereth the common weale.

D be willing to graunt that he preferred vnto them: but many times alſo, he draue them to it by force, & made them againſt their willes doe that, which was beſt for them. Following therein the deuiſe of a wiſe phiſitian: who in a long and chaungeable diſeaſe, doth graunt his pacient ſomtime to take his pleaſure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate ſorte: and another time alſo he doth geue him a ſharpe or bitter medicine that doth vexe him, though it heale him. For as it falleth out commonly vnto people that enioye ſo great an empire: many times misfortunes doe chaunce, that fill them full of ſundrie paſſions, the which *Pericles* alone could finely ſteere and gouerne with two principall rudders, feare, and hope: brideling with the one, the fierce & inſolent raſhenes of the common people in proſperitie, and with the other comforting their grief and diſcoragement in aduerſitie. Wherein he manifeſtly proued,

E that rethorike and eloquence (as *Plato* ſayeth) is an arte which quickeneth mens ſpirites at her pleaſure, and her chiefeſt skill is, to knowe howe to moue paſſions and affections throughly, which are as ſtoppes and ſoundes of the ſoule, that would be played vpon with a fine fingered hande of a conning maſter. All which, not the force of his eloquence only brought to paſſe, as *Thucydides* witneſſeth: but the reputation of his life, and the opinion and confidence they had of his great worthines, bicauſe he would not any waye be corrupted with gifts, neither had he any couetouſnes in him. For, when he had brought his cittie not onely to be great, but exceeding great and wealthy, and had in power and authoritie exceeded many Kings and tyrannes,

The force of eloquence.

Pericles commended for his good life & worthines.

yea euen thoſe which by their willes and teſtaments might haue left great poſſeſſions to their children: he neuer for all that increaſed his fathers goodes and patrimonie left him, the value

F of a grote in ſiluer. And yet the hiſtoriographer *Thucydides* doth ſet forth plainely enough, the greatnes of his power. And the Comicall poets alſo of that time doe reporte it maliciouſly vnder couert words, calling his familiar friends, the newe *Piſiſtratides*: ſaying, howe they muſt

make him sweare and protest he would neuer be King, geuing vs thereby to vnderstand, that his authoritie was to exceeding great for a popular gouernment. And *Teleclides* (amongest other) sayeth that the ATHENIANS had put into his hands the reuenue of the townes & cities vnder their obedience, and the townes them selues, to binde the one, and to lose the other, & to pull downe their walles, or to build them againe at his pleasure. They gaue him power, to make peace and alliance: they gaue all their force, treasure, & authoritie, and all their goodes, wholy into his handes. But this was not for a litle while, nor in a geere of fauour, that should continue for a time: but this helde out fortie yeres together, he being allwayes the chief of his cittie amõgest the *Ephialtes*, the *Leocrates*, the *Mironides*, the *Cimons*, the *Tolmides*, & the *Thucydides*. For after he had preuailed against *Thucydides*, & had banished him: he yet remained chief aboue all other, the space of fifteene yeres. Thus hauing atteined a regall dignitie to cõmaunde all, which continued as aforesaid, where no other captaines authoritie endured but one yere: he euer kept him selfe vpright from bribes and money, though otherwise he was no ill husband, and could warely looke to his owne. As for his landes and goodes left him by his parents, that they miscaried not by negligẽce, nor that they should trouble him much, in busying him self to reduce them to a value: he dyd so husband them, as he thought was his best and easiest waye. For he solde in grosse euer the whole yeres profit and commoditie of his landes, and afterwardes sent to the market daylie to buye the cates, and other ordinarie prouision of housholde. This dyd not like his sonnes that were men growen, neither were his women contented with it, who would haue had him more liberall in his house, for they complained of his ouerhard and straight ordinarie, bicause in so noble and great a house as his, there was neuer any great remaine left of meate, but all things receyued into the house, ranne vnder accompt, & were deliuered out by proportion. All this good husbandrie of his, was kept vpright in this good order, by one *Euangelus*, Steward of his house, a man very honest and skillfull in ordering his housholde prouision: and whether *Pericles* had brought him vp to it, or that he had it by nature, it was not knowen. But these things were farre contrarie to *Anaxagoras* wisedome. For he despising the world, and casting his affection on heauenly things: dyd willingly forsake his house, and suffered all his lande to ronne to layes and to pasture. But (in my opinion) great is the diuersitie betwene a contemplatiue life, and a ciuill life. For the one employeth all his time vpon the speculation of good and honest things: and to attaine to that, he thinketh he hath no neede of any exteriour helpe or instrument. The other applying all his time vpon vertue, to the common profit & benefit of men: he thinketh that he needeth riches, as an instrument not only necessarie, but also honest. As, looke vpon the example of *Pericles*: who dyd relieue many poore people. And *Anaxagoras* specially among other: of whom it is reported, that *Pericles* being occupied about matters of state at that time, hauing no leysure to thinke vpon *Anaxagoras*, he seeing him selfe old & forsaken of the world, layed him downe, and couered his head close, determining to starue him selfe to death with hunger. *Pericles* vnderstanding this, ranne presently to him as a man halfe cast awaye, and prayed him as earnestly as he could, that he would dispose him selfe to liue, being not only sorie for him, but for him selfe also, that he should lose so faithfull and wise a counseller, in matters of state and gouernment. Then *Anaxagoras* shewed his face, and tolde him: O *Pericles*, those that will see by the light of a lampe, must put oyle to it, to make the light burne. Now beganne the LACEDÆMONIANS to growe iealous, of the greatnes of the ATHENIANS, wherefore *Pericles* to make the ATHENIANS hartes greater, and to drawe their mindes to great enterprises: set downe an order they should send ambassadours, to persuade all the GRECIANS (in what part soeuer they dwelt in EVROPE, or ASIA, aswell the litle as the great cities) to send their deputies vnto ATHENS, to the generall assembly that should be holden there, to take order for the temples of the goddes which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching the sacrifices they had vowed for the preseruation of GRECE, when they gaue battell vpon them: and touching sea matters also, that euery man might sayle in safetie where he would, & that all might liue together in good peace & loue, one with another. To performe this commission, twenty persones were sent of this embasiate, euery one of them being fiftie yeres of age and vpward. Whereof fiue of them went to the DORIANS, dwelling in ASIA, and to the inhabitants of the Iles,

Pericles free from gifts taking.

Pericles good husbandrie.

Anaxagoras a mathematician.

Great diuersitie betwext contemplatiue and ciuill life.

Anaxagoras determined to famish him self to death.

Anaxagoras saying to Pericles.

Pericles appointeth a generall councell to be holden at Athẽs.

A Iles, euen vnto the Iles of Lesbos, & of the Rhodes. Fiue other went through all the country of Hellespont, and of Thracia, vnto the cittie of Bizantivm. Other fiue were cõmaunded to goe into Boeotia, into Phocides, and through all Peloponnesvs, & from thence by the countrie of the Locrians, into the vplande countrie adioyning to it, vntill they came into the country of Acarnania, & of Amphacia. And the other fiue went first into the Ile of Evboea, and from thence vnto the Oetaeians, and through all the gulfe of Malea, vnto the Phtiotes, vnto the Achaians, and the Thessalians: declaring to all the people where they came, the Athenians commission, perſuading them to ſend vnto Athens, and to be preſent at the councell which ſhould be holden there, for the pacification & vnion of all Greece. But when all came to all, nothing was done, & the ſayed cities
B of Greece dyd not aſſemble, by practiſe of the Lacedæmonians (as it is reported) who were altogether the let: for the firſt refuſall that was made of their ſummons, was at Peloponnesvs. This haue I written to make *Pericles* noble corage to be knowen, and howe profounde a wiſe man he ſhewed him ſelfe vnto the world. Furthermore, when he was choſen generall in the warres, he was much eſteemed, bicauſe he euer tooke great regarde to the ſafetie of his ſouldiers. For by his good will he would neuer hazard battell, which he ſawe might fall out doubtfull, or in any thing daungerous: and moreouer, he neuer prayſed them for good generalls, neither would he followe them that had obteined great victories by hazard, howſoeuer other dyd eſteeme or cõmend them. For he was wont to ſaye, that if none but him ſelf dyd leade them to the ſhambles, as much as laye in him, they ſhould be immortall. And when
C he ſawe *Tolmides*, the ſonne of *Tolmæus* (truſting to his former victories, and the praiſe & commendation of his good ſeruice) dyd prepare vpon no occaſion, and to no purpoſe, to enter into the countrie of Boeotia, & had procured alſo a thouſand of the luſtieſt & moſt valliant men of the cittie, to be contented to goe with him in that iorney, ouer and aboue the reſt of the armie he had leauied: he went about to turne him from his purpoſe, and to keepe him at home, by many perſuaſions he vſed to him before the peoples face, and ſpake certen wordes at that time, that were remembred long after, and theſe they were. That if he would not beleeue *Pericles* counſell, yet that he would tarie time at the leaſt, which is the wiſeſt counſeller of men. Theſe wordes were pretilie liked at that preſent time. But with in fewe dayes after, when newes was brought that *Tolmides* ſelfe was ſlaine in a battell he had loſt, neere vnto the
D cittie of Coronea, wherein periſhed alſo, many other honeſt & valliant men of Athens: his wordes ſpoken before, dyd then greatly increaſe *Pericles* reputation & good will with the common people, bicauſe he was taken for a wiſe man, and one that loued his cittizens. But of all his iorneis he made, being generall ouer the armie of the Athenians: the iorney of Cherronesvs was beſt thought of and eſteemed, bicauſe it fell out to the great benefit and preſeruation of all the Grecians inhabiting in that coũtrie. For beſides that he brought thither a thouſand cittizens of Athens to dwell there (in which doing he ſtrengthened the cities with ſo many good men) he dyd fortifie the barre alſo, which dyd let it from being of an Ile, with a fortification he drue from one ſea to another: ſo that he defended the countrie againſt all the inuaſiõs and piracies of the Thracians inhabiting thereabouts, & deliuered it
E of extreme warre, with the which it was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neighbours, or dwelling amongeſt them, who only liued vpon piracie, and robbing on the ſeas. So was he likewiſe much honored & eſteemed of ſtraungers, when he dyd enuironne all Peloponnesvs, departing out of the hauen of Pegis, on the coaſt of Megara, with a fleete of a hũdred gallyes. For he dyd not only ſpoyle the townes all alõgeſt the ſea ſide, as *Tolmides* had done before him: but going vp further into the mayne lande, farre from the ſea, with his ſouldiers he had in the gallyes, he draue ſome of them to retire within their walles, he made them ſo affrayed of him: and in the countrie of Nemea, he ouercame the Sicyonians in battell, that taried him in the field, and dyd erect a piller for a notable marke of his victorie. And imbarking in his ſhippes, a newe ſupply of ſouldiers which he tooke vp in Achaia, being friends
F with the Athenians at that time: he paſſed ouer to the firme lande that laye directly againſt it. And pointing beyond the mouth of the riuer of *Achelous*, he inuided the countrie of Acarnania, where he ſhut vp the Oeneades within their walles. And after he had

Pericles loued the ſafety of his men in warres.

Time, the beſt counſeller.

Tolmides ſlaine in the field.

Pericles iorneyes.

Achelous fl.

layed waſte and deſtroyed all the champion countrie, he returned home againe to Athens: A
hauing ſhewed him ſelfe in this iorney, a dreadfull captaine to his enemies, and very carefull
for the ſafety of his ſouldiers. For there fell out no manner of misfortune all this iorney (by
chaunce or otherwiſe) vnto the ſouldiers vnder his charge. And afterwardes, going with a
great nauie marueleus well appointed vnto the realme of Pontvs, he dyd there gently vſe
and intreate the citties of Greece, and graunted them all that they required of him: making
the barbarous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the ſame alſo, to
know the great force & power of the Athenians, who ſailed without feare all about where
they thought good, keeping all the coaſtes of the ſea vnder their obedience. Furthermore, he
left with the Sinopians thirteene gallyes, with certen number of ſouldiers vnder captaine
Lamachus, to defend them againſt the tyranne *Timeſileus*: who being expulſed, and driuen a- B
waye, with thoſe of his faction, *Pericles* cauſed proclamation to be made at Athens, that ſixe
hundred free men of the cittie, that had any deſire to goe, without cõpulſion, might goe dwell
at Sinopa, where they ſhould haue deuided among them, the goodes & landes of the tyranne
& his followers. But he dyd not followe the fooliſhe vaine humours of his cittizens, nor would
not yeld to their vnſatiable couetouſnes, who being ſet on a iolitie to ſee them ſelues ſo ſtrõg,
and of ſuche a power, and beſides, to haue good lucke, would needes once againe attempt to
conquer Egypt, and to reuolte all the countries vpon the ſea coaſtes, from the empire of the
king of Persia: for there were many of them whoſe mindes were marueloufly bent to attẽpt
the vnfortunate enterpriſe of entering Sicilia, which *Alcibiades* afterwardes dyd muche
pricke forward. And ſome of them dreamed beſides, of the conqueſt of Thvscan, & the em- C
pire of Carthage. But this was not altogether without ſome likelyhood, nor without occa-
ſion of hope, conſidering the large boundes of their Kingdome, & the fortunate eſtate of their
affayres, which fell out according to their owne deſire. But *Pericles* dyd hinder this going out,
and cut of altogether their curious deſire, employing the moſt parte of their power and force,
to keepe that they had already gotten: iudging it no ſmall matter to keepe downe the Lace-
dæmonians from growing greater. For he was allwayes an enemie to the Lacedæmo-
nians, as he ſhewed him ſelfe in many things, but ſpecially in the warre he made, called the
holy warre. For the Lacedæmonians hauing put the Phocians from the charge of the tẽ-
ple of *Apollo*, in the cittie of Delphes, which they had vſurped, & hauing reſtored the Del-
phians againe vnto the ſame: ſo ſone as they were gone thence, *Pericles* went alſo with ano- D
ther armie, & reſtored the Phocians in again. And where as the Lacedæmonians had
cauſed to be grauen in the forehead of a woulfe of braſſe, the priuiledge the Delphians
had graunted them, to be the firſt that ſhould make their demaundes of the oracle; he hauing
attained the like priuiledge of the Phocians, made his image alſo to be grauen on the right
ſide of the ſame image, of the braſen woulfe. Nowe howe wiſely *Pericles* dyd gouerne Greece
by the power of the Athenians, his deedes doe plainely ſhewe. For firſt of all, the countrie
of Evboea dyd rebell, againſt whõ he brought the armie of the Athenians. And ſodaine-
ly in the necke of that, came newes from another coaſte, that the Megarians alſo were in
armes againſt them: and howe that they were already entered into the countrie of Attica
with a great armie, led by *Pliſtonax*, king of Lacedæmon. This occaſion drewe him home- E
ward againe, and ſo he marched backe with ſpeede into his countrie, to make preparation to
encoũter his enemies, that were already entered into the territories of Attica. He durſt not
offer them battell, being ſo great a number of valliant ſouldiers: but hearing that king *Pliſto-
nax* was yet but a young man, and was ruled altogether by *Cleandrides* counſell and direction
(whom the *Ephores* had placed about him to counſell & direct him) he ſought priuilie to cor-
rupt *Cleandrides*. When he had wonne him ſone with his money, he perſuaded him to drawe
backe the Peloponnesians out of their countrie of Attica: and ſo he dyd. But when the
Lacedæmonians ſawe their armie caſſed, & that the people were gone their waye, euery
man to his owne cittie or towne: they were ſo mad at it, that the King was condemned in a
great ſome. The King being vnable to aunſwer his fine, which was ſo extreme great: he was F
driuen to abſent him ſelf from Lacedæmon. *Cleandrides* on the other ſide, if he had not fled
in time, euen for ſpight had bene condemned to death. This *Cleandrides* was *Gylippus* father,

Pericles would not followe the couetouſnes of the people.

The enterpriſe of Sicilie.

Pericles an enemie to the Lacedæmonians.

Pliſtonax king of Lacedæmon.

Cleandrides corrupted by Periclet.

that

A that afterwards ouercame the ATHENIANS in SICILIA, in whom it seemed nature bred couetousnes, as a disease in the table by succession from father to the sonne. For he being shamefully conuicted also, for certen vile partes he had played, was likewise banished from SPARTA: as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lysander*. And *Pericles* deliuering vp the accõpt of his charge, and setting downe an article of the expense of tenne talentes he had employed, or should employe in needefull causes: the people allowed them him, neuer asking question how, nor which waye, nor whether it was true that they were bestowed. Now there are certen writers (amõg whom the philosopher *Theophrastus* is one) who write that *Pericles* sent yerely vnto SPARTA tenne talets, with the which he entertained those that were in authoritie there, bicause they should make no warres with them: not to buye peace of them, but time, that B he might in the meane season, with better commoditie, and that leysure, prouide to mainteine the warres. After that, as the armie of the PELOPONNESIANS were out of the countrie of ATTICA, he returned again against the rebels, & passed into the Ile of EVBOEA with fiftie sayle, & fiue thousand footemen well armed: & there he ouercame all the cities that had taken armes against him, and draue away the *Hyppobates*, who were the most famous men of all the CHALCIDIANS, as well for their riches, as for their valliantnes. He draue awaye also all the HESTIAEANS, whom he chased cleane out of all the countrie, and placed in their cittie, only the cittizens of ATHENS. And the cause why he delt so rigorously with them was, bicause they hauing taken a galley of the ATHENIANS prisoner, had put all the men to death that were in her. And peace being concluded afterwards betwene the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMO- C NIANS for thirtie yeres: he proclaimed open warres against those of the Ile of SAMOS, burdening them, that they being cõmaunded by the ATHENIANS, to pacifie the quarrells which they had against the MILESIANS, they would not obaye. But bicause some hold opinion, that he tooke vpon him this warre against SAMOS, for the loue of *Aspasia*: it shall be no great digression of our storie, to tell you by the waye, what manner of woman she was, & what a marueluous gifte and power she had, that she could entangle with her loue the chiefest rulers and gouernours at that time of the common weale, and that the philosophers them selues dyd so largely speake & write of her. First of all, it is certaine that she was borne in the cittie of MILETVM, and was the daughter of one *Axiochus*: she following the steppes and example of an olde curtisan of IONIA, called *Thargelia*, gaue her selfe only to entertaine the greatest per- D sones & chiefest rulers in her time. For this *Thargelia* being passing fayer, and carying a comely grace with her, hauing a sharpe wit and pleasaunt tongue: she had the acquaintaunce and friendshippe of the greatest persones of all GREECE, and wanne all those that dyd haunte her company to be at the king of *Persiaes* commaundement. So that she sowed through all the citties of GREECE, great beginnings of the faction of the MEDES: for they were the greatest men of power & authoritie of euerie cittie that were acquainted with her. But as for *Aspasia*, some saye that *Pericles* resorted vnto her, bicause she was a wise woman, and had great vnderstanding in matters of state and gouernment. For *Socrates* him selfe went to see her somtimes with his friends: and those that vsed her company also, brought their wiues many times with them to heare her talke: though her traine about her were to entertaine such as would warme E them by their fire. *Æschines* writeth, that *Lysicles* a grasier, being before but a meane man, and of a clubbish nature, came to be the chief man of ATHENS, by frequenting the companie of *Aspasia*, after the death of *Pericles*. And in *Platoes* booke intituled *Menexenus*, although the beginning of it be but pleasauntly written, yet in that, this storie is written truely: that this *Aspasia* was repaired vnto by diuers of the ATHENIANS, to learne the arte of rethorike of her. Yet notwithstanding it seemeth most likely that the affection *Pericles* dyd beare her, grewe rather of loue, then of any other cause. For he was maried vnto a kinswoman of his owne, and that before was *Hipponicus* wife, by whom she had *Callias*, surnamed the riche: & had afterwards by *Pericles*, *Xantippus* and *Paralus*. But not liking her companie, he gaue her with her owne good will and consent vnto another, and maried *Aspasia* whom he dearely lo- F ued. For euer when he went abroad, & came home againe, he saluted her with a kisse. Whereupon in the auncient comedies, she is called in many places, the newe *Omphale*, and somtimes *Deianira*, and somtimes *Iuno*. But *Cratinus* plainely calleth her whore in these verses:

Gylippus ouercame the Athenians at Syracusa in Sicile.

Gylippus robbed parte of the treasure Lysander sent him withall to Sparta.

Pericles wise pollicy in forrein entertainement.

Pericles arriu in Eubœa.

Pericles maketh warre with the Samians.

Aspasia a passing wise woman.

The discription of Aspasia.

Thargelia.

Callias the riche.

Pericles maried Aspasia the famous curtisan.

His lane she him brought, Aspasia by name,
vvhich in vvas in deede an open vvhore, and past all kynde of shame.

And it seemeth that he had a bastard for *Eupolis* in a comedie of his called *Demoi*, bringeth him in asking *Pyronides* thus:

Prayé thee is my bastard sonne yet alive?

And then *Pyronides* answered him

A perfect man long since, he surely had bene founde,
if that this dame, and naughty vvhore his vertue had not drovvned.

To conclude, this *Aspasia* was so famous, that *Cyrus* (he that fought against king *Artaxerxes* his brother, for the empire of PERSIA) called *Aspasia* his best beloued of all his concubines, which before was called *Milta*, and was borne in PHOCIDES, being *Hermotimus* daughter. And *Cyrus* being slayne in the field, *Aspasia* was caried to the King his brother, with whom afterwardes she was in great fauour. As I was writing this life, this storie came in my minde and me thought I should haue delt hardly, if I should haue left it vnwritten. But to our matter againe. *Pericles* was charged that he made warres against the SAMIANS, on the behalfe of the MILESIANS, at the request of *Aspasia*: for these two cities were at warres together, for the cittie of PRIENA, but the SAMIANS were the stronger. Now the ATHENIANS commaunded them to laye a side their armes, and to come and pleade their matter before them, that the right might be decided: but they refused it vtterly. Wherefore *Pericles* went thither & tooke awaye the gouernment of the small number of Nobilitie, taking for ostages, fiftie of the chiefest men of the cittie, and so many children besides, which he left to be kept in the Ile of LEMNOS. Some saye euery one of these ostages offered to geue him a talent: and besides those, many other offered him the like, suche as would not haue the soueraine authoritie put into the handes of the people. Moreouer *Pissuthnes* the PERSIAN, lieutenant to the king of PERSIA, for the good will he bare those of SAMOS, dyd send *Pericles* tenne thousand crownes to release the ostages. But *Pericles* neuer tooke pennie: and hauing done that he determined at SAMOS, and established a popular gouernment, he returned againe to ATHENS. Notwithstanding, the SAMIANS rebelled immediatly after, hauing recouered their ostages againe by meanes of this *Pissuthnes* that stale them awaye, and dyd furnishe them also with all their munition of warre. Whereupon *Pericles* returning against them once more, he founde them not idle, nor amazed at his coming, but resolutely determined to receyue him, and to fight for the seigniorie by sea. So there was a great battell fought betwene them, neere the Ile of TRACIA. And *Pericles* wanne the battell: hauing with foure and fortie sayle only nobly ouercome his enemies, which were three score & tenne in number, wherof twenty of them were shippes of warre. And so following his victorie forthwith, he wanne also the porte of SAMOS, and kept the SAMIANS besieged within their owne cittie: where they were yet so bolde, as they would make salies out many times, and fight before the walles of the cittie. But when there arriued a newe supplie of shippes bringing a greater ayde vnto *Pericles*: then were they shut vp of all sides. *Pericles* then taking three score gallyes with him, lanched out into the sea, with intent (as some saye) to goe mete certen shippes of the PHOENICIANS (that came to ayde the SAMIANS) as farre from SAMOS as he could: or as *Stesimbrotus* sayeth, to goe into CYPRVS, which me thinketh is not true. But whatsoeuer was his intent, he committed a foule fault. For *Melissus* (the sonne of *Ithagenes*, a great philosopher) being at that time generall of the SAMIANS: perceyuing that fewe shippes were left behinde at the siege of the cittie, and that the captaines also that had the charge of them were no very expert men of warre, persuaded his cittizens to make a salye vpon them. Whereupon they fought a battell, and the SAMIANS ouercame: the ATHENIANS were taken prisoners, and they suncke many of their shippes. Nowe they being lordes againe of the sea, dyd furnishe their cittie with all manner of munition for warres, whereof before they had great want. Yet *Aristotle* writeth that *Pericles* selfe was once ouercome in a battell by sea by *Melissus*. Furthermore the SAMIANS, to be euen with the ATHENIANS for the iniurie they had receyued of them before: dyd brande them in the forehead with the stampe of an owle, the owle being then the stampe of their coyne at ATHENS, euen as the ATHENIANS had branded the SAMIAN prisoners before with the stape

Pissuthnes the Persian.

A good proofe that Pericles was not corne-toun.

Pericles victorie againe of the Samians.

Melissus a philosopher, generall of the Samians.

The owle, the stampe of the coyne at Athens.

of

A of *Samena*. This *Samena* is a kynde of a ſhippe amongeſt the SAMIANS, lowe afore, and well layed out in the midde ſhippe, ſo that it is excellent good to riſe with the waues of the ſea, and is very ſwifte vnder ſayle: and it was ſo called, bicauſe the firſt ſhippe that was made of this facion, was made in the Ile of SAMOS, by the tyranne *Polycrates*. It is ſayed that the poet *Ariſtophanes*, couertly conueying the ſtampe of the SAMIANS, ſpeaking merylie in a place of his comedies ſayeth: *Samena a kinde of a ſhippe.*

The Samians are great learned men.

The wittie ſaying of Ariſtophanes of the Samians.

Pericles being aduertiſed of the ouerthrowe of his armie, returned preſently to the reſcue. *Meliſſus* went to mete him, and gaue him battell: but he was ouerthrowen, and driuen backe into his cittie, where *Pericles* walled them in round about the cittie, deſiring victorie rather by
B time and charge, then by daunger, and loſſe of his ſouldiers. But when he ſawe that they were wearie with tract of time, and that they would bring it to hazard of battell, and that he could by no meanes withholde them: he then deuided his armie into eight companies, whom he made to drawe lots, and that companie that lighted on the white beane, they ſhould be quiet & make good cheere, while the other ſeuen fought. And they ſaye that from thence it came, that when any haue made good cheere, & taken pleaſure abroade, they doe yet call it a white daye, bicauſe of the white beane. *Ephorus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that it was there, where firſt of all they beganne to vſe engines of warre to plucke down great walles, and that *Pericles* vſed firſt this wonderfull inuention: & that *Artemon* an enginer was the firſt deuiſer of them. He was caried vp and downe in a chayer, to ſet forward theſe workes, bicauſe he had a lame
C legge: and for this cauſe he was called *Periphoretos*. But *Heraclides Ponticus* confuteth *Ephorus* therein, by the verſes of *Anacreon*, in the which *Artemon* is called *Periphoretos*, many yeres before this warre of SAMOS beganne: & ſayeth that this *Periphoretos* was a maruelous tender man, and ſo fooliſhly afeard of his owne ſhadowe, that the moſt parte of his time he ſturred not out of his houſe, & dyd ſit allwayes hauing two of his men by him, that held a copper target ouer his head, for feare leaſt any thing ſhould fall vpon him. And if vpon any occaſion he were driuen, to goe abroade out of his houſe: he would be caried in a litle bed hanging neere the grounde, & for this cauſe he was ſurnamed *Periphoretos*. At the laſt, at nine moneths ende the SAMIANS were compelled to yeld. So *Pericles* tooke the cittie, & raſed their walles to the grounde: he brought their ſhippes awaye, and made them paye a maruelous great tribute,
D whereof parte he receyued in hande, & the reſt payable at a certen time, taking ſtages with him for aſſurance of payment. But *Duris* the SAMIAN dilateth theſe matters maruelous pittifully, burdening the ATHENIANS, and *Pericles* ſelf with vnnaturall crueltie: whereof neither *Thucydides*, nor *Ephorus*, nor *Ariſtotle* him ſelfe maketh mention. And ſuer I cannot beleeue it is true that is writtē. That he brought the captaines of the gallyes, & the ſouldiers themſelues of SAMIA, into the market place of the cittie of MILETVM: where he made them to be bound faſt vnto bordes for the ſpace of tenne dayes, & at the ende of the ſame, the poore men halfe dead, were beaten downe with clubbes, and their heads paſſhed in peces: and afterwards they threw out their bodies to the crowes, & would not burie them. So *Duris* being accuſtomed to ouerreach, & to lye many times in things nothing touching him: ſeemeth in this place out of
E all reaſon to aggrauate the calamities of his countrie, only to accuſe the ATHENIANS, and to make them odious to the world. *Pericles* hauing wōne the cittie of SAMOS, he returned againe to ATHENS, where he dyd honorably burie the bones of his ſlaine cittizens in this warre: and him ſelf (according to their manner & cuſtome) made the funerall oration, for the which he was maruelouſly eſteemed. In ſuche ſorte, that after he came downe from the pulpit where he made his oration: the ladies & gentlewomen of the cittie came to ſalute him, & brought him garlāds to put vpon his head, as they doe to noble cōquerers when they returne from games, where they haue wonne the price. But *Elpinicé* coming to him, ſayed. Surely *Pericles*, thy good ſeruice done, deſerueth garlands of triumphe: for thou haſt loſt vs many a good and valliant cittizen, not fighting with the MEDES, the PHOENICIANS, and with the barbarous people as
F my brother *Cimon* dyd, but for deſtroying a cittie of our owne nation and kynred. *Pericles* to theſe wordes, ſoftely aunſwered *Elpinicé*, with *Archilochus* verſe, ſmyling: *Elpinicé.*

When thou art olde, painte not thy ſelfe. *Pericles taunts to an olde woman.*

But *Ion* writeth, that he greatly gloried, and ſtoode muche in his owne conceipt, after he had ſubdued the SAMIANS, ſaying: *Agamemnon* was tenne yeres taking of a cittie of the barbarous people: and he in nine moneths only had wonne the ſtrongeſt cittie of the whole nation of IONIA. In deede he had good cauſe to glorie in his victorie: for truely (if *Thucydides* reporte be true) his conqueſt was no leſſe doubtfull, then he founde it daungerous. For the SAMIANS had almoſt bene lordes of the ſea, and taken the ſeigniorie thereof from the ATHENIANS. After this, the warres of PELOPONNESVS being whotte againe, the CORINTHIANS inuading thilanders of CORPHV: *Pericles* dyd perſuade the ATHENIANS to ſend ayde vnto the CORPHIANS, and to ioyne in league with that Iland, which was of great power by ſea, ſaying: that the PELOPONNESIANS (before it were long) would haue warre with them. The ATHENIANS conſented to his motion, to ayde thoſe of CORPHV. Whereupon they ſent thither *Lacedæmonius* (*Cimons* ſonne) with tenne gallyes only for a mockery: for all *Cimons* familie and friendes, were wholy at the LACEDÆMONIANS deuotion. Therefore dyd *Pericles* cauſe *Lacedæmonius* to haue ſo fewe ſhippes deliuered him, and further, ſent him thither againſt his will, to the ende that if he dyd no notable exploite in this ſeruice, that they might then the more iuſtly ſuſpect his good will to the LACEDÆMONIANS. Moreouer whileſt he liued, he dyd euer what he could, to keepe *Cimons* children backe from ryſing: bicauſe that by their names they were no naturall borne ATHENIANS, but ſtraungers. For the one was called *Lacedæmonius*, the other *Theſſalus*, and the third *Elius*: and the mother to all them three, was an ARCADIAN woman borne. But *Pericles* being blamed for that he ſent but tenne gallyes only, which was but a ſléder ayde for thoſe that had requeſted them, and a great matter to them that ſpake ill of him: he ſent thither afterwardes a great number of other gallyes, which came when the battell was fought. But the CORINTHIANS were maruelous angrie, and went & complained to the counſell of the LACEDÆMONIANS, where they layed open many grieuous complaints and accuſations againſt the ATHENIANS, and ſo dyd the MEGARIANS alſo: alledging that the ATHENIANS had forbidden them their hauens, their ſtaples, and all trafficke of marchaundiſe in the territories vnder their obedience, which was directly againſt the common lawes, and articles of peace, agreed vpon by othe among all the GRECIANS. Moreouer the ÆGINETES finding them ſelues very ill and cruelly handled, dyd ſend ſecretly to make their mone & complaintes to the LACEDÆMONIANS, being afeard openly to complaine of the ATHENIANS. While theſe things were a doing, the cittie of POTIDÆA, ſubiect at that time vnto the ATHENIANS (and was built in olde time by the CORINTHIANS) dyd rebell, and was beſieged by the ATHENIANS, which dyd haſten on the warres. Notwithſtanding this, ambaſſadours were firſt ſent vnto ATHENS vpon theſe complaints, & *Archidamus*, king of the LACEDÆMONIANS, dyd all that he could to pacifie the moſt parte of theſe quarrells and complaints, intreating their friendes and allies. So as the ATHENIANS had had no warres at all, for any other matters wherewith they were burdened, if they would haue graunted to haue reuoked the decree they had made againſt the MEGARIANS. Whereupon, *Pericles*, that aboue all other ſtood moſt againſt the reuocation of that decree, & that dyd ſturre vp the people, & made thē to ſtand to that they had once decreed, & ordered, againſt the MEGARIANS: was thought the only original cauſe & author of the PELOPONNESIAN warres. For it is ſayed that the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent ambaſſadours vnto ATHENS for that matter only. And when *Pericles* alledged a lawe, that dyd forbid them to take away the table, whereupon before time had bene written any cōmon law or edict: *Polyarces*, one of the LACEDÆMON ambaſſadours, ſayed vnto him. Well, ſaid he, take it not awaye then, but turne the table onely: your lawe I am ſuer forbiddeth not that. This was pleaſauntly ſpoken of the ambaſſadour, but *Pericles* could neuer be brought to it for all that. And therefore it ſeemeth he had ſome ſecret occaſion of grudge againſt the MEGARIANS: yet as one that would finely conuey it vnder the cōmō cauſe & cloke, he tooke frō them the holy lāds they were breaking vp. For to bring this to paſſe, he made an order, that they ſhould ſend an herauld to ſumnione the MEGARIANS to let the land alone, & that the ſame herauld ſhould goe alſo vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS to accuſe the MEGARIANS vnto the. It is true that this ordinance was made by *Pericles* meanes, as alſo it was moſt iuſt & reaſonable: but it fortuned ſo, that the meſſenger they ſent thither dyed

Cimōs ſonnes.

The Athenians accuſed at Lacedæmō.

Pericles, author of the warres againſt Peloponeſius.

Pericles malice againſt the Megarians.

and

A and not without ſuſpition that the MEGARIANS made him awaye. Wherefore *Charinus* made a lawe preſently againſt the MEGARIANS: that they ſhould be proclaimed mortall enemies to the ATHENIANS for euer, without any hope of after reconciliation. And alſo if any MEGARIAN ſhould once put his foote within the territories of ATTICA, that he ſhould ſuffer the paynes of death. And moreouer, that their captaines taking yerely their ordinary othe, ſhould ſweare among other articles, that twiſe in the yere they ſhould goe with their power, and deſtroy ſome parte of the MEGARIANS lande. And laſtly, that the herauld *Anthemocritus* ſhould be buried by the place called then the gates *Thriaſienes*, and nowe called, *Dipylon*. But the MEGARIANS ſtowtely denying, that they were any cauſe of the death of this *Anthemocritus*: dyd altogether burden *Aſpaſia* and *Pericles* with the ſame, alledging for
B proofe thereof, *Ariſtophanes* verſes the Poet, in his comedie he intituled the *Acharnes*, which are ſo common, as euery boye hath them at his tongues ende.

The young men of our lande (to dronken bybbing bent)
ranne out one daye vnrulily, and towards Megara vvent.
From vvhence in their outrage, by force they tooke avvaye,
Simætha noble curtiſan, as she dyd ſporte and playe.
VVherevvith enraged all (vvith pepper in the noſe)
the provvde Megarians came to vs, as to their mortall foes,
And tooke by ſtelthe avvaye, of harlots eke a payer,
attending on Aſpaſia, vvhich vvere both young and fayer.

C But in very deede, to tell the originall cauſe of this warre, and to deliuer the trothe thereof, it is very harde. But all the hiſtoriographers together agree, that *Pericles* was the chiefeſt author of the warre: bicauſe the decree made againſt the MEGARIANS, was not reuoked backe againe. Yet ſome holde opinion, that *Pericles* dyd it of a noble minde and iudgement, to be conſtant in that he thought moſt expedient. For he iudged that this commaundement of the LACEDÆMONIANS was but a triall, to proue if the ATHENIANS would graunte them: and if they yelded to them in that, then they manifeſtly ſhewed that they were the weaker. Other contrarilie ſaye, that it was done of a ſelfe will and arrogancie, to ſhewe his authoritie and power, and howe he dyd deſpiſe the LACEDÆMONIANS. But the ſhrowdeſt proſe of all, that bringeth beſt authoritie with it, is reported after this ſorte. *Phidias* the image
D maker (as we haue tolde you before) had vndertaken to make the image of *Pallas*: and being *Pericles* friende, was in great eſtimation about him. But that procured him many ill willers. Then they being deſirous to heare by him what the people would iudge of *Pericles*: they intiſed *Menon*, one of the worke men that wrought vnder *Phidias*, and made him come into the market place to praye aſſurance of the people that he might openly accuſe *Phidias*, for a faulte he had committed about *Pallas* image. The people receyued his obedience, and his accuſation was heard opēly in the market place, but no mention was made of any theft at all: bicauſe that *Phidias* (through *Pericles* counſell & deuiſe) had from the beginning ſo layed on the gold vpon the image, that it might be taken of, & wayed euery whitte. VVhereupō *Pericles* openly ſayed vnto his accuſers, take of the golde & way it. The glorie of his works dyd pur
E chaſe him this enuie. For he hauing grauē vpon the ſcutchiō of the goddeſſe, the battel of the AMAZONES, had cut out the portraiture of him ſelf maruelous liuely, vnder the perſone of an olde balde man, lifting vp a great ſtone with both his handes. Further he had cut out *Pericles* image, excellētly wrought & artificially, ſeeming in māner to be *Pericles* ſelf, fighting with an AMAZON in this ſorte. The AMAZONES hād being lifte vp highe, holdeth a darte before *Pericles* face, ſo paſſing cunningly wrought, as it ſeemed to ſhadowe the likenes & reſemblaunce of *Pericles*: and yet notwithſtanding appeareth plainely to be *Pericles* ſelf on either ſide of the portraiture. So *Phidias* was clapt vp in priſone, & there dyed of a ſicknes, or els of poyſon (as ſome ſaye) which his enemies had prepared for him: & all to bring *Pericles* into further ſuſpition, & to geue them the more cauſe to accuſe him. But howſoeuer it was, the people gaue *Menon* his
F freedome, & ſet him free for paymēt of all ſubſidies, following the order *Glycon* made, and gaue the captaines charge they ſhould ſee him ſafely kept, and that he tooke no hurte. And about

Phidias the image maker.

Aſpaſia accuſed.

the ſame time alſo *Aſpaſia* was accuſed, that ſhe dyd not beleeue in the goddes: and her accuſer was *Hermippus*, maker of the comedies. He burdened her further, that ſhe was a bawde to *Pericles*, and receyued cittizens wiues into her houſe, which *Pericles* kept. And *Diopithes* at the ſame time made a decree, that they ſhould make ſearche and enquirie for hereticks that dyd not beleeue in the goddes, and that taught certaine newe doctrine and opinion touching the operations of things aboue in the element, turning the ſuſpition vpon *Pericles*, bicauſe of *Anaxagoras*. The people dyd receyue and confirme this inquiſition: and it was moued alſo then by *Dracontides*, that *Pericles* ſhould deliuer an accompt of the money he had ſpent, vnto the handes of the *Prytanes*, who were treaſorers of the common fines and reuenues, and that the iudges deputed to geue iudgement, ſhould geue ſentence within the cittie vpon the altar. But *Agnon* put that worde out of the decree, and placed in ſtead thereof, that the cauſe ſhould be iudged by the fifteene hundred iudges, as they thought good, if any man brought this action for theſte, for batterie, or for iniuſtice. As for *Aſpaſia*, he ſaued her, euen for the verie pittie and compaſſion the iudges tooke of him, for the teares he ſhed in making his humble ſute for her, all the time he pleaded her caſe: as *Æſchines* writeth. But for *Anaxagoras*, fearing that he could not doe ſo muche for him: he ſent him out of the cittie, and him ſelfe dyd accompany him. And furthermore, ſeeing he had incurred the ill will of the people for *Phidias* facte, and for this cauſe fearing the iſſue of the iudgement: he ſet the warres a fyre againe, that allwayes went backeward, and dyd but ſmoke a litle, hoping by this meanes to weare out the accuſations againſt him, and to roote out the malice ſome dyd beare him. For the people hauing waightie matters in hande, and very daungerous alſo: he knewe they would put all into his handes alone, he hauing wonne already ſuche great authoritie and reputation among them. And theſe be the cauſes why he would not (as it is ſayed) ſuffer the ATHENIANS to yeld vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS in any thing: howbeit the trothe cannot certenly be knowen. But the LACEDÆMONIANS knowing well, that if they could wede out *Pericles*, and ouerthrowe him, they might then deale as they would with the ATHENIANS: they commaunded them they ſhould purge their cittie of *Cylons* rebellion, bicauſe they knew well enough that *Pericles* kynne by the mothers ſide were to be touched withall, as *Thucydides* declareth. But this practiſe fell out contrarie to their hope, and expectation, that were ſent to ATHENS for this purpoſe. For, wening to haue brought *Pericles* into further ſuſpition and diſpleaſure, the cittizens honoured him the more, and had a better affiaunce in him then before, bicauſe they ſawe his enemies dyd ſo much feare and hate him. Wherefore, before king *Archidamus* entred with the armie of the PELOPONNESIANS into the countrie of ATTICA, he tolde the ATHENIANS, that if king *Archidamus* fortuned to waſte and deſtroye all the countrie about, and ſhould ſpare his landes and goodes for the olde loue and familiaritie that was betweene them, or rather to geue his enemies occaſion falſely to accuſe him: that from thenceforth, he gaue all the landes and tenements he had in the countrie, vnto the common wealthe. So it fortuned, that the LACEDÆMONIANS with all their friends and confederates, brought a maruelous armie into the countrie of ATTICA, vnder the leading of king *Archidamus*: who burning & ſpoyling all the countries he came alõgeſt, they came vnto the towne of ACHARNES, were they incamped, ſuppoſing the ATHENIANS would neuer ſuffer them to approche ſo neere, but that they would giue them battell for the honour and defence of their countrie, and to ſhewe that they were no cowardes. But *Pericles* wiſely conſidered howe the daunger was to great to hazard battell, where the loſſe of the cittie of ATHENS ſtoode in perill, ſeing they were three ſcore thouſand footemẽ of the PELOPONNESIANS, & of the BOEOTIANS together: for ſo many was their number in the firſt voyage they made againſt the ATHENIANS. And as for thoſe that were very deſirous to fight, and to put them ſelues to any hazard, being mad to ſee their countrie thus waſted and deſtroyed before their eyes, *Pericles* dyd comforte and pacifie them with theſe wordes. That trees being cut and hewen downe, dyd ſpring againe in ſhorte time: but men being once dead, by no poſſibilitie could be brought againe. Therefore he neuer durſt aſſemble the people in counſell, fearing leaſt he ſhould be inforced by the multitude, to doe ſome thing againſt his will. But as a wiſe man of a ſhippe, when he ſeeth a ſtorme coming on the ſea, doth ſtraight geue order to make all things ſafe in the

Prytani, treaſorers of the common fines.

The Lacedæmonians inuade Attica.

An excellent compariſon to ſtaye the ſouldiers deſier to fight.

A the ſhippe, preparing euery thing readie to defend the ſtorme, according to his arte and skill, not harkening to the paſſengers fearefull cries and pittiefull teares, who thinke them ſelues caſt away: euen ſo dyd *Pericles* rule all things according to his wiſedome, hauing walled the cittie ſubſtancially about, and ſet good watche in euery corner: and paſſed not for thoſe that were angrie & offended with him, neither would be perſuaded by his friends earneſt requeſts & intreaties, neither cared for his enemies threates nor accuſatiõs againſt him, nor yet reckoned of all their fooliſhe ſcoffing ſonges they ſonge of him in the cittie, to his ſhame and reproche of gouernment, ſaying that he was a cowardly captaine, and that for daſtardlines he let the enemies take all, and ſpoyle what they would. Of which number *Cleon* was one that moſt defamed him, and beganne to enter into ſome prety credit and fauour with the com-
B mon people, for that they were angrie, and miſliked with *Pericles*: as appeareth by theſe ſlaunderous verſes of *Hermippus*, which were then abroade:

Cleon accuſeth Pericles.

O King of Satyres thou, vvho vvith ſuch manly ſpeache
of bloudy vvarres and doughty dedes, doſt daylie to vs preache:
VVhy art thou novve afrayed, to take thy launce in hande,
or vvith thy pike againſt thy foes, corageouſly to ſtande?
Synce Cleon ſtovvte and fierce, doth daylie thee prouoke,
VVith biting vvordes, vvith trenchaunt blades, & deadly davvnting ſtroke.

All theſe notwithſtanding, *Pericles* was neuer moued any thing, but with ſilence dyd pa-
C ciently beare all iniuries and ſcoffings of his enemies, and dyd ſend for all that a nauie of a hundred ſayle vnto PELOPONNESVS, whether he would not goe in perſone, but kept him ſelf at home, to keepe the people in quiet: vntill ſuch time as the enemies had raiſed their campe, and were gone awaye. And to entertaine the common people that were offended and angrie at this warre: he comforted the poore people againe, with cauſing a certen diſtribution to be made amongeſt them of the common treaſure, and diuiſion alſo of the landes that were got by conqueſt. For after he had driuen all the ÆGINETES out of their countrie, he cauſed the whole Ile of ÆGINA to be deuided by lot amongeſt the cittizens of ATHENS. And then it was a great comforte to them in this aduerſitie, to heare of their enemies hurte and loſſe in ſuche manner as it dyd fall out. For their armie that was ſent by ſea vnto PELOPONNESVS,
D had waſted and deſtroyed a great parte of the champion countrie there, and had ſacked beſides many ſmall citties and townes. *Pericles* ſelfe alſo entring into the MEGARIANS countrie by lande, did waſte the whole countrie all afore him. So the PELOPONNESIANS receyuing by ſea aſmuche hurte and loſſe at the ATHENIANS hands, as they before had done by lande vnto the ATHENIANS: they had not holden out warres ſo long with the ATHENIANS, but would ſone haue geuen ouer (as *Pericles* had tolde them before) had not the goddes aboue ſecretly hindered mans reaſon and pollicie. For firſt of all there came ſuch a ſore plague among
E the ATHENIANS, that it tooke awaye the flower of ATHENS youth, and weakened the force of the whole cittie beſides. Furthermore the bodies of them that were left aliue being infected with this diſeaſe, their hartes alſo were ſo ſharpely bent againſt *Pericles*, that the ſicknes hauing troubled their braynes, they fell to flat rebellion againſt him, as the pacient againſt his
F phyſitian, or children againſt their father, euen to the hurting of him, at the prouocation of his enemies. Who bruted abroade, that the plague came of no cauſe els, but of the great multitude of the coũtry men that came into the cittie on heapes, one vpon anothers necke in the harte of the ſommer, where they were compelled to lye many together, ſmothred vp in litle tentes and cabines, remaining there all daye long, cowring downewardes, and doing nothing, where before they liued in the countrie in a freſhe open ayer, and at libertie. And of all this, ſaye they, *Pericles* is the only cauſe, who procuring this warre, hathe pent and ſhrowded the country men together within the walles of a cittie, employing them to no manner of vſe nor ſeruice, but keeping them like ſheepe in a pinnefolde, maketh one to poyſon another with the infection of their plague ſores ronning vpon them, and geuing them no leaue to chaunge ayer, that they might ſo muche as take breathe abroade. *Pericles* to remedy this, and to doe their enemies a litle miſchief: armed a hundred and fiftie ſhippes, and ſhipped into them a

Note Pericles pollicie to pacifie the peoples anger.

AEgina wõne by the Athenians.

Plague at Athens.

Accuſations againſt Pericles.

great number of armed footemen and horſemen alſo. Hereby he put the cittizens in good hope, and the enemies in great feare, ſeeing ſo great a power. But when he had ſhipped all his men, and was him ſelfe alſo in the admirall ready to hoyſe ſayle: ſodainely there was a great eclypſe of the ſunne, and the daye was very darke, that all the armie was ſtriken with a maruelous feare, as of ſome daungerous and very ill token towardes them. *Pericles* ſeeing the maſter of his gallye in a maze withall, not knowing what to doe: caſt his cloke ouer the maſters face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any hurte or no. The maſter aunſwered him, he thought it none. Then ſayed *Pericles* againe to him. There is no difference betwene this and that, ſauing that the bodye which maketh the darknes is greater, then my cloke which hideth thy eyes. Theſe things are thus diſputed of in the ſchooles of the philoſophers. But *Pericles* hoyſing ſayle notwithſtanding, dyd no notable nor ſpeciall ſeruice, aunſwerable to ſo great an armie and preparation. For he laying ſeige vnto the holy cittie of EPIDAVRVM, when euery man looked they ſhould haue taken it, was compelled to rayſe his ſeige for the plague that was ſo vehement: that it dyd not only kill the ATHENIANS them ſelues, but all other alſo (were they neuer ſo fewe) that came to them, or neere their campe. Wherefore perceyuing the ATHENIANS were maruelouſly offended with him, he dyd what he could to comforte them, and put them in harte againe: but all was in vaine, he could not pacifie them. For by the moſt parte of voyces, they depriued him of his charge of generall, and condemned him in a maruelous great fine & ſumme of money, the which thoſe that tell the leaſt doe write, that it was the ſumme of fifteene talentes: and thoſe that ſay more, ſpeake of fiftie talentes. The accuſer ſubſcribed in this condemnation, was *Cleon*, as *Idomeneus*, or *Simmias* ſaye, or as *Theophraſtus* writeth: yet *Heraclides Ponticus* ſayeth, one *Lacratidas*. Nowe his common grieues were ſone blowen ouer: for the people dyd eaſely let fall their diſpleaſures towardes him, as the waſpe leaueth her ſtinge behinde her with them ſhe hath ſtong. But his owne priuate affayers and houſehold cauſes were in very ill caſe: both for that the plague had taken awaye many of his friendes and kinſemen from him, as alſo for that he and his houſe had continued a long time in diſgrace. For *Xanthippus* (*Pericles* ſonne & heire) being a man of a very ill diſpoſition and nature, and hauing maried a young woman very prodigall and lauiſhe of expence, the daughter of *Iſander*, ſonne of *Epilycus*: he grudged much at his fathers hardnes, who ſcantly gaue him money, and but litle at a time. Whereupon he ſent on a time to one of his fathers friendes in *Pericles* name, to praye him to lend him ſome money, who ſent it vnto him. But afterwardes when he came to demaunde it againe, *Pericles* dyd not only refuſe to paye it him, but further, he put him in ſute. But this made the young man *Xanthippus* ſo angrie with his father, that he ſpake very ill of him in euery place where he came: and in mockery reported howe his father ſpent his time when he was at home, and the talke he had with the Sophiſters, and the maſter rethoritians. For a miſchaunce fortuning on a time, at the game of throwing the darte, who ſhould throwe beſt, that he that threwe, dyd vnfortunately kill one *Epitimius* a THESSALIAN: *Xanthippus* went pratling vp and downe the towne, that his father *Pericles* was a whole daye diſputing with *Protagoras* the Rethoritian, to knowe which of the three by lawe and reaſon ſhould be condemned for this murther. The darte: he that threwe the darte: or the deuiſer of that game. Moreouer *Steſimbrotus* writeth, that the brute that ranne abroade through the cittie, howe *Pericles* dyd keepe his wife, was ſowen abroade by *Xanthippus* him ſelfe. But ſo it is, this quarrell & hate betwext the father and the ſonne continued without reconciliation vnto the death. For *Xanthippus* dyed in the great plague, and *Pericles* owne ſiſter alſo: moreouer he loſt at that time by the plague, the more parte of all his friends and kinſefolkes, and thoſe ſpecially that dyd him greateſt pleaſure in gouerning of the ſtate. But all this dyd neuer pull down his contenaunce, nor any thing abate the greatnes of his minde, what misfortunes ſoeuer he had ſuſteined. Neither ſawe they him weepe at any time, nor mourne at the funeralles of any of his kinſemen or friendes, but at the death of *Paralus*, his younger and lawfull begotten ſonne: for, the loſſe of him alone dyd only melt his harte. Yet he dyd ſtriue to ſhowe his naturall conſtancie, and to keepe his accuſtomed modeſtie. But as he would haue put a garland of flowers vpon his head, ſorowe dyd ſo pierce his harte when he ſawe his face, that then he burſt out in teares,

An eclypſe of the ſunne.

Pericles hard fortune.

Pericles depriued of his charge.

Pericles home troubles

Pericles conſtancy.

and

A and cryed a mayne: which they neuer ſawe him doe before, all the dayes of his life. Furthermore the people hauing proued other captaines and gouernours, and finding by experience that there was no one of them of iudgement and authoritie ſufficient, for ſo great a charge: In the ende, of them ſelues they called him againe to the pulpit for orations to heare their counſells, and to the ſtate of a captaine alſo to take charge of the ſtate. But at that time he kept himſelfe cloſe in his houſe, as one bewayling his late grieuous loſſe and ſorowe. Howbeit *Alcibiades*, and other his familliar friendes, perſuaded him to ſhewe himſelfe vnto the people: who dyd excuſe themſelues vnto him, for their ingratitude towardes him. *Pericles* then taking the gouernment againe vpon him, the firſt matter he entred into was: that he prayed them to reuoke the ſtatute he had made for baſe borne children, fearing leaſt his lawfull

B heires would fayle, and ſo his houſe and name ſhould fall to the grounde. But as for that lawe, thus it ſtoode. *Pericles* when he was in his beſt authoritie, cauſed a lawe to be made, that they only ſhould be compted cittizens of ATHENS, which were naturall ATHENIANS borne by father and mother. Not long time after, it fortuned that the king of EGYPT hauing ſent a gifte vnto the people of ATHENS, of forty thouſand buſhells of corne, to be diſtributed among the cittizens there: many by occaſion of this lawe were accuſed to be baſe borne, and ſpecially men of the baſer ſorte of people, which were not knowen before, or at the leaſt had no reckoning made of them, and ſo ſome of them were falſely and wrongfully condemned. Whereupon ſo it fell out, that there were no leſſe then fiue thouſand of them conuicted and ſolde for ſlaues: and they that remained as free men, and were iudged to be

C naturall cittizens, amownted to the number of fourteene thouſand and fortie perſones. Now this was much miſliked of the people, that a lawe enacted, and that had bene of ſuche force, ſhould by the ſelfe maker and deuiſer of the ſame be againe reuoked and called in. Howbeit *Pericles* late calamitie that fortuned to his houſe, dyd breake the peoples hardened hartes againſt him. Who thincking theſe ſorowes ſmarte, to be puniſhment enough vnto him for his former pryde, and iudging that by goddes diuine iuſtice and permiſſion, this plague and loſſe fell vpon him, and that his requeſt alſo was tollerable: they ſuffered him to enrolle his baſe borne ſonne in the regiſter of the lawfull cittizens of his familie, geuing him his owne name, *Pericles*. It is the ſelf ſame *Pericles*, who after he had ouercome the PELOPONNESIANS in a great battell by ſea, neere vnto the Iles ARGINVSES, was put to death by ſentence of the

D people, with the other captaines his companiõs. Now was *Pericles* at that time infected with the plague, but not ſo vehemently as other were, rather more temperatly: & by long ſpace of time, with many alterations and chaunges, that dyd by litle and litle decaye, and conſume the ſtrength of his bodie, and ouercame his ſences and noble minde. Therefore *Theophraſtus* in his moralles declareth, in a place where he diſputeth, whether mens manners doe chaunge with their misfortunes, and whether corporall troubles and afflictions doe ſo alter men, that they forget vertue, and abandon reaſon: that *Pericles* in this ſicknes ſhewed a friende of his that came to ſee him, I cannot tell what a preſeruing charme the women had tyed (as a carkanet) about his necke, to let him vnderſtand he was very ill, ſince he ſuffered them to apply ſuche a fooliſhe bable to him. In the ende, *Pericles* drawing faſt vnto his death, the Nobilitie

E of the cittie, and ſuch his friendes as were left aliue, ſtanding about his bed, beganne to ſpeake of his vertue, and of the great authoritie he had borne, conſidering the greatnes of his noble actes, and counting the number of his victories he had wonne (for he had wonne nine foughten battells being generall of the ATHENIANS, and had ſet vp ſo many tokens and triumphes in honour of his countrie) they reckoned vp among them ſelues all theſe matters, as if he had not vnderſtoode them, imagining his ſences had bene gone. But he contrarilie being yet of perfect memorie, heard all what they had ſayed, and thus he beganne to ſpeake vnto them. That he marueled why they had ſo highly prayſed that in him, which was common to many other captaines, and wherein fortune delt with them in equalitie a like, and all this while they had forgotten to ſpeake of the beſt & moſt notable thing that was in him, which

F was: that no ATHENIAN had euer worne blacke gowne through his occaſion. And ſuer ſo was he a noble and worthie perſone. For he dyd not only ſhewe him ſelfe mercifull and curteous, euen in moſt weightie matters of gouernment, among ſo enuious people and hatefull

A lawe at Athens for baſe borne childrẽ.

Pericles the baſe borne put to death.

Pericles ſicknes.

A philoſophicall queſtion touching change of mens mãners by misfortunes.

Pericles death.

A notable ſaying of Pericles at his death.

enemies: but he had this iudgement alſo to thincke, that the moſt noble actes he dyd were theſe, that he neuer gaue him ſelfe vnto hatred, enuie, nor choller, to be reuenged of his moſt mortall enemie, without mercy ſhewed towardes him, though he had committed vnto him ſuche abſolute power and ſole gouernment among them. And this made his ſurname to be *Olympius* (as to ſaye, diuine or celeſtiall) which otherwiſe for him had bene to prowde and arrogant a name, bicauſe he was of ſo good and gentle a nature, and for that in ſo great libertie he had kept cleane handes & vndefiled: euen as we eſteeme the goddes authors of all good, and cauſers of no ill, and ſo worthy to gouerne and rule the whole monarchie of the world. And not as Poets ſaye, which doe confounde our wittes by their follies, and fonde faynings, and are alſo contrarie to them ſelues, conſidering that they call heauen (which conteineth the goddes) the euerlaſting ſeate, which trembleth not, and is not driuen nor moued with windes, neither is darkened with clowdes, but is allwayes bright and cleare, and at all times ſhyning equally with a pure bright light, as being the only habitation and manſion place of the eternall God, only happy and immortall. And afterwardes they deſcribe it them ſelues, full of diſſentions, of enmities, of anger and paſſions, which doe nothing become wiſe and learned men. But this diſcourſe peraduenture would be better ſpoken of in ſome other booke. Nowe, the troubles the ATHENIANS felt immediatly after *Pericles* death, made them then lament the loſſe of ſo noble a member. For thoſe who vnpaciently dyd brooke his great authoritie while he liued, bicauſe it drowned their owne: when they came after his death to proue other ſpeakers and gouernours, they were compelled then to confeſſe, that no mans nature liuing could be more moderate nor graue, with lenitie and mercie, then his was. And that moſt hated power, which in his life time they called monarchie, dyd then moſt plainely appeare vnto them, to haue bene the manifeſt ramper and bullwarke of the ſafetie of their whole ſtate and common weale: ſuche corruption and vice in gouernment of the ſtate, dyd then ſpring vp immediatly after his death, which when he was aliue, he dyd euer ſuppreſſe and keepe vnder in ſuche ſorte, that either it dyd not appeare at all, or at the leaſt it came not to that hed and libertie, that ſuche faultes were committed, as were vnpoſſible to be remedied.

Pericles deſeruedly called Olympius.

The Athenians lamented the loſſe of Pericles being dead.

The ende of Pericles life.

THE LIFE OF *Fabius Maximus.*

HAVING already declared vnto you ſuch things worthy memorie as we could collect, and gather of the life of *Pericles*: it is nowe good time we ſhould proceede to write alſo of the life of *Fabius Maximus*. It is ſayed the firſt *Fabius*, from whom the houſe and familie of the *Fabians* dyd deſcend (being the greateſt & nobleſt houſe of all other in Rome) was begotten by *Hercules*, whom he gatte of a *Nymphe* (or as other ſaye, a woman of the coūtrie) by the riuer of Tyber. And ſome ſaye, that the firſt of this houſe, were called at the beginning *Fodiani*, bicauſe they dyd hunte wilde beaſtes, with pittefalles and ditches: For vnto this preſent the Romaines call ditches, *Foſſæ*: and to digge *Fodere*. Since that time, the two ſecond letters haue bene chaunged, and they haue called them *Fabians*. But howſoeuer it was, this is certaine, that many noble men haue come out of that houſe: and among other, there was one of that houſe called *Fabius Rullus*, whom the Romaines for his noble actes dyd ſurname *Maximus*, very great. After him *Fabius Maximus*, whoſe life we haue now in hande, was the fourth lineally deſcended of the ſame line, and he was ſurnamed *Verrucoſus*, bicauſe of a certen birth marke he had vpon one of his lippes, like a litle warte. And he was alſo ſurnamed *Ouicula*, a litle lamme, for his ſoftnes, ſlownes, and grauity of his doings whileſt he was a childe. But bicauſe of nature he was dull, ſtill, and very ſilent, and that he was ſeldome ſeene to playe at any paſtime among the boyes, and for that they ſawe he was but of ſlowe capacitie, and hard to learne and conceyue, and withall that the boyes might doe to him what they would, he was ſo lowly to his fellowes: this made men iudge that looked not into him, that he would proue a very foole and nigeot. Yet other were of contrarie opinion of him: who conſidering more deepely the man, perceyued in his nature a certen ſecret conſtancie & the maieſtie of a lyon. But *Fabius* ſelfe when he was called to ſerue the common weale, dyd quickely ſhewe to the world, that which they tooke for dullnes in him, was his grauitie, which neuer altered for no cauſe or reſpect: and that which other iudged feareſullnes in him, was very wiſedome. And where he ſhewed him ſelfe not haſtie, nor ſodaine in any thing: it was found in him an aſſured and ſetled conſtancie. Wherefore when he came to conſider the great ſoueraintie of their common weale, and the continuall warres it was in: he dyd vſe his bodie to all hardnes, and brought vp him ſelfe therewithall, that he might be the better able to ſerue

Fabius Rullus Maximus. Fabius Maximus called Verrucoſus & Ouicula.

in the field: and he gaue him ſelfe much to eloquence alſo, as a neceſſary inſtrument to perſuade ſouldiers vnto reaſon. His tongue likewiſe dyd agree with his conditions, and manner of life. For he had no manner of affectation, nor counterfeate finenes in his ſpeach, but his words were euer very graue and profounde, and his ſentences euen grafte in him by nature, and (as ſome ſaye) were much like *Thucydides* ſayings. As appeareth in a funerall oration he made before the people in the praiſe of his ſonne, who dyed when he came out of his Conſulſhippe, which is yet extant to be ſeene. Now as for him, hauing bene fiue times choſen Conſul, in his firſt yere of his Conſulſhippe, he triumphed ouer the LIGVRIANS (which be people of the mountaines, and vpon the coaſt of GENVA) who being ouerthrowen by him in a great battell, where they had loſt many men, they were compelled to goe their waye, & to take the ALPES for their ſuccour, & durſt no more appeare vpon the borders of ITALIE, whereupon they dyd confine. *Hannibal* entring ITALY afterwards with a great armie, and hauing wonne the firſt battell neere vnto the riuer of TREBIA: he paſſed further, and went through THVSCAN, waſting and diſtroying all the countrie as he paſſed by. This made ROME quake for feare. Beſides they ſawe many ſignes and tokens, ſome common vnto them, as thundering, lightning, & ſuch other like: but other alſo more ſtraunge, neuer ſeene nor heard of before. For it was reported that certen targets were waxen all bloudie of them ſelues, & that about the cittie of ANTIVM they found wheate eares, which were all bloudie when they were reaped: that there fell from heauen, burning ſtones all in a flame of fire: and in the countrie of the PHALERIANS how the element ſeemed to open, and many litle written ſcrolles fell downe vpon the ground, in one of the which were written theſe wordes, worde for worde: *Mars doth nowe handle his weapons.* But all theſe ſignes and wonders dyd nothing appawle nor daunte the boldnes of *Caius Flaminius*, Conſul then: who beſides the naturall great corage, & aſpiring minde he had to honour, yet was it beyond all reaſon increaſed in him, by the wonderfull good ſucceſſe he had before. For, notwithſtanding the Senate called him home againe, and that his fellowe Conſul ſtoode againſt his intent: he for all that dyd geue battell to the GAVLES, in deſpight of them all, and wanne the victorie. Likewiſe, though all theſe ſignes & wonders in the ayer, dyd greatly trouble, and amaze multitudes of people: yet did they nothing trouble *Fabius*, for he ſawe no apparant cauſe to be troubled withall. But he vnderſtanding the ſmall number of his enemies, and the lacke of money that was among them: gaue counſell, and was of opinion they ſhould paciently forbeare a litle, and not to hazard battell againſt a man, whoſe armie hadde bene long trained in warres, and by many foughten fields was growen valliant and expert. Moreouer, he thought good they ſhould ſend ayde to their ſubiects, and other their allies and confederates, as neede required, to keepe their citties ſtill vnder their obedience: and in the meane ſeaſon by tract of time, to weare out *Hanniballs* force and power, which was like ſtrawe ſet a fire, that ſtraight geueth forth a blaſe, and yet hath no ſubſtaunce to holde fire long. When *Fabius* had thus ſayed enough to perſuade *Flaminius*, yet it would not ſincke into *Flaminius* heade: for, ſayeth he, I will not tarie vntill the warres come to ROME gates, neither will I be brought to fight vpon the walles of the cittie, to defend it, and as *Camillus* dyd, that fought within the cittie ſelfe in olde time. Whereup on he commaunded his captaines to ſet out their bandes to the field, and he him ſelfe tooke his horſe backe: which vpon the ſodaine, without any cauſe was ſo afeard, and tooke ſo on with him ſelfe, that he caſt the Conſul to the grounde with his heade forward. For all this fall he would not chaunge his minde, but helde on his iorney toward *Hannibal*, and preſented him battell in THVSCAN, by the lake called *Thraſimena*, which is the lake of PERVSIA. This battell was ſo fiercely fought on both ſides, that notwithſtanding there was ſuch a terrible earthquake therewhile, that ſome citties were ouerthrowen and turned topſi turuey, ſome riuers had their ſtreames turned againſt their courſe, and the foote of the mountaines were torne in ſonder, and broken open: yet not one of them that were fighting, heard any ſuch thing at all. *Flaminius* the Conſul ſelfe was ſlaine at that battell, after he had in his owne perſone done many a valliant acte, and many of the worthieſt gentlemen and valianteſt ſouldiers of his armie laye dead about him: the reſidue being fled, the ſlaughter was great, for the bodies ſlaine were fifteene thouſand, and ſo many priſoners left aliue. After this ouerthrowe, *Hannibal* made all the ſearche he could poſſible to finde the bodie of *Flaminius*,

Fabius fiue times Conſul.

Hannibal deſtroyeth the countrie of Thuſcan.

Wonders.

Flaminius raſhenes.

Fabius wiſe counſell.

The Romaines ſlaine by the lake of Thraſimena.

Flaminius the Conſul ſlaine.

A *nius*, to burie him honorably, bicause of his valliantnes: but he could neuer be founde amongest the dead bodies, neither was it euer hearde what became of it. Now as touching the first ouerthrowe at TREBIA, neither the generall that wrote it, nor the post that brought the first newes to ROME, tolde the trothe of it as it was, but fayned that the ende was doubtfull, and that they could not tell who had the best. But of this battell, so sone as the *Prator Pomponius* had receyued the newes, he called all the people to counsell, where without disguising or dissembling at all, he playnely sayed thus vnto them. My Lordes, we haue lost the battell, our army is ouerthrowen, and the Consul him selfe is slaine in the field: wherefore consider what you haue to doe, & prouide for your safety. These wordes spoken to the people, as it had bene a boysterous storme of weather that had fallen on them from
B the sea, to put them in daunger, dyd so terrifie the multitude, and trouble the whole cittie for feare: that they were all in a maze, and knewe not what to determine. Yet in the ende they all agreed, that it stoode them vpon to haue a chief magistrate, called in Latin *Dictatura*, that should be a man of corage, and could stowtely vse it without sparing or fearing any persone. And for this, *Fabius Maximus* was thought the only man mete to be chosen, as he, whose noble corage and graue behauiour was aunswerable, to the dignitie and soueraintie of the office: and moreouer, that to his grauity and wisedome there was ioyned (by reasonable age) strength of bodie, and valliantnes with experience. This counsell being confirmed by them all, *Fabius* was chosen *Dictator*, who named *Lucius Minutius* generall of the horsemen. Then he first required the Senate, that they would graunte him he might *Fabius Dictator.*
C haue his horse in the warres: the which was not lawfull for the *Dictator*, but expressely forbidden by an auncient order. Either bicause they thought the chiefest force of their armie dyd consist in their footemen, which caused the making of this lawe: whereby the generall should be amongest them in the daye of the battell, and in no wise should forsake them. Or els bicause the authoritie of this magistrate in all other things was so great, that it was in manner after the state of a King: yet all this notwithstanding, they were willing thereunto, and that the *Dictator* should haue absolute power ouer the people. *Fabius* at his first comming, bicause he would shewe the maiestie and dignitie of his office, and that euery man should be the more obedient and readie at his commaundement: when he went abroade, he had foure and twentie sergeants before him, carying the bundells of roddes, and axes. *The Dictator might not ride in the warres.* *The maiestie of Fabius the Dictator.*
D And when one of the Consulls came to him, he sent a sergeant to commaund his bundell of roddes that were caried before him, to be put downe, and all other tokens of dignitie to be layed a side: and that he should come and speake with him, as a priuate man. And first to make a good foundation, and to beginne with the seruice of the goddes: he declared vnto the people, that the losse they had receyued, came through the rashenes and willfull negligence of their captaine, who made no reckoning of the goddes nor religion: and not through any defaulte and cowardlines of the souldiers. And for this cause he dyd persuade them not to be afrayed of their enemies, but to appease the wrath of the goddes, and to serue and honour them. Not that he made them hereby superstitious, but dyd confirme their valiancy with true religion and godlines: and besides dyd vtterly take awaye and aswage their feare
E of their enemies, by geuing them certaine hope and assuraunce of the ayde of the goddes. Then were the holy bookes of the *Sibylles* prophesies perused, which are kept very secret: and therein they founde certaine auncient prophecies and oracles, which spake of the present misfortunes of the time. But what were conteined therein, it is not lawfull to be vttered to any persone. Afterwards the *Dictator*, before the open assembly of the people, made a solemne vowe vnto the goddes, that he would sacrifice all the profits and fruites that should fall the next yere, of sheepe, of sowes, of milche kyne, and of goates in all the mountaines, champion countrie, riuers, or meadowes of ITALIE. And he would celebrate playes of musike, & shewe other fightes in the honour of the goddes, and would bestowe vpon the same the summe of three hundred three & thirtie Sestercians, & three hundred three & thirtie Romaine pence, &
F a third parte ouer. All which summe reduced into Græcian money, amounteth to foure score three thousand, fiue hundred, and foure score, and three siluer drachmas, & two obolos. Now it were a hard thing to tell the reason why he doth mention this summe so precisely, and why *The Sibylles bookes of prophecies.* *Fabius vowe.*

he dyd deuide it by three, vnles it were to extolle the power of the number of three: bicause it is a perfect number by the nature, and is the first of the odde numbers, which is the beginning of diuers numbers, and conteineth in it self the first differences, and the first elements and principles of all the numbers vnited and ioyned together. So *Fabius* hauing brought the people to hope, and trust to haue the ayde and fauour of the goddes: made them in the ende the better disposed to liue well afterwardes. Then *Fabius* hoping after victorie, and that the goddes would send good lucke and prosperitie vnto men, through their valliantnes and wisdome: dyd straight set forwards vnto *Hannibal*, not as minded to fight with him, but fully resolued to weare out his strength and power, by delayes and tract of time: and to increase his pouertie by the long spending of his owne money, and to consume the small number of his people, with the great number of his souldiers. *Fabius* camped allwayes in the strong and highe places of the mountaines, out of all daunger of his enemies horsemen, and coasted still after the enemie: so that when *Hannibal* stayed in any place, *Fabius* also stayed: if *Hannibal* remoued, he followed him straight, and would be allwayes neere him, but neuer forsooke the hilles, neither would he come so neere him, as that he should be inforced to fight against his will. Yet allwayes he followed the enemie at his tayle, and made him euer afeard of him, thincking still that he sought to get the vantage, to geue the charge vpon him. Thus by delaying, and prolonging the time in this sorte: he became disliked of euery bodye. For euery man both in his owne campe, and abroade, spake very ill of him openly: and as for his enemies, they tooke him for no better, then a rancke coward, *Hannibal* only excepted. But he perceyuing his great reache and policie, and foreseeing the manner of fight, sawe there was no remedy, but by playne force or slight to bring him to the fight: for otherwise his delaye would ouerthrowe the CARTHAGINIANS, when they should not come to handy strokes with him, wherein only consisted all their hope and strength, and in the meane time his souldiers should fall away, and dye, and his money was scante, and him selfe should growe the weaker. Thereupon *Hannibal* beganne to bethinke him, and deuise all the stratageames and policies of warre he could imagine: and like a cunning wrestler, to seeke out all the trickes he could to geue his aduersarie the falle. For sodainely, he would goe and geue alarom to his campe: by and by againe he would retire. Another time he would remoue his campe, from one place to another, and geue him some aduantage, to see if he could plucke his lingring deuise out of his head, and yet to hazard nothing. But as for *Fabius*, he continued still resolute in his first determination: that delaye of fight was the best waye so to ouerthrowe him. Howbeit *Minutius*, generall of his horsemen, dyd trouble him muche. For he being earnestly bent to fight without discretion, and brauing of a lustie corage, crept into opinion with the souldiers, by his whotte furie and desire to fight. Which wrought muche in them, and so sturred vp their corages, that they mocked *Fabius* altogether: and called him *Hannibalis* schoolemaster: and contrariwise they commended *Minutius*, for a valliant captaine, and worthie ROMAINE. This made *Minutius* looke highe, and haue a prowde opinion of him selfe, mocking *Fabius* bicause he euer lodged on the hilles, with saying, the *Dictator* would make them goodly sportes, to see their enemies waste and burne ITALY before their face. Moreouer, he asked *Fabius* friendes, whether he would in the ende lodge his campe in the skye, that he dyd clyme vp so highe vpon mountaines, mistrusting the earthe; or els that he was so affrayed, his enemies would finde him out, that he went to hyde him selfe in the clowdes. *Fabius* friendes made reporte of these ieastes, and aduised him rather to hazard battell, then to beare suche reproachefull wordes as were spoken of him. But *Fabius* aunswered them. If I should yeld to that you counsell me, I should shewe my selfe a greater coward then I am taken for now: by leauing my determination, for feare of their mockes and spightfull wordes. For it is no shame for a man to stand fearefull, and iealous, of the welfare and safetie of his countrie: but otherwise to be afeard of the wagging of euery strawe, or to regard euery common prating, it is not the parte of a worthie man of charge, but rather of a base minded persone, to seeke to please those whom he ought to commaunde and gouerne, bicause they are but fooles. After this, *Hannibal* chaunced to fall

Fabius doings against Hannibal.

Minutius generall of the horsemen, dispised Fabius counsell.

A fall into a great errour. For intending to leaue *Fabius* to bring his armie into the playnes, where there was plentie of vittells, and ſtore of paſture to feede his horſe and cattell: he commaunded his guydes to bring him ſtraight after ſupper, into the playne of CASINVM. They miſtaking his wordes, and not vnderſtanding well what he ſayed, bicauſe his ITALIAN tongue was but meane: tooke one thing for another, and ſo brought him and his armie to the ende of a feild neere the cittie of CASILINVM, through the middeſt of the which ronneth a riuer, the ROMAINES call *Vulturnius*. Nowe the countrie lying by it, was a valley compaſſed in with mountaines round about, ſauing that the riuer went to the ſea: where leauing his owne banckes, it ſpreadeth abroade into the mariſſes, and banckes of ſande very deepe, and in the ende fell into that parte of the ſea which is moſt daungerous, and there was B neither ſuccour nor couert. *Hannibal* being now fallen as it were into the bottome of a ſacke, *Fabius* that knewe the countrie, and was very perfect in all the wayes thereaboutes, followed him ſteppe by ſteppe, and ſtopped his paſſage, where he ſhould haue come out of the valley, with foure thouſand footemen, which he planted there to keepe the ſtraight, and diſpoſed the reſt of his armie vpon the hanginges of the hilles, in the moſt apt and fit places all about. Then with his light horſe men he gaue a charge, vpon the rereward of his enemies battell: which put all *Hannibals* armie by and by out of order, and ſo there were ſlaine eight hundred of his men. Whereupon *Hannibal* would haue remoued his campe thence immediatly, and knowing then the faulte his guydes had made, taking one place for another, and the daunger wherein they had brought him: he roundely truſſed them vp, C and honge them by the neckes. Now to force his enemies to come downe from the toppes of the hilles, and to winne them from their ſtrength, he ſawe it was vnpoſſible, and out of all hope. Wherefore, perceyuing his ſouldiers both afrayed and diſcouraged, for that they ſawe them ſelues hemmed in on all ſides, without any order to eſcape: *Hannibal* determined to deceyue *Fabius* by a deuiſe. He cauſed ſtraight two thouſand oxen to be choſen out of the heard, which they had taken before in their ſpoyles, and tyed to their hornes light bundells of reedes, and fallowe faggottes, or bunches of the dead cuttings of vines: and commaunded the drouers that had the charge of them, that when they ſawe any ſignall or token lift vp in the ayer in the night, they ſhould then ſtraight ſet fire on thoſe bundels and bunches, and driue vp the beaſtes to the hilles, toward the wayes where the enemies laye. D Whileſt theſe things were a preparing, he on the other ſide ranged his armie in order of battell: and when night came, cauſed them to marche fayer and ſoftely. Now theſe beaſtes, whileſt the fyre was but litle that burnt vpon their hornes, went but fayer and ſoftly vp the hill from the foote of the mountaines from whence they were driuen. In ſo muche as the heard men that were on the toppe of the mountaines, wondred maruelouſly to ſee ſuche flames and fires about the hornes of ſo many beaſtes, as if it had bene an armie marching in order of battell with lightes and torches. But when their hornes came to be burnt to the ſtumpes, and that the force of the fyre dyd frye their very fleſhe: then beganne the oxen to fight together, and to ſhake their heades, wherby they dyd ſet one another a fyre. Then left they their ſofte pace, & went no more in order as they dyd before, but for the extreme payne E they felt, beganne to runne here and there in the mountaines, carying fyre ſtill about their hornes, and in their tayles, and ſet fyre of all the boughes and coppeſies they paſſed by. This was a ſtraunge ſight to looke vpon, and dyd muche amaſe the ROMAINES that kept the paſſages of the mountaines, for they thought they had bene men that ranne here and there with torches in their handes. Whereupon they were in a maruelous feare and trouble, ſuppoſing they had bene their enemies that ranne thus towards them, to enuironne them of all ſides: ſo as they durſt no more keepe the paſſages which they were commaunded, but forſaking the ſtraightes, beganne to flye towards their mayne and great campe. Thereupon *Hannibals* light horſe men immediatly poſſeſſed the ſtraights that were kept: by reaſon whereof, all the reſt of his armie marched out at their eaſe and leyſure, without feare or daunger, not- F withſtanding that they were loden and troubled with maruelous great ſpoyles, and of all kynde of ſortes. *Fabius* then perceyued very well the ſame night, that it was but a ſlight of *Hannibal*: for ſome of the oxen that fled here and there fell vpon his armie. Whereupon

Hannibal fell into great errour.

Caſilinum a cittie.
Vulturnus fl.

Hannibal ſet vpon by Fabius.

Hannibals ſtratagéme.

fearing to fall vpon ſome ambuſhe by reaſon of the darke night, he kept his men in battell raye, without ſturring, or making any noiſe. The next morning by breake of daye, he beganne to followe his enemie by the tracke, and fell vpon the tayle of the rereward, with whom he skirmiſhed within the ſtraites of the mountaines: and ſo dyd diſtreſſe ſomewhat *Hannibals* armie. *Hannibal* thereupon ſent out of his vauntgarde a certaine number of Spaniards (very luſty and nymble fellowes, that were vſed to the mountaines, and acquainted with climing vp vpon them) who comming downe, and ſetting vpon the ROMAINES that were heauy armed, ſlue a great number of them, and made *Fabius* to retire. Thereupon they deſpiſed *Fabius* the more, and thought worſe of him then they dyd before: bicauſe his pretence and determination was not to be brought to fight with *Hannibal*, but by wiſedome and policie to ouerthrowe him, where as he him ſelfe by *Hannibal* was firſt finely handled and deceyued. *Hannibal* then to bring *Fabius* further in diſliking and ſuſpition with the ROMAINES, commaunded his ſouldiers when they came neere any of *Fabius* landes, that they ſhould burne and deſtroye all round about them, but gaue them in charge in no wiſe to medle with *Fabius* landes, nor any thing of his, and dyd purpoſely appointe a garriſon to ſee that nothing of *Fabius* ſhould miſcarie, nor yet take hurte. This was ſtraight caried to ROME, which dyd thereby the more incenſe the people againſt him. And to helpe it forward, the Tribunes neuer ceaſed crying out vpon him in their orations to the people, and all by *Metellus* ſpeciall procurement and perſuaſion: who of him ſelfe had no cauſe to miſlike with *Fabius*, but only bicauſe he was *Minutius* kinſeman (generall of the horſemen) and thought that the ill opinion they bare to *Fabius*, would turne to the prayſe and aduauncement of *Minutius*. The Senate alſo were muche offended with *Fabius*, for the compoſition he made with *Hannibal*, touching the priſoners taken of either ſide. For it was articled betweene them, that they ſhould chaunge priſoners, deliuering man for man, or els two hundred and fiftie ſiluer drachmas for a man, if the one chaunced to haue moe priſoners then the other. When exchaunge was made betweene them, it appeared that *Hannibal* had left in his handes of ROMAINE priſoners, two hundred and fortie moe, then *Fabius* had to exchaunge of his. The Senate cõmaunded there ſhould be no money ſent to redeeme them, and greatly founde faulte with *Fabius* for making this accorde: bicauſe it was neither honorable, nor profitable for the common weale to redeeme men that cowardly ſuffered them ſelues to be taken priſoners of their enemies. *Fabius* vnderſtanding it, dyd paciently beare this diſpleaſure conceyued againſt him by the Senate. Howbeit hauing no money, and meaning to keepe his worde, and not to leaue the poore cittizens priſoners behinde him: he ſent his ſonne to ROME, with commiſſion to ſell his landes, and to bring him money immediatly. The young man went his waye to ROME, and ſold his fathers farmes, and brought him money forthwith to the campe: *Fabius* therewith redeemed the priſoners, and ſent their ranſome vnto *Hannibal*. Many of the priſoners whom he had redeemed, offred to repaye him their ranſome: but he would neuer take any thing againe, and gaue them all their ranſome freely. Afterwards being called to ROME by the prieſtes to doe certaine ſolemne ſacrifices, he left the armie in charge with *Minutius*, to gouerne the ſame in his abſence, with condition not to ſet vpon the enemie, nor to fight with him at all: the which not only by his authoritie he dyd expreſſely forbid him, but alſo as his very friende, he dyd warne and intreate him in no wiſe to attempt. Howbeit *Minutius* litle regarding his commaundementes or requeſtes, ſo ſone as *Fabius* backe was turned, beganne to be ſomewhat luſtie, and doing with his enemies. So one daye amongeſt the reſt, *Minutius* perceyuing *Hannibal* had ſent a great parte of his armie abroade to forrage and get vittells: came and ſet vpon them that remained behinde, and draue them into their campe, with great ſlaughter, and dyd put them in a maruelous feare that were ſaued, as men that looked for no leſſe, but to haue bene beſieged in their campe. Afterwardes alſo, when their whole armie came together againe: he retired backe in ſpight of them all, and loſt not a man. This exploite ſet *Minutius* in a pryde, and brought the ſouldiers to be more raſhe then they were before. The newes of this ouerthrowe went with ſpeede to ROME, and there they made it a great deale more then it was. *Fabius* hearing of it, ſayed: he was more afeard of *Minutius* proſperitie, then of his owne aduerſitie.

Hannibals craftines againſt Fabius.

Fabius chaũgeth priſoners with Hãnibal.

Fabius redeemeth the priſoners with his money.

Fabius leaueth Minutius his lieftenant in the field.

Minutius raſhenes.

A uersitie. But the common people reioyced maruelosly, and made great shewe of ioye vp and downe the market place. Whereupon *Metellus* one of the Tribunes going vp into the pulpit, made an oration vnto the people, in the which he highely magnified *Minutius*, and commended his corage: and contrarily charged *Fabius* no more of cowardlines, but with flat treason. Furthermore, he dyd accuse the Nobilitie and greatest men of Rome, saying: that from the first beginning they had layed a platte to drawe these warres out at length, only to destroye the peoples power and authoritie, hauing brought the whole common weale, to the state of a monarchy, and into the handes of a priuate persone. Who by his remissenes and delayes, would geue *Hannibal* leysure to plante him selfe in Italie, and by time geue open passage to the Carthaginians, at their pleasure to send
B *Hannibal* a second ayde and armie, to make a full conquest of all Italie. *Fabius* hearing these wordes, rose vp straight, and spake to the people, and taried not about the aunswering of the accusations the Tribune had burdened him withall, but prayed them they would dispatche these sacrifices and ceremonies of the goddes, that he might spedilie returne againe to the campe, to punishe *Minutius*, for breaking his commaundement, in fighting with the enemie. He had no soner spoken these wordes, but there rose a maruelous tumulte and hurly burley presently among the people, for the daunger *Minutius* stoode in then: bicause the *Dictator* had absolute power and authoritie to imprisone and put to death, whom he thought good, without ordinary course of lawe or araynement. Moreouer, they dyd iudge, since *Fabius* had alate left his accustomed mildnes and affabilitie, that he would growe to such seueritie in his
C anger, that it would be a hard thing to appease him. Wherefore euery man held their peace for feare, saiing only *Metellus* the Tribune. He hauing authoritie by vertue of his office, to saye what he thought good, and who only of all other kept still his place and authoritie, when any *Dictator* was chosen: then all the officers that were put down, instantly besought the people not to forsake *Minutius*, nor to suffer the like to be done to him, as *Manlius Torquatus* dyd alate to his sonne, who strake of his head, after he had valliantly fought with his enemies and ouercomed them, for breaking his commaundement. And beganne to persuade them further, to take this tyranicall power of the Dictatorshippe from *Fabius*: and to put their affayers into the handes of him, that would and could tell howe to bring them safely to passe. The people were tickled maruelously with these seditious wordes, but yet they durst not force *Fabius*
D to resigne his Dictatorshippe, though they bare him great grudge, and were angrie with him in their hartes. Howbeit they ordeined that *Minutius* thenceforth should haue equall power and authoritie with the *Dictator* in the warres, a thing that was neuer seene nor heard of before, and yet the very same done in that sorte againe, after the battell of Cannes. For *Marcus Iunius* being at that time *Dictator* in the campe, they dyd choose another *Dictator* at Rome, which was *Fabius Buteo*, to name and create newe Senators in the place of those that were slaine in the battell. But after he had named them, and restored the full number againe of the counsell of the Senate: he discharged the selfe same daye the sergeants that caried the axes before him, and sent awaye the traine that waited vpon him, and dyd so put him selfe in prease of the people in the market place, and followed his owne peculiar busines as a priuate per-
E sone. Nowe the Romanes imagined, that when *Fabius* should see howe they had made *Minutius* equall in authoritie with him, it would greue him to the harte for very anger: but they came shorte to iudge of his nature, for he dyd not thincke that their folly should hurte or dishonour him at all. But as wise *Diogenes* aunswered one that sayed vnto him, looke, they mocke thee: tushe (sayd he) they mocke not me. Meaning thereby, that he tooke them to be mocked, that were offended with their mockes. Thus *Fabius* tooke euery thing quietly, that the people offered him, and dyd comfort him selfe with the philosophers rules and examples: who doe mainteine, that an honest and wise man, can no waye be iniured nor dishonoured. For all the displeasure he receyued by the peoples follie, was in respect of the common wealth: bicause they had put a sworde into a mad mans hande,
F in geuing *Minutius* authoritie to followe his rashe humour, and fonde ambition in the warres. Wherefore, fearing least he being blinded with vaine glorie, and presumptuous opinion of him selfe, should rashely (and vpon a head) hasten to doe some great

Fabius accused of treason by Metellus the Tribune.

The crueltie of Manlius Torquatus to his sonne after his victorie.

The Dictator and generall of the horsemen made equall in authoritie.

Diogenes wordes.

hurte before he came to the campe: he departed ſodainely out of ROME without any mans knowledge, to returne againe to the cãpe, where he found *Minutius* ſo prowde & ſtowte, that he was not to be delt with. For he would nedes haue the authoritie to commaund the whole armie when it came to his turne. But *Fabius* would not conſent to that, but deuided the one halfe of the armie betweene them: thincking it better he ſhould alone commaunde the one halfe, then the whole army by turnes. So he choſe for him ſelfe, the firſt and third legion: and gaue vnto him, the ſeconde and fourth, & deuided alſo betwene them the ayde of their friends. And when *Minutius* made his boaſte, that the maieſtie of the higheſt magiſtrate was brought lower for his ſake: *Fabius* tolde him that he might thincke, if he were wiſe, he had not to fight with him, but with *Hannibal*: and if he would nedes contend againſt his companion, yet he ſhould haue a ſpeciall regard and conſideration, that hauing wonne nowe the cittizens good willes, by whom he was ſo much honoured, he ſhould haue no leſſe care of their healthe and ſafety, then he had, who was nowe troden vnder foote, and ill intreated by them. *Minutius* tooke his leſſon, for a counterfeate mocke, after olde mens manners & facion: & ſo taking the one half of the armie vnto him, went and lodged alone by him ſelf. *Hannibal* hearing of their iarre and ſquaring together, ſought ſtraight oportunitie to make their diſcord finely to ſerue his turne. Nowe there was a hill betwene both their campes not very harde to be wonne, and it was an excellent place to lodge a campe ſafely in, and was very fitte and commodious for all things. The fields that were about it, dyd ſeeme a farre of to be very playne & euen ground, bicauſe they had no couert of wodde to ſhadowe them, yet were there many ditches and litle vallies in them: wherefore *Hannibal* though he might eaſely haue taken it at his pleaſure if he had liſted, dyd let it alone in the middeſt betwene them, for a bayte to drawe out his enemies to the battell. Nowe when *Hannibal* ſawe *Fabius* and *Minutius* lodged a ſonder, he placed certaine bandes in the night, among thoſe ditches and valleyes. Afterwardes the next morning by breake of daye, he ſent a ſmall number of men openly to winne this hill: hoping by this pollicie to traine *Minutius* out to the field, as it fell out in deede. For firſt *Minutius* ſent thither his light horſemen, and afterwardes all his men at armes: and laſtely perceyuing that *Hannibal* him ſelfe came to relieue his men that were vpon the hill, he him ſelf marched forward alſo with all the reſt of his armie in order of battell, & gaue a whotte charge vpon them that defended the hill, to driue them thence. The fight continued equall a good ſpace betwene them both, vntill ſuch time as *Hannibal* ſaw his enemie come directly within his daunger, and ſhewed the rereward of his battell naked vnto his men, whom before he had layed in ambuſhe: he ſtraight raiſed the ſignall he had geuen them. They vpon that diſcouered all together, and with great cries dyd ſet vpon the rereward of the ROMAINES, & ſlue a great number of them at the firſt charge: and dyd put the reſte in ſuche a feare and diſorder, as it is vnpoſſible to expreſſe it. Then was *Minutius* raſhe brauerie and fonde boaſtes muche cooled, when he looked firſt vpon one captaine, then vpon another, and ſawe in none of them any corage to tarie by it, but rather that they were all readie to ronne away. Which if they had done, they had bene caſt awaye euery man: for the NVMIDIANS finding they were the ſtronger, dyd diſperſe themſelues all about the plaine, killing all ſtragglers that fled. *Minutius* ſouldiers being brought to this daunger and diſtreſſe, which *Fabius* foreſawe they would fall into, and hauing vpon this occaſion his armie readie ranged in order of battell, to ſee what would become of *Minutius*, not by reporte of meſſengers, but with his owne eyes: he got him to a litle hill before his campe, where when he ſawe *Minutius* and all his men compaſſed about on euery ſide, & euen ſtaggering & ready to flye, & heard beſides their cries not like men that had hartes to fight, but as men ſcared, and ready to flye for feare to ſaue them ſelues: he clapped his hande on his thighe, and fetched a great ſighe, ſaying to thoſe that were about him. O goddes, howe *Minutius* is gone to caſt him ſelfe awaye, ſoner then I looked for, and later then he deſired? But in ſpeaking theſe wordes, he made his enſignes marche on in haſte, crying out alowde. O my friends, we muſt diſpatche with ſpeede to ſuccour *Minutius*: for he is a valliãt man of perſone, & one that loueth the honour of his countrie. And though with ouermuch hardines he hath ventred to farre, & made a faulte, thinking to haue put the enemies to flight: time ſerueth not now to accuſe him, we will tell him of it hereafter. So he preſently brake

Minutius pride.

Hannibal layed ambuſh for Minutius.

Fabius foreſighs in the warre.

the

A the NVMIDES, and disparsed them, that laye waiting in the fields for the ROMAINES, which they thought would haue fled. Afterwardes he went further, and dyd set vpon them that had geuen charge vpon the rereward of *Minutius* battell, where he slue them that made head against him. The residue, fearing least they should fall into the daunger they had brought the ROMAINES vnto: before they were enuironned in of all sides, dyd turne taile straight to *Fabius*. Now *Hannibal* seeing this chaunge, and considering howe *Fabius* in persone, with more corage then his age required, dyd make a lane in the middest of those that fought against the side of the hill, to come to the place where *Minutius* was: he made the battell to cease, and commaunded to sounde the retreate, and so drue backe his men againe into his campe; the ROMAINES being very glad also they might retire with safetie. They saye *Hannibal* in his retB ring, sayed merylie to his friends: haue not I tolde you (Sirs) many a time and ofte, of the hanging clowde we sawe on the toppe of the mountaines, howe it would breake out in the ende with a tempest that would fall vpon vs? After this battell, *Fabius* hauing stript those that were left dead in the field, retired againe to his owne campe, & spake not an ill word of *Minutius* his companion. *Minutius* then being come to his cāpe, assembled his souldiers, & spake thus to them. My friends, not to erre at all, enterprising great matters, it is a thing passing mans nature: but to take warning hereafter, by faultes that are paste and done, it is the parte of a wise and valliant man. For my selfe, I acknowledge I haue no lesse occasion to prayse fortune, then I haue also cause to complaine of her. For that which long time could neuer teach me, I haue learned by experience in one litle pece of a daye: and that is this. That I am not able to comC maunde, but am my selfe fitter to be gouerned and commaunded by another: and that I am but a foole to stande in mine owne conceipt, thinking to ouercome those, of whom it is more honour for me to confesse my selfe to be ouercome. Therefore I tell you, that the *Dictator Fabius* henceforth shalbe he, who alone shall commaund you in all things. And to let him knowe that we doe all acknowledge the fauour which we haue presently receyued at his hands: I will leade you to geue him thankes, & will my selfe be the first man to offer to obey him in all that he shall commaund me. These wordes being spoken, he commaunded his ensigne bearers to followe him, & he him selfe marched formest towards *Fabius* campe. When he came thither, he went directly to the *Dictators* tente: whereat euery man wondered, not knowing his intent. *Fabius* came out to mete him. *Minutius* after he had set downe his ensignes at his feete, sayed D with a lowde voyce, O father: and his souldiers vnto *Fabius* souldiers, O maisters, which name the bondemen that are infranchesed, doe vse to them that haue manumised them. Afterwards euery man being silent, *Minutius* beganne alowde to saye vnto him. My lorde *Dictator*, this daye you haue wonne two victories. The one of *Hannibal*, whom valliantly you haue ouercome: the second, of my selfe your companion, whom also your wisedome and goodnes hath vanquished. By the one, you haue saued our liues: and by the other, you haue wisely taught vs. So haue we also bene ouercome in two sortes: the one by *Hannibal* to our shame, and the other by your selfe, to our honour and preseruation. And therefore doe I nowe call you my father, finding no other name more honorable to call you by, wherewith I might honour you: acknowledging my selfe more bounde vnto you for the present grace and fauour I haue reE ceyued of you, then vnto my naturall father that begatte me. For by him only I was begotten: but by you, mine, and all these honest cittizens liues haue bene saued? And hauing spoken these wordes, he embraced *Fabius*: and so dyd the souldiers also, hartely embrace together, and kisse one another. Thus the ioye was great through the whole campe, and one were so glad of another, that the teares trickled downe their chekes for great ioye. Nowe when *Fabius* was afterwardes put out of his office of Dictatorshippe, there were new Consuls chosen againe: the two first followed directly *Fabius* former order he had begone. For they kept themselues from geuing *Hannibal* any battell, and dyd allwayes send ayde to their subiects and friends, to keepe them from rebellion: vntill that *Terentius Varro* (a man of meane birth, and knowen to be very bold and rashe) by flattering of the people, wanne credit among them to F be made Consul. Then they thought that he by his rashnes and lacke of experience, would incontinently hazard battell: bicause he had cried out in all the assemblies before, that this warre would be euerlasting, so long as the people dyd chuse any of the *Fabians* to be their ge-

Fabius rescueth Minutius, generall of the horsemen.

The great modestie of Fabius. Minutius oration to his souldiers.

The wisedom of Minutius acknowledging his fault.

Minutius wordes to Fabius.

The rashnes of Terentius Varro. Terentius Varro, Paulus Aemilius Consuls.

neralles,and vawnted him ſelfe openly,that the firſt daye he came to ſee his enemies,he would ouerthrowe them.In geuing out theſe braue wordes,he aſſembled ſuch a power,that the Romaines neuer ſawe ſo great a number together,againſt any enemie that euer they had: for he put into one campe,foure ſcore and eight thouſand fighting men. This made *Fabius* and the other Romaines,men of great wiſedome and iudgement,greatly affrayed: bicauſe they ſawe no hope for Rome to riſe againe, if it fortuned that they ſhould loſe ſo great a number of goodly youth. Therefore *Fabius* talked with the other Conſul, called *Paulus Æmilius*, a man very skilfull and expert in warres, but ill beloued of the common people, whoſe furie he yet feared,for that they had condemned him a litle before to paye a great fine to the treaſurie:and after he had ſomwhat comforted him,he beganne to perſuade and encorage him to reſiſt the fonde raſhnes of his companion,telling him,that he ſhould haue aſmuch to doe with *Terentius Varro* for the preſeruation and ſafety of his countrie, as to fight with *Hannibal* for defence of the ſame.For they were both Marſhall men, and had a like deſire to fight: the one bicauſe he knewe not wherein the vantage of his ſtrength conſiſted,and the other bicauſe he knewe very well his weaknes.You ſhall haue reaſon to beleeue me better,for matters touching *Hannibal*,then *Terentius Varro*.For I dare warrant you,if you keepe *Hannibal* from battell but this yere: he ſhall of neceſſitie,if he tarie,conſume him ſelf, or els for ſhame be driuen to flye with his armie.And the rather,bicauſe hetherto (though he ſeeme to be lorde of the field) neuer one yet of his enemies came to take his parte: and moreouer bicauſe there remaines at this daye in his campe not the third parte of his armie, he brought with him out of his countrie. Vnto theſe perſuaſions,the Conſul(as it is reported)aunſwered thus.When I looke into my ſelfe, my lorde *Fabius*, me thinkes my beſt waye were rather to fall vpon the enemies pikes, then once againe to light into the hands & voyces of our cittizens. Therefore,ſith the eſtate of the common wealth ſo requireth it, that it behoueth a man to doe as you haue ſayed:I will doe my beſt indeuour to ſhewe my ſelfe a wiſe captaine, for your ſake only, rather then for all other that ſhould aduiſe me to the cõtrarie. And ſo *Paulus* departed from Rome with this minde,But *Terentius* his companion would in any caſe,they ſhould cõmaund the whole armie by turnes,eche his daye by him ſelfe: and went to encampe harde by *Hannibal*,by the riuer of Auſide,neere vnto the village called Cannes. Nowe when it came to his daye to cõmaund by turnes,early in the mourning he cauſed the ſignall of battell to be ſet out,which was a coate armour of skarlet in graine,that they dyd laye out vpon the pauilion of the generall: ſo that the enemies at the firſt ſight,begãne to be afeard,to ſee the luſtines of this newe come generall, and the great number of ſouldiers he had alſo in his hoſte, in compariſon of them that were not halfe ſo many. Yet *Hannibal* of a good corage, commaunded euery man to arme, and to put them ſelues in order of battell: and him ſelfe in the meane time taking his horſe backe,followed with a fewe,gallopped vp to the toppe of a litle hill not very ſteepe, from whence he might plainely diſcerne all the Romaines campe, and ſawe howe they dyd range their men in order of battell.Nowe one *Giſcon* (a man of like ſtate and nobilitie as him ſelfe)being with him at that time, tolde him, that the enemies ſeemed a farre of to be a maruelous number. But *Hannibal* rubbing his forehead,aunſwered him.Yea, ſayed he, but there is another thing more to be wondered at then you thinke of *Giſcon*.*Giſcon* ſtraight asked him: What? mary ſayeth he this: that of all the great number of ſouldiers you ſee yonder, there is not a man of them called *Giſcon* as you are.This mery aunſwer deliuered contrarie to their expectation that were with him, looking for ſome great waightie matter, made them all laughe a good. So downe the hill they came laughing alowde, and tolde this prety ieaſte to all they met as they rode, which ſtraight from one to another ranne ouer all the campe, in ſo much as *Hannibal* him ſelfe could not holde from laughing. The Carthaginian ſouldiers perceyuing this,beganne to be of a good corage,imagining that their generall would not be ſo merylie diſpoſed as to fall a laughing,being ſo neere daunger,if he had not perceyued him ſelfe a great deale to be the ſtronger, and that he had good cauſe alſo to make no reckoning of his enemies.Furthermore,he ſhewed two policies of a skilfull captaine in the battell. The firſt was,the ſituation of the place,where he put his men in order of battell, ſo as they had the winde on their backes: which raging like a burning lightning, raiſed a ſharpe duſt out of the

The Romaines cãpe vnder Terentius Varro,88000 men.

Fabius counſell to Paulus AEmilius.

Auſidius fl.

Hannibals ſtratagemes at the battell of Cannes.

A the open ſandy valley, and paſſing ouer the CARTHAGINIANS ſquadron, blewe full in the ROMAINES faces, with ſuch a violence, that they were compelled to turne their faces, & to trouble their owne rankes. The ſeconde policie was, the forme and order of his battell. For he placed on either ſide of his winges, the beſt and valliantest ſouldiers he had in all his armie: and dyd fill vp the middeſt of his battell with the worſte of his men, which he made like a pointe, and was farder out by a great deale, then the two winges of the fronte of his battell. So he commaunded thoſe of the winges, that when the ROMAINES had broken his firſt fronte, and followed thoſe that gaue backe, whereby the middeſt of his battell ſhould leaue an hollowe place, and the enemies ſhould come in ſtill increaſing within the compaſſe of the two winges: that then they ſhould ſet vpon them on both ſides, and charge their flanks immediatly, and ſo

B incloſe them in behind. And this was cauſe of a greater ſlaughter. For when the midle battell beganne to geue backe, and to receyue the ROMAINES within it, who purſued the other very whotly, *Hannibals* battell chaunged her forme: & where at the beginning it was like a pointe, it became nowe in the middeſt like a creſſant or halfe moone. Then the captaines of the choſen bandes that laye out in both the winges, made their men to turne, ſome on the left hand, and ſome on the right, and charged the ROMAINES on the flankes, and behinde, where they were all naked: ſo they killed all thoſe that could not ſaue them ſelues by flying, before they were enuironned. They ſaye alſo, that there fell out another miſchief by misfortune, vnto the horſemen of the ROMAINES, and by this occaſion. The horſe of *Paulus Æmilius* the Conſul being hurte, dyd throwe his maſter on the grounde: whereupon thoſe that were next him,

C dyd light from their horſe backs to helpe him. The reſidue of the horſemen that were a great waye behinde him, ſeeing them light, thought they had bene all commaunded to light: hereupon euery man forſooke their horſe, and fought it out a foote. *Hannibal* when he ſawe that, ſayed: yea marie, I had rather haue them ſo, then deliuered me bounde hande and foote. But for thoſe matters, the hiſtoriographers doe dilate more at large. Furthermore, of the two Cõſuls, *Varro* ſaued him ſelfe by his horſe, with a fewe following him, within the cittie of VENVSA. *Paulus* being in the middeſt of the throng of all the armie, his bodie full of arrowes that ſtucke faſt in his woundes, and his harte ſore loden with grieuous ſorowe and anguiſhe to ſee the ouerthrowe of his men: was ſet downe by a rocke, looking for ſome of his enemies,

D to come and ryd him out of his payne. But fewe could knowe him, his head and face was of ſuch a gore bloude: inſomuch as his friends and ſeruants alſo paſſed by him, and knewe him not. And there was but one young gentleman of a noble houſe of the *Patricians*, called *Cornelius Lentulus*, that knewe him, who dyd his beſt endeuour to ſaue him. For he lighted a foote preſently, & brought him his horſe, praying him to get vp vpon him, to proue if he could ſaue him ſelfe for the neceſſitie of his countrie, which nowe more then euer had neede of a good and wiſe captaine. But he refuſed the gentlemans offer and his intreatie, and compelled him to take his horſe backe againe, though the teares ranne downe his chekes for pittie: and raiſing him ſelfe vp to take him by the hande, he ſayed vnto him. I pray you tell *Fabius Maximus* from me, and witneſſe with me, that *Paulus Æmilius* euen to his laſt hower hath followed his counſaill, and dyd neuer ſwarue from the promiſe he made him: but that firſt he was forced

E to it by *Varro*, and afterwardes by *Hannibal*. When he had deliuered theſe wordes, he bad *Lentulus* farewell: and ronning againe into the furie of the ſlaughter, there he dyed among his ſlaine companions. It is thought there were ſlaine at this battell, fiftie thouſand ROMAINES, & foure thouſand taken priſoners: and other tenne thouſand that were taken priſoners in two campes after the battell. When this noble victorie was gotten, *Hannibals* friendes gaue him counſaill to followe his good fortune: and to enter ROME after the ſcattered number that fled thither: ſo as within fewe dayes following he might ſuppe in their capitoll. A man cannot eaſely geſſe what was the cauſe that ſtayed him, that he went not, vnles it was (as I thinke) ſome good fortune, or fauorable God toward the ROMAINES that withſtoode him, and made him afeard and glad to retire. Whereupon they ſaye, that one *Barca* a CARTHAGINIAN, in

F his anger ſayed to *Hannibal*: Syr, you haue the waye to ouercome, but you cannot vſe victorie. Notwithſtanding, this victorie made a maruelous chaunge for him. For hereupon, all ITALY in manner came in to ſubmit them ſelues to him: where before he had no towne at

Hannibals order of battell at Cannes.

The ſlaughter of the Romaines at the battell of Cannes.

Paulus AEmilius ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.

50000. *Romaines ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.*

All Italy reuolted and ſubmitted the ſelues to Hannibal.

cõmaundemẽt,nor any ſtorehouſe or porte through all ITALIE,yea he did maruelous hardly, & with much a doe vittell his armie with that he could daylie robbe & ſpoyle,hauing no certẽ place to retire vnto,nor grouñded hope to entertain theſe warres,but kept the field with his armie,remouing from place to place, as they had bene a great number of murderers & theeues together.For the moſt parte of the cõũtrie,dyd yeld immediatly vnto him:as the cittie of CAPVA,being the chiefeſt and greateſt cittie of all ITALIE but ROME, and dyd receyue *Hannibal*, and were at his deuotion.Thus we maye plainely ſee,that as the poet *Euripides* ſayeth: it is a great miſchief not onely to be driuen to make triall of friendes, but proofe alſo of captaines wiſdom. For that which before they accompted cowardlines and fainte harte in *Fabius*, immediatly after the battell, they thought it more then mans reaſon, and rather a heauenly wiſdome and influence, that ſo long foreſawe the things to come, which the parties ſelues that afterwards felt them,gaue litle credit vnto before. Vpon this occaſion, ROME repoſed incontinently all their hope and truſte in *Fabius*,and they repaired to him for coũſell,as they would haue ronne vnto ſome temple or altar for ſanctuarie.So as the firſt & chiefeſt cauſe of ſtaying the people together from diſperſing them ſelues abroade, as they dyd when ROME was taken by the GAVLES: was the only opinion & confidence they had in *Fabius* wiſedome.For where before he ſeemed to be a coward, and timerous, when there was no daunger nor misfortune happened: then when euery man wept and cried out for ſorowe,which could not helpe, and that all the world was ſo troubled that there was no order taken for any thing, he contrarily went alone vp and downe the cittie very modeſtly, with a bold conſtant countenaunce, ſpeaking curteouſly to euery one, and dyd appeaſe their womaniſhe cries and lamentations, and dyd forbid the common aſſemblies & fonde ceremonies,of lamenting the dead corſe at their burialls. Then he perſuaded the Senate to aſſemble in counſell, and dyd comforte vp thoſe that were magiſtrates, and he alone was the only force and power of the cittie: for there was not a man that bare any office,but dyd caſt his eye vpon *Fabius*,to knowe what he ſhould doe. He it was that cauſed the gates of the cittie ſtraight to be warded, and to keepe thoſe in for going their waye,that would haue forſaken the cittie. He moreouer dyd appointe the time and place of mourning,& dyd commaund whoſoeuer was diſpoſed to mourne,that he ſhould doe it priuately in his owne houſe, and to continue only but thirtie dayes. Then he willed all mourning to be left of, and that the cittie might be cleane from ſuch vncleane things. So the feaſt of *Ceres* falling about that time, he thought it better to leaue of the ſacrifices & proceſſion they were wont to keepe on *Ceres* daye: then by their ſmall number that were left,and ſorowe of thoſe that remained,to let their enemies vnderſtand their exceeding great loſſe.For the goddes delite to be ſerued with glad and reioycing hartes,and with thoſe that are in proſperitie.But all this notwithſtanding, whatſoeuer the prieſtes would haue done, either to pacifie the wrath of the goddes,or to turne awaye the threatnings of theſe ſiniſter ſignes, it was forthwith done. For they dyd ſende to the oracle of *Apollo*, in the cittie of DELPHES,one of *Fabius* kinſemen ſurnamed *Pictor*.And two of the *Veſtall Nunnes* being deflowred:the one was buried aliue according to the lawe and cuſtome,and the other made her ſelf awaye.But herein the great corage and noble clemency of the ROMAINES,is maruelouſly to be noted and regarded.For the Conſul *Terentius Varro* returning backe to ROME, with the ſhame of his extreme misfortune & ouerthrowe,that he durſte not looke vpon any man: the Senate notwithſtanding,and all the people following them,went to the gates of the cittie to meete him, and dyd honorably receyue him.Nay furthermore, thoſe that were the chief magiſtrates and Senators,among whom *Fabius* was one,when ſilence was made,they commended *Varro* much: bicauſe he did not deſpaire of the preſeruation of the common weale after ſo great a calamitie,but dyd returne againe to the cittie,to helpe to reduce things to order,in vſing the authoritie of the lawe,and the ſeruice of the cittizens,as not being altogether vnder foote,but ſtanding yet in reaſonable termes of good recouery.But when they vnderſtoode that *Hannibal* after the battell was gone into other partes of ITALIE: then they beganne to be of good chere againe,and ſent a newe armie and generalles to the field,among which,the two chief generals were,*Fabius Maximus*, and *Claudius Marcellus*, both which by contrary meanes in manner, wanne a like glorie and reputation.For *Marcellus* (as we haue declared in his life) was a man of

Fabius conſtancie after the ouerthrow at Cannes.

Fabius order for mourning.

The magnanimitie of the Romaines after the ouerthrowe at Cannes.

Fabius Maximus,and Claudius Marcellus generalles.

A of ſpeedy execution, of a quicke hande, of a valliant nature, and a right martiall man, as *Homer* calleth them, that valliantly put them ſelues in any daunger: by reaſon whereof, hauing to deale with another captaine a like venturous and valliant as him ſelfe, in all ſeruice and execution, he ſhewed the ſelfe boldnes and corage that *Hannibal* dyd. But *Fabius* perſiſting ſtill vpon his firſt determination, dyd hope that though he dyd not fight with *Hannibal*, nor ſturre him at all, yet continuall warres would conſume him and his armie in the end, and bring them both to nought: as a commō wreſtler that forceth his bodie aboue his naturall ſtrength, doth in the ende become a lame and brooſed man. Hereupon *Poſſidonius* writeth, that the one was called the ROMAINES ſworde, and the other their target. And that *Fabius* conſtancie and reſolutnes in warres to fight with ſecuritie, and to commit nothing to hazard & daunger, being

Poſſidonius wordes of Fabius & Marcellus.

B mingled with *Marcellus* heate and furie: was that only, which preſerued the ROMAINES empire. For *Hannibal* meting allwayes in his waye the one that was furious, as a ſtrong ronning ſtreame, founde that his army was continually turmoyled and ouerharried: & the other that was ſlowe as a litle prety riuer, he founde that his army ranne ſoftely vnder him without any noyſe, but yet continually by litle and litle it dyd ſtill conſume & diminiſhe him, vntill he ſawe him ſelfe at the laſt brought to that paſſe, that he was weary with fighting with *Marcellus*, and affrayed of *Fabius* bicauſe he fought not. For during all the time of theſe warres, he had euer theſe two captaines almoſt againſt him, which were made either Prætors, Conſuls, or Proconſuls: for either of them both had bene fiue times before choſen Conſul. Yet as for *Marcellus*: *Hannibal* had layed an ambuſhe for him in the fifte and laſt yere of his Conſul-

Marcellus ſlaine by an ambuſhe of Hannibals.

C ſhippe, where he ſet vpon him on a ſodaine, and ſlue him. But as for *Fabius*, he layed many baytes for him, and dyd what he could by all the skill and reache he had, by ambuſhes, and other warlike policies to entrappe him: but he could neuer drawe him within his daunger. Howbeit at one time he put him to a litle trouble, and was in good hope then to haue made him falle vpon his ambuſhe he had layed for him: and by this policie. He had counterfeated letters written and ſent vnto him from the cittie of METAPONT, to praye him to come to them, and they would deliuer their cittie into his handes: and withall, that ſuch as were priuie to the contentes of the ſame, deſired no other thing but his repaire thither. Theſe letters pretily quickned *Fabius*, inſomuch as he was determined one night to haue taken parte of his armie, & to haue gone to them. But bicauſe the ſignes of the birdes dyd promiſe him no good

Hannibals ambuſh layed for Fabius.

D ſucceſſe, he left of his purpoſe. Sone after he vnderſtoode they were counterfeate letters, made by *Hannibals* fine deuiſe to haue drawen him out, & to haue intrapped him, for whom him ſelfe laye in perſone in ambuſhe neere the cittie, looking and waiting for his comming: but the goddes who would haue him ſaued, were only to be thāked for his happy ſcape. Furthermore, concerning the reuolte of the citties that were ſubiect vnto them, and the riſing of their allies & friends againſt them: *Fabius* thought it farre better to intreate them curteouſly, making them aſhamed without occaſion to rebell againſt them, rather then openly to ſuſpect them, and to deale ſtraightly with thoſe that were ſo to be ſuſpected. Now for this matter, it is reported that *Fabius* had a ſouldier in his campe that was a MARSIAN borne by nation, a valliant man of his perſone, & alſo of as noble a houſe, as any that were of all the allies of the

Fabius lenitie in correcting of faultes.

E ROMAINES: who had practiſed with other his fellowes of the bande he ſerued in, to goe ſeruе the enemie. *Fabius* hearing of this practiſe he went about, gaue him no ill countenaunce for it, but calling him to him, he ſayed. I muſt confeſſe there is no reckoning made of you, as your good ſeruice doth deſerue: wherefore for this time (ſayeth he) I blame the pety captaines only, which in ſuch ſorte doe beſtowe their good will and fauour at aduenture, and not by deſerte. But henceforth it ſhalbe your owne faulte if you doe not declare your minde vnto me, and betweene you and me make me priuie of your lacke & neceſſitie. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes to him, he gaue him a very good horſe for ſeruice, and dyd rewarde him with other honorable giftes, as men of good ſeruice & deſert haue commonly beſtowed on them: and this dyd ſo encorage the ſouldier thenceforth, that he became a very faithfull and ſer-

Note how Fabius reclaimed an euill ſouldier.

F uiceable ſouldier to the ROMAINES. For *Fabius* thought it more fit, that hunters, riders of horſes, & ſuch like as take vpon them to taine brute beaſtes, ſhould ſonner make them leaue their ſauage & churliſhe nature, by gentle vſage and manning of them: then by beating, and

Neceſſarie rules for a captaine.

ſhackling of them. And ſo a gouernour of men, ſhould rather correct his ſouldier by pacience, gentlenes, and clemency: then by rigour, violence, or ſeueritie. Otherwiſe he ſhould handle them more rudely, and ſharpely, then husbandmen doe figge trees, oliue trees, & wilde pomegarnets: who by diligent pruning and good handling of them, doe alter their harde and wilde nature, & cauſe them in the end to bring forth good figges, oliues & pomegarnets. Another time certaine captaines of his brought him worde, that there was one of their ſouldiers which would euer goe out of the cãpe, & leaue his enſigne. He asked them, what manner of man he was. They aunſwered him all together, that he was a very good ſouldier, and that they could hardly finde out ſuche another, in all their bandes as he: and therewithall they tolde him, of ſome notable ſeruice they had ſeene him doe in perſone. Whereupon *Fabius* made a diligent enquierie to know what the cauſe was, that made him goe ſo oft out of the campe: in the end, he founde he was in loue with a young woman, and that to goe ſee her, was the cauſe he dyd ſo ofte leaue his enſigne, and dyd put his life in ſo great daunger, for that ſhe was ſo farre of. When *Fabius* vnderſtoode this, he ſent certaine ſouldiers (vnknowing to the ſouldier) to bring the woman awaye he loued, and willed them to hyde her in his tente: and then called he the ſouldier to him, that was a LVCANIAN borne, and taking him a ſide, ſayed vnto him thus. My friend, it hath bene tolde me, how thou haſt lyen many nightes out of the campe, againſt the lawe of armes, and order of the ROMAINES, but therewithall I vnderſtande alſo that otherwiſe thou art an honeſt man, and therefore I pardone thy faultes paſte, in conſideration of thy good ſeruice: but from henceforth I will geue thee in cuſtodie to ſuch a one, as ſhall make me accompt of thee. The ſouldier was blancke, when he heard theſe wordes. *Fabius* with that, cauſed the woman he was in loue with, to be brought forth, and deliuered her into his hands, ſaying vnto him. This woman hereafter ſhall aunſwer me thy bodie to be forth comming in the campe amongeſt vs: and from henceforth thy deedes ſhall witneſſe for the reſte, that thy loue vnto this woman, maye be no cloke of thy departing out of the campe for any wicked practiſe or intent. Thus much we finde written concerning this matter. Moreouer, *Fabius* after ſuche a ſorte, recouered againe the cittie of TARENTVM, and brought it to the obedience of the ROMAINES, which they had loſt by treaſon. It fortuned there was a young man in his campe, a TARENTINE borne, that had a ſiſter within TARENTVM, which was very faithfull to him, and loued him maruelous dearely: now there was a captaine, a BRVTIAN borne, that fell in loue with her, and was one of thoſe to whom *Hannibal* had committed the charge of the cittie of TARENTVM. This gaue the young ſouldier the TARENTINE, very good hope, and waye, to bring his enterpriſe to good effect: whereupon he reuealed his intent to *Fabius*, and with his priuitie fled from his campe, and got into the cittie of TARENTVM, geuing it out in the cittie, that he would altogether dwell with his ſiſter. Now for a fewe dayes at his firſt comming, the BRVTIAN captaine laye alone by him ſelfe, at the requeſt of the mayde his ſiſter, who thought her brother had not knowen of her loue: and ſhortely after the young fellowe tooke his ſiſter aſide, and ſayed vnto her. My good ſiſter, there was a great ſpeache in the ROMAINES campe, that thou wert kept by one of the chiefeſt captaines of the garriſon: I praye thee if it be ſo, let me knowe what he is. For ſo he be a good fellowe, and an honeſt man (as they ſaye he is) I care not: for warres that turneth all things topſi turuey, regardeth not of what place or calling he is of, and ſtill maketh vertue of neceſſitie, without reſpect of ſhame. And it is a ſpeciall good fortune, at ſuch time as neither right nor reaſon rules, to happen yet into the handes of a good and gratious lorde. His ſiſter hearing him ſpeake theſe wordes, ſent for the BRVTIAN captaine to bring him acquainted with her brother, who liked well of both their loues, and indeuoured him ſelf to frame his ſiſters loue in better ſorte towards him, then it was before: by reaſon whereof, the captaine alſo beganne to truſt him very muche. So this young TARENTINE ſawe it was very eaſie, to winne and turne the minde of this amarous and mercenarie man, with hope of great giftes that were promiſed him, and *Fabius* ſhould performe. Thus doe the moſt parte of writers ſet downe this ſtorie. Howbeit ſome writers ſaye, that this woman who wanne the BRVTIAN captaine, was not a TARENTINE, but a BRVTIAN borne, whom *Fabius* it is ſayed, kept afterwards for his concubine: and that ſhe vnderſtanding the captaine of the BRVTIANS (who laye in garriſon within the cittie of TARENTVM) was alſo

How Fabius wanne Tarẽtum againe.

A also a BRVTIAN borne, and of her owne natiue countrie: made *Fabius* priuie to her intent, and with his consent, she comming to the walles of the cittie, spake with this BRVTIAN captaine, whom she handled in such sorte, that she wanne him. But whilest this geare was a brewing, *Fabius*, bicause he would traine *Hannibal* out of those quarters, wrote vnto the souldiers of RHEGIO: which belonged to the ROMAINES, that they should enter the borders of the BRVTIANS, and laye seige to the cittie of CAVLONIA, and rase it to the grounde. These RHEGIAN souldiers were about the number of eight thousand, and the most of them traitours, and ronneagates, from one campe to another: and the worst sorte of them, and most defamed of life, were those that *Marcellus* brought thither out of SICILE, so that in losing them all, the losse were nothing to the common weale, and the sorrowe muche lesse. So *Fa-*
B *bius* thought, that putting these fellowes out for a praye to *Hannibal* (as a stale to drawe him from those quarters) he should plucke him by this meanes from TARENTVM: and so it came to passe. For *Hannibal* incontinently went thence with his armie to intrappe them: and in the meane time *Fabius* wēt to laye seige to TARENTVM, where he had not ben six dayes before it, but the young man (who together with his sister had drawen the BRVTIAN captaine to this treason) stale out one night to *Fabius*, to enforme him of all, hauing taken very good markes of that side of the walle the BRVTIAN captaine had taken charge of, who had promised him to keepe it secret, & to suffer them to enter, that came to assaulte that side. Yet *Fabius* would not grounde his hope altogether vpon the BRVTIANS executing this treason, but went him self in persone to vewe the place appointed, howbeit without attempting any thing for that time:
C and in the meane season, he gaue a generall assault to all partes of the cittie (aswell by sea as by lande) with great showtes & cries. Then the BRVTIAN captaine seeing all the cittizens and garrison ronne to that parte, where they perceyued the noyse to be greatest: made a signall vnto *Fabius*, that now was the time. Who then caused scaling ladders to be brought a pace, whereupon him selfe with his companie scaled the walles, and so wanne the cittie. But it appeareth here, that ambition ouercame him. For first he commaunded they should kill all the BRVTIANS, bicause it should not be knowen he had wonne the cittie by treason. But this bloudie policie failed him: for he missed not only of the glorie he looked for, but most deseruedly he had the reproche of crueltie and falsehood. At the taking of this cittie, a maruelous number of the TARENTINES were slaine, besides there were solde thirtie thousand of the
D chiefest of them, & all the cittie was sacked: and of the spoyle thereof was caried to the common store treasure at ROME, three thousand talents. It is reported also, that when they dyd spoyle and carie awaye all other spoyles leste behinde, the recorder of the cittie asked *Fabius*, what his pleasure was to doe with the goddes, meaning the tables, and their images: and to that *Fabius* aunswered him. Let vs leaue the TARENTINES their goddes that be angrie with them. This notwithstanding, he caried from thence *Hercules* statue, that was of a monstruous bignes, and caused it to be set vp in the Capitoll, and withall dyd set vp his owne image in brasse a horse backe by him. But in that act he shewed him self farre harder harted, then *Marcellus* had done, or to saye more truely, thereby he made the world knowe how muche *Marcellus* curtesie, clemencie, and bowntie was to be wondred at: as we haue written in his life.
E Newes being brought to *Hannibal*, that TARENTVM was besieged, he marched presently with all speede possible to raise the seige: and they saye he had almost come in time, for he was with in 40. furlonges of the cittie when he vnderstoode the trothe of the taking of it. Then sayed he out alowd, sure the ROMAINES haue their *Hannibal* to: for as we wanne TARENTVM, so haue we lost it. But after that, to his friends he sayed priuately (and that was the first time they euer heard him speake it) that he sawe long before, and now appeared plainely, that they could not possibly with this small power keepe ITALIE. *Fabius* made his triumphe and entrie into ROME the seconde time, by reason of taking of this cittie: and his seconde triumphe was muche more honorable then the first, as of a valliant captaine that held out still with *Hannibal*, and easely met with all his fine policies. muche like the slight trickes of a cunning
F wrestler, which caried not now the former roughenes and strength any more, bicause that his armie was geuen to take their ease, and growen to delicacie, partely through the great riches they had gotten, and partely also for that it was sore wasted and diminished,

Tarentum wonne by a womans meanes.

Fabius tooke the cittie of Tarentum.

Fabius ambition cause of foule murder.

Fabius seconde triumphe.

through the ſundrie foughten battells and blowes they had bene at. Now there was one A
Martius Liuius a ROMAINE, that was gouernour of TARENTVM at that time, when *Hannibal*
tooke it, and neuertheles kept the caſtell ſtill out of *Hannibals* handes, and ſo held it vntill
the cittie came againe into the handes of the ROMAINES. This *Liuius* ſpighted to ſee ſuche
honour done to *Fabius*, ſo that one daye in open Senate, being drowned with enuie and am-
bition, he burſt out and ſayed: that it was him ſelfe, not *Fabius*, that was cauſe of taking of
the cittie of TARENTVM againe. *Fabius* ſmiling to heare him, aunſwered him openly: in
Fabius wittie aunſwer. deede thou ſayeſt true, for if thou haddeſt not loſt it, I had neuer wonne it againe. But the
ROMAINES in all other reſpects dyd greatly honour *Fabius*, and ſpecially for that they choſe
his ſonne Conſul. He hauing alreadie taken poſſeſſion of his office, as he was diſpatching
certen cauſes touching the warres, his father (whether it was for debilitie of his age, or to B
proue his ſonne) tooke his horſe to come to him, and rode through the preaſe of people
that thronged about him, hauing buſines with him. But his ſonne ſeeing him comming a
farre of, would not ſuffer it, but ſent an officer of his vnto him, to commaund him to light
of his horſe, and to come a foote if he had any thing to doe with the Conſul. This com-
A ſtraunge cõmaundemẽt of the ſonne to the father. maundement miſliked the people that heard it, and they all looked vpon *Fabius*, but
ſayed not a worde: thinking with them ſelues, that the Conſul dyd great wronge to his fa-
thers greatnes. So he lighted ſtraight, and went a good rounde pace to embrace his ſonne,
The father obeyeth his ſonnes authoritie & commendeth him. and ſayed vnto him. You haue reaſon ſonne, and doe well to ſhewe ouer whom you com-
maund, vnderſtanding the authoritie of a Conſul, which place you haue receiued. For it is
the direct courſe, by the which we and our aunceſters haue increaſed the ROMAINE empire: C
preferring euer the honour and ſtate of our countrie, aboue father, mother, or children. And
truely they ſaye, that *Fabius* great grandfather being the greateſt and moſt noble perſone of
ROME in his time, hauing fiue times bene Conſul, and had obteined many triumphes, for
diuers honorable and ſundrie victories he had wonne: was contented after all theſe, to be
his ſonnes lieutenaunt, and to goe to the warres with him, he being choſen Conſul. And laſt
of all, the Conſul his ſonne returning home to ROME a conquerour, in his triumphing char-
ret drawen with foure horſes, he followed him a horſe backe alſo, in troupe with the reſt:
thinking it honour to him, that hauing authoritie ouer his ſonne in the right of a father, and
being alſo the nobleſt man of all the cittizens, ſo taken and reputed, neuertheles he willingly
ſubmitted him ſelfe to the lawe and magiſtrate, who had authoritie of him. Yet beſides all D
this, he had farre more excellent vertues to be had in admiration, then thoſe already ſpoken
of. But it fortuned that this ſonne of *Fabius* died before him, whoſe death he tooke paciẽtly,
like a wiſe man, and a good father. Now the cuſtome being at that time, that at the death of
a noble man, their neereſt kinſeman ſhould make a funerall oration in their prayſe at their
obſequies: he him ſelfe made the ſame oration in honour of his ſonne, and dyd openly
ſpeake it in the market place, and moreouer wrote it, and deliuered it out abroade. About
this time, *Cornelius Scipio* was ſent into SPAYNE, who draue out the CARTHAGINIANS
from thence, after he had ouerthrowen them in many battells, and had conquered many
great cities, and greately aduaunced the honour and eſtimation of the ſtate of ROME: for
the which at his returne, he was aſmuche, or rather more honoured, beloued and eſteemed, E
Scipio Conſul. then any other that was in the cittie of ROME. Hereupon *Scipio* being made Conſul,
conſidered that the people of ROME looked for ſome great matter at his handes, aboue
all other. Therefore he thought, to take vpon him to fight againſt *Hannibal* in ITALIE,
he ſhould but followe the olde manner, and treade to muche in the ſteppes of the olde
man: whereupon he reſolued immediately to make warres in AFRICKE, and to burne
and deſtroye the countrie euen vnto CARTHAGE gates, and ſo to transferre the warres
out of ITALIE into LIBYA, procuring by all poſſible deuiſe he could, to put it into the
peoples heades, and to make them like of it. But *Fabius* contrarilie, perſuading him ſelfe
Fabius was againſt the counſell and deuiſe of Scipio African. that the enterpriſe this young raſhe youthe tooke in hande, was vtterly to ouerthrowe
the common weale, or to put the ſtate of ROME in great daunger: deuiſed to put ROME F
in the greateſt feare he could poſſible, without ſparing ſpeache or dede he thought
might ſerue for his purpoſe, to make the people chaunge from that minde. Now
he

A he could ſo cunningly worke his purpoſe, what with ſpeaking and doing, that he had drawen all the Senate to his opinion. But the people iudged, it was the ſecret enuie he bare to *Scipioes* glorie, that drue him to encounter this deuiſe, only to bleamiſh *Scipioes* noble fortune, fearing, leaſt if he ſhould happen to doe ſome honorable ſeruice (as to make an end altogether of this warre, or otherwiſe to draw *Hannibal* out of ITALIE) that then it would appeare to the world, he had bene to ſofte, or to negligent, to drawe this warre out to ſuche a length. For my parte, me thinkes the only matter that moued *Fabius* from the beginning to be againſt *Scipio*, was the great care he had of the ſafetie of the cõmon weale, by reaſon of the great daũger depending vpon ſuch a reſolution. And yet I doe thinke alſo, that afterwards he went further then he ſhould, contending to ſore againſt him (whether it was through ambition or obſtinacie)
B ſeeking to hinder and ſuppreſſe the greatnes of *Scipio*: conſidering alſo he dyd his beſt to perſuade *Craſſus*, *Scipioes* companion in the Conſulſhippe, that he ſhould not graunte vnto him the leading of the armie, but if he thought good to goe into AFRICKE, to make warres vpon the CARTHAGINIANS, that he ſhould rather goe him ſelf. And moreouer, he was the let that they gaue him no money for maintenaunce of theſe warres. *Scipio* hereupon being turned ouer to his owne credit, to furniſh him ſelfe as he could: he leauied great ſummes of money in the citties of THVSCAN, who for the great loue they bare him, made contribution towardes his iorney. And *Craſſus* remained at home, both bicauſe he was a ſofte, and no ambitious, nor contentious man of nature: as alſo, bicauſe he was the chiefeſt Prelate and highe biſhoppe, who by the lawe of their religion, was conſtrained to kepe ROME. *Fabius* ſeeing his labour loſt
C that waye, tooke againe another courſe to croſſe *Scipio*, deuiſing to ſtaye the young men at home, that had great deſire to goe this iorney with him. For he cried out with open mouth, in all aſſemblies of the Senate & people, that *Scipio* was not contented only to flye *Hannibal*, but that he would carie with him beſides the whole force of ITALY that remained: alluring the youthe with ſweete baytes of vaine hope, and perſuading them to leaue their wiues, their fathers, mothers, and their countrie, euen now when their enemie knocked at ROME gates, who dyd euer conquer, and was yet neuer conquered. Theſe wordes of *Fabius* dyd ſo dampe the ROMAINES, that they appointed *Scipio* ſhould furniſhe his iorney only with the armie that was in SICILIA, ſauing that he might ſupply to them if he would, three hundred of the beſt ſouldiers that had ſerued him faithfully in SPAYNE. And ſo it doth appeare euen to this
D preſent, that *Fabius* both dyd and ſayed all things, according to his wonted manner, and naturall diſpoſition. Now *Scipio* was no ſooner arriued in AFRICKE, but newes were brought to ROME incontinently, of wonderfull exployes, and noble ſeruice done beyond meaſure: and of great ſpoyles taken by him, which argued the trothe of the newes. As, the king of the NVMIDIANS taken priſoner, two campes of the enemies burnt & deſtroyed at a time, with loſſe of a great number of people, armour, and horſes, that were conſumed in the ſame: letters and poſtes for life ronning in the necke one of another from CARTHAGE to call *Hannibal* home, and to praye him to hunte no longer after vayne hope that would neuer haue ende, haſting him ſelfe with all ſpeede poſſible to come to the reſcue of his countrie. Theſe wonderfull great fortunes of *Scipio*, made him of ſuche renowme and fame within ROME, that there was
E no talke but of *Scipio*. *Fabius* notwithſtanding deſiſted not to make a newe requeſt, being of opinion they ſhould ſend him a ſucceſſour, alledging no other cauſe nor reaſon, but a common ſpeache of euery bodie: that it was a daungerous thing to commit to the fortune of one man alone, ſo great exceeding proſperitie and good ſucceſſe, bicauſe it is a rare matter to ſee one man happie in all things. Theſe wordes dyd ſo muche miſlike the people, that they thought him an enuious troubleſome man, or els they thought his age had made him fearefull: and that his corage failed with his ſtrength, fearing *Hannibal* more doubtfully then he needed. For now though *Hannibal* was forced to leaue ITALIE, and to returne into AFRICKE, yet *Fabius* would not graunte, that the peoples ioye and ſecuritie they thought they were in, was altogether cleare, and without feare and miſtruſte: but gaue it out that then
F they were in greateſt daunger, and that the common weale was breeding more miſchief now, then before. For when *Hannibal* (ſayed he) ſhall returne home into AFRICKE, and come before CARTHAGE walles, the ROMAINES ſhall be leſſe able to abide him there,

Craſſus, highe biſhoppe of Rome.

The famous actes done in Africke by Scipio Africanus.

then they haue bene before: and *Scipio* moreouer, ſhall meete with an armie yet warme, and embrued with the bloude of ſo many Prætors, Dictators, and Conſuls of Rome, which they haue ouercome, and put to the ſword in Italie. With theſe vncomfortable ſpeaches, he ſtill troubled & diſquieted the whole cittie, perſuading them that notwithſtanding the warre was transferred out of Italie into Africke, yet that the occaſion of feare was no leſſe neere vnto Rome, then it was euer before. But within ſhorte ſpace after, *Scipio* hauing ouercome *Hannibal* in plaine battell in the field, and troden vnder foote the glory and pryde of Carthage, he brought a greater ioye to Rome, then they euer looked for: and by this noble victorie of his, he ſhored vp again the declining ſtate of the empire of Rome, which a litle before was falling downe right. Howbeit *Fabius* liued not to the ende of this warre, nor euer heard while he liued the ioyfull newes of *Hannibals* happy ouerthrowe, neither were his yeres prolonged to ſee the happy aſſured proſperitie of his countrie: for about that time that *Hannibal* departed out of Italie, a ſicknes tooke him, whereof he dyed. The ſtories declare, that the Thebans buried *Epaminondas*, at the common charges of the people: bicauſe he dyed in ſo great pouertie, that when he was dead, they founde nothing in the houſe but a litle iron ſpit. Now the Romaines buried not *Fabius* ſo, at the common charge of the cittie, but euery man of beneuolence gaue towards his funerall charges, a pece of coyne that caried the leaſt value of their currant money: not for that he lacked abillitie to bring him to the grounde, but only to honour his memorie: in making his obſequies at their charges, as of one that had bene their common father. So had his vertuous life, an honorable ende and buriall.

The death of Fabius Max.

The funeralls of Epaminondas.

THE COMPARISON OF *Pericles with Fabius.*

HERE haue you heard what is written, of theſe two great perſones. And foraſmuche as they haue both left behinde them, many noble examples of vertue, aſwell in martiall matters, as in ciuill gouernmēt, let vs beginne to compare them together. Firſt of all, *Pericles* begāne to gouerne the common weale at what time the people of Athens were in their chiefeſt proſperitie, and of greater power and wealth, then euer they had bene of before or ſince. The which might ſeeme to be a cauſe of the continuall maintenance of the ſame in ſecuritie without daunger of falling, not ſo muche for their worthines, as for their common power and felicitie: where contrariwiſe *Fabius* acts fell out in the moſt diſhonorable & vnfortunate time, that euer happened to his countrie, in the which he dyd not only keepe the cittie in good ſtate from declining, but raiſed it vp, and deliuered it from calamitie, and brought it to be better then he found it. Furthermore, *Cimons* great good fortune and ſucceſſe, the victories and triumphes of *Myronides*, and of *Leocrates*, and many notable valliant dedes

A dedes of armes of *Tolmides*, gaue good cauſe to *Peritles*, to entertaine his cittie in feaſtes, and playes, whileſt he dyd gouerne the ſame: and he dyd not finde it in ſuch ill caſe and diſtreſſe, that he was driuen to defend it by force of armes, or to cõquer that againe which he had loſt. But *Fabius* in contrary manner, when he ſawe before him many ouerthrowes, great flying awaye, muche murder, great ſlaughters of the generalles of the ROMAINE armies, the lakes, the playnes, the woddes filled with ſcattered men, the people ouercome, the flouds and riuers ronning all a gore bloude (by reaſon of the great ſlaughter) and the ſtreame carying downe the dead bodies to the mayne ſea: dyd take in hande the gouernment of his countrie, and a courſe farre contrarie to all other: ſo as he dyd vnderproppe and ſhore vp the ſame, that he kept it from flat falling to the grounde, amongeſt thoſe ruines and ouerthrowes other had
B brought it to, before him. Yet a man maye ſaye alſo, that it is no great matter of difficultie to rule a cittie already brought lowe by aduerſitie, and which compelled by neceſſitie, is contented to be gouerned by a wiſe man: as it is to bridle and keepe vnder the inſolencie of a people, puſte vp with pryde, and preſumption of long proſperitie, as *Pericles* founde it amongeſt the ATHENIANS. The great multitude alſo of ſo many grieuous calamities, as lighted on the ROMAINES neckes at that time, dyd playnely ſhewe *Fabius* to be a graue and a conſtant man, which would neuer geue waye vnto the importunate cries of the common people, nor could euer be remoued from that he had at the firſt determined. The winning & recouering againe of TARENTVM, maye well be compared to the taking of SAMOS, which *Pericles* wanne by force: and the citties of CAMPANIA, vnto the Ile of EVBOEA: excepting the cittie of CAPVA,
C which the Conſuls *Fuluius* and *Appius* recouered againe. But it ſeemeth that *Fabius* neuer wanne battell, ſaue that only for which he triumphed the firſt time: where *Pericles* ſet vp nine triumphes, of battels and victories he had wonne, aſwell by ſea as by lande. And ſo alſo, they cannot alledge ſuch an acte done by *Pericles*, as *Fabius* dyd, when he reſcued *Minutius* out of the handes of *Hannibal*, and ſaued a whole armie of the ROMAINES: which doubtles was a famous acte, and proceeded of a noble minde, great wiſdome, and an honorable harte. But *Pericles*, againe dyd neuer commit ſo groſſe an errour as *Fabius* dyd when he, was outreached, & deceyued by *Hannibals* fine ſtratageame of his oxen: who hauing founde his enemie by chaunce to haue ſhut him ſelfe vp in the ſtraight of a vallye, dyd ſuffer him to eſcape in the night by a ſubtiltie, & in the daye by playne force. For he was preuented by ouermuch delaye,
D and fought withall by him he kept incloſed. Now if it be requiſite, a good captaine doe not only vſe well that he hath in his handes, but that he wiſely iudge alſo what will followe after, then the warres of the ATHENIANS fell out in ſuche ſorte, as *Pericles* ſayed they would come to paſſe: for with ambition to imbrace to muche, they ouerthrewe their eſtate. But the ROMAINES contrariwiſe, hauing ſent *Scipio* into AFRICKE to make warres with the CARTHAGINIANS, wanne all that they tooke in hande: where their generall dyd not ouercome the enemie by fortune, but by valliantnes. So that the wiſedome of the one is witneſſed, by the ruine of his countrie: and the errour of the other teſtified, by the happy euent of that he would haue let. Now the faulte is a like in a generall, to fall into daunger, for lacke of forecaſte: as for cowardlines to let ſlippe a fit oportunitie offred, to doe any notable pece of ſeruice. For like
E defaulte and lacke of experience, maketh the one to hardie, and the other to fearefull. And thus muche touching the warres. Now for ciuill gouernment: it was a fowle blotte to *Pericles*, to be the author of warres. For it is thought, that he alone was the cauſe of the ſame, for that he would not haue them yeld to the LACEDÆMONIANS in any reſpect. And yet me thinkes *Fabius Maximus* alſo would no more geue place vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, but ſtood firme & bold in all daũger, to mainteine thempire of his countrie againſt them. But the goodnes & clemency *Fabius* ſhewed vnto *Minutius*, doth much condẽne *Pericles* accuſations & practiſes, againſt *Cimon* and *Thucydides*: bothe of them being noble & good men, & taking parte with the Nobilitie, whõ he expulſed out of ATHENS, & baniſhed for a time. So was *Pericles* power & authoritie in the cõmon weale greater: by reaſon whereof he dyd euer foreſee,
F that no generall in all his time dyd raſhely attempt any thing hurteful vnto the cõmon weale, except *Tolmides* onely: who fled from him, & in deſpight of him went to fight with the BOEOTIANS where he was ſlaine. As for all other generals, they wholy put theſelues into his hãds, &

The gifte of a good generall.

The faultes of generalles.

The compariſon betweẽ Pericles and Fabius for ciuill gouernment.

dyd obey him for the greatnes of his authoritie. But *Fabius*, although for his parte he neuer committed any faulte, and that he went orderly to worke in all gouernment: yet bicauſe he was not of power to keepe other from doing ill, it ſeemeth in this reſpect he was defectiue. For if *Fabius* had caried like authoritie in ROME, as *Pericles* dyd in ATHENS: the ROMAINES had not fallen into ſo great miſerie as they dyd. And for liberalitie: the one ſhewed it, in refuſing the money offred him: and the other, in geuing vnto thoſe that needed, and redeeming his poore captiue contry men. And yet *Fabius* might diſpend no great reuenue: for his whole receiptes came only to ſixe talents. But for *Pericles*, it is hard to ſaye howe riche he was, who had comming in to him, great preſents by his authoritie, aſwel of the ſubiects, as of the friends and allies of the ATHENIANS, as alſo of Kings and ſtraunge Princes: yet he neuer tooke bribe for all that, of any perſone liuing. And to conclude, as for the ſumptuous building of temples, the ſtately workes and common buildings: put all the ornaments together that euer were in ROME, before the times of the *Cæſars*, they are not to be compared with thoſe, wherewith *Pericles* dyd beawtifie & adorne the cittie of ATHENS. For neither in qualitie nor quantitie was there any proportion or like compariſon, betweene the exceeding ſumptuouſnes of the one, and of the other.

Fabius reuenue.

The buildings of Rome nothing comparable to Pericles workes.

The ende of Fabius Maximus life.

THE LIFE OF *Alcibiades.*

Alcibiades ſtocke.

ALCIBIADES by his fathers ſide, was aunciently deſcended of *Euryſaces*, that was the ſonne of *Aiax*, and by his mothers ſide, of *Alcmeon*: for his mother *Dinomacha*, was the daughter of *Megacles*. His father *Clinias* hauing armed, and ſet forth a gallye, at his owne proper coſtes and charges, dyd winne great honour in the battell by ſea, that was fought alongeſt the coaſte of ARTEMISIVM, and he was ſlaine afterwardes in another battell fought at CORONEA, againſt the BOEOTIANS. His ſonne *Alcibiades* tutours, were *Pericles*, and *Ariphron Xanthippus* ſonnes: who were alſo his neere kinſemen. They ſaye, and truely: that *Socrates* good will and friendſhippe dyd greatly further *Alcibiades* honour. For

Alcibiades tutours.

it

A it appeareth not, neither was it euer written, what were the names of the mothers of *Nicias*, of *Demosthenes*, of *Lamachus*, of *Phormion*, of *Thrasibulus*, & of *Theramenes*: all which were notable famous men in their time. And to the contrarie, we finde the nource of *Alcibiades*, that she was a LACEDÆMONIAN borne, and was called *Amicla*, and that his schoolemaster was called *Zopyrus*: of the which, *Antisthenes* mentioneth the one, and *Plato* the other. Now for *Alcibiades* beawtie, it made no matter if we speake not of it, yet I will a litle touche it by the waye: for he was wonderfull fayer, being a child, a boye, and a man, and that at all times, which made him maruelous amiable, and beloued of euery man. For where *Euripides* sayeth, that of all the fayer times of the yere, the Autumne or latter season is the fayrest: that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proued true in *Alcibiades*, though in fewe other: for he was pas-

B sing fayer euen to his latter time, & of good temperature of bodie. They write of him also, that his tongue was somewhat fatte, and it dyd not become him ill, but gaue him a certen naturall pleasaunt grace in his talke: which *Aristophanes* mentioneth, mocking one *Theorus* that dyd counterfeat a lisping grace with his tongue.

The mothers of famous we neuer knowen what they were.

Alcibiades beawtie.

Alcibiades lisped by nature.

This Alcibiades, vvith his fat lisping tongue,
into mine eares, this trusty tale, and songe full often songe.
Looke vpon Theolus (quoth he) lo there he bovves,
*beholde his comely crovvebright face vvith fat and*flatling blovves.*
The sonne of Clinias, vvould lispe it thus somevvhiles,
and sure he lisped neuer a lye, but rightly hyt his vviles.

**The equinocatiō of these two Greeke wordes* Κορα *and* Κολα, *is harde to be expressed in Inglishe, in stead whereof I haue set flatling blowes, for flattering browes, obseruing the grace of lisping, as neere as I could, like to the Latin and French translations, likewise Theolus for Theorus.*

C And *Archippus* another poet also, mocking the sonne of *Alcibiades*, sayeth thus,

Bicause he vvould be like his father euerie vvaye
in his long trayling govvne he vvould goe ietting daye by daye.
And counterfeate his speache, his countenaunce and face:
as though dame nature had him geuen, therein a perfect grace.
To lispe and looke aside, and holde his head avvrye,
euen as his father lookt and lispt, so vvould he prate and prye.

For his manners they altered and chaunged very oft with time, which is not to be wondred at, seing his maruelous great prosperitie, as also aduersitie that followed him afterwards. But of all the great desiers he had, and that by nature he was most inclined to, was ambition,

D seeking to haue the vpper hand in all things, and to be taken for the best persone: as appeareth by certaine of his dedes, and notable sayings in his youthe, extant in writing. One daye wrestling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to haue geuen him the fall: he got his fellowes arme in his mouth, and bit so harde, as he would haue eaten it of. The other feeling him bite so harde, let goe his holde straight, and sayed vnto him: what *Alcibiades*, biteste thou like a woman? No mary doe I not (quoth he) but like a lyon. Another time being but a litle boye, he played at skayles in the middest of the streete with other of his companions, and when his turne came about to throwe, there came a carte loden by chaunce that waye: *Alcibiades* prayed the carter to staye a while, vntill he had played out his game, bicause the skailes were set right in the high way where the carte should passe ouer. The carter

E was a stubborne knaue, and would not staye for any requeste the boye could make, but draue his horse on still, in so much as other boyes gaue backe to let him goe on: but *Alcibiades* fell flat to the grounde before the carte, and bad the carter driue ouer and he durste. The carter being afeard, plucked backe his horse to staye them: the neighbours flighted to see the daunger, ranne to the boye in all haste crying out. Afterwards when he was put to schoole to learne, he was very obedient to all his masters that taught him any thing, sauing that he disdained to learne to playe of the flute or recorder: saying, that it was no gentlemanly qualitie. For, sayed he, to playe on the vyoll with a sticke, doth not alter mans fauour, nor disgraceth any gentleman: but otherwise, to playe on the flute, his countenaunce altereth and chaungeth so ofte, that his familliar friends can scant knowe him. Moreouer, the harpe or vyoll doth not let him

F that playeth on them, from speaking, or singing as he playeth: where he that playeth on the flute, holdeth his mouth so harde to it, that it taketh not only his wordes from him, but his voyce. Therefore, sayed he, let the children of the THEBANS playe on the flute, that cannot

Alcibiades studies.

A vile thing to playe of a flute.

tell howe to ſpeake: as for vs ATHENIANS, we haue (as our forefathers tell vs) for protectours and patrones of our countrie, the goddeſſe *Pallas*, and the god *Apollo*: of the which the one in olde time (as it is ſayed) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skinne ouer his eares, that played vpon the flute. Thus *Alcibiades* alledging theſe reaſons, partely in ſporte, and partely in good earneſt: dyd not only him ſelfe leaue to learne to playe on the flute, but he turned his companions mindes alſo quite from it. For theſe wordes of *Alcibiades*, ranne from boye to boye incontinently: that *Alcibiades* had reaſon to deſpiſe playing of the flute, and that he mocked all thoſe that learned to play of it. So afterwards, it fell out at ATHENS, that teaching to playe of the flute, was put out of the number of honeſt and liberall exerciſes, and the flute it ſelfe was thought a vile inſtrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the accuſations *Antiphon* wrote againſt *Alcibiades*, it is declared: that when he was a boye, he fled out of his tutours houſe, into the houſe of *Democrates* one of his louers, and howe *Ariphron* one of his tutours thought to haue made a beadle crie him through the cittie. But *Pericles* would not ſuffer him, ſaying: that if he were dead, they ſhould knowe it but one daye ſooner by crying of him: and if he were aliue, that it would be ſuch a ſhame to him while he liued, that he had bene better he had neuer bene heard of againe. The ſame *Antiphon* accuſeth him further, that he had killed a ſeruaunt of his that attended on him, in the wreſtling place of *Sibyrtius*, with a blowe of a ſtaffe. But there is no reaſon to credit his writing, who confeſſeth he ſpeaketh all the ill he can of him, for the ill will he dyd beare him. Now ſtraight there were many great & riche men that made muche of *Alcibiades*, and were glad to get his good will. But *Socrates* loue vnto him had another ende and cauſe, which witneſſed that *Alcibiades* had a naturall inclination to vertue. Who perceyuing that vertue dyd appeare in him, and was ioyned with the other beawtie of his face and bodye, and feating the corruption of riches, dignitie and authoritie, and the great number of his companions, aſwell of the chiefeſt of the cittie, as of ſtraungers, ſeeking to entiſe him by flatterie, and by many other pleaſures: he tooke vpon him to protect him from them all, and not to ſuffer ſo goodly an ympe to loſe the hope of the good fruite of his youthe. For fortune doth neuer ſo intangle nor ſnare a man without, with that which they commonly call riches, as to let & hinder him ſo, that philoſophie ſhould not take holde on him with her free, ſeuere, and quicke reaſons. So *Alcibiades* was at the beginning, aſſayed with all delightes, and ſhut vp as it were in their companie that feaſted him with all pleaſures, only to turne him that he ſhould not hearken to *Socrates* wordes, who ſought to bring him vp at his charge, and to teach him. But *Alcibiades* notwithſtanding, hauing a good naturall wit, knewe what *Socrates* was, and went to him, refuſing the companie of all his riche friendes and their flatteries, and fell in a kinde of familliar friendſhippe with *Socrates*. Whom when he had heard ſpeake, he noted his wordes very well, that they were no perſuaſions of a man ſeeking his diſhoneſty, but one that gaue him good counſell, & went about to reforme his faultes and imperfections, and to plucke downe the pride and preſumption that was in him: then, as the common prouerbe ſayeth,

Socrates loue to Alcibiades.

Like to the crauen cocke, he drouuped douune his vuinges,
vuhich couuardly doth ronne auuaye, or from the pit out flinges.

And dyd thinke with ſelfe, that all *Socrates* loue and following of young men, was in dede a thing ſent from the goddes, and ordeined aboue for them, whom they would haue preſerued, & put into the pathe waye of honour. Therefore be beganne to deſpiſe him ſelfe, and greatly to reuerẽce *Socrates*, taking pleaſure of his good vſing of him, & much imbraced his vertue: ſo as he had (he wiſt not howe) an image of loue grauen in his harte, or rather (as *Plato* ſayeth) a mutuall loue, to wit, an holy & honeſt affection towards *Socrates*. Inſomuch as all the world wondred at *Alcibiades*, to ſee him commonly at *Socrates* borde, to playe, to wreſtle, & to lodge in the warres with *Socrates*: and contrarily to chide his other well willers, who could not ſo much as haue a good looke at his handes, and beſides became daungerous to ſome, as it is ſayed he was vnto *Anytus*, the ſonne of *Anthemion*, being one of thoſe that loued him well. *Anytus* making good cheere to certen ſtraungers his friendes that were come to ſee him, went and prayed *Alcibiades* to come and make merie with them: but he refuſed to goe. For he went to make merie with certen of his companions at his own houſe, and after he had well taken

Alcibiades inſolẽcie vnto Anytus.

A taken in his cuppes, he went to *Anytus* houſe to counterfeate the foole amongeſt them, and ſtaying at the halle doore, and ſeeing *Anytus* table and cubberd full of plate of ſiluer & gold, he commaunded his ſeruants to take awaye half of it, and carie it home to his houſe. But when he had thus taken his pleaſure, he would come no neerer into the houſe, but went his waye home. *Anytus* friendes and gueſtes miſliking this ſtraunge parte of *Alcibiades*, ſayed it was ſhamefully and boldly done ſo to abuſe *Anytus*. Nay, gently done of him, ſayed *Anytus*: for he hath left vs ſome, where he might haue taken all. All other alſo that made much of him, he ſerued after that ſorte. Sauing a ſtraunger that came to dwell in ATHENS: who being but a poore man as the voyce went, ſold all that he had, whereof he made about a hundred ſtateres which he brought vnto *Alcibiades*, & prayed him to take it at his handes. *Alcibiades* beganne
B to be merie, and being very glad to vnderſtand his good will towards him, tooke his honeſt offer, and prayed him to come to ſupper to him: ſo he welcomed him very hartely, and made him good cheere. When ſupper was done, he gaue him his money againe, and commaunded him not to faile the next morning to meete him where the farmes and landes of the cittie are wont to be let out to thoſe that byd moſt, and charged him he ſhould out byd all. The poore man would fayne haue excuſed him ſelf, ſaying, the farmes were to great for him to hyre: but *Alcibiades* threatned to whippe him, if he would not doe it. For beſides the deſire he had to pleaſure him, he bare a priuate grudge againſt the ordinary farmers of the cittie. The next morning the ſtraunger was ready in the market place, where they dyd crie out the letting of their farmes, and he raiſed one to a talent more, then all other dyd offer. The other farmers
C were as mad with him as they could be, that they all dyd ſet vpon him, crying out: let him put in ſuertie ſtraight, ſuppoſing he could haue founde none. The ſtraunger was maruelous blancke thereat, and beganne to ſhrincke backe. Then cried *Alcibiades* out alowde to the officers that ſate there to take the beſt offers: I will be his ſuertie, ſayeth he, put me in the booke, for he is a friend of mine. The farmers hearing him ſaye ſo, were at their wittes ende, and wiſte not what to doe. For they being allwayes accuſtomed to paye their yerely rent as it went before, by the helpe of the reſt of the yeres that followed after: perceyuing now that they ſhould not be able to paye the arrerages of the rentes due to the common weale, and ſeeing no other remedie, they prayed him to take a pece of money, and to leaue the bargaine. Then *Alcibiades* would in no wiſe he ſhould take leſſe then a talent, which they gaue him willingly.
D So *Alcibiades* ſuffered the ſtraunger then to departe, and made him gaine by his deuiſe. Now *Socrates* loue which he bare him, though it had many mightie and great aduerſaries, yet it dyd ſtaye much *Alcibiades*, ſomtime by his gentle nature, ſomtime by his graue counſell and aduiſe: ſo as the reaſon thereof tooke ſo deepe roote in him, and dyd ſo pearce his harte, that many times the teares ranne downe his cheekes. Another time alſo being caried awaye with the intiſement of flatterers, that held vp his humour with all pleaſure and delightes, he ſtale awaye from *Socrates*, and made him ronne after him to fetche him againe, as if he had bene a
E ſlaue that had ronne awaye from his maſters houſe: for *Alcibiades* ſtoode in awe of no man but of *Socrates* only, and in deede he dyd reuerence him, and dyd deſpiſe all other. And therefore *Cleanthes* was wont to ſaye, that *Alcibiades* was held of *Socrates* by the eares: but that he gaue his other louers holde, which *Socrates* neuer ſought for: for to ſaye truely, *Alcibiades* was muche geuen ouer to luſt and pleaſure. And peraduenture it was that *Thucydides* ment of him, when he wrote that he was incontinent of bodie, and diſſolute of life. Thoſe that marred *Alcibiades* quite, dyd ſtill pricke forward his ambition and deſire of honour, and dyd put him in the head to thruſt him ſelfe into great matters betimes, making him beleeue that if he dyd but once beginne to ſhewe him ſelfe to deale in matters of ſtate, he would not only bleamiſhe and deface all other gouernours, but farre excell *Pericles*, in authoritie and power among the
F GRÆCIANS. For like as iron by fire is made ſofte, to be wrought in to any forme, and by colde alſo doth ſhut and harden in againe: euen ſo *Alcibiades* being puffed vp with vanitie & opinion of him ſelf, as ofte as *Socrates* tooke him in hande, was made faſte & firme againe by his good perſuaſions, inſomuch that when he ſawe his owne faulte and follie, and how farre wide he had ſtrayed from vertue, he became ſodainely very humble and lowly againe. Now on a time when he was growen to mans ſtate, he went into a grammer ſchoole; and asked the

Alcibiades liberall facte.

Alcibiades ranne from Socrates.

Alcibiades geue to pleaſure.

Alcibiades ſtrake a ſchoolemaſter, bicauſe he had not Homer in his choole.

ſchoolemaſter for one of *Homers* bookes. The ſchoolemaſter aũſwered him, he had none of thē: *Alcibiades* vp with his fiſte, & gaue him a good boxe on the eare, & went his waye. Another grammarian tolde him on a time he had *Homer* which he had corrected. *Alcibiades* replied, why what meaneſt thou, to ſtand teaching litle children their abce, when thou art able to correct *Homer*, and to teache young men, not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at *Pericles* gate, deſirous to ſpeake with him: aunſwer was made him, he was not at leyſure now, for that he was buſilie occupied by him ſelf, thinking on his reckonings he had to make with the ATHENIANS. Why, ſayed he, going his waye: it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no accompt at all. Moreouer, being but a young boye, he was at the iorney of POTIDÆA, where he laye ſtill with *Socrates*, who would neuer let him be from him in all battells and skirmiſhes he was in: among which there was one, very whotte & bloody, where they both fought valliantly, and *Alcibiades* was hurte. But *Socrates* ſtepped before him, and dyd defend him ſo valliantly before them all, that he ſaued him and his weapon out of the enemies handes. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in equitie and reaſon, was due vnto *Socrates*: but yet the captaines would faine haue iudged it on *Alcibiades* ſide, bicauſe he was of a noble houſe. But *Socrates*, bicauſe he would increaſe his deſire of honour, & would pricke him forward to honeſt and commendable things, was the very firſt that witneſſed *Alcibiades* had deſerued it: and therefore prayed the captaines to iudge him the crowne and complet armour. Afterwards, in the battell of DELION, the ATHENIANS hauing receyued the ouerthrowe, *Socrates* retired with a fewe other a foote. *Alcibiades* being a horſe backe, and ouertaking him, would not goe from him, but kept him company, and defended him againſt a troupe of his enemies that followed him, and ſlue many of his company. But that was a prety while after, and before he gaue a boxe of the eare vnto *Hipponicus*, *Callias* father: who was one of the greateſt men of power in the cittie, being a noble man borne, and of great poſſeſſions, which was done vpon a brauery and certaine luſtines, as hauing layed a wager with his companions he would doe it, and for no malice or quarrell that he bare the man. This light parte was ſtraight ouer all the cittie, and euery one that heard it, ſayed it was lewdly done. But *Alcibiades* the next morning went to his houſe, and knocking at his gate was let in: ſo he ſtripping him ſelfe before him, deliuered him his bodie to be whipped, and puniſhed at his pleaſure. *Hipponicus* pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gaue him his daughter *Hipparete* afterwards in mariage. Howbeit ſome ſaye, it was not *Hipponicus* that gaue her to him: but *Callias* ſonne, with tenne talēts of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of his firſt child he had by her, he asked tenne talents more, ſaying: they were promiſed him vpon the contract, if his wife had children. But *Callias* fearing leaſt this was an occaſiō ſought of him to lye in wayte to kill him for his goodes: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heire generall, if he dyed without heires ſpeciall of his bodie. This gētlewoman *Hipparete*, being an honeſt true wife to *Alcibiades*, miſliking her husband dyd ſo muche miſuſe her, as to entertaine common light ſtrumpets, aſwell cittizens as ſtraungers: ſhe went abroad one day to her brothers houſe, and tolde him of it. *Alcibiades* paſſed not for it, and made no further reckoning of the matter: but only bad his wife, if ſhe would, preſent her cauſe of diuorſe before the iudge. So ſhe went thither her ſelfe, to ſue the diuorce betwene them, according to the lawe: but *Alcibiades* being there alſo, tooke her by the hande, & caried her through the market place home to his houſe, and no man durſt medle betwene them, to take her from him. And ſo ſhe continued with him all the dayes of her life, which was not long after: for ſhe dyed, when *Alcibiades* was in his iorney he made to EPHESVS. This force *Alcibiades* vſed, was not thought altogether vnlawfull, nor vnciuill, bicauſe it ſeemeth that the lawe was grounded vpon this cauſe: that the wife which would be diuorced from her husband, ſhould goe her ſelfe openly before the iudge to put vp her complainte, to the ende, that by this meanes, the husband might come to ſpeake with his wife, and ſeeke to ſtaye her if he could. *Alcibiades* had a maruelous fayer great dogge, that coſt him three ſcore and tenne minas, and he cut of his taile that was his chief beawtie. When his friendes reproued him, and tolde him how euery man blamed him for it: he fell a laughing, and tolde them he had that he ſought. For, ſayeth he, I would haue the ATHENIANS rather prate vpon that, then they ſhould ſaye worſe of me. Moreouer, it is ſayed, the firſt time that

Alcibiades firſt ſouldier fare with Socrates.

Alcibiades ſaued by Socrates.

Alcibiades ſaued Socrates life after the ouerthrow at the battaill of Delion.

Alcibiades maried.

Hipparete ſueth to be diuorced from Alcibiades.

Alcibiades great dogge.

A that *Alcibiades* spake openly in the common weale, and beganne to deale in matters, was vpon a gifte of money he gaue to the people, and nos of any pretence, or former purpose he had to doe it. One daye as he came through the market place, hearing the people very lowde, he asked what the matter was: they tolde him it was about money certen men had geuen to the people. Then *Alcibiades* went to them, and gaue them money out of his owne purse. The people were so glad at that, as they fell to showting and clapping of their handes, in token of thankfullnes: and him selfe was so glad for companie, that he forgat a quayle he had vnder his gowne, which was so afeard of the noyse, that she tooke her flight away. The people seeing the quayle, made a greater noyse then before, and many rose out of their places to runne after her: so that in the ende, it was taken vp by a master of a shippe called *Antiochus*, who brought B him the quayle againe, and for that cause *Alcibiades* dyd loue him euer after. Now albeit the nobilitie of his house, his goodes, his worthines, & the great number of his kinsemen & friends made his waye open to take vpon him gouernment in the common weale. Yet the only waye he desired to winne the fauour of the common people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To proue he was eloquent, all the Comicall poets doe testifie it: and besides them, *Demosthenes* the prince of orators also doth saye, in an oration he made against *Midias*, that *Alcibiades* aboue all other qualities he had, was most eloquent. And if we maye beleeue *Theophrastus*, the greatest searcher of antiquities, & best historiographer aboue any other philosopher: he hath written, that *Alcibiades* had as good a witte to deuise and consider what he would saye, as any man that was in his time. Howbeit somtimes studying what he should saye, as also to deliuer C good wordes, not hauing them very readilie at his tongues ende: he many times tooke breath by the waye, and paused in the middest of his tale, not speaking a worde, vntill he had called it to minde, that he would saye. His charge was great, and muche spoken of also, for keeping of ronning horses at games: not only bicause they were the best & swiftest, but for the number of coches he had besides. For neuer priuate persone, no nor any prince, that euer sent seuen so well appointed coches, in all furniture, vnto the games *Olympicall*, as he dyd: nor that at one course hath borne awaye the first, the second, and the fourth prise, as *Thucydides* sayeth: or as *Euripides* reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that euer striued for victorie therein. For *Euripides* pronounced his praise, in a songe he made of him, as followeth:

D *O sonne of Clinias, I vvill resounde thy praise:*
for thou art bold in martiall dedes, and ouercommest all vvayes.
Thy victories therevvith, doe farre exceede the rest,
that euer vvere in Greece ygot, therefore I compt them best.
For at th Olympike games, thou hast vvith chariots vvonne,
the first price, seconde, thirde and all, vvhich there in race vvere ronne.
VVith praise and litle payne, thy head hath twise bene crovvnde,
vvith oliue boughes for victorie, and twise by trumpets sounde.
The heraulds haue proclaimed thee victor by thy name:
aboue all those, vvhich ranne vvith thee, in hope to get the game.

E Howbeit the good affection diuers citties did beare him, contending which should gratifie him best, dyd muche increase his fame and honour. For the Ephesians dyd set vp a tente for him, very sumptuously and richely furnished. Those of the cittie of Chio, furnished him with prouinder for his horse, and gaue him muttons besides, and other beastes to sacrifice withall. They of Lesbos also sent him in wine and other prouision for vittells, to helpe him to defraye the great charges he was at in keeping open house, & feeding such a nũber of mouthes daylie. Yet the spite they dyd beare him, or rather his breache of promise which he often made, with this magnificence and state he shewed, gaue the people more cause to speake of him then before. For they saye there was one *Diomedes* at Athens, a friend of *Alcibiades*, & no ill man, who desired once in his life to winne a game at the playes *Olympicall*. This man F being enformed that the Argiues had a coche excellently furnished, belonging to their cõmon weale, and knowing that *Alcibiades* could doe very much in the cittie of Argos, bicause he had many friends in the same: he came to intreate *Alcibiades* to buye this coche for him.

Alcibiades largesse.

Alcibiades comming into the common wealth.

Alcibiades maruelous eloquent.

Alcibiades witte and imperfection.

Alcibiades victorie at the games Olympicall.

Alcibiades a breaker of promise.

Alcibiades ſtrake a ſchoolemaſter, bicauſe he had not Homer in his choole.

ſchoolemaſter for one of *Homers* bookes. The ſchoolemaſter aũſwered him, he had none of thẽ: *Alcibiades* vp with his fiſte, & gaue him a good boxe on the eare, & went his waye. Another grammarian tolde him on a time he had *Homer* which he had corrected. *Alcibiades* replied, why what meaneſt thou, to ſtand teaching litle children their abce, when thou art able to correct *Homer*, and to teache young men, not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at *Pericles* gate, deſirous to ſpeake with him: aunſwer was made him, he was not at leyſure now, for that he was buſilie occupied by him ſelf, thinking on his reckonings he had to make with the ATHENIANS. Why, ſayed he, going his waye: it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no accompt at all. Moreouer, being but a young boye, he was at the iorney of POTIDÆA, where he laye ſtill with *Socrates*, who would neuer let him be from him in all battells and skirmiſhes he was in: among which there was one, very whotte & bloody, where they both fought valliantly, and *Alcibiades* was hurte. But *Socrates* ſtepped before him, and dyd defend him ſo valliantly before them all, that he ſaued him and his weapon out of the enemies handes. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in equitie and reaſon, was due vnto *Socrates*: but yet the captaines would faine haue iudged it on *Alcibiades* ſide, bicauſe he was of a noble houſe. But *Socrates*, bicauſe he would increaſe his deſire of honour, & would pricke him forward to honeſt and commendable things, was the very firſt that witneſſed *Alcibiades* had deſerued it: and therefore prayed the captaines to iudge him the crowne and complet armour. Afterwards, in the battell of DELION, the ATHENIANS hauing receyued the ouerthrowe, *Socrates* retired with a fewe other a foote. *Alcibiades* being a horſe backe, and ouertaking him, would not goe from him, but kept him company, and defended him againſt a troupe of his enemies that followed him, and ſlue many of his company. But that was a prety while after, and before he gaue a boxe of the eare vnto *Hipponicus*, *Callias* father: who was one of the greateſt men of power in the cittie, being a noble man borne, and of great poſſeſſions, which was done vpon a brauery and certaine luſtines, as hauing layed a wager with his companions he would doe it, and for no malice or quarrell that he bare the man. This light parte was ſtraight ouer all the cittie, and euery one that heard it, ſayed it was lewdly done. But *Alcibiades* the next morning went to his houſe, and knocking at his gate was let in: ſo he ſtripping him ſelfe before him, deliuered him his bodie to be whipped, and puniſhed at his pleaſure. *Hipponicus* pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gaue him his daughter *Hipparete* afterwards in mariage. Howbeit ſome ſaye, it was not *Hipponicus* that gaue her to him: but *Callias* ſonne, with tenne talẽts of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of his firſt child he had by her, he asked tenne talents more, ſaying: they were promiſed him vpon the contract, if his wife had children. But *Callias* fearing leaſt this was an occaſiõ ſought of him to lye in wayte to kill him for his goodes: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heire generall, if he dyed without heires ſpeciall of his bodie. This gẽtlewoman *Hipparete*, being an honeſt true wife to *Alcibiades*, miſliking her husband dyd ſo muche miſuſe her, as to entertaine common light ſtrumpets, aſwell cittizens as ſtraungers: ſhe went abroad one day to her brothers houſe, and tolde him of it. *Alcibiades* paſſed not for it, and made no further reckoning of the matter: but only bad his wife, if ſhe would, preſent her cauſe of diuorſe before the iudge. So ſhe went thither her ſelfe, to ſue the diuorce betwene them, according to the lawe: but *Alcibiades* being there alſo, tooke her by the hande, & caried her through the market place home to his houſe, and no man durſt medle betwene them, to take her from him. And ſo ſhe continued with him all the dayes of her life, which was not long after: for ſhe dyed, when *Alcibiades* was in his iorney he made to EPHESVS. This force *Alcibiades* vſed, was not thought altogether vnlawfull, nor vnciuill, bicauſe it ſeemeth that the lawe was grounded vpon this cauſe: that the wife which would be diuorced from her husband, ſhould goe her ſelfe openly before the iudge to put vp her complainte, to the ende, that by this meanes, the husband might come to ſpeake with his wife, and ſeeke to ſtaye her if he could. *Alcibiades* had a maruelous fayer great dogge, that coſt him three ſcore and tenne minas, and he cut of his taile that was his chief beawtie. When his friendes reproued him, and tolde him how euery man blamed him for it: he fell a laughing, and tolde them he had that he ſought. For, ſayeth he, I would haue the ATHENIANS rather prate vpon that, then they ſhould ſaye worſe of me. Moreouer, it is ſayed, the firſt time that

Alcibiades firſt ſouldier fare with Socrates.

Alcibiades ſaued by Socrates.

Alcibiades ſaued Socrates life after the ouerthrow at the battaill of Delion.

Alcibiades maried.

Hipparete ſueth to be diuorced from Alcibiades.

Alcibiades great dogge.

A than *Alcibiades* spake openly in the common weale, and beganne to deale in matters, was vpon a gifte of money he gaue to the people, and not of any pretence, or former purpose he had to doe it. One daye as he came through the market place, hearing the people very lowde, he asked what the matter was: they tolde him it was about money certen men had geuen to the people. Then *Alcibiades* went to them, and gaue them money out of his owne purse. The people were so glad at that, as they fell to showting and clapping of their handes, in token of thankfullnes: and him selfe was so glad for companie, that he forgat a quayle he had vnder his gowne, which was so afeard of the noyse, that she tooke her flight away. The people seeing the quayle, made a greater noyse then before, and many rose out of their places to runne after her: so that in the ende, it was taken vp by a master of a shippe called *Antiochus*, who brought B him the quayle againe, and for that cause *Alcibiades* dyd loue him euer after. Now albeit the nobilitie of his house, his goodes, his worthines, & the great number of his kinsemen & friends made his waye open to take vpon him gouernment in the common weale. Yet the only waye he desired to winne the fauour of the common people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To proue he was eloquent, all the Comicall poets doe testifie it: and besides them, *Demosthenes* the prince of orators also doth saye, in an oration he made against *Midias*, that *Alcibiades* aboue all other qualities he had, was most eloquent. And if we maye beleeue *Theophrastus*, the greatest searcher of antiquities, & best historiographer aboue any other philosopher: he hath written, that *Alcibiades* had as good a witte to deuise and consider what he would saye, as any man that was in his time. Howbeit somtimes studying what he should saye, as also to deliuer C good wordes, not hauing them very readilie at his tongues ende: he many times tooke breath by the waye, and paused in the middest of his tale, not speaking a worde, vntill he had called it to minde, that he would saye. His charge was great, and muche spoken of also, for keeping of ronning horses at games: not only bicause they were the best & swiftest, but for the number of coches he had besides. For neuer priuate persone, no nor any prince, that euer sent seuen so well appointed coches, in all furniture, vnto the games *Olympicall*, as he dyd: nor that at one course hath borne awaye the first, the second, and the fourth prise, as *Thucydides* saieth: or as *Euripides* reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that euer striued for victorie therein. For *Euripides* pronounced his praise, in a songe he made of him, as followeth:

Alcibiades largesse.

Alcibiades comming into the common wealth.

Alcibiades marueilous eloquent.

Alcibiades wisse and imperfection.

Alcibiades victorie at the games Olympicall.

D *O sonne of Clinias, I vvill resounde thy praise:*
for thou art bold in martiall dedes, and ouercommest all vvayes.
Thy victories therevvith, doe farre exceede the rest,
that euer vvere in Greece ygot, therefore I compt them best.
For at th Olympike games, thou hast vvith chariots vvonne,
the first price, seconde, thirde and all, vvhich there in race vvere ronne.
VVith praise and litle payne, thy head hath twvise bene crovvnde,
vvith oliue boughes for victorie, and twvise by trumpets sounde.
The herealds haue proclaimed thee victor by thy name:
aboue all those, vvhich ranne vvith thee, in hope to get the game.

E Howbeit the good affection diuers citties did beare him, contending which should gratifie him best, dyd muche increase his fame and honour. For the Ephesians dyd set vp a tente for him, very sumptuously and richely furnished. Those of the cittie of Chio, furnished him with prouinder for his horse, and gaue him muttons besides, and other beastes to sacrifice withall. They of Lesbos also sent him in wine and other prouision for vittells, to helpe him to defraye the great charges he was at in keeping open house, & feeding such a nũber of mouthes daylie. Yet the spite they dyd beare him, or rather his breache of promise which he often made, with this magnificence and state he shewed, gaue the people more cause to speake of him then before. For they saye there was one *Diomedes* at Athens, a friend of *Alcibiades*, & no ill man, who desired once in his life to winne a game at the playes *Olympicall*. This man F being enformed that the Argiues had a coche excellently furnished, belonging to their cõmon weale, and knowing that *Alcibiades* could doe very much in the cittie of Argos, bicause he had many friends in the same: he came to intreate *Alcibiades* to buye this coche for him.

Alcibiades a breaker of promise.

Alcibiades thereupon bought it, but kept it to him ſelfe, not regarding *Diomedes* requeſt he had made. *Diomedes* ſeeing that fell ſtarke mad for anger, and called the goddes & men to witneſſes, that *Alcibiades* did him open wrong: and it ſeemeth, that there fell out ſuite in lawe vpon the ſame. For *Iſocrates* wrote an oration, and drue a plea in defence of *Alcibiades*, being yet but a childe, touching a couple of horſes: yet in this plea, his aduerſarie was called *Tiſias*, and not *Diomedes*. Furthermore, *Alcibiades* being yet but a young man, when he came to practiſe and pleade publikly, he put all other Oratours to ſilence, but only two that were euer againſt him: the one was *Phæax* the ſonne of *Eraſiſtratus*, and the other *Nicias*, the ſonne of *Niceratus*. Of theſe two, *Nicias* was a man growen, and had wonne the name & reputation of a good captaine. And *Phæax* beganne alſo to come forward as he dyd, being of a good and honorable houſe: but he lacked many things, and among other, eloquence ſpecially. For, he could more properly talke and diſcourſe among his friends priuately, then he had any good grace to open a matter openly before the people. For he had, as *Eupolis* ſayeth:

Alcibiades aduerſaries in the commō wealth when he came to pleade.

Phæax lacked eloquence.

VVordes enovve, but no eloquence.

There is a certen oration extant in writing, againſt *Alcibiades* and *Phæax*: where among other acculations is brought in, howe *Alcibiades* was ordinarily ſerued in his houſe, with gold & ſiluer plate that belonged to the cōmon weale, and which were vſed to be borne for ſtate & magnificence, in ſolemne proceſſions before them, and how he vſed them as boldly, as if they had bene his owne. Now there was one *Hyperbolus* in Athens at that time borne in the village of Perithoide: of whom *Thucydides* maketh mencion, as of a naughty wicked man, whoſe tongue was a fit inſtrument to deliuer matter to all the Comicall poets of that time, to poore out all their tawnts and mockes againſt men. Howbeit he was ſo impudent a perſone, and cared ſo litle what men ſayed of him, that he paſſed not though he were defamed, neither dyd any thing greue him, whatſoeuer they reported of him: which ſome doe call boldnes, and corage, being no better in deede then plaine impudencie, extreme madnes, and deſperate follie. He would neuer pleaſe any man: & if the common people had any grudge to any noble man or magiſtrate, whom they would any waye accuſe, *Hyperbolus* wicked tongue was their inſtrument to vtter their ſpyte. Now the people (by *Hyperbolus* procurement) being aſſembled, were ready to proceede to the baniſhment of *Oſtraciſmon* by moſt voyces. The manner & cuſtome of this kynde of baniſhment was for a time to baniſh out of their cittie ſuch a one, as ſeemed to haue to great authoritie and credit in the cittie: and that was, rather to ſatisfie their enuie, then for to remedy their feare. And bicauſe it was manifeſt it would fall out to one of them three to be baniſhed (to wit, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, or *Phæax*) *Alcibiades* found meanes to ioyne all their three factions in one, becomming friends one to another: and hauing conferred with *Nicias* about it, he made *Hyperbolus* ſelf to be baniſhed, who was the chief inſtrument to prepare the waye of their baniſhment. Howbeit other ſaye, he ſpake not with *Nicias* about it, but with *Phæax*, and ioyning his parte with *Phæax*, he cauſed *Hyperbolus* to be baniſhed, who feared nothing leſſe: for it was neuer ſeene before, that a man of meane countenaunce, and of ſmall authoritie, fell into the happe of this baniſhment. As *Plato* the Comicall poet teſtifieth, ſpeaking of *Hyperbolus*.

Hyperbolus baniſhed for 10. yeres.

The manner of the puniſhment of the Oſtraciſmon.

Although for his deſerts, this payne to him is due,
or greater punishment prepard, the vvhich might make him rue:
Yet ſince he vvas by birth, a perſone meane and baſe,
ſuch punishment therefore dyd ſeeme (for him) to great of grace.
Since Oſtraciſmon vvas, not made at firſt to be,
nor yet deuiſde as punishment, for ſuche meane folke as he.

But of this matter, we haue ſpoken more at large before: and now to returne againe to *Alcibiades*. *Nicias* had great reputation among ſtraungers, and his enemies greued at it no leſſe, then at the honour the cittizens ſelues dyd vnto him. For his houſe was the common inne for all Lacedæmonians when they came to Athens, and they euer laye with him: moreouer he had very well entertained the Lacadæmon priſoners that were taken at the ſorte of Pyle. And afterwards when peace was concluded betweene Lacedæmon and Athens, and their priſoners redeliuered home againe by *Nicias* meanes only & procurement: they

they loued him more then euer they dyd before. This was blowen abroade through GREECE, that *Pericles* had kindled the warres amongest them, and *Nicias* had quenched it: so some called this peace *Nicium*, as one would saye, *Nicias* worke. But *Alcibiades* sto- making this, and enuying *Nicias* glorie, determined to breake the peace whatsoeuer came of it. Wherefore to compasse this matter, knowing first of all that the ARGIVES had no liking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but were their mortall enemies, and that they dyd but seeke matter to fall out with them: he secretly put them in hope of peace and league with the ATHENIANS. Moreouer he dyd persuade them to it, both by letters and worde of mouthe, speaking with the magistrates, and suche as had greatest authoritie and credit amongest the people: declaring vnto them, that they should not feare the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor yeld to them at all, but to sticke to the ATHENIANS, who would sone repent them of the peace they had made, and breake it with them. Afterwardes when the LACEDÆMONIANS had made league with the BOEOTIANS, and had redeliuered the cittie of PANACTVM to the ATHENIANS, all defaced and spoyled, contrarie to the league: *Alcibiades* perceyuing how the people were muche offended thereat, made them more earnest against them, and therewithall brought *Nicias* in disgrace with the people, and charged him with many matters of great likelyhood. As at that time, when he was generall: that he would neuer take any of the LACEDÆMONIANS, when they were shut vp within the Ile of SPHACTERIA, and muche lesse distresse them when he might: and moreouer that when other had taken them prisoners by force, that he had founde the meanes to deliuer them, and send them home againe, to gratifie the LACEDÆMONIANS. Furthermore, that being their friende, he dyd not his duety to dissuade the people from making of league offensiue, and defensiue with the BOEOTIANS and the CORINTHIANS: and againe also, if there were any people of GREECE that had a desire to become friendes and allies with the ATHENIANS, that he dyd the best he could to let them, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had no liking of the matter. Now as *Nicias* was thus in disgrace with the people, for the causes aboue sayd: in the middest of this sturre, ambassadours came by chaunce from LACEDÆMON to ATHENS, who at their comming gaue very good wordes, saying they had full power and commission to compound all controuersies, vnder reasonable and equall conditions. The Senate heard them, and receaued them very curteously, and the people the next daye should assemble in counsell to geue them audience: which *Alcibiades* fearing muche, he went to labour the ambassadours, and spake with them aparte in this sorte. What meane you, my Lordes of SPARTA: doe ye not knowe that the Senate hath allwayes accustomed to be gracious and fauorable vnto those that sue vnto them for any matter, and that the people contrarilie are of a prowde nature, and desirous to imbrace all great matters? If therefore at the first sighte, ye doe geue them to vnderstand that you are come hither with full power, to treate freely with them in all manner of causes: doe you not thinke that they make you stretche your authoritie farre, to graunte them all that they will demaunde. Therefore, my Lordes ambassadours, if you looke for indifferencie at the ATHENIANS handes, and that they shall not preasse you to farre against your willes, to graunte them any thing of aduantage: I would wishe you a litle to couer your full commission, and in open manner to propound certen articles, and reasonable capitulations of peace, not acquainting them otherwise with your full power to agree in all things: and for my parte, I will assure you of my good will in fauour of the LACEDÆMONIANS. When he had tolde them this tale, he gaue them his faithfull promise, and vowed as it were to performe his worde. Herevpon *Alcibiades* turned the Ambassadours from the trust they reposed in *Nicias*, and wanne them on his side: in so muche as they geue credit to no man but to him, wondering muche at his great wisedome and readye wit, and they thought him a rare and notable man. The next morning the people were assembled to geue the ambassadours audience. They were sent for, and brought into the market place. There *Alcibiades* gently asked them, what was the cause of their comming. They answered that they were come to treate of peace, but they had no power to determine any thing. Then

Nicias preach *Alcibiades* breaketh the peace of the Gracians.

Alcibiades beguileth the Lacedæmonians.

beganne *Alcibiades* to be angrie with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not he vnto them: calling them vnfaithfull, vnconstant, and fickle men, that were come neither to doe nor saye any thing worth the hearing. The Senate also were offended with them, and the people rated them very roughely: whereat *Nicias* was so ashamed and amased withall, that he could not tell what to saye, to see so sodaine a chaunge, knowing nothing of *Alcibiades* malice and subtill practise with the ambassadours. So the ambassadours of LACEDÆMON were dispatched, without any thing done, and *Alcibiades* chosen generall: who presently brought the ARGIVES, the ELIANS, and the MANTINIANS in league with the ATHENIANS. Though no man dyd commend this practise of his, in working it after this sorte: yet was it a maruelous thing of him to deuise to put all PELOPONNESVS in armes, and to procure such a number of souldiers against the LACEDÆMONIANS, as he dyd before the cittie of MANTINEA, and to shifte of the miseries of warre and hazard of battell, so farre from ATHENS. Which if the LACEDÆMONIANS dyd winne, could not profit them muche: and if they lost it, they could hardely saue their cittie of SPARTA. After this battell of MANTINEA, the thousand men whom the cittie by an auncient order dyd keepe continually in paye, aswell in peace as in warre, within the cittie of ARGOS, thinking now oportunitie serued them very trimly: attempted to take the soueraine authoritie from the common people, and to make them selues Lords of the cittie. And to bring this to passe, the LACEDÆMONIANS comming in the meane time, dyd ayde them in their purpose, and so dyd put downe the gouernment of the people: notwithstanding, immediatly after the people tooke armes againe, and became the stronger. *Alcibiades* comming thither euen at that time, dyd warrant them the victorie, and to set vp againe the authoritie of the people. Then he persuaded them to make their walles longer to ioyne their cittie to the sea, to the ende they might more easely be ayded by sea, by the ATHENIANS. He brought them also from ATHENS, many carpinters, masons, stone hewers, and other workemen: and to conclude, he shewed them by all the meanes and wayes he could, that he dyd beare good will vnto them, and thereby wanne him selfe no lesse fauour particularly emong them, then generally he dyd good vnto his countrie. He dyd persuade also the cittizens of PATRAS to ioyne their towne to the sea, by making long walles, which they built out euen to the clyffes of the sea. And when one sayed vnto them, alas, poore people of PATRAS, what doe ye meane? the ATHENIANS will eate you out. *Alcibiades* aunswered him, it maye well be, but it shalbe by litle and litle, beginning first at the feete: but the LACEDÆMONIANS will deuoure you all at once, and beginne at the head. Now although *Alcibiades* dyd make the cittie of ATHENS strong by sea, yet he dyd not leaue to persuade the ATHENIANS also, to make them selues strong by lande. For he dyd put the young men oftentimes in minde of the othe they were made to sweare in AGRAVLOS, and dyd aduise them to accomplishe it in deede. Which was, that they should take all corne fields, vines, and olyue trees, to be the borders and confines of ATTICA, whereby they were taught to reckon all lande theirs, that was manured, and dyd bring forth fruite. Yet with all these goodly dedes and fayer wordes of *Alcibiades*, and with this great corage and quicknes of vnderstanding, he had many great faultes and imperfections. For he was to daintie in his fare, wantonly geuen vnto light women, riotous in bankets, vaine and womanishe in apparell: he ware euer a long purple gowne that swept the market place as he walked vp and downe, it had suche a traine, and was so riche and costely for him to weare. And following these vaine pleasures and delightes, when he was in his galley, he caused the planckes of the poope thereof to be cutte and broken vp, that he might lye the softer: for his bed was not layed apon the ouerloppe, but laye vpon girthes strained ouer the hole, cut out and fastened to the sides, and he caried to the warres with him a gilded scutchion, wherein he had no cognizaunce nor ordinary deuise of the ATHENIANS, but only had the image of *Cupide* in it, holding lightning in his hande. The noble men, and best cittizens of ATHENS perceyuing this, they hated his facions and conditions, and were muche offended at him, and were afeard withall of his rashnes and insolencie: he dyd so contemne the lawes and customes of their countrie, being manifest tokens of a man that aspired to be King, and would subuert and turne all ouer hand. And as for the good will

Alcibiades chosen generall.

The walles brought to the sea by the Argiues.

Alcibiades ryot.

A good will of the common people towards him, the poet *Aristophanes* doth plainely expresse it in these wordes:

The people most desire, vvhat most they hate to haue:
and vvhat their minde abhorres, euen that they seeme to craue.

And in another place he sayed also, aggrauating the suspition they had of him.

For state or common vveale, muche better should it be,
to keepe vvithin the countrie none suche lyons lookes as he.
But if they nedes vvill keepe a lyon to their cost,
then must they nedes obeye his vvill, for he vvill rule the roste.

For to saye truely: his curtesies, his liberallities, and noble expences to shewe the peo-
B ple so great pleasure and pastime as nothing could be more: the glorious memorie of his auncestors, the grace of his eloquence, the beawtie of his persone, the strength and valliant-nes of his bodie, ioyned together with his wisedome and experience in marshall affayers, were the very causes that made them to beare with him in all things, and that the ATHENIANS dyd paciently endure all his light partes, and dyd couer his faultes, with the best wordes and termes they could, calling them youthfull, and gentlemens sportes. As when he kept *Agartharchus* the painter prisoner in his house by force, vntill he had painted all his walles within: and when he had done, dyd let him goe, and rewarded him very honestly for his paines. Againe when he gaue a boxe of the eare to *Taureas*, who dyd paye the whole charges of a companie of common players, in spite of him, to carie awaye the honour of the
C games. Also when he tooke awaye a young woman of MELIA by his authoritie, that was taken among certaine prisoners in the warres, and kept her for his concubine: by whom he had a childe, which he caused to be brought vp. Which they called a worke of charitie, albeit afterwards they burdened him, that he was the only cause of murdering of the poore MELIANS, sauing the litle children, bicause he had fauored and persuaded that vnnaturall and wicked decree, which another had propounded. Likewise where phos *Aristophon* a painter, had painted a curtisan named *Nemea*, holding *Alcibiades* in her armes, and sitting in her lappe, which all the people ranne to see, and tooke great pleasure to behold it: the graue and auncient men, were angrie at these foolishe partes, accompting them impudent things, and done against all ciuill modestie and temperancie. Wherefore it seemed *Archestratus* words
D were spoken to good purpose, when he sayed, that GREECE could not abide two *Alcibiades* at once. And on a daye as he came from the counsaill and assembly of the citie, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by meanes thereof had obteined the thing he desired, and was accompanied with a great traine that followed him to his honour: *Timon*, surnamed *Misanthropus* (as who would saye, *Loup-garou*, or the manhater) meeting *Alcibiades* thus accompanied, dyd not passe by him, nor gaue him waye (as he was wont to doe to all other men) but went straight to him, and tooke him by the hande, and sayed, O, thou dost well my sonne, I can thee thancke, that thou goest on, and climest vp still: for if euer thou be in authoritie, woe be vnto those that followe thee, for they are vtterly vndone. When they heard these wordes, those that stoode by fell a
E laughing: other reuiled *Timon*, other againe marked well his wordes, and thought of them many a time after, suche sundry opinions they had of him for the vnconstantie of his life, and waywardnes of his nature and conditions. Now for the taking of SICILIA, the ATHENIANS dyd maruelously couet it in *Pericles* life, but yet they dyd not medle with all, vntill after his death: and then they dyd it at the first vnder cullor of friendshippe, as ayding those cities which were oppressed, and spoyled by the SYRACVSANS. This was in maner a plaine bridge made, to passe afterwardes a greater power and armie thither. Howbeit the
F only procurer of the ATHENIANS, and persuader of them, to send small companies thither no more, but to enter with a great armie at once to conquer all the countrie together, was *Alcibiades*: who had so allured the people with his pleasaunt tongue, that vpon his persuasion, they built castells in the ayer, and thought to doe greater wonders, by winning only of SICILIA. For where other dyd set their mindes vpon the conquest of SICILIA,

Alcibiades dishonestie & wantonesse.

Archestratus saying.

Alcibiades the author of the warres in Sicilia.

being that they only hoped after: it was to *Alcibiades*, but a beginning of further enter- A
prises. And where *Nicias* commonly in all his persuasions, dyd turne the ATHENIANS
from their purpose to make warres against the SYRACVSANS, as being to great a mat-
ter for them to take the cittie of SYRACVSA: *Alcibiades* againe had a further reache
in his head, to goe conquer LIBYA, and CARTHAGE, and that being conquered, to passe
from thence into ITALIE, and so to PELOPONNESVS: so that SICILIA should serue but to
furnishe them with vittells, and to paye the souldiers for their conquestes which he had ima-
gined. Thus the young men were incontinently caried awaye with a maruelous hope and
opinion of this iorney, and gaue good eare to olde mens tales that tolde them wonders of the
countries: insomuche as there was no other pastime nor exercise among the youth in their
meetings, but companies of men to set rounde together, drawe plattes of SICILE, and des- B
cribe the situation of LIBYA and CARTHAGE. And yet they saye, that neither *Socrates* the
philosopher, nor *Meton* the astronomer dyd euer hope to see any good successe of this ior-
ney. For the one by the reuealing of his familliar spirite, who tolde him all things to come,
as was thought, had no great opinion of it: & *Meton*, whether it was for the feare of the suc-
cesse of the iorney he had by reason, or that he knew by diuination of his arte what would fol-
lowe, he counterfeated the mad man, & holding a burning torche in his hand, made as though
he would haue set his house a fyer. Other saye, that he dyd not counterfeate, but like a mad ma
in deede dyd set his house a fyre one night, and that the next morning betimes he went into
the market place to praye the people, that in consideration of his great losse and his grie-
uous calamitie so late happened him, it would please them to discharge his sonne for going C
this voyage. So by this mad deuise, he obteined his request of the people for his sonne, whom
he abused much. But *Nicias* against his will was chosen captaine, to take charge of men in
these warres: who misliked this iorney, aswell for his companion and associate in the charge
of these warres, as for other misfortunes he foresawe therein. Howbeit the ATHENIANS
thought the warre would fall out well, if they dyd not commit it wholy to *Alcibiades* rashnes
and hardines, but dyd ioyne with him the wisedome of *Nicias*: and appointed *Lamachus*
also for their third captaine, whom they sent thither, though he were waxen now somewhat
olde, as one that had shewed him selfe no lesse venturous and hardie in some battells, then
Alcibiades him selfe. Now when they came to resolue of the number of souldiers, the furni-
ture and order of these warres, *Nicias* sought crookedly to thwart this iorney, and to breake D
it of altogether: but *Alcibiades* withstoode him, and gate the better hande of him. There
was an orator called *Demostratus*, who moued the people also that the captaines whom they
had chosen for these warres, might haue full power and authoritie to leauy men at their
discretion, and to make suche preparation as they thought good: whereunto the peo-
ple condescended, and dyd authorise them. But when they were euen readie to goe their
waye, many signes of ill successe lighted in the necke one of another: and amongest the rest
this was one. That they were commaunded to take shippe, on the daye of the celebration
of the feast of *Adonia*, on the which the custome is, that women doe set vp in diuers places
of the cittie, in the middest of the streates, images, like to dead corses which they carie to
buriall, and they represent the mourning and lamentations made at the funeralles of the E
dead, with blubbering, and beating them selues, in token of the sorowe the goddesse *Venus*
made, for the death of her friend *Adonis*. Moreouer, the *Hermes* (which are the images of
Mercurie, and were wont to be set vp in euery lane and streete) were found in a night all
hacked and hewed, and mangled specially in their faces: but this put diuers in great feare
and trouble, yea euen those that made no accompt of suche toyes. Whereupon it was alled-
ged that it might be the CORINTHIANS that dyd it, or procured that lewde acte to
be done, fauoring the SYRACVSANS, who were their neere kynsemen, and had bene the
first fownders of them, imagining vpon this ill token, it might be a cause to breake of the
enterprise, and to make the people repent them, that they had taken this warre in hande. Ne-
uertheles, the people would not allow this excuse, neither hearken to their wordes that sayed, F
they should not reckon of any such signes or tokens, and that they were but some light brai-
ned youthes, that being tippled, had played this shamefull parte in their brauerie, or for sporte.

The diuination of Socrates & Meton.

Images hewē and mangled at Athens.

But

A But for all these reasons, they tooke these signes very greuously, and were in deede not a litle afeard, as thinking vndoutedly that no man durst haue bene so bolde to haue done suche an abhominable facte, but that there was some conspiracie in the matter. Hereupon they looked apon euery suspition and coniecture that might be (how litle or vnlikely soeuer it were) and that very seuerely: and both Senate and people also met in counsell vpon it very ofte, and in a fewe dayes. Now whilest they were busilie searching out the matter, *Androcles* a common counseller, and orator in the common wealth, brought before the counsell certaine slaues and straungers that dwelt in ATHENS: who deposed that *Alcibiades*, and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangled other images after that sorte, and in a mockerie had counterfeated also in a banket that he made, the ceremonies
B of the holy mysteries, declaring these matters particularly. How one *Theodorus* counterfeated the herauld, that is wonte to make the proclamations: *Polytion* the torche bearer, and *Alcibiades* the priest, who sheweth the holy signes and mysteries: and that his other companions were the assistantes, as those that make sute to be receyued into their religion and order, and into the brotherhood of their holy mysteries, whom for this cause they call *Mystes*. These very wordes are written in the accusation *Thessalus* (*Cimons* sonne) made against *Alcibiades*, charging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddesses, *Ceres*, & *Proserpina*. Whereat the people being maruelously moued and offended, and the orator *Androcles* his mortall enemie aggrauating & stirring them vp the more against him: *Alcibiades* a litle at the first beganne to be amased at it. But afterwards, hearing that the mariners which were
C prepared for the voyage of SICILIA, and the souldiers also that were gathered, dyd beare him great good will, and specially how the ayde, and that bande that came from ARGOS, and *Mantinea* (being a thousand footemen, well armed and appointed) dyd saye openly, how it was for *Alcibiades* sake they dyd take vpon them so long a voyage beyond sea, & that if they went about to doe him any hurte or wrong, they would presently returne home againe from whence they came: he beganne to be of a good corage againe, and determined with this good fauorable oportunitie of time, to come before the counsell, to aunswer to all suche articles and accusations as should be layed against him. Thereupon his enemies were a litle cooled, fearing least the people in this iudgement would haue shewed him more fauour, bicause they stoode in nede of him. Wherefore to preuent this daunger, they
D had fed other Oratours who set a good face on the matter, as they had bene *Alcibiades* friends, and yet bare him no lesse good will, then the rankest enemies he had. These fine fellowes rose vp in open assembly, and sayed: it was no reason, that he that was now chosen one of the generalles of so mightie and puissant an armie (being ready to hoyse sayle and the ayde also of their allies and friendes) should be driuen to staye now, and to lose time and occasion of well doing, whilest they should goe about to choose iudges, and appointe him his howres and time of aunswer. Therefore, they sayed, it was fit he should take his iorney betimes, and when warres were done, that he should present him selfe to requier iustice, and to purge him selfe of suche matters as should be obiected against him. But *Alcibiades* smelling streight their fetche, and perceyuing the practise of his staye, stept vp,
E and declared how they dyd him great wrong, to make him departe with the charge of a generall of so great an armie, his minde being troubled with continuall feare of so grieuous curses, as he should leaue apon him: and that he deserued death, if he could not purge and iustifie him selfe, of all the vniust and surmised accusations against him. And if he had once clered him selfe of all thinges, and had published his innocencie: he should then haue nothing in his head to trouble him, nor to thinke vpon, but to goe on lustely to fight with his enemies, and to cast behinde him the daunger of all his slaunderous detracters. But all this could not persuade them. And so he was presently commaunded in the behalfe of the people, to imbarke, & shippe awaye his men. Thus he was compelled to take the seas with his other companions, hauing in their nauie about a hundred and forty gallyes, all hauing three
F owers to a bancke: & fiue thousand one hundred footemen very well armed and appointed, & throwers with slinges, archers, & other light armed men to the number of thirteene hundred, sufficiently furnished of all warlicke and necessarie munition. Now after they were arriued

Alcibiades accused for prophaning the holy mysteries.

The crafte of Alcibiades enemies.

Alcibiades iorney into Sicile.

on the coaſte of ITALIE, they landed in the cittie of RHEGIO: where, holding counſell in what ſorte they ſhould direct theſe warres, it was reſolued in the ende that they ſhould goe ſtraight vnto SICILIA. This opinion was followed, although *Nicias* dyd contrarie it, when *Lamachus* gaue his conſent thereunto: and at his firſt comming, he was the occaſion of winning the cittie of CATANA. But he neuer after dyd any exployte, for he was called home immediatly by the ATHENIANS, to come and aunſwer certaine accuſations layed to his charge. For as we tolde you before, there was at the beginning, certaine light ſuſpitions and accuſations put vp againſt him, by ſome ſlaues and ſtraungers. But afterwards when he was gone, his enemies enforced them, and burdened him more cruelly, adding to his former faulte, that he had broken the images of *Mercurie*: and had committed ſacriledge in counterfeating in ieaſt and mockery the holy ceremonies of the myſteries: and blue into the eares of the people, that both the one and the other proceeded of one ſet conſpiracie, to chaunge and alter the gouernment of the ſtate of the cittie. Vpon theſe informations, the people tooke it in ſo ill parte, that they committed all to priſone, that were in any ſorte accuſed or ſuſpected thereof, and would neuer let them come to their aunſwer: and moreouer dyd much repent them that they had not condemned *Alcibiades*, vpon ſo great complaintes and informations as were exhibited againſt him, while his offenſe was in queſtion before them. And the furie and hatred of the people was ſuch towards him, that if any of *Alcibiades* friends and acquaintance came within their daunger, they were the worſe handled for his ſake. *Thucydides* dyd not name his accuſers, but ſome other doe name *Dioclides* and *Teucer*: amongeſt whom, *Phrynicus* the Comicall poet is one, who diſcouereth it in his verſes, by bringing in one that ſpeaketh thus to the image of *Mercury*.

Phrynicus the Comicall poet.

My good friend Mercury, I praye thee take good heede,
that thou fall not, and breake thy necke: for ſo thou mightſt me breede,
both daunger and diſtruſt, and though I giltles be,
ſome Dioclides falſely might accuſe and trouble me.
Mercury aunſwereth.
Take thou no thought for me, my ſelfe I ſhall vvell ſaue:
and vvill foreſee full vvell therevvith that Teucer (that falſe knaue)
ſhall not the money get, vvhich he by lavve hath vvonne,
for his promovvters bribing parte, and accuſation.

And yet for all this, theſe tokens doe ſhowe no certaintie of any thing. For one of them being asked, howe he could knowe them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced theſe images? he aunſwered, that he knewe them well enough by the brightnes of the moone. And hereby it appeareth playnely that he was periured, bicauſe that the ſame night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a coniunction of the moone. This dyd a litle trouble and ſtaye men of iudgement: howbeit the common ſorte of people this notwithſtanding, dyd not leaue to be as ſharpe ſet, to receyue all accuſations and informations, that were brought in againſt him, as euer they were before. Now there was among the priſoners whoſe cauſe was hanging before them, the orator *Andocides* (whom *Hellanicus* the hiſtoriographer deſcribeth to deſcend of the race of *Vlyſſes*) whom they tooke to be a man that hated the gouernment of the common people, and bent altogether to fauour the ſmall number of the nobilitie. But one of the chiefeſt occaſions why he was ſuſpected to be one of them that had broken the images, was: for that hard by his houſe there was a fayer great image ſet vp in olde time, by the familie or tribe of the *Ægeides*, and that alone amongeſt all the reſt of ſo many famous images, was lefte whole and vnbroken: whereupon it is called at this daye, the *Mercury* of *Andocides*, and is ſo called generally of euery bodye, albeit the inſcription ſheweth the contrarie. *Andocides* being in priſone, chaunced to fall in acquaintaunce with one *Timæus*, with whom he was more familliar then with all the reſt, who was alſo priſoner with him for the ſelf cauſe. This *Timæus* was a man not ſo well knowen as he, but beſides, a wiſe man, and very hardie. He perſuaded him, and put into his head, that he ſhould accuſe him ſelfe, and certaine other with him: for taking the matter vpon him, and confeſſing it, he ſhould receyue grace & pardone, according to the courſe and promiſe of the lawe. Where contrarilie, if he ſhould

Andocides the orator caſt into priſon.

ſtande

A ſtande vpon the curteſie of the iudges ſentence, he might eaſely endaunger him ſelf: bicauſe iudgements in ſuch caſes are vncertaine to all people, and moſt to be doubted and feared toward the riche. And therefore he told him it were his beſt waye, if he looked into the matter wiſely, by lying to ſaue his life, rather then to ſuffer death with ſhame, and to be condemned apon this falſe accuſation. Alſo he ſayed if he would haue regarde to the cõmon wealth, that it ſhould in like caſe be wiſely done of him, to put in daunger a fewe of thoſe (which ſtood doubtfull whether in trothe they were any of them or not) to ſaue from the furie of the people, and terrour of death, many honeſt men, who in deede were innocent of this lewde fact. *Timæus* wordes and perſuaſions wrought ſuch effect with *Andocides*, that they made him yeld vnto them, & brought him to accuſe him ſelfe, & certaine other with him: by meanes where-

B of *Alcibiades* according to the lawe had his pardone. But all ſuche as he named and accuſed, were euery man put to death, ſauing ſuche as ſaued them ſelues by ronning awaye. Furthermore, to ſhadowe his accuſation with ſome apparaunce of trothe, *Andocides* among thoſe that were accuſed, dyd accuſe alſo certen of his owne ſeruaunts. Now though the people had no more occaſion to occupie their buſie heades about the breakers of theſe images, yet was not their malice thus appeaſed againſt *Alcibiades*, vntill they ſent the galley called *Salaminiana*, commaunding thoſe they ſent by a ſpeciall cõmiſſion to ſeeke him out, in no caſe to attempt to take him by force, nor to laye holde on him by violence: but to vſe him with all the good wordes and curteous manner that they poſſibly could, & to will him only to appeare in perſone before the people, to aunſwer to certaine accuſations put vp againſt him. If otherwiſe

Alcibiades ſent for to abſwer to his accuſation.

C they ſhould haue vſed force, they feared muche leaſt the armie would haue mutined on his behalfe within the countrie of their enemies, and that there would haue growen ſome ſedition amongeſt their ſouldiers. This might *Alcibiades* haue eaſely done, if he had bene diſpoſed. For the ſouldiers were very ſorie to ſee him departe, perceyuing that the warres ſhould be drawen out now in length, and be much prolonged vnder *Nicias*, ſeeing *Alcibiades* was taken from them, who was the only ſpurre that pricked *Nicias* forward to doe any ſeruice: and that *Lamachus* alſo, though he were a valliant man of his handes, yet he lacked honour and authoritie in the armie, bicauſe he was but a meane man borne, and poore beſides. Now *Alcibiades* for a farewell, diſapointed the ATHENIANS of winning the cittie of MESSINA: for they hauing intelligence by certaine priuate perſones within the cittie, that it would yeld vp into

D their handes, *Alcibiades* knowing them very well by their names, bewrayed them vnto thoſe that were the SYRACVSANS friendes: whereupon all this practiſe was broken vtterly. Afterwards when he came to the cittie of THVRIES, ſo ſone as he had landed, he went and hid him ſelfe incontinently in ſuche ſorte, that ſuch as ſought for him, could not finde him. Yet there was one that knewe him where he was, and ſayed: Why, how now *Alcibiades*, dareſt thou not truſt the iuſtice of thy countrie? Yes very well (ꝙ he) and it were in another matter: but my life ſtanding vpon it, I would not truſt mine own mother, fearing leaſt negligẽtly ſhe ſhould put in the blacke beane, where ſhe ſhould caſt in the white. For by the firſt, condemnation of death was ſignified: and by the other, pardone of life. But afterwards, hearing that the ATHENIANS for malice had condemned him to death: well, ꝙ he, they ſhall knowe I am yet aliue.

E Now the manner of his accuſation and inditement framed againſt him, was found written in this ſorte. *Theſſalus* the ſonne of *Cimon*, of the village of LACIADES, hath accuſed, and doth accuſe *Alcibiades*, the ſonne of *Clinias*, of the village of SCAMBONIDES, to haue offended againſt the goddeſſes, *Ceres* & *Proſerpina*, counterfeating in mockery their holy myſteries, & ſhewing them to his familliar friends in his houſe, him ſelfe apparrelled and arrayed in a long veſtemẽt or cope, like vnto the veſtemẽt the prieſt weareth when he ſheweth theſe holy ſacred myſteries: & naming him ſelfe the prieſt, *Polytion* the torche bearer, and *Theodorus* of the village of PHYGEA the verger, & the other lookers on, brethern, and fellowe ſcorners with them, & all done in manifeſt contẽpt & deriſion, of holy ceremonies and myſteries of the *Eumolpides*, the religious prieſts & miniſters of the ſacred tẽple of the cittie of ELEVSIN. So *Alcibiades* for

Alcibiades accuſation.

F his contẽpt & not appearing, was condẽned, and his goodes confiſcate. Beſides this condemnation, they decreed alſo, that all the religious prieſtes & women ſhould bãne & accurſe him. But hereunto aunſwered, one of the *Nunnes* called *Theano*, the daughter of *Menon*, of the vil-

Alcibiades condemned being abſent.

lage of Aoravla, saying: that she was professed religious, to praye and to blesse, not to curse and banne. After this most grieuous sentence and condemnation passed against him, *Alcibiades*, departed out of the cittie of Thvries, & went into the countrie of Peloponnesvs; where he continued a good season in the cittie of Argos. But in the ende fearing his enemies, and hauing no hope to returne againe to his owne countrie with any safety: he sent vnto Sparta to haue safe conduct and licence of the Lacedæmonians, that he might come and dwell in their countrie, promising them he would doe them more good being now their friend, then he euer dyd them hurte, while he was their enemie. The Lacedæmonians graunted his request, & receyued him very willingly into their cittie: where euen vpon his first comming, he dyd three things. The first was: That the Lacedæmonians by his persuasion & procurement, dyd determine speedily to send ayde to the Syracvsans, whom they had long before delayed: & so they sent *Gylippus* their captaine, to ouerthrowe the Athenians armie, which they had sent thither. The secõd thing he did for them, was: That he made them of Greece to beginne warre apon the Athenians. The third, & greatest matter of importance, was: That he dyd counsell them to fortifie the cittie of Decelea, which was within the territories of Attica selfe: which consumed, and brought the power of the Athenians lower, then any other thing whatsoeuer he could haue done. And if he were welcome, & well esteemed in Sparta, for the seruice he dyd to the cõmon wealth: muche more he wanne the loue & good willes of priuate men, for that he liued after the Laconian manner. So as they that sawe his skinne scraped to the flesshe, & sawe him washe him selfe in cold water, & howe he dyd eate browne bread, & suppe of their blacke brothe: would haue doubted (or to saye better, neuer haue beleeued) that suche a man had euer kept cooke in his house, nor that he euer had seene so muche as a perfuming panne, or had touched clothe of tissue made at Miletvm. For among other qualities & properties he had (wherof he was full) this as they saye was one, whereby he most robbed mens hartes: that he could frame altogether with their manners and facions of life, transforming him selfe more easely to all manner of shapes, then the Camelion. For it is reported, that the Camelion cannot take white culler: but *Alcibiades* could put apon him any mãners, customes or facions, of what nation soeuer, & could followe, exercise, & counterfeate them when he would, aswell the good as the bad. For in Sparta, he was very paynefull, & in continuall exercise: he liued sparingly with litle, & led a straight life. In Ionia, to the cõtrary: there he liued daintely & superfluously, & gaue him self to all mirthe & pleasure. In Thracia, he dranke euer, or was allwayes a horse backe. If he came to *Tissaphernes*, lieutenaunt of the mightie king of Persia: he farre exceeded the magnificence of Persia in pompe & sumptuousnes. And these things notwithstanding, neuer altered his naturall condition from one facion to another, neither dyd his manners (to saye truely) receyue all sortes of chaunges. But bicause peraduenture, if he had shewed his naturall disposition, he might in diuers places where he came, haue offended those whose companie he kept, he dyd with such a viser & cloke disguise him selfe, to fit their manners, whom he companied with, by transforming him selfe into their naturall countenaunce. As he that had seene him when he was at Sparta, to haue looked apon the outward man, would haue sayed as the common prouerbe sayeth:

Alcibiades flyeth to Sparta.

Alcibiades more chaungeable then the camelion.

It is not the sonne of Achilles, but Achilles selfe:

Euen so it is euen he, whom *Lycurgus* brought vp. But he that had inwardly seene his naturall doings, and good will in deede lye naked before him: would haue sayed contrarilie, as they saye commonly in another language.

This vvoman is no chaungeling.

For he entertained Queene *Timæa*, King *Agis* wife of Sparta, so well in his absence, he being abroade in the warres: that he got her with childe, & she her selfe denied it not. For she being brought a bed of a sonne, who was named *Leotychides*, openly to the world called him by that name: but when she was amongest her familliars & very friends, she called him sofetly *Alcibiades*, she was so farre in loue with him. And *Alcibiades* ieasting out the matter, sayed he had done it for no hurte, nor for any lust of flesshe to satisfie his desire: but only to leaue of his race, to reigne amongest the Lacedæmonians. This matter was brought by diuers vnto king

Alcibiades got Timæa, king Agis wife with childe.

A king *Agis* eares, who at the length beleeued it: but specially when he beganne to make a reckoning of the time, how long it was sence he laye with his wife. For lying with his wife one night when there was a terrible earthquake, he ranne out of his chamber for feare the house would fall on his head: so that it was tenne moneths after ere he laye again with her. Whereupon, her sonne *Leotychides* being borne at the ende of tenne moneths, he sayed he was none of his: and this was the cause that *Leotychides* dyd not succede afterwards in the Kingdome, bicause he was not of the bloude royall. After the vtter ouerthrowe of the ATHENIANS in SICILIA, those of the Iles of CHIO and LESBOS, with the CYZICENIANS, dyd send all about a tene ambassadours to SPARTA: to let the LACEDÆMONIANS vnderstand, they had good will to leaue the ATHENIANS, so they would send them ayde to defend them. The B BOEOTIANS fauored those of LESBOS: *Pharnabazus*, the king of PERSIANS lieutenaunt, fauored the CYZICENIANS. This notwithstanding, the LACEDÆMONIANS were better affected to helpe those of CHIO first, by the persuasion of *Alcibiades*, who tooke their matters in hande. And he tooke sea him self and went into ASIA, where he almost turned the countrie of IONIA against the ATHENIANS: and keeping allwayes with the generalles of the LACEDÆMONIANS, he dyd muche hurte the ATHENIANS. Yet notwithstanding, king *Agis* dyd beare him ill will, partely for the iniurie he dyd him in dishonoring and defiling his wife, and partely also, for that he enuied his glorie: bicause the rumour rāne all about, that the most parte of the goodly exploytes of these warres dyd happen well, by *Alcibiades* meanes. Other also of the greatest authoritie among the SPARTANS, that were most ambitious emong them, be- C ganne in their mindes to be angrie with *Alcibiades*, for the enuie they bare him: who were of so great power, that they procured their gouernours to write their letters to their captaines in the field, to kill him. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, dyd no whit desist to doe all he could for the benefit of the LACEDÆMONIANS: yet he had an eye behind him, flying all occasiōs to fall into their handes. So in the ende, for more suerty of his persone, he went vnto *Tisaphernes*, one of the king of PERSIANS lieutenantes, with whom he wanne incontinently suche credit, that he was the first & chiefest persone he had about him. For this barbarous man being no simple persone, but rather malicious, & subtill of nature, and that loued fine & crafty men: dyd wonder how he could so easely turne from one manner of liuing to another, and also at his quicke witte and vnderstanding. Moreouer, his company and manner to passe the time awaye, was D commonly maruelous full of mirthe and pleasure, and he had suche pleasaunt comely deuises with him, that no man was of so sullen a nature, but he would make him merie, nor so churlishe, but he would make him gentle. So that both those that feared him, and also enuied him: they were yet glad to see him, & it did them good to be in his companie, & vse talke with him. In so muche as this *Tisaphernes* (that otherwise was a churlishe man, and naturally hated the GRECIANS) dyd geue him selfe so muche vnto *Alcibiades* flatteries, and they pleased him so well: that he him selfe dyd studie to flatter *Alcibiades* againe, and make muche of him. For he called *Alcibiades* his fayer house of pleasure, & goodly prospect: notwithstanding he had many goodly gardens, sweete springes, grene arbours and pleasaunt meadowes, and those in all royall and magnificent manner. *Alcibiades* despairing vtterly to finde any safetie or friend- E shippe emong the SPARTANS, and fearing on thother side king *Agis* also: he beganne to speake ill of them, and to disgrace all that they dyd, to *Tisaphernes*. By this practise he stayed *Tisaphernes* from ayding them so friendly as he might: moreouer, he dyd not vtterly destroye the ATHENIANS. For he persuaded him that he should furnishe the LACEDÆMONIANS but with litle money, to let them diminishe and consume by litle and litle: to the ende that after one had troubled and weakned the other, they both at the length should be the easier for the King to ouercome. This barbarous man dyd easely consent to this deuise. All the world then sawe he loued *Alcibiades*, and esteemed of him very muche: in so muche as he was sought to, and regarded of all handes of the GRECIANS. Then were the ATHENIANS sorie, and repented them when they had receyued so great losse & hurte, for that they had decreed so seuerely F against *Alcibiades*, who in like manner was very sorowfull, to see them brought to so harde termes, fearing, if the cittie of ATHENS came to destruction, that he him selfe should fall in the ende into the handes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who maliced him to the death. Now

Leotychides Alcibiades bastarde.

The Lacedæmonians practise to kill Alcibiades.

Alcibiades flying the Lacedæmonians goeth to Tisaphernes.

Alcibiades called a pleasant place and goodly prospect.

The inconstancie of the comon people.

about that time, all the power of the ATHENIANS were almoſt in the Ile of SAMOS, from A
whēce with their armie by ſea, they ſought to ſuppreſſe the rebelles that were vp againſt them,
and to keepe all that which yet remained. For they were yet pretily ſtrong to reſiſt their ene-
mies, at the leaſt by ſea: but they ſtoode in great feare of the power of *Tiſaphernes*, and of the
hundred & fiftie gallyes which were reported to be comming out of the countrie of PHENI-
CIA, to the ayde of their enemies, which if they had come, the cittie of ATHENS had hene vt-
terly ſpoyled, and for euer without hope of recouery. The which *Alcibiades* vnderſtanding,
ſent ſecretly vnto the chiefeſt men that were in the armie of the ATHENIANS at SAMOS, to
geue them hope he would make *Tiſaphernes* their friende: howbeit not of any deſire he had
to gratifie the people, nor that he truſted to the communaltie of ATHENS, but only to the ho-
norable, and honeſt cittizens, and that conditionally ſo as they had the harte and corage, to B
bridell a litle the ouer licentiouſnes and inſolencie of the common people, & that they would
take vpon them the authoritie to gouerne, and to redreſſe their ſtate, and to preſerue the cittie
of ATHENS, from finall and vtter deſtruction. Vpon this aduertiſement, all the heades & chief
men dyd geue very good eare vnto it: ſauing only *Phrynichus*, one of the captaines, and of the
towne of DIRADES. Who miſtruſting (that was true in deede) that *Alcibiades* cared not which
ende went forward, nor who had the chief gouernment of ATHENS, the nobilitie, or the com-
munaltie, and dyd but ſeeke all the deuiſes and wayes he could, to returne againe if it might be
poſſible, in any manner of ſorte, and that he dyd but currie fauour with the Nobilitie, blaming
and accuſing the people: he ſtoode altogether againſt the motion, whereupon *Alcibiades* de-
uiſe was not followed. And hauing now ſhewed him ſelfe open enemie to *Alcibiades*, he dyd C C
ſecretly aduertiſe *Aſtiochus* then admirall to the LACEDÆMONIANS, of *Alcibiades* practiſe,
and warned him to take heede of him, and to laye him vp ſafe, as a double dealer, and one that
had intelligence with both ſides: but he vnderſtoode not how it was but one traitour to ſpeake
to another. For this *Aſtiochus* was a follower of *Tiſaphernes* for his priuate commodities: and
perceyuing *Alcibiades* in ſuche credit with him, he dyd diſcouer to *Alcibiades* all that *Phry-*
nichus had aduertiſed him. *Alcibiades* ſtraight ſent men of purpoſe to SAMOS, vnto the captains
there, to accuſe *Phrynichus* of the treaſon he had reuealed againſt them. Thoſe of the counſaill
there, receyuing this intelligēce: were highly offended with *Phrynichus*. So, he ſeeing no better
waye to ſaue him ſelfe for making of this faulte, went about to make amends with committing
a worſe faulte. Thereupon he ſent againe to *Aſtiochus*, complaining muche he had diſcloſed D D
him: and yet neuertheles he promiſed him, if he would keepe his counſaill, that he would deli-
uer the whole fleete and armie of the ATHENIANS into his handes. Howbeit this treaſon of
Phrynichus dyd the ATHENIANS no hurte at all, by reaſon of *Aſtiochus* counter treaſon: for he
dyd let *Alcibiades* againe vnderſtand what offer *Phrynichus* had made him. *Phrynichus* looking
to be charged with this againe, the ſecond time before the counſell, by meanes of *Alcibiades*
dyd firſt aduertiſe the chief of the armie of the ATHENIANS. That their enemies would come
and ſet vpon them, and where, and howe: and gaue them therefore warning to keepe neere
their ſhippes, to make a ſtrong watche, and to fortifie them ſelues with all ſpeede, the which
forthwith they dyd. And as they were about it, there came other letters from *Alcibiades*, by the
which he dyd warne them againe to take heede of *Phrynichus*, becauſe he had practiſed againe E
with their enemies, to deliuer the whole armie of ATHENS into their handes. But they gaue no
credit to his ſecond letters: for they thought that he knowing the preparations and mindes
of the enemies, would ſerue his own turne with the falſe accuſing of *Phrynichus*. Notwithſtan-
ding this, there was ſome falſehood in fellowſhippe: for one *Hermon*, openly in the market
The murder of Phrynichus and his condemnation. place, ſtabbed *Phrynichus* in with a dagger, & killed him. The facte being pleaded in lawe, and
throughly conſidered of: the deadbodie by the ſentence of the people was condemned for a
traitour: and *Hermon* the murtherer, and his fellowes, were crowned in recompence of their
facte they had done, to kill a traitour to the common wealth. Wherefore thoſe that were *Al-*
cibiades friends, being at that time the ſtronger, and greateſt men of the counſell in the armie
at SAMOS: they ſent one *Piſander* to ATHENS, to attempt to alter the gouernment, and to en- F
corage the noble men to take vpon them the authoritie, & to plucke it from the people; aſſu-
ring them that *Tiſaphernes* would giue them ayde to doe it, by meanes of *Alcibiades*, who would

make

him their friende. This was the cullet and cloke wherewith they ſerued their turnes, that dyd chaunge the gouernment of ATHENS, and that brought it into the handes of a ſmall number of nobilitie: for they were in all but foure hundred, and yet they called them ſelues fiue thouſand. But ſo ſone as they felt them ſelues ſtrong, and that they had the whole authoritie of gouernment, without contradiction in their handes: they made then no more reckoning of *Alcibiades*, and ſo they made warres more coldly and ſlackly then before. Partely bicauſe they miſtruſted their cittizens, who founde the chaunge of gouernment very ſtrange: and partely alſo bicauſe they were of opinion that the LACEDÆMONIANS (who at all times dyd moſt fauour the gouernment of Nobilitie) would be better inclined to make peace with them. Now the common people that remained ſtill in the cittie, ſturred not, but were quiet againſt their willes, for feare of daunger, bicauſe there were many of them ſlaine, that boldely tooke apon them in open preſence to reſiſt theſe foure hundred. But thoſe that were in the campe, in the Ile of SAMOS, hearing theſe newes, were ſo grieuouſly offended: that they reſolued to returne incontinently againe, vnto the hauen of PIRÆA. Firſt of all, they ſent for *Alcibiades*, whom they choſe their captaine: then they commaunded him ſtraightly to leade them againſt theſe tyrantes, who had vſurped the libertie of the people of ATHENS. But neuertheles he dyd not therein, as another would haue done in this caſe, ſeeing him ſelfe ſo ſodainely crept againe in fauour with the common people: for he dyd not thinke he ſhould incontinently pleaſe and gratifie thē in all things, though they had made him now their generall ouer all their ſhippes and ſo great an armie, being before but a baniſhed man, a vacabond, and a fugitiue. But to the contrarie, as it became a generall worthie of ſuche a charge, he conſidered with him ſelfe, that it was his parte wiſely to ſtaye thoſe, who would in a rage and furie careleſly caſt them ſelues awaye, and not ſuffer them to doe it. And truely *Alcibiades* was the cauſe of the preſeruing of the cittie of ATHENS at that time, from vtter deſtruction. For if they had ſodainly (according to their determination) departed from SAMOS to goe to ATHENS: the enemies finding no man to let them, might eaſely haue wonne all the countrie of IONIA, of HELLESPONT, and of all the other Iles without ſtroke ſtriking, whileſt the ATHENIANS were buſie fighting one againſt another in ciuill warres, and within the compaſſe of their owne walles. This *Alcibiades* alone, & no other, dyd preuent, not only by perſuading the whole armie, and declaring the inconueniēce thereof, which would fall out apon their ſodaine departure: but alſo by intreating ſome particularly aparte, and keeping a number backe by very force. To bring this about, one *Thraſibulus* of the towne of STIRA, dyd helpe him muche: who went through the armie, and cried out apon them that were bent to enterpriſe this iorney. For he had the biggeſt and lowdeſt voyce as they ſaye, of any man that was in all the cittie of ATHENS. This was a notable acte, and a great pece of ſeruice done by *Alcibiades*: that he promiſed fiue hundred ſaile of the PHENICIANS (which the LACEDÆMONIANS aſſuredly looked for, in their ayde from the king of PERSIA) ſhould not come at all, or els if they came, it ſhould be in the fauour of the ATHENIANS. For he departed immediatly, and went with great ſpeede to *Tiſaphernes*: whom he handled in ſuche ſorte, that he brought not the ſhippes that laye at rode before the cittie of ASPENDA, and ſo he brake promiſe with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Therefore *Alcibiades* was maruelouſly blamed and accuſed, both of the one & the other ſide, to haue altered *Tiſaphernes* minde, but chiefly of the LACEDÆMONIANS: who ſayed that he had perſuaded this barbarous captaine, he ſhould neither ayde the one nor the other, but rather to ſuffer them one to deuoure and deſtroye eache other. For it had bene out of doubt, if this great fleete and nauy of the Kings had come, to ioyne their force with either partie: that they had taken from the one of them, the ſigniorie and domination of the ſea. Shortely after, the foure hundred noble men that had vſurped the authoritie and gouernment of ATHENS, were vtterly driuen awaye and ouerthrowen, by meanes of the friendly ayde, & aſſiſtaunce that *Alcibiades* friends gaue thoſe that tooke the peoples parte. So the cittizens were very well pleaſed with *Alcibiades*, in ſo muche as they ſent for him to returne when he thought good. But he iudging with him ſelfe it would be no honour nor grace vnto him to returne without ſome well deſeruing, & before he had done ſome greater exployte, as only vpon the peoples fauour and good will, whereas otherwiſe his returne might be both glorious and triumphant: departed firſt from SAMOS

Alcibiades called home from exile.

Thraſibulus a man of the biggeſt voyce of all the Athenians.

The cittizens of Athēs ſent for Alcibiades to returne.

with a ſmall number of gallyes, and went ſailing vp and downe the Iles of Cos and of Gnidos. There he was aduertiſed, that *Mindarus*, the admirall of the LACEDÆMONIANS, was gone with all his fleete vnto the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and that the captaines of the ATHENIANS gaue chaſe vnto him. Thereupon he went alſo and ſayled thither with ſpeede, to ayde the ATHENIANS: and by very good fortune came with eighteene gallyes euen at the very inſtant, whē they were both in the middeſt of their fight, with all their ſhippes before the cittie of ABYDOS. The battell was cruelly foughten betwene them from morning till night, both the one and the other hauing the better in one parte of the battell, and the worſt in another place. Now at the firſt diſcouerie of *Alcibiades* comming, both partes had in deede contrarie imaginations of him. For the enemies tooke harte vnto them: and the ATHENIANS beganne to be afeard. But *Alcibiades* ſet vp ſtraight his flagge in the toppe of the galley of his admirall, to ſhewe what he was. Wherewithall, he ſet vpon the PELOPONNESIANS that had the better, & had certen gallyes of the ATHENIANS in chaſe: whereupon the PELOPONNESIANS gaue ouer their chaſe, & fled. But *Alcibiades* followed them ſo luſtely, that he ranne diuers of them a ground, & brake their ſhippes, & ſlue a great number of men that lept into the ſea, in hope to ſaue them ſelues by ſwimming a lande. So notwithſtanding that *Pharnabazus* was come thither to ayde the LACEDÆMONIANS, and dyd his beſt indeuour to ſaue their gallyes by the ſea ſhore: yet the ATHENIANS in the end wāne thirtie gallyes of their enemies, and ſaued all their owne, and ſo dyd ſet vp certaine flagges of triumphe and victorie. *Alcibiades* hauing now happely gotten this glorious victorie, would nedes goe ſhewe him ſelfe in triumphe vnto *Tiſaphernes*. So hauing prepared to preſent him with goodly riche preſents, and appointed alſo a conuenient traine & number of ſayle mete for a generall, he tooke his courſe directly to him. But he found not that entertainment he hoped for. For *Tiſaphernes* ſtanding in great hazard of diſpleaſure, and feare of puniſhment at the Kings handes, hauing long time before bene defamed by the LACEDÆMONIANS, who had cōplained of him, that he dyd not fulfill the Kings commaundement, thought that *Alcibiades* was arriued in very happy howre: whereupon he kept him priſoner in the cittie of SARDIS, ſuppoſing the wrong he had done, would by this meanes eaſely diſcharge, and purge him to the King. Yet at the ende of thirtie dayes, *Alcibiades* by fortune got a horſe, and ſtealing from his keepers, fled vnto the cittie of CLAZOMENES: and this dyd more increaſe the ſuſpition they had of *Tiſaphernes*, bicauſe they thought that vnder hand he had wrought his libertie. *Alcibiades* toke then ſea again, and went to ſeeke out the armie of the ATHENIANS. Which when he had founde, & heard newes that *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus* were together in the cittie of CIZICVM: he made an oration to his ſouldiers, & declared vnto them how it was very requiſite they ſhould fight with their enemies, both by ſea and by lande, and moreouer that they ſhould aſſault them within their fortes and caſtells, bicauſe otherwiſe they could haue no money to defraye their charges. His oration ended, he made them immediatly hoyſe ſayle, and ſo to goe lye at anker in the Ile of PROCONESVS: where he tooke order that they ſhould keepe in all the pinnaſes and brigantines emong the ſhippes of warre, that the enemie might haue no manner of intelligence of his cōming. The great ſhowers of rayne alſo, with thunder and darke weather that fell out ſodainely vpon it, dyd greatly further him in his attempt & enterpriſe: in ſo muche as not only his enemies, but the ATHENIANS that were there before, knewe nothing of his comming. So ſome made their reckoning, that they could doe litle or nothing all that daye: yet he made them ſodainely imbarke, and hoyſe ſayle. They were no ſooner in the mayne ſea, but they diſcried a farre of the gallyes of their enemies, which laye at rode before the hauen of CYZICVM. And fearing leaſt the great number of his fleete would make them flye, and take lande before he could come to them: he commaunded certaine captaines to ſtaye behinde, & to rowe ſoftely after him, and him ſelfe with fortie gallyes with him, went towards the enemies to prouoke them to fight. The enemies ſuppoſing there had bene no more ſhippes, then thoſe that were in ſight: dyd ſet out preſently to fight with them. They were no ſooner ioyned together, but *Alcibiades* ſhippes that came behinde, were alſo deſcried: the enemies were ſo afeard thereat, that they caſt about, and fled ſtraight. *Alcibiades* leauing his fleete, followed the chaſe with twentie of the beſt gallyes he had, and draue them a lande. Thereupon he landed alſo, and purſued

Battell by ſea before the cittie of Abydos, betweene the Atheniās and Lacedemonians.

Alcibiades victorie of the Lacedæmonians by ſea.

Alcibiades taken priſoner at Sardis, flyeth from Tiſaphernes.

A sued them so corageously at their heeles, that he slue a great nũber of them on the mayne lãde, who thought by flying to haue saued them selues. Moreouer, *Mindarus*, & *Pharnabazus*, being come out of the cittie to rescue their people, were ouerthrowen both. He slue *Mindarus* in the field, fighting valliantly: as for *Pharnabazus*, he cowardly fled away. So the ATHENIANS spoyled the dead bodies (which were a great number) of a great deale of armour and riches, and tooke besides all their enemies shippes. After they tooke the cittie of CIZYCVM, *Pharnabazus* hauing left it. Then the PELOPONNESIANS being slaine, they had not only the possession of the whole countrie of HELLESPONT, which they kept: but they draue their enemies by force, out of all partes of the sea. There were at that time certaine letters intercepted, whereby a secretarie gaue aduertissement vnto the *Ephori* at SPARTA, of the ouerthrowe in this sorte. All *Alcibiades victorie at Cyzicum.*

B is lost, *Mindarus* is slaine, our people dye for hunger, and we knowe not what to doe. Now the souldiers of ATHENS that had bene at this iorney and ouerthrowe, grewe to suche a pryde and reputation of them selues, that they would not, and disdained also to serue with the other souldiers that had bene beaten many times, & went away with the worse. Where they to the contrarie had neuer bene ouercome, as a litle before it happened, that the captaine *Thrasyllus* had bene ouerthrowen by the cittie of EPHESVS. And for this ouerthrowe, the EPHESIANS had set vp a triumphe, and token of brasse, to the vtter shame and ignominie of the ATHENIANS. For the which *Alcibiades* souldiers did very muche rebuke *Thrasyllus* men, and dyd exceedingly extoll their captaine and them selues, and would neither encampe with them, neither haue to doe with them, nor yet keepe them companie. Vntill suche time as *Pharnabazus*

C came with a great armie against them, aswell of footemen as horsemen, when they rãne a forraging apon the ABYDENIANS: and then *Alcibiades* went to the rescue of them, and gaue *Pharnabazus* battell, and ouerthrewe him once againe, and dyd together with *Thrasyllus* chase him euen vntill darke night. Then both *Alcibiades* and *Thrasyllus* souldiers dyd companie together, one reioycing with another: and so returned all with great ioye into one campe. The next morning *Alcibiades* set vp a triumphe for the victorie he had the daye before, and then went to spoyle and destroye *Pharnabazus* countrie, where he was gouernour, & no man durst once come out to meete him. In this rode there were taken prisoners, certaine prieستes and Nunnes of the coũtrie: but *Alcibiades* freely deliuered them afterwards without ransome. And preparing to make warres against the CHALCEDONIANS, who were reuolted frõ the ATHE-

D NIANS, & had receyued a garrison & gouernour of the LACEDÆMONIANS into their cittie: he was aduertissed that they had brought in all their goods & cattells out of the fieldes, & had deliuered them to the safe custodie of the BITHYNIANS, who were their neighbours & frieds. Hereupon he led his armie into their borders, & sent a herauld before to summone the BITHYNIANS, to make amends for the wrõg they had done the ATHENIANS. The BITHYNIANS, fearing least *Alcibiades* would set apon them, dyd straight deliuer him the goodes they had afore in their custodie, & moreouer, made a league with the ATHENIANS besides. That done, he went & layed seige to the cittie of CHALCEDON, the which he enuironned all about from *Alcibiades victorie at Chalcedonia.*

E the one side of the sea to the other. *Pharnabazus* came thither, thincking to haue raised the seige. And *Hippocrates*, a captain of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that was gouernour of the cittie, assembled all the force he was able to make within the same, & made a salye out also vpon the ATHENIANS at the very same time. Whereupon *Alcibiades* putting his men in order of battell, so as they might geue a charge vpon them both at one instant: he fought so valliantly, that he forced *Pharnabazus* to runne his waye with shame enough, & slue *Hippocrates* in the field, with a great number of his men. Then tooke he the seas againe, to goe towardes the countrie of HELLESPONT, to get some money, where vpon the sodaine he did take the cittie of SELYBRIA: bicause he valliantly put him selfe in hazard before the time appointed him. For certain of his frieds within, with whom he had secret practise, had geuen him a token, that when time serued, they would shewe a burning torche in the ayer at midnight: but they were *Alcibiades tooke the cittie of Selybria.*

F cõpelled to shew this fyer in the ayer before they were readie, for feare least one of their cõfederacie would bewraye the matter, who sodainly repented him. Now this torche burning in the ayer, was set vp before *Alcibiades* was readie with his cõpanie. But he perceyuing the signe set, tooke about thirtie men with him in his cõpanie, & rãne with them to the walles of the cittie,

hauing commaunded the reſt of his armie to followe him with all ſpeede poſſible. The gate was opened to him, and to his thirtie men: beſides them there followed twentie other light armed men. Howbeit they were no ſoner entered the cittie, but they heard the cittizens armed come againſt them: ſo that there was no hope to ſcape, if he dyd tarie their comming. Neuertheles, cõſidering that vntill that preſent time he was neuer ouercome in battell, where he had taken charge, it greued him very muche to flye: wherefore it ſtraight came in his head to make ſilence by ſound of trumpet, and after ſilence made, he cauſed one of them that were about him to make proclamation with a lowde voyce, that the SELYBRIANIANS ſhould not take armes againſt the ATHENIANS. This cooled them a litle that would fayne haue bene doing, bicauſe they ſuppoſed that all the armie of the ATHENIANS had bene already in the cittie: the other on the contrarie ſide, were very glad to talke of peace, without any further daunger. And as they beganne to parle vpon compoſition, the reſt of *Alcibiades* armie was come on. Now he thincking in deede (which was true) that the SELYBRIANIANS ſought nothing but peace, and fearing leaſt the THRACIANS which were many in number (& came with good will to ſerue him in that iorney) would ſacke and ſpoyle the cittie, he made them all to goe out againe: and ſo concluding peace with the chiefe of the SELYBRIANIANS, he dyd them no more hurte, apon their hũble ſubmiſſion, but made them paye him a ſumme of money, and ſo leauing a garriſon of the ATHENIANS within the cittie, he departed thence. Whileſt *Alcibiades* was in treatie with the SELYBRIANIANS, the other ATHENIAN captaines that laye at the ſiege of CHALCEDON, made an agreement with *Pharnabazus*, that he ſhould geue them a ſumme of money, & giue vp the towne into the ATHENIANS handes, to enioye it as they had before. And with expreſſe condition alſo, that the ATHENIANS ſhould make no rodes into *Pharnabazus* dominions, to hurte or ſpoyle any of his: and likewiſe ſhould be bounde to geue good ſafe conduyte vnto the ambaſſadours of the ATHENIANS, to goe and come ſafe from time to time, to the king of PERSIA. The other captaines being ſworn to this peace, *Pharnabazus* conditioned alſo, that *Alcibiades* at his returne ſhould likewiſe be ſworne to the peace and conditions thereof. But *Alcibiades* ſayed, he would not be ſworne at all, vnles *Pharnabazus* were firſt ſworne for his parte. Thus when othes were taken of either ſide, *Alcibiades* went alſo againſt thoſe of BYZANTIVM, who in like caſe had rebelled againſt the ATHENIANS. At his firſt comming thither, he enuironned the cittie round about with a walle. Afterwards he practiſed with two ſecret friends of his, *Anaxilaus*, & *Lycurgus*, & certen other within the cittie, who promiſed him to deliuer it into his handes, ſo they might be aſſured he would doe them no hurte. To culler this practiſe, he gaue it out, that he muſt nedes leaue the ſiege, & departe with ſpeede, for certain newes that were come out of IONIA: & thereupon he imbarked preſently, & wẽt out of the hauen at none dayes with all his ſhippes, howbeit he returned again the ſame night. And going a lande with the choyceſt & beſt armed men he had, he approched the walles of the cittie, without any manner of noyſe, hauing left order with them that remained in the ſhippes, that in the meane ſeaſon they ſhould rowe with all force into the hauen, with as great cries and ſhowtes as might be, to feare and trouble the enemies partely to feare the BIZANTINES the more with their ſodaine cõming amõg them, & partely that his cõfederates within the cittie, might with better oportunitie receyue him & his cõpanie, into the towne with the more aſſured ſafety, whileſt euery man ranne to the hauen, to reſiſt them that were vpõ the gallyes. Neuertheles they wẽt not away vnfought with. For thoſe that laye in garriſon within the cittie, ſome of thẽ PELOPONNESIANS, other BOEOTIANS, & other MEGARIANS, dyd ſo valliãtly repulſe them that came out of their gallyes, that they draue thẽ to retire abord againe. Afterwardes hearing how the ATHENIANS were entred: the cittie on thother ſide, they put them ſelues in battell raye, & went to mete them. The battell was terrible of both partes: but *Alcibiades* in the ende obtained victorie, leading the right winge of his battell, & *Theramenes* the lefte. The victorie being gotten, he tooke 300. of his enemies priſoners, who had eſcaped the furie of the battell. But after the battell, there was not a BYZANTINE put to death, neither baniſhed, nor his good cõfiſcated: bicauſe it was capitulated by *Alcibiades* with his cõfederats, that neither he, nor his, ſhould hurt any of the BIZANTINES either in perſone or goodes, nor any way ſhould riſle them. And *Anaxilaus* being afterwards accuſed of treaſon in

The preſent wit of Alcibiades.

The Chalcedonians receyue the Athenians.

Alcibiades ſtratageame at Bizantium.

Alcibiades winneth Bizantium.

LACE-

A LACEDÆMON, for this practise: he aunswered, and iustified him selfin suche sorte, that they could not finde he had committed the faulte layed vnto his charge. For he sayed, that he was no LACEDÆMONIAN, but a BYZANTINE: & that he sawe not LACEDÆMON in daunger, but BYZANTIVM, which the enemies had compassed about with a walle they had built, that it was vnpossible to bring any thing into the cittie. Moreouer he alleaged, that they hauing very smal store of corne within the cittie (as was true in dede) the PELOPONNESIANS, and BOEOTIANS, that laye there in garrison dyd eate it vp, while the poore BYZANTINES them selues, their wiues and children, dyed for very hunger. Therefore it could not be sayed of him, that he had betrayed his countrie, but rather that he had deliuered it from the miseries and calamities the warres brought vpon it: wherein he had followed the example of the honestest men of
B LACEDÆMON, who dyd acknowledge nothing honest and iuste, but that which was necessarie and profitable for their countrie. The LACEDÆMONIANS hearing his reasons he alleaged for his purgation, were ashamed to condemne him, and therefore they let him goe. Now *Alcibiades* desirous in the ende to see his natiue countrie againe (or to speake more truely, that his contrymen should see him) after he had so many times ouerthrowen their enemies in battell: he hoysed saile, and directed his course towardes ATHENS, bringing with him all the gallyes of the ATHENIANS richely furnished, and decked all about, with skutchines and targettes, and other armour and weapon gotten amongest the spoyles of his enemies. Moreouer, he brought with him many other shippes, which he had wonne & broken in the warres, besides many ensignes and other ornaments: all which being compted together one with the
C other, made vp the number of two hundred shippes. Furthermore, where *Duris* SAMIAN writeth (who challengeth that he came of his house) that at his returne one *Chrysogonus*, an excellent player of the flute (that had wonne certaine of the *Pythian* games) dyd playe suche a note, that at the sounde thereof the galley slaues would keepe stroke with their owers, and that *Callipides* another excellent player of tragedies, playing the parte of a comedie, dyd sturre them to rowe, being in suche players garments as euery master of suche science vseth commonly to weare, presenting him selfe in Theater or stage before the people to shewe his arte: and that the admirall galley wherein him self was, entred the hauen with a purple saile, as if some maske had come into a mans house after some great banket made: neither *Ephorus*, nor *Theopompus*, nor *Xenophon*, make any mention of this at all. Furthermore, me thinkes it should not be true,
D that he returning from exile after so long a banishment, & hauing passed ouer such sorowes & calamities as he had susteined, would so prowdly & presumptuously shewe him selfe vnto the ATHENIANS. But merely contrarie, it is most certain, that he returned in great feare & doubt. For when he was arriued in the hauen of PIRÆA, he would not set foote a lande, before he first sawe his nephewe *Euryptolemus*, & diuers other of his friendes from the hatches of his shippe, standing apon the sandes in the hauen mouthe. Who were come thither to receyue and welcome him, & tolde him that he might be bolde to lande, without feare of any thing. He was no soner landed, but all the people ranne out of euery corner to see him, with so great loue and affection, that they tooke no heede of the other captaines that came with him, but clustred all to him only, & cried out for ioye to see him. Those that could come neere him, dyd welcome
E & imbrace him: but all the people wholy followed him. And some that came to him, put garlands of flowers vpon his head: & those that could not come neere him, sawe him a farre of, & the olde folkes dyd pointe him out to the yonger sorte. But this cõmon ioye was mingled notwithstanding, with teares & sorowe, when they came to thinke vpon their former misfortunes and calamities, & to cõpare them with their present prosperitie: waying with them selues also how they had not lost SICILIA, nor their hope in all things els had failed thẽ, if they had deliuered them selues & the charge of their armie into *Alcibiades* hands, when they sent for him to appeare in persone before them. Cõsidering also how he found the cittie of ATHENS in manner put from their seigniorie & cõmandement on the sea, & on the other side how their force by lãde was brought vnto such extremitie, that ATHENS scatly could defend her suburbes, the
F cittie self being so deuided & turmoiled with ciuill dissention: yet he gathered together those fewe, & small force that remained, & had now not only restored ATHENS to her former power & soueraintie on the sea, but had made her also a conquerer by lande. Now the decree for his

Alcibiades honorable returne into his countrie.

repaire home againe, was past before by the people, at the instant request of *Callias*, the sonne of *Callæschrus*, who dyd preferre it: as he him selfe dyd testifie in his elegies, putting *Alcibiades* in remembraunce of the good turne he had done him, saying:

I vvas the first that moued in open conference,
the peoples voyce to call thee home, vvhen thou vvert banisht hence.
So vvas I eke the first, vvhich thereto gaue consent,
and therefore maye I boldly saye, by truthe of suche intent:
I vvas the only meane, to call thee home againe,
by suche request so rightly made, to moue the peoples vayne.
And this maye serue for pledge, vvhat friendshippe I thee beare:
fast sealed vvith a faithfull tongue, as plainely shall appeare.

But notwithstanding, the people being assembled all in counsaill, *Alcibiades* came before them, and made an oration: wherein he first lamented all his mishappes, and founde him selfe grieued a litle with the wronges they had offred him, yet he imputed all in the ende to his cursed fortune, and some spightfull god that enuied his glorie and prosperitie. Then he dilated at large the great hope their enemies had to haue aduantage of them: and therewithall persuaded the people to be of good corage, and afeard of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned him with crownes of golde, and chose him generall againe of ATHENS, with soueraine power and authoritie both by lande as by sea. And at that very instant it was decreed by the people, that he should be restored againe to all his goodes, and that the priestes *Eumolpides* should absolue him of all their curses, and that the herauldes should with open proclamation reuoke the execrations and cursinges they had thundered out against him before, by commaundement of the people. Whereto they all agreed, and were very willing, saiuing *Theodorus* the bishoppe, who sayed: I dyd neither excommunicate him, nor curse him, if he hath done no hurte to the common wealth. Now *Alcibiades* florished in his chiefest prosperitie, yet were there some notwithstanding that misliked very muche the time of his landing: saying it was very vnluckie and vnfortunate. For the very daye of his returne and arriuall, fell out by chaunce on the feast which they call *Plynteria*, as you would saye, the washing daye, which they celebrate in honour of *Minerua*: on the which daye, the priestes that they call *Praxiergides*, doe make certen secret and hidden sacrifices and ceremonies, being the fiue and twenty daye of the moneth of September, and doe take from the image of this goddesse all her rayment and iuells, and keepe the image close couered ouer. Hereupon the ATHENIANS doe ascribe that daye, for a most vnfortunate daye, & are very circumspect to doe any matter of importance on it. Moreouer, it was commonly scanned abroade of euery bodye, that it seemed the goddesse was not content, nor glad of *Alcibiades* returne: and that she dyd hide her selfe, bicause she would not see him, nor haue him come neere her. Notwithstanding all these toyes and ceremonies, when *Alcibiades* found euery thing fall out well at his returne, and as he would haue wished it: he armed a hundred gallyes presently, to returne againe to the warres. Howbeit he wisely regarded the time and solemnitie of celebration of these mysteries, and considerately stayed vntill they had finished all. And it fell out, that after the LACEDÆMONIANS had taken and fortified the cittie of DECELEA, within the territorie of ATTICA, and that the enemies being the stronger in the field, dyd keepe the waye going from ATHENS to ELEVSIN, so as by no possible meanes they could make their solemne procession by lande, with suche honour and deuotion as they were before accustomed to doe: and thereby all the sacrifices, dawnces, and many other holy deuowte ceremonies they were wonte to doe by the waye, in singing the holy songe of *Iacchus*, came of very necessitie to be left of, and cleane layed a side. Then *Alcibiades* thought he should doe a meritorious dede to the godds, and an acceptable to men, to bring the olde ceremonies vp againe vpon the said feast: and thereupon purposed to accompanie the procession, & defend it by power, against all inuasion & disturbaunce by the enemies. As one that foresawe one of those two things would come to passe. Either that *Agis* king of the LACEDÆMONIANS would not sturre at all against the sacred ceremonies, and by this meanes should much imbase and diminishe his reputation and glorie: or if he dyd come out to the field, that he would make the battell very gratefull to the goddes,

Alcibiades oration to the people.

Alcibiades chosen generall with soueraine authoritie.

Plynteria.

Alcibiades restored the olde ceremonies.

A goddes, considering it should be in defence of their most holy feast and worshippe, and in the sight of his countrie, where the people should see and witnesse both, his valliantnes, and also his corage. *Alcibiades* being fully resolued apon this processiõn, went and made the priestes *Eumolpides*, their vergers, and other their ministers and officers of these mysteries, priuie to his determination. Then he sent out skowtes to watche on the side of the hilles thereabouts, and to viewe the waye of their perambulation. The next morning very early he sent out light horsemen also to scowre the countrie. Then he made the priestes, the professed, and all the ministers of religion, goe in processiõn, together with those that followed the same: and he him selfe compassed them about with his armie on euery side, marching in battell raye, and very good order, and with great silence. This was an honorable and deuoute leading of an armie,
B and suche as if his greatest enemies would confesse a trothe, they could not but saye, *Alcibiades* had as muche shewed the office of a highe bishoppe, as of a noble souldier and good captaine. So he ended this processiõn, returning to ATHENS in all safe order againe, and not an enemie that durst once looke out into the field to set vpon him. Now this dyd more increase the greatnes of his minde, and therewith the peoples good opinion of his sufficiencie, and wise conduction of an armie: in so much as they thought him vnuincible, hauing the soueraine power and authoritie of a generall. Furthermore, he spake so fayer to the poore people, and meaner sorte, that they chiefly wished and desired he would take vpon him like a King: yea, and many went to him to persuade him in it, as though he should thereby withstand all enuie, and driue awaye the lawes and customes of trying of matters by the voyces of
C the people, and all suche fond deuises, as dyd destroye the state of the common weale. And furthermore, they sayed it was very needefull that he alone should take vpon him the whole rule and gouernment of the cittie, that he might dispose all things according to his will, and not stande in feare of slaunderous and wicked tongues. Now, whether *Alcibiades* euer had any minde to vsurpe the Kingdome, the matter is somewhat doubtfull. But this is certaine, the greatest men of the cittie, fearing least in deede he ment some suche thing, dyd hasten his departure as sone as they could possible, doing all other things according to his minde: and dyd assigne him suche associates in his charge of generall, as he him selfe best liked. So in the ende, he departed with a fleete of a hundred gallyes, and first of all he fell with the Ile of ANDROS, where he ouercame by fight, the inhabitantes of the said Ile, and certaine LACEDÆ-
D MONIANS that were amongest them: but he tooke not the cittie, which was one of the first matters his enemies dyd accuse him for. For if euer man was ouerthrowen and enuied, for the estimation they had of his vallure and sufficiency, truely *Alcibiades* was the man. For the notable and sundry seruices he had done, wanne him suche estimation of wisedome and valliantnes, that where he slacked in any seruice whatsoeuer, he was presently suspected, iudging the ill succesſe not in that he could not, but for that he would not: and that where he vndertooke any enterprise, nothing could withstand or lye in his waye. Hereupon the people persuading them selues, that immediatly after his departure, they should heare that the Ile of CHIO was taken, with all the countrie of IONIA: they were angrie they could haue no newes so sodainely from him as they looked for. Moreouer, they dyd not consider the
E lacke of money he had, and specially making warre with suche enemies, as were euer relieued with the great king of PERSIANS ayde, and that for necessities sake he was sundrie times driuen to leaue his campe, to seeke money where he could get it, to paye his souldiers, and to mainteine his armie. Now for testimony hereof, the last accusation that was against him, was only for this matter. *Lysander* being sent by the LACEDÆMONIANS for admirall and generall of their armie by sea, vsed suche policie with *Cyrus*, the king of PERSIANS brother, that he got into his handes a great some of money: by meanes whereof he gaue vnto his mariners foure oboles a daye for their wages, where before they were wont to haue but three, and yet *Alcibiades* had muche a doe to furnishe his with three only a daye. For this cause, to get money, *Alcibiades* sailed into CARIA. But in the meane time *Antio-*
F *chus*, whom *Alcibiades* had left his lieutenaunt behind him, and had geuen him charge of all the shippes in his absence, being a very skilfull sea man, but otherwise a hastie harebraynd foole, and of small capacitie: he being expressely commaunded by *Alcibiades* not to fight in

Alcibiades second iorney.

Lacke of money, the occasion of the ouerthrowe of the Athenias armie by sea.

Antiochus rashnes, procured his owne death, and the ouerthrowe of the Athenians armie.

any case, though the enemies offred him battell, was so fooliſhe rashe, and made so litle reckoning of his straight commaundement, that he armed his owne gallye, whereof him selfe was captaine, and another besides, and went to the cittie of EPHESVS, passing all alonge his enemies gallyes, reuiling & offering villany to those that stoode apon the hatches of their gallyes. *Lysander* being maruelously prouoked by those wordes, went and encountered him at the first with a fewe shippes. The other captaines of the gallyes of the ATHENIANS, seeing *Antiochus* in daunger, went to ayde him, one after another. Then *Lysander* of his parte also set out all his whole fleete against him, and in the end ouercame them, *Antiochus* self was killed in the conflict, and many gallyes and men were taken prisoners: wherefore *Lysander* set vp shewes of triumphe in token of victorie. *Alcibiades* hearing these ill fauored newes, returned presently with all possible speede to SAMOS: and when he came thither, he went with all the rest of his fleete to offer *Lysander* battell. But *Lysander* quietly contenting him selfe with his first victorie: went not out against him. Now this victorie was no soner wonne, but one *Thrasybulus* the sonne of *Thraso*, *Alcibiades* enemie, went incontinently from the campe, and got him to ATHENS, to accuse *Alcibiades* to the people: whom he informed how all went to wracke, and that he had lost many shippes, for that he regarded not his charge, carelesly putting men in truste, whom he gaue to great credit to, bicause they were good fellowes, and would drincke droncke with him, & were full of mariners mockes and knauishe ieastes, such as they vse commonly amongest them selues. And that he in the meane time tooke his pleasure abroade, here, and there, scraping money together where he could come by it, keeping good cheere, and feasting of the ABYDENIAN and IONIAN courtisans, when the enemies armie was so neere theirs as it was. Moreouer, they layed to his charge, that he dyd fortifie a castell in the countrie of THRACIA, neere vnto the cittie of BISANTHE, for a place to retire him selfe vnto, either bicause he could not, or rather that he would not, liue any lenger in his owne countrie. Vpon those accusations, the ATHENIANS geuing ouer credit to the reporte: dyd immediatly choose newe captaines, and thereby declared their misliking. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, and fearing least they would doe him some worse harme, dyd leaue straight the ATHENIANS campe, and gathering a certaine number of straungers together, went of him selfe to make warre apon certaine free people of the THRACIANS, who were subiect to no prince nor state: where he got a maruelous masse of money together, by meanes whereof he dyd assure the GRÆCIANS inhabiting those marches, from all inuasion of forreine enemies. Now *Tydeus*, *Menander*, and *Adimanthus* the ATHENIANS captaines, being afterwards in a place commonly called the goates riuer, with all the gallyes the cittie of ATHENS had at that time apon that coast: vsed euery morning commonly to goe to the sea, to offer battell to *Lysander*, who rode at an ancker before the cittie of *Lampsacus*, with all the LACEDÆMONIANS armie by sea, and commonly returned againe to the place from whence they came, in very ill order, without either watche or warde, as men that were careles of their enemies. *Alcibiades* being on the lande nor farre of, and finding their great faulte and negligence: tooke his horse, & went to them, and told them that they laye on an ill shore, where there was no good rode, nor towne, and where they were driuen to seeke their vittells, as farre as to the cittie of SESTOS, & that they suffered their mariners to leaue their shippes, & goe a lande when they laye at ancker, straggling vp and downe the countrie as they would them selues, without regarde that there laye a great armie of their enemies before them, readie to be set out at their generalles commaundement: and therefore he aduised them to remoue thence, and to goe cast ancker before the cittie of SESTOS. Howbeit the captaines would not be aduised by him: and that which was worst of all, *Tydeus*, one of the captaines, stowtely commaunded him to get him awaye, as one that had nothing to doe with the matter, & that other had charge of the armie. Whereupon *Alcibiades* fearing they would purpose some treason against him, dyd departe presently from them. And as he went his waye, he sayed to some of his friendes which accompanied him out of the campe at his returne: that if the captaines of the ATHENIANS had not bene so rounde with him, he would haue forced the LACEDÆMONIANS to haue come to the battell in despight of their beardes, or els he would haue driuen them to forsake their shippes. Some tooke this for a glorious bragge: other thought he was like enough to haue done it, bicause he could haue brought

Alcibiades put from his authoritie of generall.

Lysander rode at ancker before Lampsacus

The Athenians regarded not Alcibiades good counsell.

A brought from lande a great number of THRACIANS, both archers and horſemen, with whom he might haue geuen a charge vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS, and done great miſchief vnto their campe. But now, how wiſely *Alcibiades* dyd foreſee the faultes he tolde the ATHENIANS captaines of: their great misfortune & loſſe that followed incontinently, did to plainely witneſſe it to the worlde. For *Lyſander* came ſo fiercely apon them on a ſodaine, that of all the ſhippes they had in their whole fleete, only eight gallyes were ſaued, with whom *Conon* fled: and the other being not much leſſe then two hundred in number, were euery one of them taken and caried awaye, with three thouſand priſoners whom *Lyſander* put to death. Shortely after, he tooke the cittie ſelf of ATHENS, and raſed their long walles euen to the ground. After this great and notable victorie, *Alcibiades* fearing ſore the LACEDÆMONIANS, who then

The Athenians ouercome by Lyſander.

Athens taken by Lyſander.

B without let or interruption of any, were only Lords and Princes by ſea and by lande: he went into the countrie of BITHYNIA, and cauſed great good to be brought after him, and tooke a maruelous ſume of money with him, beſides great riches he left alſo in the caſtells of THRACIA, where he dyd remaine before. Howbeit he loſt much of his goodes in BITHYNIA, which certaine THRACIANS dwelling in that countrie had robbed him of, & taken from him. So he determined to repaire forthwith vnto king *Artaxerxes*, hoping that when the King had once proued him, he ſhould finde him a man of no leſſe ſeruice, then he had found *Themiſtocles* before him: beſides that the occaſion of his going thither, ſhould be muche iuſter then his was. For he dyd not goe thither, to make warre againſt the cittie of ATHENS and his countrie, as *Themiſtocles* did: but of a cõtrarie intent, to make interceſſion to the King, that it would pleaſe

Alcibiades flieth into the countrie of Bithynia.

C him to ayde them. Now *Alcibiades* thinking he could vſe no better meane, then *Pharnabazus* helpe only, to ſee him ſafely conducted to the Kings courte: he propoſed his iorney to him, into the countrie of PHRYGIA, where he abode a certaine time to attẽd vpon him, & was very honorably entertained and receyued of *Pharnabazus*. All this while the ATHENIANS founde them ſelues deſolate, & in miſerable ſtate to ſee their empire loſt: but then much more, when *Lyſander* had taken all their liberties, and dyd ſet thirtie gouernours ouer their cittie. Now to late, after all was loſt (where they might haue recouered againe, if they had bene wiſe) they beganne together to bewaile and lament their miſeries and wretched ſtate, looking backe apon all their wilfull faultes and follies committed: emong which, they dyd reckon their ſecond time of falling out with *Alcibiades*, was their greateſt faulte. So they baniſhed him only of ma-

Lyſander appointed 30. tyrannes ouer the cittizens of Athens.

To late repentaunce of the Athenians.

D lice and diſpleaſure, not for any offenſe him ſelfe in perſone had committed againſt them, ſauing that his lieutenaunt in his abſence had ſhamefully loſt a fewe of their ſhippes: and they them ſelues more ſhamefully had driuen out of their cittie, the nobleſt ſouldier, and moſt skilfull captaine that they had. And yet they had ſome litle poore hope lefte, that they were not altogether caſt awaye, ſo long as *Alcibiades* liued, and had his health. For before, when he was a forſaken man, and led a baniſhed life: yet he could not liue idely, and doe nothing. Wherefore now much more, ſayed they to them ſelues: if there be any helpe at all, he will not ſuffer out of doubt the inſolencie & pryde of the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor yet abyde the cruelties and outrages of theſe thirtie tyrauntes. And ſurely the common people had ſome reaſon to haue theſe thoughts in their heades, conſidering that the thirtie gouernours them

E ſelues dyd what they could poſſiblie to ſpye out *Alcibiades* doinges, and what he went about. In ſo muche as *Critias* at the laſt, declared to *Lyſander*, that ſo long the LACEDÆMONIANS might reckon them ſelues Lordes ouer all GREECE, as they kept from the common people the rule and authoritie of the cittie of ATHENS. And further he added, that notwithſtanding the people of ATHENS could well awaye to liue like ſubiects vnder the gouernment of a fewe: yet *Alcibiades* whileſt he liued, would neuer ſuffer them ſo to be reigned ouer, but would attempt by all deuiſe he could to bring a chaunge and innouation emong them. Yet *Lyſander* would not credit theſe perſuaſions, before ſpeciall commandement was ſent to him from the Senate of LACEDÆMON, vpon his alle-

The Lacedemonians will Lyſander to kill Alcibiades.

F giaunce, that he ſhould deuiſe to kill *Alcibiades* by all meanes he could procure: either bicauſe in trothe they feared the ſubtiltie of his wit, and the greatnes of his corage, to enterpriſe matters of great weight and daunger, or els that they ſought to gratifie king *Agis* by it. *Lyſander* being thus ſtraightly commaunded, dyd ſend and practiſe incontinently

with *Pharnabazus* to execute the facte: who gaue his brother *Magæus*, and his vncle *Susamithres*, commission to attempt the matter. Now was *Alcibiades* in a certen village of PHRYGIA, with a concubine of his called *Timandra*. So he thought he dreamed one night that he had put on his concubines apparell, and how she dandling him in her armes, had dressed his head, friseling his heare, and painted his face, as he had bene a woman. Other saye, that he thought *Magæus* strake of his head, and made his bodie to be burnt: and the voyce goeth, this vision was but a litle before his death. Those that were sent to kill him, durst not enter the house where he was, but set it a fire round about. *Alcibiades* spying the fire, got suche apparell and hanginges as he had, and threwe it on the fire, thincking to haue put it out: and so casting his cloke about his left arme, tooke his naked sworde in his other hande, and ranne out of the house, him selfe not once touched with fyer, sauing his clothes were a litle singed. These murderers so sone as they spied him, drewe backe, and stoode a sonder, and durst not one of them come neere him, to stande and fight with him: but a farre of, they bestowed so many arrowes and dartes of him, that they killed him there. Now when they had left him, *Timandra* went and tooke his bodie which she wrapped vp in the best linnen she had, and buried him as honorably as she could possible, with suche things as she had, and could get together. Some holde opinion that *Lais*, the only famous curtisan, which they saye was of CORINTHE (though in deede she was borne in a litle towne of SICILIA, called HYCCARA, where she was taken) was his doughter. Notwithstanding, touching the death of *Alcibiades*, there are some that agree to all the rest I haue written, sauing that they saye, it was neither *Pharnabazus*, nor *Lysander*, nor the LACEDÆMONIANS, which causèd him to be slaine: but that he keeping with him a young gentlewoman of a noble house, whom he had stolen awaye, and intised to follie: her brethern to reuenge this iniurie, went to set fire vpon the house where he was, and that they killed him as we haue tolde you, thinking to leape out of the fyre.

Alcibiades dreame in Phrygia before his death.

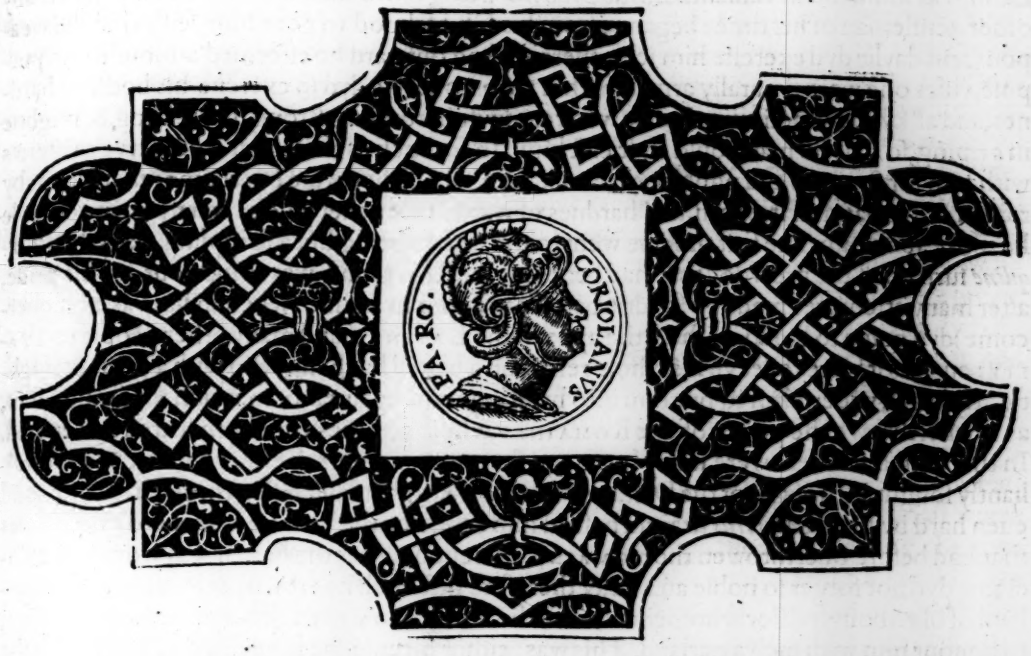
Alcibiades death.

Timandra the curtisan buried Alcibiades.

Lais a curtisan of Corinthe.

The ende of Alcibiades life.

THE LIFE OF CAIVS
Martius Coriolanus.



THE houſe of the *Martians* at ROME was of the number of the *Patricians*, out of the which hath ſprong many noble perſonages: whereof *Ancus Martius* was one, king *Numaes* daughters ſonne, who was king of ROME after *Tullus Hoſtilius*. Of the ſame houſe were *Publius*, and *Quintus*, who brought to ROME their beſt water they had by conducts. *Cenſorinus* alſo came of that familie, that was ſo ſurnamed, bicauſe the people had choſen him *Cenſor* twiſe. Through whoſe perſuaſion they made a lawe, that no man from thenceforth might require, or enioye the *Cenſorshippe* twiſe. *Caius Martius*, whoſe life we intend now to write, being left an orphan by his father, was brought vp vnder his mother a widowe, who taught vs by experience, that orphanage bringeth many diſcommodities to a childe, but doth not hinder him to become an honeſt man, and to excell in vertue aboue the common ſorte: as they that are meanely borne, wrongfully doe complayne, that it is the occaſion of their caſting awaye, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to ſee them well brought vp, and taught that were meete. This man alſo is a good proofe to confirme ſome mens opinions. That a rare and excellent witte vntaught, doth bring forth many good and euill things together: like as a fat ſoile bringeth forth herbes & weedes that lieth vnmanured. For this *Martius* naturall wit and great harte dyd marueloufly ſturre vp his corage, to doe and attempt notable actes. But on the other ſide for lacke of education, he was ſo cholericke and impacient, that he would yeld to no liuing creature: which made him churliſhe, vnciuill, and altogether vnfit for any mans conuerſation. Yet men marueling much at his conſtancy, that he was neuer ouercome with pleaſure, nor money, and howe he would endure eaſely all manner of paynes and trauailles: thereupon they well liked and commended his ſtowtnes and temperancie. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one cittizen vſeth to be with another in the cittie. His behauiour was ſo vnpleaſaunt to them, by reaſon of a certaine inſolent and ſterne manner he had, which bicauſe it was to lordly, was diſliked. And to ſaye truely, the greateſt benefit that learning bringeth men vnto, is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compaſſe and rule of reaſon, to be ciuill and

The familie of the Martians.

Publius and Quintus Martius, brought the water by conducts to Rome.

Cenſorinus lawe.

Coriolanus wit.

The benefit of learning.

curteous,& to like better the meane ſtate,then the higher.Now in thoſe dayes,valliantnes was honoured in Rome aboue all other vertues: which they called *Virtus*, by the name of vertue ſelfe,as including in that generall name,all other ſpeciall vertues beſides.So that *Virtus* in the Latin,was aſmuche as valliantnes.But *Martius* being more inclined to the warres,then any other gentleman of his time: beganne from his Childehood to geue him ſelf to handle weapons,and daylie dyd exerciſe him ſelfe therein. And outward he eſteemed armour to no purpoſe,vnles one were naturally armed within. Moreouer he dyd ſo exerciſe his bodie to hardnes,and all kynde of actiuitie,that he was very ſwift in ronning,ſtrong in wreſtling,& mightie in griping,ſo that no man could euer caſt him. In ſo much as thoſe that would trye maſteries with him for ſtrength and nimblenes,would ſaye when they were ouercome: that all was by reaſon of his naturall ſtrength,and hardnes of warde,that neuer yelded to any payne or toyle he tooke apon him.The firſt time he went to the warres,being but a ſtrippling,was when *Tarquine* ſurnamed the prowde (that had bene king of Rome, and was driuen out for his pride, after many attemptes made by ſundrie battells to come in againe, wherein he was euer ouercome)dyd come to Rome with all the ayde of the Latines, and many other people of Italie: euen as it were to ſet vp his whole reſt apon a battell by them, who with a great & mightie armie had vndertaken to put him into his Kingdome againe,not ſo much to pleaſure him, as to ouerthrowe the power of the Romaines,whoſe greatnes they both feared and enuied. In this battell,wherein were many hotte and ſharpe encounters of either partie,*Martius* valliantly fought in the ſight of the Dictator: & a Romaine ſouldier being throwen to the groũd euen hard by him,*Martius* ſtraight beſtrid him, and ſlue the enemie with his owne handes that had before ouerthrowen the Romaine. Hereupon,after the battell was wonne, the Dictator dyd not forget ſo noble an acte,& therefore firſt of all he crowned *Martius* with a garland of oken boughs. For whoſoeuer ſaueth the life of a Romaine,it is a mãner among them, to honour him with ſuch a garland. This was, either bicauſe the lawe dyd this honour to the oke,in fauour of the Arcadians,who by the oracle of *Apollo* were in very olde time called eaters of akornes: or els bicauſe the ſouldiers might eaſely in euery place come by oken boughes: or laſtely,bicauſe they thought it very neceſſarie to geue him that had ſaued a cittizens life, a crowne of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated vnto *Iupiter*, the patron and protectour of their citties,and thought amongeſt other wilde trees to bring forth a profitable fruite,and of plantes to be the ſtrongeſt. Moreouer, men at the firſt beginning dyd vſe akornes for their bread, and honie for their drincke: and further, the oke dyd feede their beaſtes,and geue them birdes, by taking glue from the okes, with the which they made birdlime to catche ſeely birdes.They ſaye that *Caſtor*,and *Pollux*, appeared in this battell, and how incontinently after the battell, men ſawe them in the market place at Rome, all their horſes being on a white ſome: and they were the firſt that brought newes of the victorie, euen in the ſame place,where remaineth at this preſent a tẽple built in the honour of them neere vnto the fountaine.And this is the cauſe,why the daye of this victorie (which was the fiftenth of Iulye) is conſecrated yet to this daye vnto *Caſtor* and *Pollux*.Moreouer it is daylie ſeene, that honour and reputation lighting on young men before their time, and before they haue no great corage by nature: the deſire to winne more,dieth ſtraight in them,which eaſely happeneth,the ſame hauing no deepe roote in them before. Where contrariwiſe, the firſt honour that valliant mindes doe come vnto, doth quicken vp their appetite, haſting them forward as with force of winde,to enterpriſe things of highe deſeruing praiſe.For they eſteeme,not to receaue reward for ſeruice done, but rather take it for a remembraunce and encoragement, to make them doe better in time to come: and be aſhamed alſo to caſt their honour at their heeles,not ſeeking to increaſe it ſtill by like deſerte of worthie valliant dedes. This deſire being bred in *Martius*,he ſtrained ſtill to paſſe him ſelfe in manlines: and being deſirous to ſhewe a daylie increaſe of his valliantnes,his noble ſeruice dyd ſtill aduaunce his fame, bringing in ſpoyles apon ſpoyles from the enemie.Whereupon,the captaines that came afterwards(for enuie of them that went before) dyd contend who ſhould moſt honour him, and who ſhould beare moſt honorable teſtimonie of his valliantnes.In ſo much the Romaines hauing many warres and battells in thoſe dayes,*Coriolanus* was at them all: and there was not a battell fought, from whence

What this worde Virtus ſignifieth.

Coriolanus firſt going to the warres.

Coriolanus crowned with a garland of aken boughes.

The goodnes of the oke.

To ſoden honor in youth killeth further deſier of fame.

Coriolanus noble endeuour to continue well deſeruing.

A whence he returned not without ſome rewarde of honour. And as for other, the only reſpect that made them valliant, was they hoped to haue honour: but touching *Martius*, the only thing that made him to loue honour, was the ioye he ſawe his mother dyd take of him. For he thought nothing made him ſo happie and honorable, as that his mother might heare euery bodie praiſe and commend him, that ſhe might allwayes ſee him returne with a crowne vpon his head, and that ſhe might ſtill embrace him with teares ronning downe her cheekes for ioye. Which deſire they ſaye *Epaminondas* dyd auowe, and confeſſe to haue bene in him: as to thinke him ſelfe a moſt happie and bleſſed man, that his father and mother in their life time had ſeene the victorie he wanne in the plaine of LEVCTRES. Now as for *Epaminondas*, he had this good happe, to haue his father and mother liuing, to be partakers of his ioye and proſpe-
B ritie. But *Martius* thinking all due to his mother, that had bene alſo due to his father if he had liued: dyd not only content him ſelfe to reioyce and honour her, but at her deſire tooke a wife alſo, by whom he had two children, and yet neuer left his mothers houſe therefore. Now he being growen to great credit & authoritie in ROME for his valliantnes, it fortuned there grewe ſedition in the cittie, bicauſe the Senate dyd fauour the riche againſt the people, who dyd cõplaine of the ſore oppreſſion of vſerers, of whom they borowed money. For thoſe that had litle, were yet ſpoyled of that litle they had by their creditours, for lacke of abilitie to paye the vſerie: who offered their goodes to be ſolde, to them that would geue moſt. And ſuche as had nothing left, their bodies were layed holde of, and they were made their bonde men, notwithſtanding all the woundes and cuttes they ſhewed, which they had receyued in many bat-
C tells, fighting for defence of their countrie and common wealth: of the which, the laſt warre they made, was againſt the SABYNES, wherein they fought apon the promiſe the riche men had made them, that from thenceforth they would intreate them more gently, and alſo vpon the worde of *Marcus Valerius* chief of the Senate, who by authoritie of the counſell, and in the behalfe of the riche, ſayed they ſhould performe that they had promiſed. But after that they had faithfully ſerued in this laſt battell of all, where they ouercame their enemies, ſeeing they were neuer a whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would geue no eare to them, but make as though they had forgotten their former promiſe, and ſuffered them to be made ſlaues and bonde men to their creditours, and beſides, to be turned out of all that euer they had: they fell then euen to flat rebellion and mutine, and to ſturre vp daungerous
D tumultes within the cittie. The ROMAINES enemies hearing of this rebellion, dyd ſtraight enter the territories of ROME with a maruelous great power, ſpoyling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediatly made open proclamation by ſounde of trumpet, that all thoſe which were of lawfull age to carie weapon, ſhould come and enter their names into the muſter maſters booke, to goe to the warres: but no man obeyed their commaundement. Whereupon their chief magiſtrates, and many of the Senate, beganne to be of diuers opinions emong them ſelues. For ſome thought it was reaſon, they ſhould ſomewhat yeld to the poore peoples requeſt, and that they ſhould a litle qualifie the ſeueritie of the lawe. Other held hard againſt that opinion, and that was *Martius* for one. For he alleaged, that the credi-
E tours loſing their money they had lent, was not the worſt thing that was thereby: but that the lenitie that was fauored, was a beginning of diſobedience, and that the prowde attempt of the communaltie, was to aboliſh lawe, and to bring all to confuſion. Therefore he ſayed, if the Senate were wiſe, they ſhould betimes preuent, & quenche this ill fauored & worſe ment beginning. The Senate met many dayes in conſultation about it but in the end they concluded nothing. The poore cõmon people ſeeing no redreſſe, gathered them ſelues one daye together, & one encoraging another, they all forſooke the cittie, & encamped them ſelues vpon a hill, called at this daye the holy hill, alongeſt the riuer of Tyber, offering no creature any hurte or violence, or making any ſhewe of actuall rebellion: ſauing that they cried as they went vp and down, that the riche men had driuen them out of the cittie, and that all PEACE through they ſhould finde ayer, water, & ground to burie them in. Moreouer, they ſayed, to dwell at ROME
F was nothing els but to be ſlaine, or hurte with continuall warres, and fighting for defence of the riche mens goodes. The Senate being afeard of their departure, dyd ſend vnto them certaine of the pleaſaunteſt olde men, and the moſt acceptable to the people, among them. Of

Coriolanus & Epaminondas did both place their deſire of honour alike.

The obedience of Coriolanus to his mother.

Extremitie of vſerers complained of at Rome by the people.

Counſellers promiſes make men valliant, in hope of iuſt performance. Ingratitude, and good ſeruice vnrewarded, prouoketh rebellion.

Martius Coriolanus againſt the people.

The people leaue the cittie and doe goe to the holy hill.

thoſe, *Menenius Agrippa* was he, who was ſent for chief man of the meſſage from the Senate. He, after many good perſuaſions and gentle requeſtes made to the people, on the behalfe of the Senate: knit vp his oration in the ende, with a notable tale, in this manner. That on a time all the members of mans bodie, dyd rebell againſt the bellie, complaining of it, that it only remained in the middeſt of the bodie, without doing any thing, neither dyd beare any labour to the maintenaunce of the reſt: whereas all other partes and members dyd labour paynefully, & was very carefull to ſatisfie the appetites and deſiers of the bodie. And ſo the bellie, all this notwithſtanding, laughed at their follie, and ſayed. It is true, I firſt receyue all meates that noriſhe mans bodie: but afterwardes I ſend it againe to the noriſhement of other partes of the ſame. Euen ſo (q he) ô you, my maſters, and cittizens of Rome: the reaſon is a like betweene the Senate, & you. For matters being well digeſted, & their coũſells throughly examined, touching the benefit of the common wealth: the Senatours are cauſe of the common cõmoditie that cõmeth vnto euery one of you. Theſe perſuaſions pacified the people, conditionally, that the Senate would graunte there ſhould be yerely choſen fiue magiſtrates, which they now call *Tribuni Plebis*, whoſe office ſhould be to defend the poore people from violence and oppreſſion. So *Iunius Brutus*, and *Sicinius Vellutus*, were the firſt Tribunes of the people that were choſen, who had only bene the cauſers & procurers of this ſedition. Hereupon the cittie being growen againe to good quiet and vnitie, the people immediatly went to the warres, ſhewing that they had a good will to doe better then euer they dyd, and to be very willing to obey the magiſtrates in that they would commaund, concerning the warres. *Martius* alſo, though it liked him nothing to ſee the greatnes of the people thus increaſed, conſidering it was to the preiudice, and imbaſing of the nobilitie, and alſo ſawe that other noble *Patricians* were troubled as well as him ſelfe: he dyd perſuade the *Patricians*, to ſhew them ſelues no leſſe forward and willing to fight for their countrie, then the common people were: and to let them knowe by their dedes and actes, that they dyd not ſo muche paſſe the people in power and riches, as they dyd exceede them in true nobilitie and valliantnes. In the countrie of the Volsces, againſt whom the Romaines made warre at that time, there was a principall cittie & of moſt fame, that was called Coriоles, before the which the Conſul *Cominius* dyd laye ſeige. Wherefore all the other Volsces fearing leaſt that cittie ſhould be taken by aſſault, they came from all partes of the countrie to ſaue it, entending to geue the Romaines battell before the cittie, and to geue an onſet on them in two ſeuerall places. The Conſul *Cominius* vnderſtanding this, deuided his armie alſo in two partes, and taking the one parte with him ſelfe, he marched towards them that were drawing to the cittie, out of the countrie: and the other parte of his armie he left in the campe with *Titus Lartius* (one of the valliantеſt men the Romaines had at that time) to reſiſt thoſe that would make any ſalye out of the cittie apon them. So the Coriolans making ſmall accompt of them that laye in campe before the cittie, made a ſalye out apon them, in the which at the firſt the Coriolans had the better, and draue the Romaines backe againe into the trenches of their campe. But *Martius* being there at that time, ronning out of the campe with a fewe men with him, he ſlue the firſt enemies he met withall, and made the reſt of them ſtaye vpon a ſodaine, crying out to the Romaines that had turned their backes, and calling them againe to fight with a lowde voyce. For he was euen ſuch another, as *Cato* would haue a ſouldier and a captaine to be: not only terrible, and fierce to laye about him, but to make the enemie afeard with the ſounde of his voyce, and grimnes of his countenaunce. Then there flocked about him immedlatly, a great number of Romaines whereat the enemies were ſo afeard, that they gaue backe preſently. But *Martius* not ſtaying ſo, dyd chaſe and followe them to their owne gates, that fled for life. And there, perceyuing that the Romaines retired backe, for the great number of dartes and arrowes which flewe about their eares frõ the walles of the cittie, & that there was not one man amongeſt them that durſt venter him ſelfe to followe the flying enemies into the cittie, for that it was full of men of warre, verie well armed, and appointed: he dyd encorage his fellowes with wordes and dedes, crying out to them, that fortune had opened the gates of the cittie more for the followers, then the flyers. But all this notwithſtanding, fewe had the hartes to followe him. Howbeit *Martius* being in the throng emong the enemies, thruſt him ſelfe into the gates of the cittie, and entred

An excellent tale tolde by Menenius Agrippa to pacifie the people.

The firſt beginning of Tribuni plebis. Iunius Brutus, Sicinius Vellutus, the 2. firſt Tribunes.

The cittie of Coriоles beſieged by the Conſul Cominius.

Titus Lartius, a valliãt Romaine.

The propertie of a ſouldier.

A tred the ſame emong them that fled, without that any one of them durſt at the firſt turne their face vpon him, or els offer to ſtaye him. But he looking about him, & ſeeing he was entred the cittie with very fewe men to helpe him, & perceyuing he was enuironned by his enemies that gathered round about to ſet apon him: dyd things then as it is written, wonderfull & incredible, aſwell for the force of his hande, as alſo for the agillitie of his bodie, and with a wonderfull corage & valliantnes, he made a lane through the middeſt of them, and ouerthrewe alſo thoſe he layed at: that ſome he made ronne to the furtheſt parte of the cittie, & other for feare he made yeld them ſelues, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this meanes, *Lartius* that was gotten out, had ſome leyſure to bring the ROMAINES with more ſafety into the cittie. The cittie being taken in this ſorte, the moſt parte of the ſouldiers beganne incontinently to *The cittie of Corioles take.*
B ſpoyle, to carie awaye, & to looke vp the bootie they had wonne. But *Martius* was maruelous angry with them, and cried out on them, that it was no time now to looke after ſpoyle, & to ronne ſtraggling here and there to enriche them ſelues, whileſt the other Conſul and their fellowe cittizens peraduenture were fighting with their enemies: and howe that leauing the ſpoyle they ſhould ſeeke to winde them ſelues out of daunger and perill. Howbeit, crie, and ſaye to them what he could, very fewe of them would hearken to him. Wherefore taking thoſe that willingly offered them ſelues to followe him, he went out of the cittie, and tooke his waye towardes that parte, where he vnderſtoode the reſt of the armie was: exhorting and intreating them by the waye that followed him, not to be fainte harted, and ofte holding vp his handes to heauen, he beſought the goddes to be ſo gracious and fauorable
C vnto him, that he might come in time to the battell, and in good hower to hazarde his life in defence of his country men. Now the ROMAINES when they were put in battell raye, and ready to take their targettes on their armes, and to guirde them vpon their arming coates, had a cuſtome to make their willes at that very inſtant, without any manner of writing, naming him only whom they would make their heire, in the preſence of three or foure *Souldiers teſtaments.*
witneſſes. *Martius* came iuſt to that reckoning, whileſt the ſouldiers were a doing after that ſorte, and that the enemies were approched ſo neere, as one ſtoode in viewe of the other. When they ſawe him at his firſt comming, all bloody, and in a ſwet, and but with a fewe men following him: ſome thereupon beganne to be afeard. But ſone after, when they ſawe him ronne with a liuely cheere to the Conſul, and to take him by the hande, decla-
D ring howe he had taken the cittie of CORIOLES, and that they ſawe the Conſul *Cominius* alſo kiſſe and embrace him: then there was not a man but tooke harte againe to him, and beganne to be of a good corage, ſome hearing him reporte from poynte to poynte, the happy ſucceſſe of this exployte, and other alſo coniecturing it by ſeeing their geſtures a farre of. Then they all beganne to call vpon the Conſul to marche forward, and to delaye no lenger, but to geue charge vpon the enemie. *Martius* asked him howe the order of their enemies *By Coriolanus meanes, the Volſci were ouercome in battell.*
battell was, and on which ſide they had placed their beſt fighting men. The Conſul made him aunſwer, that he thought the bandes which were in the voward of their battell, were thoſe of the ANTIATES, whom they eſteemed to be the warlikeſt men, and which for valliant corage would geue no place, to any of the hoſte of their enemies. Then prayed *Mar-*
E *tius*, to be ſet directly againſt them. The Conſul graunted him, greatly prayſing his corage. Then *Martius*, when both armies came almoſt to ioyne, aduaunced him ſelfe a good ſpace before his companie, and went ſo fiercely to geue charge on the voward that came right againſt him, that they could ſtande no lenger in his handes: he made ſuche a lane through them, and opened a paſſage into the battell of the enemies. But the two winges of either ſide turned one to the other, to compaſſe him in betweene them: which the Conſul *Cominius* perceyuing, he ſent thither ſtraight of the beſt ſouldiers he had about him. So the battell was maruelous bloudie about *Martius*, and in a very ſhorte ſpace many were ſlaine in the place. But in the ende the ROMAINES were ſo ſtrong, that they diſtreſſed the enemies, and brake their arraye: and ſcattering them, made them flye. Then they prayed
F *Martius* that he would retire to the campe, bicauſe they ſawe he was able to doe no more, he was already ſo wearied with the great payne he had taken, and ſo fainte with the great woundes he had apon him. But *Martius* aunſwered them, that it was not for con-

querours to yeld, nor to be fainte harted: and thereupon beganne a freshe to chase those A
that fled, vntill suche time as the armie of the enemies was vtterly ouerthrowen, and numbers of them slaine, and taken prisoners. The next morning betimes, *Martius* went to the Consul, and the other ROMAINES with him. There the Consul *Cominius* going vp to his chayer of state, in the presence of the whole armie, gaue thankes to the goddes for so great, glorious, and prosperous a victorie: then he spake to *Martius*, whose valliantnes he commended beyond the moone, both for that he him selfe sawe him doe with his eyes, as also for that *Martius* had reported vnto him. So in the ende he willed *Martius*, he should choose out of all the horses they had taken of their enemies, and of all the goodes they had wonne (whereof there was great store) tenne of euery sorte which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Besides this great honorable offer he had B
made him, he gaue him in testimonie that he had wonne that daye the price of prowes aboue all other, a goodly horse with a cappariſon, and all furniture to him: which the whole armie beholding, dyd maruelously praise and commend. But *Martius* stepping forth, tolde the Consul, he most thanckefully accepted the gifte of his horse, and was a glad man besides, that his seruice had deserued his generalls commendation: and as for his other offer, which was rather a mercenary reward, then an honorable recompence, he would none of it, but was contented to haue his equall parte with other souldiers. Only, this grace (sayed he) I craue, and beseeche you to graunt me. Among the VOLSCES there is an olde friende and hoste of mine, an honest wealthie man, and now a prisoner, who liuing before in great wealth in his owne countrie, liueth now a poore prisoner in the handes of C
his enemies: and yet notwithstanding all this his miserie and misfortune, it would doe me great pleasure if I could saue him from this one daunger: to keepe him from being solde as a slaue. The souldiers hearing *Martius* wordes, made a maruelous great showte among them: and they were moe that wondred at his great contentation and abstinence, when they sawe so litle couetousnes in him, then they were that highely praised and extolled his valliantnes. For euen they them selues, that dyd somewhat malice and enuie his glorie, to see him thus honoured, and passingly prayſed, dyd thincke him so muche the more worthy of an honorable recompence for his valliant seruice, as the more carelesly he refused the great offer made him for his profit: and they esteemed more the vertue that was in him, that made him refuse suche rewards, then that which made them to be offred him, D
as vnto a worthie persone. For it is farre more commendable, to vse riches well, then to be valliant: and yet it is better not to desire them, then to vse them well. After this showte and noyse of the assembly was somewhat appeased, the Consul *Cominius* beganne to speake in this sorte. We cannot compell *Martius* to take these giftes we offer him, if he will not receaue them: but we will geue him suche a rewarde for the noble seruice he hath done, as he cannot refuse. Therefore we doe order and decree, that henceforth he be called *Coriolanus*, onles his valliant acts haue wonne him that name before our nomination. And so euer since, he stil bare the third name of *Coriolanus*. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the ROMAINES haue, as *Caius*: was our Christian name now. The second, as *Martius*: was the name of the house and familie they came of. The third, was some addition geuen, either for some acte or E
notable seruice, or for some marke on their face, or of some shape of their bodie, or els for some speciall vertue they had. Euen so dyd the GRÆCIANS in olde time giue additions to Princes, by reason of some notable acte worthie memorie. As when they haue called some, *Soter*, and *Callinicos*: as muche to saye, sauiour and conquerour. Or els for some notable apparaunt marke on ones face, or on his bodie, they haue called him *Phiſcon*, and *Grypos*: as ye would saye, gorebelley, and hooke nosed: or els for some vertue, as *Euergetes*, and *Phyladelphos*: to wit, a Benefactour, and louer of his brethern. Or otherwise for ones great felicitie, as *Eudæmon*: as muche to saye, as fortunate. For so was the second of the * *Battes* surnamed. And some Kings haue had surnames of ieast and mockery. As one of the *Antigones* that was called *Doſon*, to saye, the Geuer: who was euer promising, and neuer geuing. And one F
of the *Ptolomees* was called *Lamyros*: to saye, conceitiue. The ROMAINES vse more then any other nation, to giue names of mockerie in this sorte. As there was one *Metellus*

surnamed

The tenth parte of the enemies goods offered Martius for reward of his seruice, by Cominius the Consul.

Valiancie rewarded with honour in the fielde.

Martius noble aunswer & refusall.

Martius surnamed Coriolanus by the Consul.

How the Romaines came to three names.

Why the Græcians gaue Kings surnames.

* *These were the princes that built the cittie of Cyrene.*

A surnamed *Diadematus*, the banded: bicause he caried a bande about his heade of longe time, by reason of a sore he had in his forehead. One other of his owne familie was called *Celer*: the quicke flye. Bicause a fewe dayes after the death of his father, he shewed the people the cruell fight of fensers at vnrebated swordes, which they founde wonderfull for the shortnes of time. Other had their surnames deriued of some accident of their birthe. As to this daye they call him *Proculeius*, that is borne, his father being in some farre voyage: and him *Posthumius*, that is borne after the deathe of his father. And when of two brethern twinnes, the one doth dye, and thother suruiueth: they call the suruiuer, *Vopiscus*. Somtimes also they geue surnames deriued of some marke or misfortune of the bodie. As *Sylla*, to saye, crooked nosed: *Niger*, blacke: *Rufus*, red: *Cæcus*, blinde: *Claudus*, lame. They dyd wisely
B in this thing to accustome men to thincke, that neither the losse of their sight, nor other such misfortunes as maye chaunce to men, are any shame or disgrace vnto them, but the manner was to aunswer boldly to suche names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters would be better amplified in other stories then this. Now when this warre was ended, the flatterers of the people beganne to sturre vp sedition againe, without any newe occasion, or iust matter offered of complainte. For they dyd grounde this seconde insurrection against the Nobilitie and *Patricians*, apon the peoples miserie & misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reason of the former discorde and sedition betweene them and the Nobilitie. Bicause the most parte of the errable lande within the territorie of Rome, was become heathie and barren for lacke of plowing, for that they had no time nor meane to cause corne,
C to be brought them out of other countries to sowe, by reason of their warres which made the extreme dearth they had emõg them. Now those busie pratlers that sought the peoples good will, by suche flattering wordes, perceyuing great scarsitie of corne to be within the cittie, and though there had bene plenty enough, yet the common people had no money to buye it: they spread abroad false tales and rumours against the Nobilitie, that they in reuenge of the people, had practised and procured the extreme dearthe emong them. Furthermore, in the middest of this sturre, there came ambassadours to Rome from the cittie of Velitres, that offered vp their cittie to the Romaines, and prayed them they would send newe inhabitants to replenishe the same: bicause the plague had bene so extreme among them, & had killed such a number of them, as there was not left aliue the tenth persone of the people that had bene
D there before. So the wise men of Rome beganne to thincke, that the necessitie of the Velitrians fell out in a most happy hower, and howe by this occasion it was very mete in so great a scarsitie of vittailes, to disburden Rome of a great number of cittizens: and by this meanes as well to take awaye this newe sedition, and vtterly to ryd it out of the cittie, as also to cleare the same of many mutinous and seditious persones, being the superfluous ill humours that greuously fedde this disease. Hereupon the Consuls prickt out all those by a bill, whom they intended to sende to Velitres, to goe dwell there as in forme of a colonie: and they leauied out of all the rest that remained in the cittie of Rome, a great number to goe against the Volsces, hoping by the meanes of forreine warre, to pacifie their sedition at home. Moreouer they imagined, when the poore with the riche, and the
E meane sorte with the nobilitie, should by this deuise be abroad in the warres, & in one campe, and in one seruice, and in one like daunger: that then they would be more quiet and louing together. But *Sicinius* and *Brutus*, two seditious Tribunes, spake against either of these deuises, and cried out apon the noble men, that vnder the gentle name of a colonie, they would cloke and culler the most cruell and vnnaturall facte as might be: bicause they sent their poore cittizens into a sore infected cittie and pestilent ayer, full of dead bodies vnburied, and there also to dwell vnder the tuytion of a straunge god, that had so cruelly persecuted his people. This were (said they) euen as muche, as if the Senate should hedlong cast downe the people into a most bottomles pyt. And are not yet contented to haue famished some of the poore cittizens hertofore to death, & to put other of them euen to the mercie of the plague:
F but a freshe, they haue procured a voluntarie warre, to the ende they would leaue behind no kynde of miserie and ill, wherewith the poore syllie people should not be plagued, and only bicause they are werie to serue the riche. The common people being set on a broyle

Names of mockery amõg the Romaines.

Sedition in Rome, by reason of famine.

Velitres made a colonie to Rome.

Two practises to remoue the sedition in Rome.

Sicinius and Brutus Tribunes of the people, against both those deuises.

and brauerie with theſe wordes, would not appeare when the Conſuls called their names by a bill, to preſt them for the warres, neither would they be ſent out to this newe colonie: in ſo muche as the Senate knewe not well what to ſaye, or doe in the matter. *Martius* then, who was now growen to great credit, and a ſtowte man beſides, and of great reputation with the nobleſt men of ROME, roſe vp, and openly ſpake againſt theſe flattering Tribunes. And for the repleniſhing of the cittie of VELITRES, he dyd compell thoſe that were choſen, to goe thither, and to departe the cittie, apon great penalties to him that ſhould diſobey: but to the warres, the people by no meanes would be brought or conſtrained. So *Martius* taking his friendes and followers with him, and ſuch as he could by fayer wordes intreate to goe with him, dyd ronne certen forreyes into the dominion of the ANTIATES, where he met with great plenty of corne, and had a maruelous great ſpoyle, aſwell of cattell, as of men he had taken priſoners, whom he brought awaye with him, and reſerued nothing for him ſelfe. Afterwardes hauing brought backe againe all his men that went out with him, ſafe and ſounde to ROME, and euery man riche and loden with ſpoyle: then the hometarriers and houſedoues that kept ROME ſtill, beganne to repent them that it was not their happe to goe with him, and ſo enuied both them that had ſped ſo well in this iorney, and alſo of malice to *Martius*, they ſpited to ſee his credit and eſtimation increaſe ſtill more and more, bicauſe they accompted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortely after this, *Martius* ſtoode for the Conſulſhippe: and the common people fauored his ſute, thinking it would be a ſhame to them to denie, and refuſe, the chiefeſt noble man of bloude, and moſt worthie perſone of ROME, and ſpecially him that had done ſo great ſeruice and good to the common wealth. For the cuſtome of ROME was at that time, that ſuche as dyd ſue for any office, ſhould for certen dayes before be in the market place, only with a poore gowne on their backes, and without any coate vnderneath, to praye the cittizens to remember them at the daye of election: which was thus deuiſed, either to moue the people the more, by requeſting them in ſuche meane apparell, or els bicauſe they might ſhewe them their woundes they had gotten in the warres in the ſeruice of the cõmon wealth, as manifeſt markes & teſtimonie of their valliantnes. Now it is not to be thought that the ſuters went thus loſe in a ſimple gowne in the market place, without any coate vnder it, for feare, and ſuſpition of the common people: for offices of dignitie in the cittie were not then geuen by fauour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and ſelling fell out in election of officers, and that the voyces of the electours were bought for money. But after corruption had once gotten waye into the election of offices, it hath ronne from man to man, euen to the very ſentence of iudges, and alſo emong captaines in the warres: ſo as in the ende, that only turned common wealthes into Kingdomes, by making armes ſubiect to money. Therefore me thinckes he had reaſon that ſayed: he that firſt made banckets, and gaue money to the common people, was the firſt that tooke awaye authoritie, and deſtroyed common wealth. But this peſtilence crept in by litle and litle, and dyd ſecretly winne ground ſtill, continuing a long time in ROME, before it was openly knowen and diſcouered. For no man can tell who was the firſt man that bought the peoples voyces for money, nor that corrupted the ſentence of the iudges. Howbeit at ATHENS ſome holde opinion, that *Anytus*, the ſonne of *Anthemion*, was the firſt man that fedde the iudges with money, about the ende of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, being accuſed of treaſon for yelding vp the forte of PYLE, at that time, when the golden and vnfoiled age remained yet whole in iudgement at Rome. Now *Martius* following this cuſtome, ſhewed many woundes and cuttes apon his bodie, which he had receyued in ſeuenteene yeres ſeruice at the warres, and in many ſundrie battells, being euer the formeſt man that dyd ſet out feete to fight. So that there was not a man emong the people, but was aſhamed of him ſelfe, to refuſe ſo valliant a man: and one of them ſayed to another, we muſt needes chuſe him Conſul, there is no remedie. But when the daye of election was come, and that *Martius* came to the market place with great pompe, accompanied with all the Senate, and the whole Nobilitie of the cittie about him, who ſought to make him Conſul, with the greateſt inſtance and intreatie they could, or euer attempted for any man or matter: then the loue and good will of the common people,

Coriolanus offendeth the people.

Coriolanus inuadeth the Antiates, and bringeth rich ſpoyles home.

The manner of ſuyng for office at Rome.

Whereupon this manner of ſuyng was ſo deuiſed.

Offices geuen then by deſert, without fauour or corruption.

Bankets and money geuen: only deſtroyers of common wealth.

Anytus the Athenian, the firſt that with money corrupted the ſentence of the iudge, and voyces of the people.

A people, turned ſtraight to an hate and enuie toward him, fearing to put this office of ſouereine authoritie into his handes, being a man ſomewhat partiall toward the nobilitie, and of great credit and authoritie amongeſt the *Patricians*, and as one they might doubt would take away alltogether the libertie from the people. Whereupon for theſe cõſiderations, they refuſed *Martius* in the ende, and made two other that were ſuters, Conſuls. The Senate being maruelouſly offended with the people, dyd accompt the ſhame of this refuſall, rather to redownd to them ſelues, then to *Martius*: but *Martius* tooke it in farre worſe parte then the Senate, and was out of all pacience. For he was a man to full of paſſion and choller, and to muche geuen to ouer ſelfe will and opinion, as one of a highe minde and great corage, that lacked the grauity, and affabilitie that is gotten with iudgment of learning and reaſon, which only is to
B be looked for in a gouernour of ſtate: and that remembred not how wilfulnes is the thing of the world, which a gouernour of a cõmon wealth for pleaſing ſhould ſhõne, being that which *Plato* called ſolitarines. As in the ende, all men that are wilfully geuen to a ſelfe opinion & obſtinate minde, and who will neuer yeld to others reaſon, but to their owne: remaine without cõpanie, & forſaken of all men. For a man that will liue in the world, muſt nedes haue patience, which luſty bloudes make but a mocke at. So *Martius* being a ſtowte man of nature, that neuer yelded in any reſpect, as one thincking that to ouercome allwayes, and to haue the vpper hande in all matters, was a token of magnanimitie, and of no baſe and fainte corage, which ſpitteth out anger from the moſt weake and paſſioned parte of the harte, much like the matter of an impoſtume: went home to his houſe, full fraighted with ſpite and malice againſt the
C people, being accompanied with all the luſtieſt young gentlemen, whoſe mindes were nobly bent, as thoſe that came of noble race, and commonly vſed for to followe and honour him. But then ſpecially they floct about him, and kept him companie, to his muche harme: for they dyd but kyndle and inflame his choller more and more, being ſorie with him for the iniurie the people offred him, bicauſe he was their captaine and leader to the warres, that taught them all marſhall diſcipline, and ſtirred vp in them a noble emulation of honour and valliantnes, and yet without enuie, praiſing them that deſerued beſt. In the meane ſeaſon, there came great plenty of corne to Rome, that had bene bought, parte in Italie, and parte was ſent out of Sicile, as geuen by *Gelon* the tyranne of Syracvsa: ſo that many ſtoode in great hope, that the dearthe of vittells being holpen, the ciuill diſſention would alſo ceaſe.
D The Senate ſate in counſell apon it immediatly, the common people ſtoode alſo about the palice where the counſell was kept, gaping what reſolution would fall out: perſuading them ſelues, that the corne they had bought ſhould be ſolde good cheape, and that which was geuen, ſhould be deuided by the polle, without paying any pennie, and the rather, bicauſe certaine of the Senatours amongeſt them dyd ſo wiſhe and perſuade the ſame. But *Martius* ſtanding vp on his feete, dyd ſomewhat ſharpely take vp thoſe, who went about to gratifie the people therein: and called them people pleaſers, and traitours to the nobilitie. Moreouer he ſayed they nourriſhed againſt them ſelues, the naughty ſeede and cockle, of inſolencie and ſedition, which had bene ſowed and ſcattered abroade emongeſt the people, whom they ſhould haue cut of, if they had bene wiſe, and haue preuented their greatnes: and not to their owne
E deſtruction to haue ſuffered the people, to ſtabliſhe a magiſtrate for them ſelues, of ſo great power and authoritie, as that man had, to whom they had graunted it. Who was alſo to be feared, bicauſe he obtained what he would, and dyd nothing but what he liſted, neither paſſed for any obedience to the Conſuls, but liued in all libertie, acknowledging no ſuperiour to commaund him, ſauing the only heades and authours of their faction, whom he called his magiſtrates. Therefore ſayed he, they that gaue counſell, and perſuaded that the corne ſhould be geuen out to the common people *gratis*, as they vſed to doe in citties of Greece, where the people had more abſolute power: dyd but only nouriſhe their diſobedience, which would breake out in the ende, to the vtter ruine and ouerthrowe of the whole ſtate. For they will not thincke it is done in recompẽſe of their ſeruice paſt, ſithence they know well enough
F they haue ſo ofte refuſed to goe to the warres, when they were cõmaunded: neither for their mutinies when they wẽt with vs, whereby they haue rebelled & forſaken their coũtrie: neither for their accuſations which their flatterers haue preferred vnto them, & they haue receyued,

See the fickle mindes of cõmon people.

The fruites of ſelfe will and obſtinacie.

Great ſtore of corne brought to Rome.

Coriolanus oration againſt the inſolencie of the people.

» and made good againſt the Senate: but they will rather iudge we geue and graunt them this, A
» as abaſing our ſelues, and ſtanding in feare of them, & glad to flatter them euery waye. By this
» meanes, their diſobedience will ſtill growe worſe and worſe: and they will neuer leaue to pra-
» ctiſe newe ſedition, and vprores. Therefore it were a great follie for vs, me thinckes to doe it:
» yea, ſhall I ſaye more? we ſhould if we were wiſe, take from them their Tribuneſhippe, which
» moſt manifeſtly is the embaſing of the Conſulſhippe, & the cauſe of the diuiſion of the cittie.
» The ſtate whereof as it ſtandeth, is not now as it was wont to be, but becommeth diſmembred
» in two factions, which mainteines allwayes ciuill diſſention and diſcorde betwene vs, and will
» neuer ſuffer vs againe to be vnited into one bodie. *Martius* dilating the matter with many ſuch
like reaſons, wanne all the young men, and almoſt all the riche men to his opinion: in ſo much
they range it out, that he was the only man, and alone in the cittie, who ſtoode out againſt the B
people, & neuer flattered them. There were only a fewe olde men that ſpake againſt him, fea-
ring leaſt ſome miſchief might fall out apon it, as in dede there followed no great good after-
ward. For the Tribunes of the people, being preſent at this conſultation of the Senate, when
they ſawe that the opinion of *Martius* was confirmed with the more voyces, they left the Se-
nate, and went downe to the people, crying out for helpe, and that they would aſſemble to
ſaue their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ranne on head in tumult together, before whom the
wordes that *Martius* ſpake in the Senate were openly reported: which the people ſo ſtoma-
ked, that euen in that furie they were readie to flye apon the whole Senate. But the Tribunes
layed all the faulte and burden wholy vpon *Martius*, and ſent their ſergeantes forthwith to
arreſt him, preſently to appeare in perſone before the people, to aunſwer the wordes he had C C
ſpoken in the Senate. *Martius* ſtowtely withſtoode theſe officers that came to arreſt him. Then
Sedition at Rome for Coriolanus. the Tribunes in their owne perſones, accompanied with the Ædiles, went to fetche him by
force, and ſo layed violent hands vpon him. Howbeit the noble *Patricians* gathering together
about him, made the Tribunes geue backe, and layed it ſore apon the Ædiles: ſo for that time,
the night parted them, & the tumult appeaſed. The next morning betimes, the Conſuls ſeing
the people in an vprore, ronning to the market place out of all partes of the cittie, they were
affrayed leaſt all the cittie would together by the eares: wherefore aſſembling the Senate in
all haſt, they declared how it ſtoode them vpon, to appeaſe the furie of the people, with ſome
gentle wordes, or gratefull decrees in their fauour: and moreouer, like wiſe men they ſhould
conſider, it was now no time to ſtande at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for ho- D D
nour againſt the communaltie: they being fallen to ſo great an extremitie, and offering ſuch
imminēt daunger. Wherefore they were to conſider temperately of things, & to deliuer ſome
preſent and gentle pacification. The moſt parte of the Senatours that were preſent at this
counſaill, thought this opinion beſt, & gaue their conſents vnto it. Whereupon the Conſuls
riſing out of counſaill, went to ſpeake vnto the people as gently as they could, and they dyd
pacifie their furie & anger, purging the Senate of all the vniuſt accuſations layed vpon them,
and vſed great modeſtie in perſuading them, and alſo in reprouing the faultes they had com-
mitted. And as for the reſt, that touched the ſale of corne: they promiſed there ſhould be no
diſliking offred them in the price. So the moſt parte of the people being pacified, and appea-
ring ſo plainely by the great ſilence and ſtill that was among them, as yelding to the Conſuls, E E
and liking well of their wordes: the Tribunes then of the people roſe out of their ſeates, and
ſayed. Foraſmuche as the Senate yelded vnto reaſon, the people alſo for their parte, as became
them, dyd likewiſe geue place vnto them: but notwithſtanding, they would that *Martius*
ſhould come in perſone to aunſwer to the articles they had deuiſed. Firſt, whether he had not
Articles againſt Coriolanus. ſolicited and procured the Senate to chaunge the preſent ſtate of the common weale, and to
take the ſoueraine authoritie out of the peoples handes. Next, when he was ſent for by autho-
ritie of their officers, why he dyd contemptuouſly reſiſt and diſobey. Laſtely, ſeeing he had dri-
uen and beaten the Ædiles into the market place before all the worlde: if in doing this, he had
not done as muche as in him laye, to raiſe ciuill warres, and to ſet one cittizen againſt another.
All this was ſpoken to one of theſe two endes, either that *Martius* againſt his nature ſhould F F
be conſtrained to humble him ſelfe, and to abaſe his hawty and fierce minde: or els if he con-
tinued ſtill in his ſtowtnes, he ſhould incurre the peoples diſpleaſure and ill will ſo farre, that
he

A he ſhould neuer poſſibly winne them againe. Which they hoped would rather fall out ſo, then otherwiſe: as in deede they geſt vnhappely, conſidering *Martius* nature and diſpoſition. So *Martius* came, and preſented him ſelfe, to aunſwer their accuſations againſt him, & the people held their peace, and gaue attentiue eare, to heare what he would ſaye. But where they thought to haue heard very humble and lowly wordes come from him, he beganne not only to vſe his wonted boldnes of ſpeaking (which of it ſelfe was very rough and vnpleaſaunt, and dyd more aggrauate his accuſation, then purge his innocencie) but alſo gaue him ſelfe in his wordes to thunder, and looke therewithall ſo grimly, as though he made no reckoning of the matter. This ſtirred coales emong the people, who were in wonderfull furie at it, & their hate and malice grewe ſo toward him, that they could holde no lenger, beare, nor indure his bra-

Coriolanus ſtowtnes in defence of him ſelfe.

B uery and careles boldnes. Whereupon *Sicinius*, the cruelleſt and ſtowteſt of the Tribunes, after he had whiſpered a litle with his companions, dyd openly pronounce in the face of all the people, *Martius* as condemned by the Tribunes to dye. Then preſently he commaunded the Ædiles to apprehend him, and carie him ſtraight to the rocke Tarpeian, and to caſt him hedlong downe the ſame. When the Ædiles came to laye handes vpon *Martius* to doe that they were commaunded, diuers of the people them ſelues thought it to cruell, and violent a dede. The noble men alſo being muche troubled to ſee ſuch force and rigour vſed, beganne to crie alowde, helpe *Martius*: ſo thoſe that layed handes of him being repulſed, they compaſſed him in rounde emong them ſelues, and ſome of them holding vp their handes to the people, beſought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their wordes, nor crying out could

Sicinius the Tribune, pronounceth ſentence of death vpō Martius.

C ought preuaile, the tumulte and hurly burley was ſo great, vntill ſuche time as the Tribunes owne friendes and kinſemen weying with them ſelues the impoſſiblenes to conuey *Martius* to execution, without great ſlaughter & murder of the nobilitie: dyd perſuade and aduiſe not to proceede in ſo violent and extraordinary a ſorte, as to put ſuch a man to death, without lawfull proceſſe in lawe, but that they ſhould referre the ſentence of his death, to the free voyce of the people. Then *Sicinius* bethinking him ſelf a litle, dyd aske the *Patricians*, for what cauſe they tooke *Martius* out of the officers handes that went to doe execution? The *Patricians* asked him againe, why they would of them ſelues, ſo cruelly and wickedly put to death, ſo noble and valliant a Romaine, as *Martius* was, and that without lawe or iuſtice? Well, then ſayed *Sicinius*, if that be the matter, let there be no more quarrell or diſſention againſt the peo-

Coriolanus hath daye geuen him to aunſwer the people.

D ple: for they doe graunt your demaūde, that his cauſe ſhalbe heard according to the law. Therfore ſayed he to *Martius*, we doe will and charge you to appeare before the people, the third daye of our next ſitting and aſſembly here, to make your purgation for ſuch articles as ſhalbe obiected againſt you, that by free voyce the people maye geue ſentence apon you as ſhall pleaſe them. The noble men were glad then of the adiornment, and were muche pleaſed they had gotten *Martius* out of this daunger. In the meane ſpace, before the third day of their next ceſſion came about, the ſame being kept euery nineth daye continually at Rome, whereupon they call it now in Latin, *Nundinæ*: there fell out warre againſt the Antiates, which gaue ſome hope to the nobilitie, that this adiornment would come to litle effect, thinking that this warre would hold them ſo longe, as that the furie of the people againſt him would be well

E ſwaged, or vtterly forgotten, by reaſon of the trouble of the warres. But contrarie to expectation, the peace was concluded preſently with the Antiates, and the people returned again to Rome. Then the *Patricians* aſſembled oftentimes together, to conſult how they might ſtande to *Martius*, and keepe the Tribunes from occaſion to cauſe the people to mutine againe, and riſe againſt the nobilitie. And there *Appius Clodius* (one that was taken euer as an heauy enemie to the people) dyd auowe and proteſt, that they would vtterly abaſe the authoritie of the Senate, and deſtroye the common weale, if they would ſuffer the common people to haue authoritie by voyces to geue iudgment againſt the nobilitie. On thother ſide againe, the moſt auncient Senatours, & ſuche as were geuen to fauour the cōmon people ſayed: that when the people ſhould ſee they had authoritie of life and death in their handes, they would

F not be ſo cruell & fierce, but gentle and ciuill. More alſo, that it was not for contempt of nobilitie or the Senate, that they ſought to haue the authoritie of iuſtice in their handes, as a preheminence and prerogatiue of honour: but bicauſe they feared, that them ſelues ſhould

be contemned and hated of the nobilitie. So as they were perſuaded, that ſo ſone as they gaue them authoritie to iudge by voyces: ſo ſone would they leaue all enuie and malice to condemne anye. *Martius* ſeeing the Senate in great doubt how to reſolue, partely for the loue and good will the nobilitie dyd beare him, and partely for the feare they ſtoode in of the people: asked alowde of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden him with? The Tribunes aunſwered him, that they would ſhewe howe he dyd aſpire to be King, and would proue that all his actions tended to vſurpe tyrannicall power ouer ROME. *Martius* with that, riſing vp on his feete, ſayed: that thereupon he dyd willingly offer him ſelf to the people, to be tried apon that accuſation. And that if it were proued by him, he had ſo muche as once thought of any ſuche matter, that he would then refuſe no kinde of puniſhment they would offer him: conditionally (q he) that you charge me with nothing els beſides, and that ye doe not alſo abuſe the Senate. They promiſed they would not. Vnder theſe conditions the iudgement was agreed vpon, and the people aſſembled. And firſt of all the Tribunes would in any caſe (whatſoeuer became of it) that the people would proceede to geue their voyces by Tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this meanes the multitude of the poore needy people (and all ſuche rable as had nothing to loſe, and had leſſe regard of honeſtie before their eyes) came to be of greater force (bicauſe their voyces were numbred by the polle) then the noble honeſt cittizens, whoſe perſones and purſe dyd duetifully ſerue the common wealth in their warres. And then when the Tribunes ſawe they could not proue he went about to make him ſelf King: they beganne to broache a freſhe the former wordes that *Martius* had ſpoken in the Senate, in hindering the diſtribution of the corne at meane price vnto the common people, and perſuading alſo to take the office of Tribuneſhippe from them. And for the third, they charged him a newe, that he had not made the common diſtribution of the ſpoyle he had gotten in the inuading the territories of the ANTIATES: but had of his owne authoritie deuided it among them, who were with him in that iorney. But this matter was moſt ſtraunge of all to *Martius*, looking leaſt to haue bene burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Wherupon being burdened on the ſodaine, and hauing no ready excuſe to make euen at that inſtant: he beganne to fall a praiſing of the ſouldiers that had ſerued with him in that iorney. But thoſe that were not with him, being the greater number, cried out ſo lowde, and made ſuche a noyſe, that he could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voyces of the Tribes, there were three voyces odde, which condemned him to be baniſhed for life. After declaration of the ſentence, the people made ſuche ioye, as they neuer reioyced more for any battell they had wonne vpon their enemies, they were ſo braue and liuely, & went home ſo iocondly from the aſſembly, for triumphe of this ſentēce. The Senate againe in contrary manner were as ſad and heauie, repenting them ſelues beyond meaſure, that they had not rather determined to haue done & ſuffered any thing whatſoeuer, before the cōmon people ſhould ſo arrogantly, and outrageouſly haue abuſed their authoritie. There needed no difference of garments I warrāt you, nor outward ſhowes to know a *Plebeian* from a *Patrician*, for they were eaſely decerned by their lookes. For he that was on the peoples ſide, looked cheerely on the matter: but he that was ſad, and honge downe his head, he was ſure of the noble mens ſide. Sauing *Martius* alone, who neither in his countenaunce, nor in his gate, dyd euer ſhowe him ſelfe abaſhed, or once let fall his great corage: but he only of all other gentlemen that were angrie at his fortune, dyd outwardly ſhewe no manner of paſſion, nor care at all of him ſelfe. Not that he dyd paciently beare and temper his good happe, in reſpect of any reaſon he had, or by his quiet condition: but bicauſe he was ſo caried awaye with the vehemencie of anger, and deſire of reuenge, that he had no ſence nor feeling of the hard ſtate he was in, which the common people iudge, not to be ſorow, although in dede it be the very ſame. For when ſorow (as you would ſaye) is ſet a fyre, then it is conuerted into ſpite and malice, and driueth awaye for that time all faintnes of harte and naturall feare. And this is the cauſe why the cholericke man is ſo altered, and mad in his actions, as a man ſet a fyre with a burning agewe: for when a mans harte is troubled within, his pulſe will beate maruelous ſtrongely. Now that *Martius* was euen in that taking, it appeared true ſone after by his doinges. For when he was come home to his houſe againe, and had taken his leaue of his mother and wife, finding them weeping

Coriolanus accuſed, that he ſought to be King.

Coriolanus baniſhed for life.

Coriolanus conſtāt minde in aduerſitie.

The force of anger.

A weeping, and ſhreeking out for ſorrowe, and had alſo comforted and perſuaded them to be content with his chaunce: he went immediatly to the gate of the cittie, accompanied with a great number of *Patricians* that brought him thither, from whence he went on his waye with three or foure of his friendes only, taking nothing with him, nor requeſting any thing of any man. So he remained a fewe dayes in the countrie at his houſes, turmoyled with ſundry ſortes and kynde of thoughtes, ſuche as the fyer of his choller dyd ſturre vp. In the ende, ſeeing he could reſolue no waye, to take a profitable or honorable courſe, but only was pricked forward ſtill to be reuenged of the ROMAINES: he thought to raiſe vp ſome great warres againſt them, by their neereſt neighbours. Whereupon, he thought it his beſt waye, firſt to ſtirre vp the VOLSCES againſt them, knowing they were yet able enough in ſtrength and riches to en-
B counter them, notwithſtanding their former loſſes they had receyued not long before, & that their power was not ſo muche impaired, as their malice and deſire was increaſed, to be reuenged of the ROMAINES. Now in the cittie of ANTIVM, there was one called *Tullus Auſidius*, who for his riches, as alſo for his nobilitie and valliantnes, was honoured emong the VOLSCES as a King. *Martius* knewe very well, that *Tullus* dyd more malice and enuie him, then he dyd all the ROMAINES beſides: bicauſe that many times in battells where they met, they were euer at the encounter one againſt another, like luſtie coragious youthes, ſtriuing in all emulation of honour, and had encountered many times together. In ſo muche, as beſides the common quarrell betweene them, there was bred a maruelous priuate hate one againſt another. Yet notwithſtanding, conſidering that *Tullus Auſidius* was a man of a great minde,
C and that he aboue all other of the VOLSCES, moſt deſired reuenge of the ROMAINES, for the iniuries they had done vnto them: he dyd an acte that confirmed the true wordes of an auncient Poet, who ſayed:

Tullus Auſidius, a greate perſone emõg the Volſces.

It is a thing full harde, mans anger to vvithſtand,
if it be ſtiffely bent to take an enterpriſe in hande.
For then moſt men vvill haue, the thing that they deſire,
although it coſt their liues therefore, ſuche force hath vvicked ire.

And ſo dyd he. For he diſguiſed him ſelfe in ſuche arraye and attire, as he thought no man could euer haue knowen him for the perſone he was, ſeeing him in that apparell he had vpon his backe: and as *Homer* ſayed of *Vlyſſes*,

D *So dyd he enter into the enemies tovvne.*

It was euen twy light when he entred the cittie of ANTIVM, and many people met him in the ſtreetes, but no man knewe him. So he went directly to *Tullus Auſidius* houſe, and when he came thither, he got him vp ſtraight to the chimney harthe, and ſat him downe, and ſpake not a worde to any man, his face all muffled ouer. They of the houſe ſpying him, wondered what he ſhould be, and yet they durſt not byd him riſe. For ill fauoredly muffled and diſguiſed as he was, yet there appeared a certaine maieſtie in his countenance, and in his ſilence: whereupon they went to *Tullus* who was at ſupper, to tell him of the ſtraunge diſguiſing of this man. *Tullus* roſe preſently from the borde, and comming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then *Martius* vnmuffled him ſelfe, and after he had pauſed a while, ma-

Coriolanus diſguiſed, goeth to Antium, a cittie of the Volſces

E king no aunſwer, he ſayed vnto him. If thou knoweſt me not yet, *Tullus*, and ſeeing me, doſt not perhappes beleeue me to be the man I am in dede, I muſt of neceſſitie bewraye my ſelfe to be that I am. I am *Caius Martius*, who hath done to thy ſelf particularly, and to all the VOLSCES generally, great hurte and miſchief, which I cannot denie for my ſurname of *Coriolanus* that I beare. For I neuer had other benefit nor recompence, of all the true and paynefull ſeruice I haue done, and the extreme daungers I haue bene in, but this only ſurname: a good memorie and witnes, of the malice and diſpleaſure thou ſhouldeſt beare me. In deede the name only remaineth with me: for the reſt, the enuie and crueltie of the people of ROME haue taken from me, by the ſufferance of the darſtardly nobilitie and magiſtrates, who haue forſaken me, & let me be baniſhed by the people. This extremitie hath now driuen me to come as a poore
F ſuter, to take thy chimney harthe, not of any hope I haue to ſaue my life thereby. For if I had feared death, I would not haue come hither to haue put my life in hazard: but prickt forward with ſpite and deſire I haue to be reuenged of them that thus haue baniſhed me, whom now

Coriolanus oration to Tullus Auſidius.

« « « «

» I beginne to be auenged on, putting my perſone betweene thy enemies. Wherefore, if thou A
» haſt any harte to be wrecked of the iniuries thy enemies haue done thee, ſpede thee now, and
» let my miſerie ſerue thy turne, and ſo vſe it, as my ſeruice maye be a beneſit to the VOLSCES:
» promiſing thee, that I will fight with better good will for all you, then euer I dyd when I was
» againſt you, knowing that they fight more valliantly, who knowe the force of their enemie,
» then ſuch as haue neuer proued it. And if it be ſo that thou dare not, and that thou art wearye
» to proue fortune any more: then am I alſo weary to liue any lenger. And it were no wiſedome
» in thee, to ſaue the life of him, who hath bene heretofore thy mortall enemie, and whoſe ſer-
» uice now can nothing helpe nor pleaſure thee. *Tullus* hearing what he ſayed, was a maruelous
glad man, and taking him by the hande, he ſayed vnto him. Stande vp, ô *Martius*, and bee of
good chere, for in profering thy ſelfe vnto vs, thou doſt vs great honour: and by this meanes B
thou mayeſt hope alſo of greater things, at all the VOLSCES handes. So he feaſted him for
that time, and entertained him in the honorableſt manner he could, talking with him in no o-
ther matters at that preſent: but within fewe dayes after, they fell to conſultation together, in
what ſorte they ſhould beginne their warres. Now on thother ſide, the cittie of ROME was in
Great diſſention at Rome about Martius baniſhment. maruelous vprore, and diſcord, the nobilitie againſt the communaltie, and chiefly for *Martius*
condemnation and baniſhment. Moreouer the prieſtes, the Soothſayers, and priuate men
alſo, came and declared to the Senate certaine ſightes and wonders in the ayer, which they
had ſeene, and were to be conſidered of: amongeſt the which, ſuch a viſion happened. There
was a cittizen of ROME called *Titus Latinus*, a man of meane qualitie & condition, but other-
wiſe an honeſt ſober man, geuen to a quiet life, without ſuperſtition, and much leſſe to vanitie C
or lying. This man had a viſion in his dreame, in the which he thought that *Iupiter* appeared
vnto him, and commaunded him to ſignifie to the Senate, that they had cauſed a very vile
lewde daunſer to goe before the proceſſion: and ſayed, the firſt time this viſion had appeared
vnto him, he made no reckoning of it: and comming againe another time into his minde, he
made not muche more accompt of the matter then before. In the ende, he ſawe one of his
ſonnes dye, who had the beſt nature and condition of all his brethern: and ſodainely he him
ſelfe was ſo taken in all his limmes, that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he tolde
the whole circumſtãce of this viſion before the Senate, ſitting vpon his litle couche or bedde,
whereon he was caried on mens armes: and he had no ſooner reported this viſion to the Se-
nate, but he preſently felt his bodie & limmes reſtored again, to their former ſtrẽgth & vſe. So D
raiſing vp him ſelf vpon his couche, he got vp on his feete at that inſtant, & walked home to his
houſe, without helpe of any man. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent en-
quierie to vnderſtand the trothe: & in the ende they found there was ſuch a thing. There was
one that had deliuered a bõdman of his that had offended him, into the hands of other ſlaues
& bondemen, & had commanded them to whippe him vp & down the market place, & after-
wards to kill him: & as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they dyd ſo martyre
the poore wretch, that for the cruell ſmarte & payne he felt, he turned & writhed his bodie in
ſtraũge & pittifull ſorte. The proceſſion by chaunce came by euen at the ſame time, & many
that followed it, were hartely moued & offended with the ſight, ſaying: that this was no good
ſight to behold, nor mete to be met in proceſſiõ time. But for all this, there was nothing done E
ſauing they blamed & rebuked him, that puniſhed his ſlaue ſo cruelly. For the ROMAINES at
that time, dyd vſe their bondemen very gently, bicauſe they them ſelues dyd labour with their
owne hands, and liued with them, & emong them: and therefore they dyd vſe them the more
The Romaines manner of puniſhing their ſlaues. gently and familliarly. For the greateſt puniſhment they gaue a ſlaue that had offended, was
this. They made him carie a limmer on his ſhowlders that is faſtened to the axeltree of a
coche, and compelled him to goe vp and downe in that ſorte amongeſt all their neighbours.
He that had once abidden this puniſhement, and was ſeene in that manner, was proclaimed
VVhereof Furcifer came and cried in euery market towne: ſo that no man would euer truſt him after, and they called
him *Furcifer*, bicauſe the LATINES call the wodd that ronneth into the axeltree of the coche,
Furca, as muche to ſaye, as a forke. Now when *Latinus* had made reporte to the Senate of the F
viſion that had happened to him, they were deuiſing whom this vnpleaſaunt daunſer ſhould
be, that went before the proceſſion. Thereupon certain that ſtoode by, remembred the poore

ſlaue

A slaue that was so cruelly whipped through the market place, whom they afterwardes put to death: and the thing that made them remember it, was the straunge and rare manner of his punishment. The priestes hereupon were repaired vnto for their aduise: they were wholy of opinion, that it was the whipping of the slaue. So they caused the slaues master to be punished, and beganne againe a newe procession, and all other showes and sightes in honour of *Iupiter*. But hereby appeareth plainely, how king *Numa* dyd wisely ordaine all other ceremonies concerning deuotion to the goddes, and specially this custome which he stablished, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishoppes, priestes, or other religious ministers goe about any diuine seruice, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying out alowde, *Hoc age*: as to saye, doe this, or minde this. Hereby they are specially cōmaunded, B wholy to dispose them selues to serue God, leauing all other busines and matters a side: knowing well enough, that whatsoeuer most men doe, they doe it as in a manner constrained vnto it. But the ROMAINES dyd euer vse to beginne againe their sacrifices, processions, playes, and suche like showes done in honour of the goddes, not only vpon suche an occasion, but apon lighter causes then that. As when they went a procession through the cittie, and dyd carie the images of their goddes, and suche other like holy relikes vpon open hallowed coches or charrets, called in LATIN *Thensæ*: one of the coche horses that drue them stoode still, and would drawe no more: and bicause also the coche man tooke the raynes of the bridle with the left hande, they ordained that the procession should be begonne againe a newe. Of later time also, they dyd renewe and beginne a sacrifice thirtie times one after another, bicause they thought C still there fell out one faulte or other in the same, so holy and deuout were they to the goddes. Now *Tullus* and *Martius* had secret conference with the greatest personages of the cittie of ANTIVM, declaring vnto them, that now they had good time offered them to make warre with the ROMAINES, while they were in dissention one with another. They aunswered them, they were ashamed to breake the league, considering that they were sworne to keepe peace for two yeres. Howbeit shortely after, the ROMAINES gaue them great occasion to make warre with them. For on a holy daye common playes being kept in ROME, apon some suspition, or false reporte, they made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all the VOLSCES should auoyde out of ROME before sunne set. Some thincke this was a crafte and deceipt of *Martius*, who sent one to ROME to the Consuls, to accuse the VOLSCES falsely, aduertising D them howe they had made a conspiracie to set apon them, whileste they were busie in seeing these games, and also to set their cittie a fyre. This open proclamation made all the VOLSCES more offended with the ROMAINES, then euer they were before: and *Tullus* agrauating the matter, dyd so inflame the VOLSCES against them, that in the ende they sent their ambassadours to Rome, to summone them to deliuer their landes and townes againe, which they had taken from them in times past, or to looke for present warres. The ROMAINES hearing this, were maruelously netled: and made no other aunswer but thus. If the VOLSCES be the first that beginne warre: the ROMAINES will be the last that will ende it. Incontinently vpon returne of the VOLSCES ambassadours, and deliuerie of the ROMAINES aunswer: *Tullus* caused an assembly generall to be made of the VOLSCES, and concluded to make warre apon E the ROMAINES. This done, *Tullus* dyd counsell them to take *Martius* into their seruice, and not to mistruste him for the remembraunce of any thing past, but boldely to truste him in any matter to come: for he would doe them more seruice in fighting for them, then euer he dyd them displeasure in fighting against them. So *Martius* was called forth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no lesse eloquent in tongue, then warlike in showe: and declared him selfe both expert in warres, and wise with valliantnes. Thus he was ioyned in commission with *Tullus* as generall of the VOLSCES, hauing absolute authoritie betwene thē to follow & pursue the warres. But *Martius* fearing least tract of time to bring this armie togither with all the munitiō & furniture of the VOLSCES, would robbe him of the meane he had to execute his purpose and intent: left order with the rulers and chief of the F cittie, to assemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessary prouision for the campe. Then he with the lightest souldiers he had, and that were willing to followe him, stale awaye vpon the sodaine, and marched with all speede, and entred the territories of ROME, before the

A ceremonie instituted by king Numa, touching religion.

The superstition of the Romaines.

Thensæ.

The Romaines gaue the Volsces occasion of warres.

Martius Coriolanus craftie accusation of the Volsces.

Coriolanus chosen generall of the Volsces, with Tullus Aufidius against the Romaines.

Coriolanus inuadeth the territories of the Romaines.

ROMAINES heard any newes of his comming. In so much the VOLSCES found such spoyle in the fields, as they had more then they could spend in their campe, and were wearie to drive and carie awaye that they had. Howbeit the gayne of the spoyle and the hurte they dyd to the ROMAINES in this inuasion, was the least parte of his intent. For his chiefest purpose was, to increase still the malice and dissention betweene the nobilitie, and the communaltie: and to drawe that on, he was very carefull to keepe the noble mens landes & goods safe from harme and burning, but spoyled all the whole countrie besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurte any thing of the noble mens. This made greater sturre and broyle betweene the nobilitie and people, then was before. For the noble men fell out with the people, bicause they had so vniustly banished a man of so great valure and power. The people on thother side, accused the nobilitie, how they had procured *Martius* to make these warres, to be reuenged of them: bicause it pleased them to see their goodes burnt and spoyled before their eyes, whilest them selues were well at ease, and dyd behold the peoples losses and misfortunes, & knowing their owne goodes safe and out of daunger: and howe the warre was not made against the noble men, that had the enemie abroad, to keepe that they had in safety. Now *Martius* hauing done this first exploite (which made the VOLSCES bolder, and lesse fearefull of the ROMAINES) brought home all the armie againe, without losse of any man. After their whole armie (which was maruelous great, and very forward to seruice) was assembled in one campe: they agreed to leaue parte of it for garrison in the countrie about, and the other parte should goe on, and make the warre apon the ROMAINES. So *Martius* bad *Tullus* choose, and take which of the two charges he liked best. *Tullus* made him aunswer, he knewe by experience that *Martius* was no lesse valliant then him selfe, and howe he euer had better fortune and good happe in all battells, then him selfe had. Therefore he thought it best for him to haue the leading of those that should make the warres abroade: and him selfe would keepe home, to prouide for the safety of the citties and of his countrie, and to furnishe the campe also of all necessary prouision abroade. So *Martius* being stronger then before, went first of all vnto the cittie of CIRCEES, inhabited by the ROMAINES, who willingly yelded them selues, and therefore had no hurte. From thence, he entred the countrie of the LATINES, imagining the ROMAINES would fight with him there, to defend the LATINES, who were their confederates, and had many times sent vnto the ROMAINES for their ayde. But on the one side, the people of ROME were very ill willing to goe: and on the other side the Consuls being apon their going out of their office, would not hazard them selues for so small a time: so that the ambassadours of the LATINES returned home againe, and dyd no good. Then *Martius* dyd besiege their citties, and hauing taken by force the townes of the TOLERINIANS, VICANIANS, PEDANIANS, and the BOLANIANS, who made resistaunce: he sacked all their goodes, and tooke them prisoners. Suche as dyd yeld them selues willingly vnto him, he was as carefull as possible might be, to defend them from hurte: and bicause they should receyue no damage by his will, he remoued his campe as farre from their confines as he could. Afterwards, he tooke the cittie of BOLES by assault, being about an hundred furlonge from ROME, where he had a maruelous great spoyle, and put euery man to the sword that was able to carie weapon. The other VOLSCES that were appointed to remaine in garrison for defence of their countrie, hearing this good newes, would tary no lenger at home, but armed them selues, and ranne to *Martius* campe, saying they dyd acknowledge no other captaine but him. Hereupon his fame ranne through all ITALIE, and euery one praised him for a valliant captaine, for that by chaunge of one man for another, suche and so straunge euents fell out in the state. In this while, all went still to wracke at ROME. For, to come into the field to fight with the enemie, they could not abyde to heare of it, they were one so muche against another, and full of seditious wordes, the nobilitie against the people, & the people against the nobilitie. Vntill they had intelligence at the length that the enemies had layed seige to the cittie of LAVINIVM, in the which were all the temples and images of the goddes their protectours, and from whence came first their auncient originall, for that *Æneas* at his first arriuall into ITALIE dyd build that cittie. Then fell there out a maruelous sodain chaunge of minde among the people, & farre more straunge & contrarie in the nobilitie. For the people thought good to repeale the condemnation and exile

A fine deuise to make the communaltie suspect the nobilitie.

Great harte burning betwext the nobilitie and people.

Lauinium built by Æneas.

A exile of *Martius*. The Senate assembled vpon it, would in no case yeld to that. Who either dyd it of a selfe will to be contrarie to the peoples desire: or bicause *Martius* should not returne through the grace and fauour of the people. Or els, bicause they were throughly angrie and offended with him, that he would set apon the whole, being offended but by a fewe, and in his doings would shewe him selfe an open enemie besides vnto his countrie: notwithstanding the most parte of them tooke the wrong they had done him, in maruelous ill parte, and as if the iniurie had bene done vnto them selues. Reporte being made of the Senates resolution, the people founde them selues in a straight: for they could authorise and confirme nothing by their voyces, vnles it had bene first propounded and ordeined by the Senate. But *Martius* hearing this sturre about him, was in a greater rage with them then be-
B fore: in so muche as he raised his seige incontinently before the cittie of LAVINIVM, and going towardes ROME, lodged his campe within fortie furlonge of the cittie, at the ditches called *Cluiliæ*. His incamping so neere ROME, dyd put all the whole cittie in a wonderfull feare: howbeit for the present time it appeased the sedition and dissention betwext the Nobilitie and the people. For there was no Consul, Senatour, nor Magistrate, that durst once contrarie the opinion of the people, for the calling home againe of *Martius*. When they sawe the women in a maruelous feare, ronning vp and downe the cittie: the temples of the goddes full of olde people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the goddes: and finally, not a man either wise or hardie to prouide for their safetie: then they were all of o-
C pinion, that the people had reason to call home *Martius* againe, to reconcile them selues to him, and that the Senate on the contrary parte, were in maruelous great faulte to be angrie and in choller with him, when it stoode them vpon rather to haue gone out and intreated him. So they all agreed together to send ambassadours vnto him, to let him vnderstand howe his countrymen dyd call him home againe, and restored him to all his goodes, and besought him to deliuer them from this warre. The ambassadours that were sent, were *Martius* familliar friendes, and acquaintaunce, who looked at the least for a curteous welcome of him, as of their familliar friende and kynseman. Howbeit they founde nothing lesse. For at their comming, they were brought through the campe, to the place where he was set in his chayer of state, with a maruelous and an vnspeakable maiestie, hauing the chiefest men of the VOLSCES about him: so he commaunded them to de-
D clare openly the cause of their comming. Which they deliuered in the most humble and lowly wordes they possiblie could deuise, and with all modest countenaunce and behauiour agreable for the same. When they had done their message: for the iniurie they had done him, he aunswered them very hottely, and in great choller. But as generall of the VOLSCES, he willed them to restore vnto the VOLSCES, all their landes and cities they had taken from them in former warres: and moreouer, that they should geue them the like honour and freedome of ROME, as they had before geuen to the LATINES. For otherwise they had no other meane to ende this warre, if they dyd not graunte these honest and iust conditions of peace. Thereupon he gaue them thirtie dayes respit to make him aunswer. So the ambassadours returned straight to ROME, and *Martius* forthwith depar-
E ted with his armie out of the territories of the ROMAINES. This was the first matter wherewith the VOLSCES (that most enuied *Martius* glorie and authoritie) dyd charge *Martius* with. Among those, *Tullus* was chief: who though he had receyued no priuate iniurie or displeasure of *Martius*, yet the common faulte and imperfection of mans nature wrought in him, and it grieued him to see his owne reputation bleamished, through *Martius* great fame and honour, and so him selfe to be lesse esteemed of the VOLSCES, then he was before. This fell out the more, bicause euery man honoured *Martius*, and thought he only could doe all, and that all other gouernours and captaines must be content with suche credit and authoritie, as he would please to countenaunce them with. From hence they deriued all their first accusations and secret murmurings
F against *Martius*. For priuate captaines conspiring against him, were very angrie with him: and gaue it out, that the remouing of the campe was a manifest treason, not of the townes, nor fortes, nor of armes, but of time and occasion, which was a losse of great

The Romaines send ambassadours to Coriolanus to treate of peace.

The first occasion of the Volsces enuy to Coriolanus.

importaunce, bicauſe it was that which in treaſon might both loſe and binde all, and preſerue the whole. Now *Martius* hauing geuen the ROMAINES thirtie dayes reſpit for their aunſwer, and ſpecially bicauſe the warres haue not accuſtomed to make any great chaunges, in leſſe ſpace of time then that: he thought it good yet, not to lye a ſleepe and idle all the while, but went and deſtroyed the landes of the enemies allies, and tooke ſeuen great citties of theirs well inhabited, and the ROMAINES durſt not once put them ſelues into the field, to come to their ayde and helpe: they were ſo fainte harted, ſo miſtruſtfull, and lothe beſides to make warres. In ſo muche as they properly reſſembled the bodyes paralyticke, and loſed of their limmes and members: as thoſe which through the palſey haue loſt all their ſence and feeling. Wherefore, the time of peace expired, *Martius* being returned into the dominions of the ROMAINES againe with all his armie, they ſent another ambaſſade vnto him, to praye peace, and the remoue of the VOLSCES out of their countrie: that afterwardes they might with better leyſure fall to ſuche agreementes together, as ſhould be thought moſt mete and neceſſarie. For the ROMAINES were no men that would euer yeld for feare. But if he thought the VOLSCES had any grounde to demaunde reaſonable articles and conditions, all that they would reaſonably aske ſhould be graunted vnto, by the ROMAINES, who of them ſelues would willingly yeld to reaſon, conditionally, that they dyd laye downe armes. *Martius* to that aunſwered: that as generall of the VOLSCES he would replie nothing vnto it. But yet as a ROMAINE cittizen, he would counſell them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reaſon, if they were wiſe: and that they ſhould returne againe within three dayes, deliuering vp the articles agreed vpon, which he had firſt deliuered them. Or otherwiſe, that he would no more geue them aſſuraunce or ſafe conduite to returne againe into his campe, with ſuche vaine and friuolous meſſages. When the ambaſſadours were returned to ROME, and had reported *Martius* aunſwer to the Senate: their cittie being in extreme daunger, and as it were in a terrible ſtorme or tempeſt, they threw out (as the common prouerbe ſayeth) their holy ancker. For then they appointed all the biſhoppes, prieſtes, miniſters of the goddes, and keepers of holy things, and all the augures or ſoothſayers, which foreſhowe things to come by obſeruation of the flying of birdes (which is an olde auncient kynde of prophecying and diuination amongeſt the ROMAINES) to goe to *Martius* apparelled as when they doe their ſacrifices: and firſt to intreate him to leaue of warre, and then that he would ſpeake to his contrymen, and conclude peace with the VOLSCES. *Martius* ſuffered them to come into his campe, but yet he graunted them nothing the more, neither dyd he entertaine them or ſpeake more curteouſly to them, then he dyd the firſt time that they came vnto him, ſauing only that he willed them to take the one of the two: either to accept peace vnder the firſt conditions offered, or els to receyue warre. When all this goodly rable of ſuperſtition and prieſtes were returned, it was determined in counſell that none ſhould goe out of the gates of the cittie, and that they ſhould watche and warde vpon the walles, to repulſe their enemies if they came to aſſault them: referring them ſelues and all their hope to time, and fortunes vncertaine fauour, not knowing otherwiſe howe to remedie the daunger. Now all the cittie was full of tumult, feare, and maruelous doubt what would happen: vntill at the length there fell out ſuche a like matter, as *Homer* oftetimes ſayed they would leaſt haue thought of. For in great matters, that happen ſeldome, *Homer* ſayeth, and crieth out in this ſorte,

Another ambaſſade ſent to Coriolanus.

The prieſtes and ſoothſayers ſent to Coriolanus.

The goddeſſe Pallas ſhe, vvith her fayer gliſtering eyes,
dyd put into his minde ſuche thoughts, and made him ſo deuiſe.

And

A And in an other place:

But ſure ſome god hath t'ane out of the peoples minde,
both vvit and vnderſtanding eke, and haue therevvith aſſynde
ſome other ſimple ſpirite, in ſteede thereof to byde,
that ſo they might their doings all, for lacke of vvit miſguyde.

And in an other place:

The people of them ſelues, did either it conſider,
or elſe ſome god inſtructed them, and ſo they ioynde together.

Many recken not of *Homer*, as referring matters vnpoſſible, and fables of no likelyhoode ortrothe, vnto mans reaſon, free will, or iudgement: which in deede is not his meaning. But
B things true & likely, he maketh to depend of our owne free wil and reaſon. For he oft ſpeaketh theſe wordes:

I haue thought it in my noble harte.

And in an other place:

Achilles angrie vvas, and ſorie for to heare
him ſo to ſay, his heavy breſt vvas fraught vvith penſiue feare.

And againe in an other place:

Bellerophon (ſhe) could not moue vvith her fayer tongue,
ſo honeſt and ſo vertuous, he vvas the reſt among.

But in wonderous and extraordinarie thinges, which are done by ſecret inſpirations and
C motions, he doth not ſay that God taketh away, from man his choyce and freedom of will, but that he doth moue it: neither that he doth worke deſire in vs, but obiecteth to our mindes certaine imaginations whereby we are lead to deſire, and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope of ſucceſſe. For, either we muſt ſay, that the goddes meddle not with the cauſes and beginninges of our actions: or elſe what other meanes haue they to helpe and further men? It is apparaunt that they handle not our bodies, nor moue not our feete and handes, when there is occaſion to vſe them: but that parte of our minde from which theſe motions proceede, is induced thereto, or caried away by ſuch obiectes and reaſons, as God offereth vnto it. Now the ROMAINE Ladies and gentlewomen did viſite all the temples and goddes
D of the ſame, to make their prayers vnto them: but the greateſt Ladies (and more parte of them) were continuallie about the aulter of *Iupiter Capitolin*, emonge which troupe by name, was *Valeria*, *Publicolaes* owne ſiſter. The ſelfe ſame *Publicola*, who did ſuch notable ſeruice to the ROMAINES, both in peace & warres: and was dead alſo certaine yeares before, as we haue declared in his life. His ſiſter *Valeria* was greatly honoured and reuerenced amonge all the ROMAINES: and did ſo modeſtlie and wiſelie behaue her ſelfe, that ſhe did not ſhame nor diſhonour the houſe ſhe came of. So ſhe ſodainely fell into ſuche a fanſie, as we haue rehearſed before, and had (by ſome god as I thinke) taken holde of a noble deuiſe. Whereuppon ſhe roſe, and thother Ladies with her, and they all together went ſtraight to the houſe of *Volumnia*, *Martius* mother: and comming in to her, founde her, and *Martius*
E wife her daughter in lawe ſet together, and hauinge her husbande *Martius* young children in her lappe. Now all the traine of theſe Ladies ſittinge in a ringe rounde about her: *Valeria* firſt beganne to ſpeake in this ſorte vnto her. We Ladies, are come to viſite you Ladies (my Ladie *Volumnia* and *Virgilia*) by no direction from the Senate, nor commaundement of other magiſtrate: but through the inſpiration (as I take it) of ſome god aboue. Who hauinge taken compaſſion and pitie of our prayers, hath moued vs to come vnto you, to intreate you in a matter, as well beneficiall for vs, as alſo for the whole citizens in gene-

Valeria Publicolaes ſiſter.

Volumnia, Martius mother.

The wordes of Valeria, vnto Volumnia and Virgilia.

» rall: but to your ſelues in eſpeciall (if it pleaſe you to credit me) and ſhall redounde to our A
» more fame and glorie, then the daughters of the SABYNES obteined in former age, when
» they procured louinge peace, inſtead of hateſull warre, betwene their fathers and their huſ-
» bands. Come on good ladies, and let vs goe all togethervnto *Martius*, to intreate him to
» take pitie vpponvs, and alſo to reporte the trothe vnto him, howe muche you are bounde
» vnto the citizens: who notwithſtandinge they haue ſuſteined greate hurte and loſſes by him,
» yet they haue not hetherto ſought reuenge apon your perſons by any diſcurteous vſage,
» neither euer conceyued any ſuche thought or intent againſt you, but doe deliuer ye ſafe
» into his handes, though thereby they looke for no better grace or clemency from him.
» When *Valeria* had ſpoken this vnto them, all thother ladyes togethervvith one voyce con-
» firmed that ſhe had ſayed. Then *Volumnia* in this ſorte did aunſwer her. My good ladies, we B
The aunſwere of Volumnia to the Romaine ladies. are partakers with you of the common miſerie and calamitie of our countrie, and yet our
griefe exceedeth yours the more, by reaſon of our particular misfortune: to feele the loſſe
» of my ſonne *Martius* former valiancie and glorie, and to ſee his perſone enuironned nowe
» with our enemies in armes, rather to ſee him foorth comminge and ſafe kept, then of any
» loue to defende his perſone. But yet the greateſt griefe of our heaped mishappes is, to ſee
» our poore countrie brought to ſuche extremitie, that all the hope of the ſafetie and pre-
» ſeruation thereof, is nowe vnfortunately caſt vppon vs ſimple women: bicauſe we knowe
» not what accompt he will make of vs, ſence he hath caſt from him all care of his natu-
» rall countrie and common weale, which heretofore he hath holden more deere and pre-
» cious, then either his mother, wife, or children. Notwithſtandinge, if ye thinke we can C
» doe good, we will willingly doe what you will haue vs: bringe vs to him I pray you. For if
» we can not preuaile, we maye yet dye at his feete, as humble ſuters for the ſafetie of our
countrie. Her aunſwere ended, ſhe tooke her daughter in lawe, and *Martius* children with
her, and being accompanied with all the other ROMAINE ladies, they went in troupe toge-
ther vnto the VOLSCES campe: whome when they ſawe, they of them ſelues did both pitie
and reuerence her, and there was not a man amonge them that once durſt ſay a worde vnto
her. Nowe was *Martius* ſet then in his chayer of ſtate, with all the honours of a generall,
and when he had ſpied the women comming a farre of, he marueled what the matter ment
but afterwardes knowing his wife which came formeſt, he determined at the firſt to perſiſt in
his obſtinate and inflexible rancker. But ouercomen in the ende with naturall affection, D
and being altogether altered to ſee them: his harte would not ſerue him to tarie their
comming to his chayer, but comming downe in haſt, he went to meete them, and firſt he
kiſſed his mother, and imbraced her a pretie while, then his wife and litle children. And na-
ture ſo wrought with him, that the teares fell from his eyes, and he coulde not keepe him
ſelfe from making much of them, but yeelded to the affection of his bloode, as if he had
bene violently caried with the furie of a moſt ſwift running ſtreame. After he had thus lo-
uingly receiued them, and perceiuinge that his mother *Volumnia* would beginne to ſpeake
to him, he called the chiefeſt of the counſell of the VOLSCES to heare what ſhe would
The oration of Volumnia, vnto her ſonne Coriolanus. ſay. Then ſhe ſpake in this ſorte. If we helde our peace (my ſonne) and determined not to E
ſpeake, the ſtate of our poore bodies, and preſent ſight of our rayment, would eaſely be-
wray to thee what life we haue led at home, ſince thy exile and abode abroad. But thinke now
» with thy ſelfe, howe much more vnfortunatly, then all the women liuinge we are come he-
» ther, conſidering that the ſight which ſhould be moſt pleaſaunt to all other to beholde, ſpite-
» full fortune hath made moſt fearefull to vs: making my ſelfe to ſee my ſonne, and my daugh-
» ter here, her husband, beſieging the walles of his natiue countrie. So as that which is thonly
» comforte to all other in their aduerſitie and miſerie, to pray vnto the goddes, and to call
» to them for aide: is the onely thinge which plongeth vs into moſt deepe perplexitie. For we
» can not (alas) together pray, both for victorie, for our countrie, and for ſafety of thy life
» alſo: but a worlde of grieuous curſes, yea more then any mortall enemie can heape vppon
» vs, are forcibly wrapt vp in our prayers. For the bitter ſoppe of moſt harde choyce is offered F
» thy wife & children, to forgoe the one of the two: either to loſe the perſone of thy ſelfe, or the
» nurſe of their natiue contrie. For my ſelfe (my ſonne) I am determined not to tarie, till fortune

in

A in my life time doe make an ende of this warre. For if I cannot perſuade thee, rather to doe « good vnto both parties, then to ouerthrowe and deſtroye the one, preferring loue and na- « ture, before the malice and calamitie of warres: thou ſhalt ſee, my ſonne, and truſt vnto it, « thou ſhalt no ſoner marche forward to aſſault thy countrie, but thy foote ſhall treade vpon « thy mothers wombe, that brought thee firſt into this world. And I maye not deferre to ſee the « daye, either that my ſonne be led priſoner in triumphe by his naturall country men, or that he « him ſelfe doe triumphe of them, and of his naturall countrie. For if it were ſo, that my requeſt « tended to ſaue thy countrie, in deſtroying the VOLSCES: I muſt cõfeſſe, thou wouldeſt hardly « and doubtfully reſolue on that. For as to deſtroye thy naturall countrie, it is altogether vnmete « and vnlawfull: ſo were it not iuſt, and leſſe honorable, to betraye thoſe that put their truſt in « B thee. But my only demaunde conſiſteth, to make a gayle deliuerie of all euills, which deliue- « reth equall benefit and ſafety, both to the one and the other, but moſt honorable for the VOL- « SCES. For it ſhall appeare, that hauing victorie in their handes, they haue of ſpeciall fauour « graunted vs ſingular graces: peace, and amitie, albeit them ſelues haue no leſſe parte of both, « then we. Of which good, if ſo it came to paſſe, thy ſelfe is thonly authour, and ſo haſt thou « thonly honour. But if it faile, and fall out contrarie: thy ſelfe alone deſeruedly ſhall carie the « ſhamefull reproche and burden of either partie. So, though the ende of warre be vncertaine, « yet this notwithſtanding is moſt certaine: that if it be thy chaunce to conquer, this benefit « ſhalt thou reape of thy goodly cõqueſt, to be chronicled the plague & deſtroyer of thy coun- « trie. And if fortune alſo ouerthrowe thee, then the world will ſaye, that through deſire to re- « C C uenge thy priuate iniuries, thou haſt for euer vndone thy good friendes, who dyd moſt louing- « ly and curteouſly receyue thee. *Martius* gaue good eare vnto his mothers wordes, without « interrupting her ſpeache at all: and after ſhe had ſayed what ſhe would, he held his peace a prety while, and aunſwered not a worde. Hereupon ſhe beganne againe to ſpeake vnto him, and ſayed. My ſonne, why doeſt thou not aunſwer me? doeſt thou thinke it good altogether « to geue place vnto thy choller and deſire of reuenge, and thinkeſt thou it not honeſtie for thee « to graunt thy mothers requeſt, in ſo weighty a cauſe? doeſt thou take it honorable for a no- « ble man, to remember the wronges and iniuries done him: and doeſt not in like caſe thinke it « an honeſt noble mans parte, to be thankefull for the goodnes that parents doe ſhewe to their « children, acknowledging the duety and reuerence they ought to beare vnto them? No man « D D liuing is more bounde to ſhewe him ſelfe thankefull in all partes and reſpects, then thy ſelfe: « who ſo vnnaturally ſheweth all ingratitude. Moreouer (my ſonne) thou haſt ſorely taken of thy « countrie, exacting grieuous payments apon them, in reuenge of the iniuries offered thee: be- « ſides, thou haſt not hitherto ſhewed thy poore mother any curteſie. And therefore, it is not on- « ly honeſt, but due vnto me, that without compulſion I ſhould obtaine my ſo iuſt and reaſona- « ble requeſt of thee. But ſince by reaſon I cannot perſuade thee to it, to what purpoſe doe I de- « ferre my laſt hope? And with theſe wordes, her ſelfe, his wife and children, fell downe vpon « their knees before him. *Martius* ſeeing that, could refraine no lenger, but went ſtraight and « lifte her vp, crying out: Oh mother, what haue you done to me? And holding her hard by the *Coriolanus compaſſion of his mother.* right hande, oh mother, ſayed he, you haue wonne a happy victorie for your countrie, but E E mortall and vnhappy for your ſonne: for I ſee my ſelf vanquiſhed by you alone. Theſe wordes being ſpoken openly, he ſpake a litle a parte with his mother and wife, and then let them re- turne againe to ROME, for ſo they dyd requeſt him: and ſo remaining in campe that night, the next morning he diſlodged, and marched homewardes into the VOLSCES countrie againe, *Coriolanus withdraweth his armie from Rome.* who were not all of one minde, nor all alike contented. For ſome miſliked him, and that he had done. Other being well pleaſed that peace ſhould be made, ſayed: that neither the one, nor the other, deſerued blame nor reproche. Other, though they miſliked that was done, dyd not thincke him an ill man for that he dyd, but ſayed: he was not to be blamed, though he yelded to ſuche a forcible extremitie. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but all obeyed his commaundement, more for reſpect of his worthines and valiancie, then for feare of his au- F F thoritie. Now the cittizens of ROME plainely ſhewed, in what feare and daunger their cittie ſtoode of this warre, when they were deliuered. For ſo ſone as the watche vpon the walles of the cittie perceyued the VOLSCES campe to remoue, there was not a temple in the cittie but

was presently set open, and full of men, wearing garlands of flowers vpon their heads, sacrificing to the goddes, as they were wont to doe vpon the newes of some great obteined victorie. And this common ioye was yet more manifestly shewed, by the honorable curtesies the whole Senate, and people dyd bestowe on their ladyes. For they were all throughly persuaded, and dyd certenly beleeue, that the ladyes only were cause of the sauing of the cittie, and deliuering them selues from the instant daunger of the warre. Whereupon the Senate ordeined, that the magistrates to gratifie and honour these ladyes, should graunte them all that they would require. And they only requested that they would build a temple of *Fortune* of the women, for the building whereof they offered them selues to defraye the whole charge of the sacrifices, and other ceremonies belonging to the seruice of the goddes. Neuertheles, the Senate commending their good will and forwardnes, ordeined, that the temple and image should be made at the common charge of the cittie. Notwithstanding that, the ladyes gathered money emong them, and made with the same a second image of *Fortune*, which the ROMAINES saye dyd speake as they offred her vp in the temple, and dyd set her in her place: and they affirme, that she spake these wordes. Ladyes, ye haue deuoutely offered me vp. Moreouer, that she spake that twise together, making vs to beleeue things that neuer were, and are not to be credited. For to see images that seeme to sweate or weepe, or to put forth any humour red or blowdie, it is not a thing vnpossible. For wodde and stone doe commonly receyue certaine moysture, whereof is ingendred an humour, which doe yeld of them selues, or doe take of the ayer, many sortes and kyndes of spottes and cullers: by which signes and tokens it is not amisse we thincke, that the goddes sometimes doe warne men of things to come. And it is possible also, that these images and statues doe somtimes put forth soundes, like vnto sighes or mourning, when in the middest or bottome of the same, there is made some violent separation, or breaking a sonder of things, blowen or deuised therein: but that a bodie which hath neither life nor soule, should haue any direct or exquisite worde formed in it by expresse voyce, that is altogether vnpossible. For the soule, nor god him selfe can distinctly speake without a bodie, hauing necessarie organes and instrumentes mete for the partes of the same, to forme and vtter distinct wordes. But where stories many times doe force vs to beleeue a thing reported to be true, by many graue testimonies: there we must saye, that it is some passion contrarie to our fiue naturall sences, which being begotten in the imaginatiue parte or vnderstanding, draweth an opinion vnto it selfe, euen as we doe in our sleeping. For many times we thinke we heare, that we doe not heare: and we imagine we see, that we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, and zealously geuen to thinke apon heauenly things, so as they can no waye be drawen from beleeuing that which is spoken of them, they haue this reason to grounde the foundation of their beleefe vpon. That is, the omnipotencie of God which is wonderfull, and hath no manner of resemblaunce or likelines of proportion vnto ours, but is altogether contrarie as touching our nature, our mouing, our arte, and our force: and therefore if he doe any thing vnpossible to vs, or doe bring forth and deuise things, without mans common reache and vnderstanding, we must not therefore thinke it vnpossible at all. For if in other things he is farre contrarie to vs, muche more in his workes and secret operations, he farre passeth all the rest: but the most parte of goddes doings, as *Heraclitus* sayeth, for lacke of faith, are hidden and vnknowen vnto vs. Now when *Martius* was returned againe into the cittie of ANTIVM from his voyage, *Tullus* that hated and could no lenger abide him for the feare he had of his authoritie: sought diuers meanes to make him out of the waye, thinking that if he let slippe that present time, he should neuer recouer the like and fit occasion againe. Wherefore *Tullus* hauing procured many other of his confederacy, required *Martius* might be deposed from his estate, to render vp accompt to the VOLSCES of his charge and gouernment. *Martius* fearing to become a priuate man againe vnder *Tullus* being generall (whose authoritie was greater otherwise, then any other emong all the VOLSCES) aunswered: he was willing to geue vp his charge, and would resigne it into the handes of the lordes of the VOLSCES, if they dyd all commaund him, as by all their commaundement he receyued it. And moreouer, that he would not refuse euen at that present to geue vp an accompt vnto the people,

The temple of Fortune built for the women.

The image of Fortune spake to the ladyes at Rome.

Of the sweazing & voyces of images.

Of the omnipotencie of God.

Tullus Aufidius seeketh to kill Coriolanus.

if

A if they would tarie the hearing of it. The people hereupon called a common counsaill, in which assembly there were certen oratours appointed, that stirred vp the common people against him: and when they had tolde their tales, *Martius* rose vp to make them aunswer. Now, notwithstanding the mutinous people made a maruelous great noyse, yet when they sawe him, for the reuerence they bare vnto his valliantnes, they quieted them selues, and gaue still audience to alledge with leysure what he could for his purgation. Moreouer, the honestest men of the ANTIATES, and who most reioyced in peace, shewed by their countenaunce that they would heare him willingly, and iudge also according to their conscience. Whereupon *Tullus* fearing that if he dyd let him speake, he would proue his innocencie to the people, bicause emongest other things he had an eloquent tongue, besides that the first good seruice
B he had done to the people of the VOLSCES, dyd winne him more fauour, then these last accusations could purchase him displeasure: and furthermore, the offence they layed to his charge, was a testimonie of the good will they ought him, for they would neuer haue thought he had done them wrong for that they tooke not the cittie of ROME, if they had not bene very neere taking of it, by meanes of his approche and conduction. For these causes *Tullus* thought he might no lenger delaye his pretence and enterprise, neither to tarie for the mutining and rising of the common people against him: wherefore, those that were of the conspiracie, beganne to crie out that he was not to be heard, nor that they would not suffer a traytour to vsurpe tyrannicall power ouer the tribe of the VOLSCES, who would not yeld vp his estate and authoritie. And in saying these wordes, they all fell vpon him, and killed him in
C the market place, none of the people once offering to rescue him. Howbeit it is a clere case, that this murder was not generally consented vnto, of the most parte of the VOLSCES: for men came out of all partes to honour his bodie, and dyd honorably burie him, setting out his tombe with great store of armour and spoyles, as the tombe of a worthie persone and great captaine. The ROMAINES vnderstanding of his death, shewed no other honour or malice, sauing that they graunted the ladyes the request they made: that they might mourne tenne moneths for him, and that was the full time they vsed to weare blackes for the death of their fathers, brethern, or husbands, according to *Numa Pompilius* order, who stablished the same, as we haue enlarged more amplie in the description of his life. Now *Martius* being dead, the whole state of the VOLSCES hartely wished him aliue againe. For first of all they fell
D out with the ÆQVES (who were their friendes and confederates) touching preheminence and place: and this quarrell grew on so farre betwene them, that frayes and murders fell out apon it one with another. After that, the ROMAINES ouercame them in battell, in which *Tullus* was slaine in the field, and the flower of all their force was put to the sworde: so that they were compelled to accept most shamefull conditions of peace, in yelding them selues subiect vnto the conquerers, & promising to be obedient at their commandement.

Coriolanus murdered in the cittie of Antium.

Coriolanus funeralles.

The time of mourning appointed by Numa.

Tullus Aufidius slaine in battell.

THE COMPARISON OF ALcibiades with Martius Coriolanus.

The acts done by both.

NOW that we haue written all the dedes of worthie memorie, done by either of them both: we maye preſently diſcerne, that in matters of warre, the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were a like hardie & valliant for their perſones, as alſo wiſe and politike in the warres: vnles they will ſaye, that *Alcibiades* was the better captaine, as he that had foughten more battells with his enemies, both by ſea and lande, then euer *Coriolanus* had done, and had allwayes the victorie of his enemies. For otherwiſe, in this they were much a like: that where they were both preſent & had, charge and power to commaund, all things proſpered notably, and with good ſucceſſe on the parte they were of: and alſo when they tooke the contrary ſide, they made the firſt haue the worſe euery waye. Now for matters of gouernment, the noble men and honeſt cittizens dyd hate *Alcibiades* manner of rule in the common weale, as of a man moſt diſſolute, and geuen to flatterie: bicauſe he euer ſtudied by all deuiſe he could, to currie fauour with the common people. So dyd the ROMAINES malice alſo *Coriolanus* gouernment, for that it was to arrogant, prowde, and tyrannicall: whereby neither the one nor the other was to be commended. Notwithſtanding, he is leſſe to be blamed, that ſeeketh to pleaſe and gratifie his common people: then he that deſpiſeth and diſdaineth them, and therefore offereth them wrong and iniurie, bicauſe he would not ſeeme to flatter them, to winne the more authoritie. For as it is an euill thing to flatter the common people to winne credit: euen ſo is it beſides diſhoneſty, and iniuſtice alſo, to atteine to credit and authoritie, for one to make him ſelfe terrible to the people, by offering them wrong and violence. It is true that *Martius* was euer counted an honeſt natured man, plaine and ſimple, without arte or cunning: Howbeit *Alcibiades* merely contrarie, for he was fine, ſubtill, and deceiptfull. And the greateſt faulte they euer burdened *Alcibiades* for, was his malice and deceipt, wherewith he abuſed the ambaſſadours of the LACEDÆMONIANS, & that he was a let that peace was not cõcluded, as *Thucydides* reporteth. Now, though by this acte he ſodainly brought the cittie of ATHENS into warres, yet he brought it thereby to be of greater power, and more fearefull to the enemies, by making alliance with the MANTINIANS and the ARGIVES, who by *Alcibiades* practiſe entred into league with the ATHENIANS. And *Martius*, as *Dionyſius* the hiſtoriographer writeth: dyd by craft and deceipt bring the ROMAINES into warres againſt the VOLSCES, cauſing the VOLSCES maliciouſly, and wrongfully to be ſuſpected, that went to ROME to ſee the games played. But the cauſe why he dyd it, made the fact ſo much more fowle and wicked. For it was not done for any ciuill diſſention, nor for any ielouzy and contention in matters of gouernment, as *Alcibiades* dyd: but only following his cholerike moode, that would be pleaſed with no thing, as *Dion* ſayed, he would

The manners of Alcibiades & Coriolanus.

A would needes trouble and turmoile the moſt parte of Italie, and ſo beinge angrie with his
countrie, he deſtroyed many other townes and cities that could not helpe it, nor doe with all.
This is true alſo, that *Alcibiades* ſpite and malice did worke great miſchiefe and miſerie to
his countrie: but when he ſaw they repented them of the iniurie they had done him, he came
to him ſelfe, and did withdrawe his armie. An other time alſo, when they had baniſhed *Alci-*
biades, he would not yet ſuffer the captaines of the Athenians to runne into great errours,
neither would he ſee them caſt away, by followinge ill counſell which they tooke, neither
would he forſake them in any daunger they put them ſelues into. But he did the very ſame
that *Ariſtides* had done in olde time vnto *Themiſtocles*, for which he was then, and is yet ſo
greatly praiſed. For he went vnto the captaines that had charge then of the armie of the A-
B thenians, although they were not his friendes, and tolde them wherein they did amiſſe, and
what they had further to doe. Where *Martius* to the contrarie, did firſt great hurte vnto the
whole citie of Rome, though all in Rome had not generally offended him: yea, and when the
beſt and chiefeſt parte of the citie were grieued for his ſake, and were very ſorie and angrie
for the iniurie done him. Furthermore, the Romaines ſought to appeaſe one onely diſplea-
ſure and deſpite they had done him, by many ambaſſades, petitions and requeſtes they made,
whereunto he neuer yelded, while his mother, wife, and children came, his harte was ſo hard-
ned. And hereby it appeared he was entred into this cruell warre (when he would harken to
no peace) of an intent vtterly to deſtroy and ſpoyle his countrie, and not as though he ment
to recouer it, or to returne thither againe. Here was in deede the difference betweene them:
C that ſpialls being layed by the Lacedæmonians to kill *Alcibiades*, for the malice they did
beare him, as alſo for that they were affrayed of him, he was compelled to returne home a-
gaine to Athens. Where *Martius* contrariwiſe, hauing bene ſo honorably receiued and en-
tertained by the Volſces, he could not with honeſtie forſake them, conſideringe they had
done him that honour, as to chooſe him their generall, and truſted him ſo farre, as they put all
their whole armie and power into his handes: and not as thother, whome the Lacedæmo-
nians rather abuſed, then vſed him, ſuffering him to goe vp and downe their citie (and af-
terwardes in the middeſt of their campe) without honour or place at all. So that in the ende
Alcibiades was compelled to put him ſelfe into the handes of *Tiſaphernes*: vnleſſe they will
ſay that he went thither of purpoſe to him, with intent to ſaue the citie of Athens from vt-
D ter deſtruction, for the deſire he had to returne home againe. Moreouer, we read of *Alci-*
biades, that he was a great taker, and would be corrupted with money: and when he had it, he
would moſt licentiouſly and diſhoneſtly ſpend it. Where *Martius* in contrarie maner would
not ſo much as accept giftes lawefully offered him by his Captaines, to honour him for his
valliantneſſe. And the cauſe why the people did beare him ſuch ill will, for the controuerſie
they had with the Nobilitie about clearing of dettes, grew: for that they knewe well enough
it was not for any gayne or benefit he had gotten thereby, ſo much as it was for ſpite and diſ-
pleaſure he thought to doe them. *Antipater* in a letter of his, writing of the death of *Ari-*
ſtotle the philoſopher, doth not without cauſe commend the ſingular giftes that were in *Al-*
cibiades, and this ineſpecially: that he paſſed all other for winning mens good willes. Wheras
E all *Martius* noble actes and vertues, wanting that affabilitie, became hatefull euen to thoſe
that receiued benefit by them, who could not abide his ſeueritie and ſelfe will: which cauſeth
deſolation (as *Plato* ſayeth) and men to be ill followed, or altogether forſaken. Contrariwiſe,
ſeeing *Alcibiades* had a trimme enterteinment, and a very good grace with him, and could fa-
cion him ſelfe in all companies: it was no maruell if his well doing were glorioufly commen-
ded, and him ſelfe much honoured and beloued of the people, conſidering that ſome faultes
he did, were oftetimes taken for matters of ſporte, and toyes of pleaſure. And this was the
cauſe, that though many times he did great hurte to the common wealth, yet they did ofte
make him their generall, and truſted him with the charge of the whole citie. Where *Martius*
ſuing for an office of honour that was due to him, for the ſundrie good ſeruices he had done
F to the ſtate, was notwithſtanding repulſed, and put by. Thus doe we ſee, that they to whome
the one did hurte, had no power to hate him: and thother that honoured his vertue, had no
liking to loue his perſone. *Martius* alſo did neuer any great exployte, being generall of his

Alcibiades & Coriolanus manner for money.

Alcibiades & Coriolanus lose vnto their contrie.

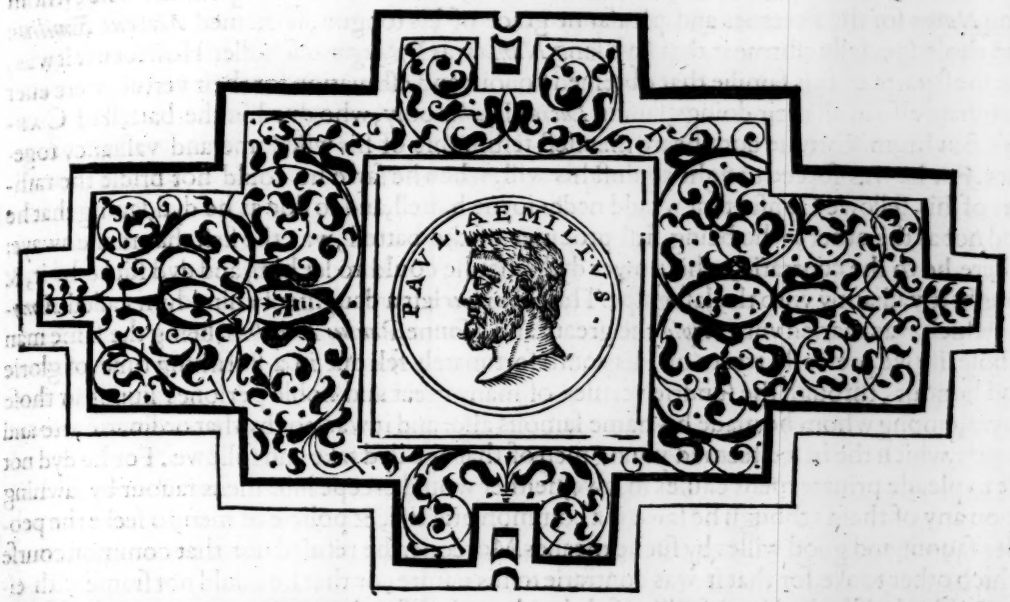
contry men, but when he was generall of their enemies againſt his naturall contrie: whereas *Alcibiades*, being both a priuate perſone, and a generall, did notable ſeruice vnto the ATHENIANS. By reaſon whereof, *Alcibiades* whereſoeuer he was preſent, had the vpper hande euer of his accuſers, euen as he would him ſelfe, and their accuſations tooke no place againſt him: onleſſe it were in his abſcence. Where *Martius* being preſent, was condemned by the ROMAINES: and in his perſon murdered, and ſlaine by the VOLSCES. But here I can not ſay they haue done well, nor iuſtly, albeit him ſelfe gaue them ſome colour to doe it, when he openly denied the ROMAINE Ambaſſadors peace, which after he priuatly graunted, at the requeſt of women. So by this dede of his, he tooke not away the enmity that was betwene both people: but leauing warre ſtill betwene them, he made the VOLSCES (of whome he was generall) to loſe the oportunity of noble victory. Where in deede he ſhould (if he had done as he ought) haue withdrawen his armie with their counſaill & conſent, that had repoſed ſo great affiance in him, in making him their generall: if he had made that accompt of them, as their good will towards him did in duety binde him. Or elſe, if he did not care for the VOLSCES in the enterpriſe of this warre, but had only procured it of intent to be reuenged, and afterwards to leaue it of, when his anger was blowen ouer: yet he had no reaſon for the loue of his mother to pardone his contrie, but rather he ſhould in pardoning his contrie, haue ſpared his mother, bicauſe his mother & wife were members of the bodie of his contrie and city, which he did beſiege. For in that he vncurteouſly reiected all publike petitions, requeſtes of Ambaſſadors, intreaties of the biſhoppes & prieſtes, to gratifie only the requeſt of his mother with his departure: that was no acte ſo much to honour his mother with, as to diſhonour his contrie by, the which was preſerued for the pitie and interceſſion of a woman, & not for the loue of it ſelfe, as if it had not bene worthie of it. And ſo was this departure a grace, to ſay truly, very odious and cruell, and deſerued no thankes of either partie, to him that did it. For he withdrew his army, not at the requeſt of the ROMAINES, againſt whom he made warre: nor with their conſent, at whoſe charge the warre was made. And of all his misfortune and ill happe, the auſteritie of his nature, and his hawtie obſtinate minde, was the onely cauſe: the which of it ſelfe being hatefull to the worlde, when it is ioyned with ambition, it groweth then much more churliſh, fierce, and intollerable. For men that haue that fault in nature, are not affable to the people, ſeeming thereby as though they made no eſtimacion or regard of the people: and yet on thother ſide, if the people ſhould not geue them honour and reuerence, they would ſtraight take it in ſcorne, and litle care for the matter. For ſo did *Metellus*, *Ariſtides*, and *Epaminondas*, all vſed this manner: not to ſeeke the good will of the common people by flatterie and diſſimulation: which was in deede, bicauſe they deſpiſed that which the people coulde geue or take awaye. Yet would they not be offended with their citizens, when they were amerced, and ſet at any fines, or that they baniſhed them, or gaue them any other repulſe: but they loued them as wel as they did before, ſo ſoone as they ſhewed any token of repentaunce, & that they were ſorie for the wrong they had done them, and were eaſely made frendes againe with them, after they were reſtored from their baniſhment. For he that diſdaineth to make much of the people, and to haue their fauour, ſhoulde much more ſcorne to ſeeke to be reuenged, when he is repulſed. For, to take a repulſe and deniall of honour, ſo inwardly to the hart: commeth of no other cauſe, but that he did too earneſtly deſire it. Therefore *Alcibiades* did not diſſemble at all, that he was not very glad to ſee him ſelfe honored, and ſory to be reiected and denied any honour: but alſo he ſought all the meanes he could to make him ſelfe beloued of thoſe amongeſt whome he liued. Whereas *Martius* ſtowtnes, and hawty ſtomake, did ſtay him from making much of thoſe, that might aduaunce and honour him: and yet his ambition made him gnawe him ſelfe for ſpite and anger, when he ſawe he was deſpiſed. And this is all that reaſonably may be reproued in him: for otherwiſe he lacked no good commendable vertues and qualities. For his temperaunce, and cleane handes from taking of bribes and money, he may be compared with the moſt perfect, vertuous, and honeſt men of all GRÆCE: but not with *Alcibiades*, who was in that vndoutedly alwayes too licentious & loſely geuen, and had too ſmall regard of his credit and honeſtie.

Coriolanus notable abſtinence from bribes.

The end of Caius Martius Coriolanus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Paulus Æmilius.



A WHEN I firſt beganne to write theſe liues, my intent was to profit o-ther: but ſince, continuing and going on, I haue muche profited my ſelf by looking into theſe hiſtories, as if I looked into a glaſſe, to frame and facion my life, to the mowld and patterne of theſe vertuous noble men. For ronning ouer their manners in this ſorte, and ſeeking alſo to deſcribe their liues: me thinkes I am ſtill conuerſaunt and familliar with them, and doe as it were lodge them with me, one after another. And when I come to peruſe their hiſtories, and to waye the vertues and qualities they haue had, and what ſingularitie eche of them poſſeſſed: and to chooſe and culle out the chiefeſt things of note in them, and their beſt ſpea-
B ches and doings moſt worthie of memorie: Then I crie out,

O godds, can there be more paſsing pleaſure in the vvorlde?

Or is there any thing of more force, to teach man ciuill māners, & a ruled life, or to reforme the vice in man? *Democritus* the philoſopher writeth, that we ſhould praye we might euer ſee happy images and ſightes in the ayer, and that the good which is meete and proper to our nature, maye rather come to vs, then that is euill and vnfortunate: preſuppoſing a falſe opinion and doctrine in philoſophie, which allureth men to infinite ſuperſtitions. That there are good and bad images flying in the ayer, which geue a good or ill impreſſion vnto men, and incline men to vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continuall reading of auncient hiſtories, and gathering theſe liues together which now I leaue before you, and by keeping allwayes in minde
C the actes of the moſt noble, vertuous, and beſt genen men of former age, and worthie memorie: I doe teache and prepare my ſelfe to ſhake of & baniſhe from me, all lewde and diſhoneſt condition, if by chaunce the companie and conuerſation of them whoſe companie I keepe, and muſt of neceſſitie haunte, doe acquainte me with ſome vnhappie or vngratious touche. This is eaſie vnto me, that doe diſpoſe my quiet minde, & not troubled with any paſſion, vnto the deepe conſideration of ſo many noble examples. As I doe preſent vnto you now in this volume, the liues of *Timoleon* the CORINTHIAN, and of *Paulus Æmilius* the ROMAINE, who had not only a good & an vpright minde with them, but were alſo fortunate and happie, in all the matters they both did take in hand. So as you ſhall hardly iudge, when you haue red ouer their liues, whether wiſedome, or good fortune brought them to atchieue to ſuche honora-

ble actes and exployctes as they dyd. Many (& the moſt parte of hiſtoriographers) doe write, that the houſe and familie of the *Æmilians* in Rome, was allwayes of the moſt auncient of the nobilitie, which they call *Patricians*. Some writers affirme alſo, that the firſt of the houſe that gaue name to all the poſteritie after, was *Marcus*, the ſonne of *Pythagoras* the wiſe, whom king *Numa* for the ſweetnes and pleaſaunt grace of his tongue, ſurnamed *Marcus Æmilius*: and thoſe ſpecially affirme it, that ſaye king *Numa* was *Pythagoras* ſcholler. Howſoeuer it was, the moſt parte of this familie that obteined honour and eſtimation for their vertue, were euer fortunate alſo in all their doings, ſauing *Lucius Paulus* only, who dyed in the battell of Cannes. But his misfortune doth beare manifeſt teſtimonie of his wiſedome and valliancy together. For he was forced to fight againſt his will, when he ſawe he could not bridle the rathnes of his fellowe Conſul that would nedes ioyne battell, and to doe as he dyd, ſauing that he fled not as the other, who being firſt procurer of the battell, was the firſt that ranne awaye: where he to the contrarie, to his power dyd what he could to let him, and dyd ſticke by it, & fought it valliantly vnto the laſt gaſpe. This *Æmylius* left a daughter behind him called *Æmylia*, which was maried vnto *Scipio* the great: and a ſonne, *Paulus Æmylius*, being the ſame man whoſe life we preſently treate of. His youth fortunately fell out in a floriſhing time of glorie and honour, through the ſundrie vertues of many great and noble perſones liuing in thoſe dayes, emong whom he made his name famous alſo: and it was not by that ordinarie arte and courſe, which the beſt eſteemed young men of that age dyd take and followe. For he dyd not vſe to pleade priuate mens cauſes in lawe, neither would creepe into mens fauour by fawning vpon any of them: though he ſawe it a common practiſe, & policie of men, to ſeeke the peoples fauour and good willes by ſuche meanes. Moreouer, he refuſed not that common courſe which other tooke, for that it was contrarie to his nature, or that he could not frame with either of both, if he had bene ſo diſpoſed: but he rather fought to winne reputation by his honeſtie, his valliantnes, and vpright dealing, as chooſing that the better waye, then either of thother two, in ſo much as in maruelous ſhorte time he paſſed all thoſe that were of his age. The firſt office of honour he ſued for, was the office of *Ædilis*, in which ſute he was preferred before twelue other that ſued for the ſelfe ſame office: who were men of no ſmall qualitie, for they all came afterwardes to be Conſuls. After this, he was choſen to be one of the number of the prieſtes, whom the Romaines call *Augures*: who haue the charge of all the diuinations and ſootheſayings, in telling of things to come by flying of byrdes, & ſignes in the ayer. He was ſo carefull, and tooke ſuche paynes to vnderſtand how the Romaines dyd vſe the ſame, & with ſuche diligence ſought the obſeruation of the auncient religion of Romaines in all holie matters: that where that prieſthood was before eſteemed but a title of honour, & deſired for the name only: he brought it to paſſe, that it was the moſt honorable ſcience, & beſt reputed of in Rome. Wherein he confirmed the philoſophers opinion: that religion is the knowledge how to ſerue God. For when he dyd any thing belonging to his office of prieſthood, he dyd it with great experience, iudgment, and diligence, leauing all other thoughtes, & without omitting any auncient ceremonie, or adding to any newe, contending oftentimes with his companions, in things which ſeemed light, and of ſmall moment: declaring vnto them, that though we doe preſume the goddes are eaſie to be pacified, and that they readilie pardone all faultes & ſcapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more but for reſpect of common wealths ſake, they ſhould not ſlightly, nor careleſly diſſemble or paſſe ouer faultes committed in thoſe matters. For no man (ſayeth he) at the firſt that committeth any faulte, doth alone trouble the ſtate of the common wealth: but withall, we muſt thincke he leaueth the groundes of ciuill gouernment, that is not as carefull to keepe the inſtitutions of ſmall matters, as alſo of the great. So was he alſo a ſeuere captaine, and ſtrict obſeruer of all marſhall diſcipline, not ſeeking to winne the ſouldiers loue by flatterie, when he was generall in the field, as many dyd in that time: neither corrupting them for a ſecond charge, by ſhewing him ſelfe gentle and curteous in the firſt, vnto thoſe that ſerued vnder him: but him ſelfe dyd orderly ſhewe them the very rules and preceptes of the diſcipline of warres, euen as a prieſt that ſhould expreſſe the names and ceremonies of ſome holy ſacrifice, wherein were daunger to omit any parte or parcell. Howbeit, being terrible to execute the lawe of armes apon rebellious

The houſe of the AEmylians came of Pythagoras ſonne.

Lucius Paulus AEmylius Conſul, ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.

AEmylia, the daughter of Lucius AEmylius, maried to Scipio the great.

The vertues of Paulus AEmylius.

Paulus AEmylius made AEdilis and Augure.

The philoſophers opinion of religion.

Paulus diligence in the cõmõ wealth, euẽ in trifles.

The diſcipline of warres.

A lious and disobedient souldiers, he kept vp thereby the state of the common weale the better: iudging, to ouercome the enemie by force, was but an accessorie as a man maye terme it, in respect of well training and ordering his cittizens by good discipline. While the ROMAINES were in warres against king *Antiochus* surnamed the great, in the South partes: all the chiefest captaines of ROME being employed that wayes, there fell out another in the necke of that, in the West partes towardes SPAYNE, where they were all vp in armes. Thither they sent *AEmylius* Prætor, not with sixe axes as the other Prætors had borne before them, but with twelue: so that vnder the name of Prætor, he had the authoritie and dignitie of a Consul. He twise ouercame the barbarous people in mayne battell, and slue a thirtie thousand of them, and got this victorie through his great skill
B and wisedome, in choosing the aduantage of place and time, to fight with his enemies, euen as they passed ouer a riuer: which easely gaue his souldiers the victorie. Moreouer he tooke there, two hundred and fiftie citties, all which dyd open, and gladly receyue him in. So, leauing all that countrie quiet and in good peace, and hauing receaued their fealtie by othe made betweene his handes, he returned againe to ROME, not enriched the value of a Drachma more then before. For then he tooke litle regard to his expences, he spent so franckly, neither was his purse his master, though his reuenue was not great to beare it out: as it appeared to the world after his death, for all that he had, was litle enough to satisfie his wifes ioynter. His first wife was *Papyria*, the daughter of a noble Consul *Papyrius Masso*, and after they had liued a long time together, he was
C diuorsed from her, notwithstanding he had goodly children by her. For by her he had that famous *Scipio* the second, and *Fabius Maximus*. The iust cause of the diuorse betweene them, appeareth not to vs in writing: but me thinckes the tale that is tolde concerning the separation of a certaine mariage is true. That a certen ROMAINE hauing forsaken his wife, her friendes fell out with him, and asked him: what fault dost thou finde in her? is she not honest of her bodie? is she not fayer? doth she not bring thee goodly children? But he putting forth his foote, shewed them his shooe, and aunswered them. Is not this a goodly shooe? is it not finely made? and is it not newe? yet I dare saye there is neuer a one of you can tell where it wringeth me. For to saye truely, great and open faultes are commonly occasions to make husbands put awaye their wiues: but yet oftentimes house-
D hold wordes ronne so betweene them (proceeding of crooked conditions, or of diuersitie of natures, which straungers are not priuie vnto) that in processe of time they doe beget suche a straunge alteration of loue and mindes in them, as one house can no lenger holde them. So *AEmylius*, hauing put awaye *Papyria* his first wife, he maried another that brought him two sonnes, which he brought vp with him selfe in his house, and gaue his two first sonnes (to wit, *Scipio* the second, and *Fabius Maximus*) in adoption, to two of the noblest and richest families of the cittie of ROME. The elder of the twaine, vnto *Fabius Maximus*, he that was fiue times Consul: and the younger vnto the house of the *Cornelians*, whom the sonne of the great *Scipio* the AFRICAN dyd adopt, being his cosin germaine, and named him *Scipio*. Concerning his daughters, the sonne of *Cato* maried
E the one, and *AElius Tubero* the other, who was a maruelous honest man, and dyd more nobly mainteine him selfe in his pouertie, then any other ROMAINE: for they were sixteene persones all of one name, and of the house of the *AElians*, very neere a kynne one to the other, who had all but one litle house in the cittie, and a small farme in the countrie, wherewith they enterteined them selues, and liued all together in one house, with their wiues, and many litle children. Amongest their wiues, one of them was the daughter of *Paulus AEmylius*, after he had bene twise Consul, and had triumphed twise, not being ashamed of her husbands pouertie, but wondering at his vertue that made him poore. Whereas brethern and kynsemen, as the world goeth now, if they dwell not farre a sonder, and in other countries, not one neere another, and that riuers parte them not, or
F walles deuide their landes, leauing great large wastes betweene them: they are neuer quiet, but still in quarrell one with another. Goodly examples doth this storie laye before the wise, and well aduised readers, to learne thereby howe to frame their life, and wisely

Paulus AEmylius sens Prætor into Spayne.

AEmylius skilful to choose place and time to fight.

Scipio the seconde, & Fabius Maximus, were the sonnes of P. AEmylius, by Papyria his first wife.

A prety tale of a Romaine that forsooke his wife.

The vertue of AElius Tubero, his pouertie and quiet life.

Inhumanalitie emongest kinred infamous.

AEmylius Consul.

to behaue them ſelues. Now *Æmylius* being choſen Conſul, went to make warre with the LIGVRIANS, who dwelled in the ALPES, & which otherwiſe are called LIGVSTINES. Theſe are very valliãt & warlike men, & were very good ſouldiers at that time, by reaſon of their cõtinual warres againſt the ROMAINES, whoſe neere neighbours they were. For they dwelt in the furdeſt parte of ITALIE, that bordereth vpon the great ALPES, & the rowe of ALPES, whereof the foote ioyneth to the THVSCAN ſea, & pointeth towards AFRICKE, and are mingled with the GAVLES, & SPANYARDS, neighbours vnto that ſea coaſt: who ſcowring all the *Mediterranian* ſea at that time, vnto the ſtraight of *Hercules* pillers, dyd with their litle light pinnaſes of pirats, let all the trafficke & entercourſe of marchaundiſe. *Æmylius* being gone to ſeeke them in their countrie, they taried his comming with an armie of forty thouſand men: neuertheles, though he had but eight thouſand men in all, and that they were fiue to one of his, yet he gaue the onſet apon them, and ouerthrew them, and draue them into their cities. Then he ſent to offer them peace, for the ROMAINES would not altogether deſtroye the LIGVRIANS, bicauſe their countrie was as a rampeyr or bullwarke againſt the inuaſion of the GAVLES, who laye lurking for oportunitie and occaſion to inuade ITALIE: whereupon theſe LIGVRIANS yelded them ſelues vnto him, and put all their fortes and ſhippes into his handes. *AEmylius* deliuered vnto them their holdes againe, without other hurte done vnto them, ſauing that he raſed the walles of their fortifications: howbeit he tooke all their ſhippes from them, leauing them litle botes of three owers only, and no greater, & ſet all the priſoners at libertie they had taken, both by ſea and by lande, aſwell ROMAINES as other, which were a maruelous number. Theſe were all the notable acts he dyd worthie memorie, in the firſt yere of his Conſulſhippe. Afterwards, he oftentimes ſhewed him ſelf very deſirous to be Conſul againe, & dyd put forth him ſelfe to ſue for it: but when he was denied it, he neuer after made ſute for it againe, but gaue him ſelfe only to ſtudie diuine things, and to ſee his children vertuouſly brought vp, not only in the ROMAINE tongue which him ſelfe was taught, but alſo a litle more curiouſly in the GRÆKE tongue. For he dyd not only retaine *Grammarians*, *Rethoricians*, and *Logitians*, but alſo painters, grauers of images, riders of horſes, and huntes of GRÆCE about his children: and he him ſelfe alſo (if no matters of common wealth troubled him) was euer with them in the ſchoole when they were at their bookes, and alſo when they otherwiſe dyd exerciſe them ſelues. For he loued his children as much, or more, then any other ROMAINE. Now concerning the ſtate of the commõ wealth, the ROMAINES were at warres with king *Perſeus*, & they much blamed the captaines they had ſent thither before, for that for lacke of skill and corage, they had ſo cowardly behaued them ſelues, as their enemies laughed them to ſcorne: and they receyued more hurte of them, then they dyd vnto the King. For not long before, they had driuen king *Antiochus* beyound mount *Taurus*, and had made him forſake the reſt of ASIA, and had ſhut him vp within the borders of SYRIA: who was glad that he had bought that contrie with fifteene thouſand talẽts, which he payed for a fine. A litle before alſo, they had ouercome *Philip*, king of MACEDON, in THESSALY, and had deliuered the GRÆCIANS from the bondage of the MACEDONIANS. And moreouer, hauing ouercome *Hannibal* (vnto whom no Prince nor King that euer was in the worlde was comparable, either for his power or valiantnes) they thought this to great a diſhonour to them, that this warre they had againſt king *Perſeus*, ſhould hold ſo long of euen hande with them, as if he had bene an enemie equall with the people of ROME: conſidering alſo that they fought not againſt them, but with the refuſe and ſcattered people of the ouerthrowen armie his father had loſt before, and knew not that *Philip* had left his armie ſtronger, and more experte by reaſon of his ouerthrowe, then it was before. As I will briefly reherſe the ſtorie from the beginning. *Antigonus*, who was of the greateſt power of all the captaines & ſucceſſours of *Alexander* the great, hauing obteined for him ſelf & his poſteritie the title of a King, had a ſonne called *Demetrius*, of whõ came *Antigonus* the ſecond, that was ſurnamed *Gonatas*, whoſe ſonne was alſo called *Demetrius*, that raigned no long time, but dyed, and left a young ſonne called *Philippe*. By reaſon whereof, the Princes and Nobilitie of MACEDON, fearing that the Realme ſhould be left without heire: they preferred one *Antigonus*, coſin to the laſt deceaſed King, and made him marie the mother of *Philip* the leſſe, geuing him the name at the firſt of the Kings protectour only, and lieutenaunt

AEmylius ouercommeth the Ligurians.

The cowardlines of the Romaines in Spayne.

The ſucceſſiõ of Antigonus king of Macedon.

A lieutenaunt generall of his maieſtie. But after, when they had founde he was a good and wiſe prince, and a good husband for the Realme, they then gaue him the abſolute name of a King, and ſurnamed him *Doſon*, to ſaye, the giuer: for he promiſed muche, and gaue litle. After him reigned *Philip*, who in his grene youth gaue more hope of him ſelfe, then any other of the Kings before: in ſo much they thought that one daye he would reſtore MACEDON her auncient fame and glorie, and that he alone would plucke downe the pride and power of the ROMAINES, who roſe againſt all the world. But after that he had loſt a great battell, and was ouerthrowen by *Titus Quintus Flaminius* neere vnto the cittie of SCOTVSA: then he beganne to quake for feare, and to leaue all to the mercie of the ROMAINES, thinking he eſcaped good cheape, for any light ranſome or tribute the ROMAINES ſhould impoſe apon him. Yet afterB wards comming to vnderſtād him ſelfe, he grewe to diſdaine it much, thinking that to reigne through the fauour of the ROMAINES, was but to make him ſelfe a ſlaue, to ſeeke to liue in pleaſure at his eaſe, & not for a valliāt & noble prince borne. Whereupon he ſet all his minde, to ſtudie the diſcipline of warres, and made his preparations as wiſely and cloſely, as poſſiblie he could. For he left all his townes alongeſt the ſea coaſt, & ſtāding vpon any high wayes, without any fortification at all, & in manner deſolate without people, to the ende there might appeare no occaſion of doubt or miſtruſt in him: & in the meane time, in the highe countries of his Realme farre from great beaten wayes, he leauied a great number of men of warre, & repleniſhed his townes & ſtrong holdes that laye ſcatteringly abroad, with armour & weapon, money, & men, prouiding for warre, which he kept as ſecretly as he could. For he had prouiC ſion of armour in his armorie, to arme thirtie thouſand men, & eight million buſſhels of corne ſafely lokt vp in his fortes & ſtrōger places, & ready money, as much as would ſerue to entertaine tenne thouſand ſtraungers in paye, to defend his countrie for the ſpace of tenne yeres. But before he could bring that to paſſe he had purpoſed, he dyed for grief & ſorowe, after he knewe he had vniuſtly put *Demetrius* the beſt of his ſonnes to death, apon the falſe accuſation of the worſt, that was *Perſeus*: who as he dyd inherite the Kingdom of his father by ſucceſſion, ſo dyd he alſo inherite his fathers malice againſt the ROMAINES. But he had no ſhoulders to beare ſo heauy a burden, and eſpecially being as he was, a man of ſo vile and wicked nature: for among many lewde & naughty conditions he had, he was extreme couetous & miſerable. They ſaye alſo, that he was not legitimate, bicauſe *Philippes* wife had taken him from *Gnathai*D *nia* (a tailours wife borne at ARGOS) immediatly after he was borne, & dyd adopt the child to be hers. And ſome thinke that this was the chiefeſt cauſe why he practiſed to put *Demetrius* to death, fearing leaſt this lawful ſonne would ſeeke occaſiō to proue him a baſtard. Notwithſtanding, ſimple though he was, & of vile & baſe nature, he found the ſtrength of his Kingdom ſo great, that he was contented to take vpon him to make warre againſt the ROMAINES, which he mainteined a long time, and fought againſt their Conſuls, that were their generalles, and repulſed great armies of theirs both by ſea and lande, and ouercame ſome. As *Publius Licinius* among other, the firſt that inuaded MACEDON, was ouerthrowen by him in a battell of horſemen, where he ſlewe at that time two thouſand fiue hundred good men of his, and tooke ſixe hundred priſoners. And their armie by ſea, riding at ancker before the cittie of OREVM, he E dyd ſodainly ſet apon, and tooke twenty great ſhippes of burden, and all that was in them, and ſoncke the reſt, which were all loden with corne: & tooke of all ſortes beſides, about foure & fiftie foyſtes, and galliots of fiftie owers a pece. The ſecond Conſul & generall he fought with all, was *Hoſtilius*, whom he repulſed, attempting by force to inuade MACEDON, by waye of the cittie of ELVMIA. Another time again, whē he entred in by ſtelth vpō the coaſt of THESSALY, he offred him battel, but the other durſt not abide it. Furthermore, as though the warre troubled him nothing at all, & that he had cared litle for the ROMAINES: he wēt and fought a battell in the meane time with the DARDANIANS, where he ſlue tēne thouſād of thoſe barbarous people, & brought a maruelous great ſpoyle awaye with him. Moreouer he procured the nation of the GAVLES dwelling vpō the riuer of *Danubie*, which they call *Baſtarne* (mē very warF like, & excellēt good horſemē) & did practiſe with the ILLYRIANS alſo by meane of their king *Gētius*, to make thē ioyne with him in theſe warres: ſo that there ranne a rumour all about, that for money he had gotten theſe GAVLES to come downe into ITALIE, from the highe contrie

Amigonus Doſon, king of Macedon.

Philip king of Macedon was ouercome in battell, by Titus Quintus Flaminius at the cittie of Scotuſa.

Philips ſecōd preparation for warres in Macedon.

Philips armorie.

The death of king Philip.

Perſeus extreme couetous.

King Perſeus maketh warre with the Romaines.

Publius Licinius Conſul, ouerthrowen by Perſeus.

Hoſtilius Cōſul repulſed out of Macedon.

Baſtarne, the Gaules dwelling apon the riuer of Danubie.

of GAVLE, all alongeſt the Adriatick ſea. The ROMAINES being aduertiſed of theſe newes, thought the time ſerued not now to diſpoſe their offices in warres any more by grace & fauour vnto thoſe that ſued for them: but contrariwiſe, that they ſhould call ſome noble man that were very skilfull, and a wiſe captaine, and could diſcretly gouerne and performe things of great charge. As *Paulus AEmylius*, a man well ſtepped on in yeres, being three ſcore yere olde: and yet of good power, by reaſon of the luſty young men his ſonnes, & ſonnes in lawe, beſides a great number of his friends and kinſefolke. So all that bare great authoritie, dyd altogether with one conſent counſaill him to obey the people, which called him to the Conſulſhippe. At the beginning, in deede he delayed the people muche that came to importune him, and vtterly denied them: ſaying, he was no meete man neither to deſire, nor yet to take vpon him any charge. Howbeit in the ende, ſeeing the people dyd vrge it apon him, by knocking continually at his gates, and calling him alowde in the ſtreetes, willing him to come into the market place, and perceyuing they were angrie with him, bicauſe he refuſed it: he was content to be perſuaded. And when he ſtoode among them that ſued for the Conſulſhippe, the people thought ſtraight that he ſtoode not there ſo muche for deſire of the office, as for that he put them in hope of aſſured victorie, and happie ſucceſſe of this begonne warre: ſo great was their loue towardes him, and the good hope they had of him, that they choſe him Conſul againe the ſecond time. Wherefore ſo ſone as he was choſen, they would not proceede to drawing of lottes according to their cuſtome, which of the two Conſuls ſhould happen to goe into MACEDON: but preſently with a full and whole conſent of them all, they gaue him the whole charge of the warres of MACEDON. So being Conſul now, and appointed to make warre apon king *Perſeus*, all the people dyd honorably companie him home vnto his houſe: where a litle girle (a daughter of his) called *Tertia*, being yet an infant, came weeping vnto her father. He making muche of her: asked her why ſhe wept. The poore girle aunſwered, colling him about the necke, and kiſſing him: Alas, father, wote you what? our *Perſeus* is dead. She ment it by a litle whelpe ſo called, which was her playe fellowe. In good hower, my girle, ſayed he, I like the ſigne well. Thus doth *Cicero* the orator reporte it in his booke of diuinations. The ROMAINES had a cuſtome at that time, that ſuche as were elected Conſuls (after that they were openly proclaimed) ſhould make an oration of thanckes vnto the people, for the honour and fauour they had ſhewed him. The people then (according to the cuſtome) being gathered together to heare *AEmylius* ſpeake, he made this oration vnto them. That the firſt time he ſued to be Conſul, was in reſpect of him ſelfe, ſtanding at that time in neede of ſuche honour: now he offred him ſelfe the ſecond time vnto it, for the good loue he bare vnto them, who ſtoode in nede of a generall, wherefore he thought him ſelfe nothing bounde nor beholding vnto them now. And if they dyd thincke alſo this warre might be better followed by any other, then by him ſelfe, he would preſently with all his harte reſigne the place. Furthermore, if they had any truſt or confidence in him, that they thought him a man ſufficient to diſcharge it: then that they would not ſpeake nor medle in any matter that concerned his duetie, and the office of a generall, ſauing only, that they would be diligent (without any wordes) to doe whatſoeuer he commaunded, and ſhould be neceſſarie for the warre and ſeruice they tooke in hande. For if euery man would be a commaunder, as they had bene heretofore, of thoſe by whom they ſhould be commaunded: then the world would more laughe them to ſcorne in this ſeruice, then euer before had bene accuſtomed. Theſe wordes made the ROMAINES very obedient to him, and conceyued good hope to come, being all of thē very glad that they had refuſed thoſe ambitious flatterers that ſued for the charge, & had geuē it vnto a man, that durſt boldly & franckly tell them the troth. Marke how the ROMAINES by yelding vnto reaſon & vertue, came to cōmand all other, & to make them ſelues the mightieſt people of the world. Now that *Paulus Æmylius* ſetting forward to this warre, had winde at will, and fayer paſſage to bring him at his iorneis ende: I impute it to good fortune, that ſo quickly and ſafely conueyed him to his campe. But for the reſt of his exploytes he dyd in all this warre, when parte of them were performed by his owne hardines, other by his wiſedome and good counſell, other by the diligence of his friendes in ſeruing him with good will, other by his owne reſolute conſtancy and corage in extremeſt

AEmylius choſen Conſul the ſecond time, taketh charge of the warres of Macedon.

Good lucke promiſed by Tertia, a litle girle.

Paulus AEmylius oratiō of thanckes to the Romaines when he was Conſul, obſeruing the cuſtome.

See what fruite ſouldiers reape, by obedience & reaſon.

A extremeſt daunger, and laſt, by his maruelous skill in determining at an inſtant what was to be done: I cannot attribute any notable acte or worthy ſeruice vnto this his good fortune, they talke of ſo much, as they maye doe in other captaines doings. Onles they will ſaye peraduenture, that *Perſeus* couetouſnes and miſerie was *Æmilius* good fortune: for his miſerable feare of ſpending money, was the only cauſe and deſtruction of the whole realme of MACEDON, which was in good ſtate and hope of continuing in proſperitie. For there came downe into the countrie of MACEDON at king *Perſeus* requeſt, tenne thouſand Baſtarnæ a horſe backe, and as many footemen to them, who allwayes ioyned with them in battell, all mercenary ſouldiers, depending vpon paye and enterteinment of warres, as men that could not plowe nor ſowe, nor trafficke marchandiſe by ſea, nor skill of graſing to gaine their liuing B with: & to be ſhorte, that had no other occupation or marchādiſe, but to ſerue in the warres, and to ouercome thoſe with whom they fought. Furthermore, when they came to incampe & lodge in the MEDICA, neere to the MACEDONIANS, who ſawe them ſo goodly great men, and ſo well trained & exerciſed in handling all kinde of weapons, ſo braue and luſtie in wordes and threates againſt their enemies: they beganne to plucke vp their hartes, & to looke bigge, imagining that the ROMAINES would neuer abide them, but would be afeard to looke them in the face, and only to ſee their marche, it was ſo terrible and fearefull. But *Perſeus*, after he had incoraged his men in this ſorte, and had put them in ſuche a hope and iollitie, when this barbarous ſupply came to aske him a thouſand crownes in hande for euery captaine, he was ſo damped & troubled withall in his minde, caſting vp the ſumme it came to, that his only co- C uetouſnes and miſerie made him returne them backe, and refuſe their ſeruice: not as one that ment to fight with the ROMAINES, but rather to ſpare his treaſure, and to be a husband for them, as if he ſhould haue geuen vp a ſtraight accompt vnto them of his charges in this warre, againſt whom he made it. And notwithſtanding alſo his enemies dyd teache him what he had to doe, conſidering that beſides all other their warlike furniture & munition, they had no leſſe then a hundred thouſand fighting men lying in campe together, ready to execute the Conſuls commaundement. Yet he taking vpon him to reſiſt ſo puiſſant an armie, and to mainteine the warres, which forced his enemies to be at extreme charge in enterteining ſuch multitudes of men, and more then needed: hardly would depart with his gold and ſiluer, but kept it ſafe locked vp in his treaſurie, as if he had bene affrayed to touche it, and had bene none of D his. And he dyd not ſhewe that he came of the noble race of theſe kings of LYDIA, and of PHOENICIA, who gloried to be riche: but ſhewed howe by inheritaunce of bloude he chalenged ſome parte of the vertue of *Philip*, and of *Alexander*, who both bicauſe they eſteemed to buye victorie with money, not money with victorie, dyd many notable things, and thereby conquered the world. Hereof came the common ſaying in olde time, that it was not *Philip*, but his gold and ſiluer that wanne the citties of GRÆCE. And *Alexander* when he went to conquer the INDES, ſeeing the MACEDONIANS carie with them all the wealth of PERSIA, which made his campe very heauie, and ſlowe to marche: he him ſelfe firſt of all ſet fire of his owne cariage that conueyed all his neceſſaries, and perſuaded other to doe the like, that they might marche more lightly, and eaſelier goe on the iorney. But *Perſeus* contrarilie would not ſpend E any parte of his goodes, to ſaue him ſelfe, his children and Realme, but rather yelded to be led priſoner in triumphe with a great ranſome, to ſhewe the ROMAINES howe good a husband he had bene for them. For he dyd not only ſend away the GAVLES without geuing them paye as he had promiſed, but moreouer hauing perſuaded *Gentius* king of ILLYRIA to take his parte in theſe warres, for the ſumme of three hūdred talents which he had promiſed to furniſh him with: he cauſed the money to be told, and put vp in bagges by thoſe whom *Gentius* ſent to receiue it. Whereupon *Gentius* thinking him ſelfe ſure of the money promiſed, committed a fond and fowle parte: for he ſtayed the ambaſſadours the ROMAINES ſent vnto him, and committed them to priſone. This parte being come to *Perſeus* eares, he thought now he needed not hier him with money to be an enemie to the ROMAINES, cōſidering he had waded ſo F farre, as that he had already done, was as a manifeſt ſigne of his ill will towards them, and that it was to late to looke backe and repent him; now that his fowle parte had plunged him into certen warres, for an vncerten hope. So dyd he abuſe the vnfortunate King, and defrauded

Perſeus couetouſnes and miſerie, was the deſtruction of him ſelfe, and his realme of Macedon. Baſtarnæ, a mercenary people.

Note, what became of Perſeus huſbandry.

AEmylius army againſt Perſeus, was a hundred thouſand mē.

Gentius king of the Illyriās, ayded Perſeus.

Perſeꝰ double dealing with king Gentius.

him of the three hundred talents he had promiſed him. And worſe then this, ſhortely after he ſuffered *Lucius Anicius* the ROMAINE Prætor, whom they ſent againſt him with an armie, to plucke king *Gentius*, his wife, and children, out of his Realme and Kingdome, and to carie them priſoners with him. Now when *Æmylius* was arriued in MACEDON, to make warre againſt ſuch an enemie: he made no manner of reckoning of his perſone, but of the great preparation and power he had. For in one campe he had foure thouſand horſemen, and no leſſe then forty thouſand footemen, with the which armie he had planted him ſelfe alongeſt the ſea ſide, by the foote of the mount *Olympus*, in a place vnpoſſible to be approched: and there he had ſo well fortified all the ſtraites and paſſages vnto him with fortifications of woode, that he thought him ſelfe to lye ſafe out of all daunger, and imagined to dalie with *Æmylius*, and by tract of time to eate him out with charge. *AEmylius* in the meane ſeaſon laye not idle, but occupied his wittes throughly, and left no meanes vnattempted, to put ſome thing in proofe. And perceyuing that his ſouldiers by ouermuche licentious libertie (wherein by ſufferaunce they liued before) were angrie with delaying and lying ſtill, and that they dyd buſilie occupie them ſelues in the generalles office, ſaying this, and ſuche a thing would be done that is not done: he tooke them vp roundely, and commaunded them they ſhould medle no more to curiouſly in matters that perteined not to them, and that they ſhould take care for nothing els, but to ſee their armour & weapon ready to ſerue valliantly, & to vſe their ſwordes after the ROMAINES facion, when their generall ſhould appoint and commaund them. Wherefore, to make them more carefull to looke to them ſelues, he commaunded thoſe that watched ſhould haue no ſpeares nor pykes, bicauſe they ſhould be more wakefull, hauing no long weapon to reſiſt the enemie, if they were aſſaulted. The greateſt trouble his army had, was lacke of freſhe water, bicauſe the water that ranne to the ſea was very litle, and maruelous fowle by the ſea ſide. But *AEmylius* conſidering they were at the foote of the mount *Olympus* (which is of a maruelous height, and full of wodde withall) coniectured, ſeeing the trees ſo freſhe and grene, that there ſhould be ſome litle pretie ſpringes among them, which ranne vnder the grounde. So he made them digge many holes and welles alongeſt the mountaine, which were ſtraight filled with fayer water, being pent within ground before for lacke of breaking open the heades, which then ranne downe in ſtreames, and met together in ſundrie places. And yet ſome doe denie, that there is any meeting of waters within the grounde, from whence the ſpringes doe come. For they ſaye, that ronning out of the earth as they doe, it is not for that, that the water breaketh out by any violence, or openeth in any place, as meeting together in one place of long time: but that it ingendreth and riſeth at the ſame time and place where it ronneth out, turning the ſubſtaunce into water, which is a moiſt vapour, thickneth and waxeth cold by the coldnes of the earth, and ſo becommeth a ſtreame, and ronneth downe. Euen ſo, ſaye they, as womens breſtes are not allwayes full of milke, as milke pannes are that continually keepe milke, but doe of them ſelues conuert the nutriment women take into milke, and after commeth forth at their nipples: the very like are ſpringes and watery places of the earth, from whence the fountaines come, which haue no meeting of hidden waters, nor hollowe places capable, readily to deliuer water from them, as one would drawe it out of a pompe, or ſeſterne, from ſo many great brookes, and deepe riuers. But by their naturall coldnes and moiſture, they waxe thicke, and put forth the vapour & ayer ſo ſtrong, that they turne it into water. And this is the reaſon why the places where they digge and open the earth, doe put forth more abundaunce of water by opening the grounde: like as womens breſtes doe geue more milke, when they are moſt drawen and ſuckt, bicauſe in a ſorte they doe better feede the vapour within them, and conuert it thereby into a ronning humour. Where, to the contrarie, thoſe partes of the earth that are not digged, nor haue no vent outward, are the more vnable, and leſſe mete to ingender water, hauing not that prouocation and courſe to ronne, that cauſeth the bringing forth of moiſture. Yet ſuch as mainteine this opinion, doe geue them occaſion that loue argument, to contrarie them thus. Then we may ſaye by like reaſon alſo, that in the bodies of beaſtes there is no bloud long before, and that it ingendreth vpon a ſodaine, when they are hurte, by transferring of ſome ſpirite or fleſhe that readilie chaungeth into ſome ronning licoure. And moreouer, they

are

King Gentius ouercome by Lucius Anicius Prætor.

Perſeus laye at the foote of the mount Olympus, with 4000 horſemen, & 40000 footemen.

AEmylius admonition to his ſouldiers.

Paulus AEmylius would haue the watch to haue no ſpeares nor pikes.

The originall of ſpringes.

Fountaines compared to womēs breſts.

A are confuted by the cõmon experience of theſe mine men, that digge in the mines for mettell or that vndermine caſtells to winne them: who when they digge any great depth, doe many times meete in the bowells of the earth with ronning riuers, the water whereof is not ingendred by litle and litle, as of neceſſitie it ſhould be, if it were true, that vpon the preſent opening of the ground, the humour ſhould immediatly be created, but it falleth vehemently all at one time. And we ſee oftentimes that in cutting through a mountaine or rocke, ſodainely there ronneth out a great quantitie of water. And thus much for this matter. Now to returne to our hiſtorie againe. *Æmylius* laye there a conuenient time, & ſtirred not: and it is ſayed there were neuer ſeene two ſo great armies one ſo neere to the other, and to be ſo quiet. In the ende, caſting many things with him ſelfe, and deuiſing ſundrie practiſes, he was enformed of another
B waye to enter into MACEDON, through the countrie of PERRÆBIA, ouer againſt the temple called *Pythion*, & the rocke vpon which it is built, where there laye no garriſon: which gaue him better hope to paſſe that waye, for that it was not kept, then that he feared the narrownes & hardnes of the waye vnto it. So, he brake the matter to his coũſaill. Thereupon *Scipio* called *Naſica* (the ſonne adopted of that great *Scipio* the *African*, who became afterwards a great mã, & was preſidẽt of the Senate or counſell) was the firſt man that offred him ſelf to leade them, whom it would pleaſe him to ſend to take that paſſage, & to aſſault their enemies behind. The ſecond was *Fabius Maximus*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Æmylius*, who being but a very young man, roſe notwithſtanding, & offred him ſelf very willingly. *Æmylius* was very glad of their offers, &
C gaue them not ſo many men as *Polybius* writeth, but ſo many as *Naſica* him ſelf declareth, in a letter of his he wrote to a King, where he reporteth all the ſtorie of this iorney. There were 3000. ITALIANS leauied in ITALIE, by the cõfederats of the ROMAINES, who were not of the ROMAINE legions, & in the left winge about 5000. Beſides thoſe, *Naſica* tooke alſo 120. men at armes, & about 200. CRETANS & THRACIANS mingled together, of thoſe *Harpalus* had ſent thither. With this number *Naſica* departed from the campe, & tooke his waye toward the ſea ſide, & lodged by the tẽple of *Hercules*, as if he had determined to doe this feate by ſea, to enuironne the cãpe of the enemies behind. But when the ſouldiers had ſupped, & that it was darke night, he made the captaines of euery bande priuie to his enterpriſe, & ſo marched all night a contrary waye from the ſea, vntill at the length they came vnder the tẽple of *Pythion*, where he lodged to reſt the ſouldiers that were ſore trauelled all night. In this place, the mount *Olympus*
D is aboue tenne furlonge highe, as appeareth in a place ingrauen by him that meaſured it.

Olympus mounte is iuſt, by meaſure made vvith line,
twvelue hundred ſeuentie paces trodde, as meaſure can aſſigne.
The meaſure being made, right ore againſt the place,
vvhereas Apolloes temple ſtands, ybuilt vvith ſtately grace.
Euen from the leauell plott, of that ſame countries plaine.
vnto the toppe vvhich all on highe, doth on the hill remaine.
And ſo Xenagoras the ſonne of Eumelus,
in olden dayes by meaſure made, the ſame dyd finde for vs.
And dyd engraue it here in vvriting for to ſee,
E *vvhen as he tooke his lateſt leaue (Apollo god) of thee.*

The height of the mount Olympus.

Yet the *Geometricians* ſaye, that there is no mountaine higher, nor ſea deeper, then the length of tenne furlonges: ſo that I thinke this *Xenagoras* (in my opinion) dyd not take his meaſure at auenture, and by geſſe, but by true rules of the arte, and inſtrumentes Geometricall. There *Naſica* reſted all night. King *Perſeus* perceyuing in the meane time that *Æmylius* ſtirred not from the place where he laye, miſtruſted nothing his practiſe, and the comming of *Naſica* who was at hande: vntill ſuch time as a traitour of CRETA (ſtealing from *Naſica*) dyd reueale vnto him the pretended practiſe, as alſo the ROMAINES compaſſing of him about. He worldied muche at theſe newes, howbeit he remoued not his campe from the place he laye in, but diſpatched one of his captaines called *Milon*, with tenne thouſand ſtraungers, and two thou-
F ſand MACEDONIANS: and ſtraightly commanded him with all the poſſible ſpeede he could, to get the toppe of the hill before them. *Polybius* ſayeth, that the ROMAINES came and gaue them an alaram, when they were ſlepinge. But *Naſica* writeth, that there was a maruelous

sharpe and terrible battell on the toppe of the mountaine: and sayed plainely, that a THRACIAN souldier comming towards him, he threwe his darte at him, and hitting him right in the brest, slue him starke dead: and hauing repulsed their enemies, *Milon* their captaine shamefully ronning awaye in his coate without armour or weapon, he followed him without any daunger, and so went downe to the valley, with the safety of all his companie. This conflict fortuning thus, *Perseus* raised his campe in great haste from the place where he was, and being disapointed of his hope, he retired in great feare, as one at his wittes ende, and not knowing howe to determine. Yet was he constrained either to staye, and incampe before the cittie of PYDNE, there to take the hazard of battell: or els to deuide his armie into his cities & strong holdes, and to receyue the warres within his owne countrie, the which being once crept in, could neuer be driuen out againe, without great murder & bloudeshed. Hereupon his friends dyd counsell him, to choose rather the fortune of battell: alledging vnto him, that he was the stronger in men a great waye, & that the MACEDONIANS would fight lustely with all the corage they could, considering that they fought for the safety of their wiues and children, & also in the presence of their King, who should both see euery mans doing, and fight him selfe in persone also for them. The King moued by these persuasions, determined to venter the chaūce of battell. So he pitched his campe, and viewed the situation of the places all about, and deuided the companies amongest his captaines, purposing to geue a whotte charge vpon the enemies when they should drawe nere. The place and countrie was suche, as being all champion, there was a goodly valley to raunge a battell of footemen in, and litle prety hilles also one depending vpon another, which were very cōmodious for archers, naked men, and such as were lightly armed, to retire them selues vnto being distressed, & also to enuirōne their enemies behind. There were two small riuers also, *Æson* and *Leucus* that rāne through the same, the which though they were not very deepe, being about the later ende of the sommer, yet they would annoye the ROMAINES notwithstanding. Now when *Æmylius* was ioyned with *Nasica*, he marched on straight in battell raye towards his enemies. But perceyuing a farre of their battell marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the same: he wondred to behold it, and sodainly stayed his armie, considering with him selfe what he had to doe. Then the young captaines hauing charge vnder him, desirous to fight it out presently, went vnto him to praye him to geue the onset: but *Nasica* specially aboue the rest, hauing good hope in the former good lucke he had at his first encounter. *Æmylius* smiling, aunswered him: so would I doe, if I were as young as thou. But the sundry victories I haue wonne heretofore, hauing taught me by experience the faultes the vanquished doe commit: doe forbid me to goe so whottely to worke (before my souldiers haue rested, which dyd returne but now) to assault an armie set in suche order of battell. When he had aunswered him thus, he commaunded the first bands that were now in viewe of the enemies, should imbattell them selues, shewing a countenaunce to the enemie as though they would fight: and that those in the rereward should lodge in the meane time, and fortifie the campe. So, bringing the foremost men to be hindemost, by chaunging from man to man before the enemies were ware of it: he had broken his battell by litle and litle, and lodged his men, fortified within the campe without any tumult or noyse, and the enemies neuer perceyuing it. But when night came, and euery man had supped, as they were going to sleepe and take their rest: the moone which was at the full, and of a great height, beganne to darken, & to chaunge into many sortes of collers, losing her light, vntill suche time as she vanished awaye, and was eclipsed altogether. Then the ROMAINES beganne to make a noyse with basons and pannes, as their facion is to doe in suche a chaunce, thinking by this sound to call her againe, and to make her come to her light, lifting vp many torches lighted, and firebrands into the ayer. The MACEDONIANS on thother side dyd no suche matter within their campe, but were all together striken with an horrible feare: and there ranne straight a whispering rumour through the people, that this signe in the element signified the eclipse of the King. For *Æmylius* was but ignorant of the diuersities of the eclipses, and he had heard saye the cause is, by reason that the moone making her ordinaire course about the world (after certen reuolutions of time) doth come to enter into the round shadowe of the earth, within the which she remaineth hidden: vntill suche time as hauing

past

Nasica wanne the straights of Macedon.

Perseus pitched his campe before the cittie of Pydne.

The riuers of AEson and Leucus.

AEmylius aunswer to Scipio Nasica, for geuing charge apon the enemies.

The skill and foresight of a wise captaine.

The eclipse of the moon.

The superstitiō of the Romaines when the moone is eclipsed.

The cause of an eclipse of the moone.

A paſt the darke region of the ſhadow, ſhe cõmeth afterwards to recouer her light which ſhe taketh of the ſunne. Neuertheles, he being a godly deuout man, ſo ſone as he perceyued the moone had recouered her former brightnes againe, he ſacrificed eleuen calues. And the next morning alſo by the breake of day, making ſacrifice to *Hercules*, he could neuer haue any ſignes or tokens that promiſed him good lucke, in ſacrificing twenty oxen one after another: but at the one & twenteth, he had ſignes that promiſed him victorie, ſo he defended him ſelf. Wherfore, after he had vowed a ſolemne ſacrifice of a hundred oxen to *Hercules*, and alſo games of prices at the weapons, he commaunded his captaines to put their men in readines to fight: & ſo ſought to winne time, tarying till the ſunne came about in the after noone towardes the Weſt, to the ende that the ROMAINES which were turned towardes the Eaſt, ſhould not haue
B it in their faces when they were fighting. In the meane time, he repoſed him ſelfe in his tent, which was all open behind towardes the ſide that looked into the valley, where the campe of his enemies laye. When it grewe towards night, to make the enemies ſet apon his men: ſome ſaye he vſed this policie. He made a horſe be driuen towards them without a bridell, & certen ROMAINES followed him, as they would haue taken him againe: and this was the cauſe of procuring the skirmiſhe. Other ſaye, that the THRACIANS ſeruing vnder the charge of captaine *Alexander*, dyd ſet apon certen forragers of the ROMAINES, that brought forage into the campe: out of the which, ſeuen hundred of the LIGVRIANS ranne ſodainly to the reſcue, and relief comming ſtill from both armies, at the laſt the mayne battell followed after. Wherefore *Æmilius* like a wiſe generall foreſeeing by the daunger of this skirmiſhe, and the
C ſtirring of both campes, what the furie of the battell would come to: came out of his tent, and paſſing by the bandes, dyd encorage them, and prayed them to ſticke to it like men. In the meane time, *Naſica* thruſting him ſelfe into the place where the skirmiſhe was whotteſt, perceyued the army of the enemies marching in battell, ready to ioyne. The firſt that marched in the voward, were the THRACIANS, who ſeemed terrible to looke apon, as he writeth him ſelf: for they were mightie made men, and caried maruelous bright targets of ſteele before them, their legges were armed with greaues, and their thighes with taſes, their coates were blacke, & marched ſhaking heauy halberds vpon their ſhoulders. Next vnto theſe THRACIANS, there followed them all the other ſtraungers and ſouldiers whom the King had hiered, diuerſely armed and ſet forth: for they were people of ſundrie nations gathered together, emong whom
D the PÆONIANS were mingled. The third ſquadron was of MACEDONIANS, and all of them choſen men, aſwell for the flower of their youthe, as for the valliantnes of their perſones: and they were all in goodly gilt armours, and braue purple caſſocks apon them, ſpicke, and ſpanne newe. And at their backes came after them, the olde bandes to ſhewe them ſelues out of the campe, with targets of copper, that made all the plaine to ſhine with the brightnes of their ſteele and copper. And all the hilles and mountaines thereabouts dyd ringe againe like an Eccho, with the crie and noyſe of ſo many fighting men, one incoraging another. In this order they marched ſo fiercely, with ſo great harte burning, & ſuch ſwiftnes: that the firſt which were ſlaine at the incounter, fell dead two furlonges from the campe of the ROMAINES. The charge being geuen, and the battell begonne, *AEmylius* galloping to the voward of his bat-
E tell, perceyued that the captaines of the MACEDONIANS which were in the firſt ranckes, had already thruſt their pikes into the ROMAINES targets, ſo as they could not come neere them with their ſwordes: and that the other MACEDONIANS carying their targets behinde them, had now plucked them before them, and dyd baſe their pikes all at one time, and made a violent thruſt into the targets of the ROMAINES. Which when he had conſidered, and of what ſtrength and force his walle and rancke of targets was, one ioyning ſo neere another, and what a terrour it was to ſee a fronte of a battell with ſo many armed pikes and ſteele heades: he was more afeard and amazed withall, then with any ſight he euer ſawe before. Neuertheles he could wiſely diſſemble it at that time. And ſo paſſing by the companies of his horſemen, without either curaces or helmet vpon his head, he ſhewed a noble cherefull coun-
F tenaunce vnto them that fought. But on the contrarie ſide, *Perſeus* the king of MACEDON, as *Polybius* writeth, ſo ſone as the battell was begonne, withdrewe him ſelf, and got into the cittie of PYDNE, vnder pretence to goe to doe ſacrifice vnto *Hercules*: who doth not accept the

AEmylius policie to procure skirmiſhe.

The army of the Macedonians, marching againſt the Romaines in battell.

The battell betwext Perſeus and AEmylius.

Perſeus goeth out of the battell vnto Pydne.

fainte ſacrifice of cowards, neither doth receyue their prayers, bicauſe they be vnreaſonable. For it is no reaſon, that he that ſhooteth not, ſhould hyt the white: nor that he ſhould winne the victorie, that bideth not the battell: neither that he ſhould haue any good, that doeth nothing toward it: nor that a naughty man ſhould be fortunate, and proſper. The goddes dyd fauour *Æmylius* prayers, bicauſe he prayed for victorie with his ſworde in his hande, and fighting dyd call to them for ayde. Howbeit there is one *Poſidonius* a writer, who ſayeth he was in that time, and moreouer, that he was at the battell: and he hath written an hiſtorie conteining many bookes of the actes of king *Perſeus*, where he ſayeth that it was not for fainte harte, nor vnder culler to ſacrifice vnto *Hercules*, that *Perſeus* went from the battell: but bicauſe he had a ſtripe of a horſe on the thighe the daye before. Who though he could not very well helpe him ſelf, and that all his friends ſought to perſuade him not to goe to the battell: yet he B cauſed one of his horſe to be brought to him notwithſtanding (which he commonly vſed to ryde vp and downe on) and taking his backe, rode into the battell vnarmed, where an infinite number of dartes were throwen at him from both ſides. And emong thoſe, he had a blowe with a darte that hurte him ſomwhat, but it was ouerthwart, and not with the pointe, and dyd hit him on the left ſide glawnſing wiſe, with ſuche a force, that it rent his coate, and raſed his skinne vnderneath, ſo as it left a marke behinde a long time after. And this is all that *Poſidonius* writeth to defend and excuſe *Perſeus*. The Romaines hauing their hands full, and being ſtayed by the battell of the Macedonians that they could make no breache into them: there was a captaine of the Pelignians called *Salius*, who tooke the enſigne of his band, and caſt it among the preaſe of his enemies. Then all the Pelignians brake in apon them, with C a maruelous force & furie into that place: for all Italians thinke it to great a ſhame & diſhonour for ſouldiers, to loſe, or forſake their enſigne. Thus was there maruelous force of both ſides vſed in that place: for the Pelignians proued to cut the Macedonians pikes with their ſwordes, or els to make them geue backe with their great targets, or to make a breache into them, and to take the pikes with their handes. But the Macedonians to the contrarie, holding their pikes faſt with both hands, ranne them thorow that came neere vnto them: ſo that neither target nor corſelet could hold out the force and violence of the puſhe of their pikes, in ſo muche as they turned vp the heeles of the Pelignians and Terracinians, who like deſperate beaſtes without reaſon, ſhutting in them ſelues emong their enemies, ranne wilfully vpon their owne deathes, and their firſt rancke were ſlaine euery man of them. D Thereupon thoſe that were behind, gaue backe a litle, but fled not turning their backes, and only retired geuing backe, towardes the mountaine *Olocrus*. *Æmylius* ſeeing that (as *Poſidonius* writeth) rent his arming coate from his backe for anger, bicauſe that ſome of his men gaue backe: other durſt not fronte the battell of the Macedonians, which was ſo ſtrongly imbattelled of euery ſide, and ſo mured in with a wall of pikes, preſenting their armed heades on euerie ſide a man could come, that it was impoſſible to breake into them, no not ſo muche as to come neere them only. Yet notwithſtanding, bicauſe the field was not altogether plaine and euen, the battell that was large in the fronte, could not allwayes keepe that walle, continuing their targets cloſe one to another, but they were driuen of neceſſitie to breake and open in many places, as it happeneth oft in great battells, according to the great E force of the ſouldiers: that in one place they thruſt forward, and in another they geue backe, and leaue a hole. Wherefore *Æmylius* ſodainly taken the vauntage of this occaſion, deuided his men into ſmall companies, and commaunded them they ſhould quickly thruſt in betwene their enemies, and occupie the places they ſawe voyde in the fronte of their enemies, and that they ſhould ſet on them in that ſorte, and not with one whole continuall charge, but occupying them here and there with diuers companies, in ſundry places. *Æmylius* gaue this charge vnto the priuate captaines of euery band and their lieutenaunts, and the captaines alſo gaue the like charge vnto their ſouldiers that could skilfully execute their commaundement. For they went preſently into thoſe partes where they ſawe the places open, and being once entred in among them, ſome gaue charge vpon the flanckes of the Macedonians, where F they were all naked and vnarmed: other ſet vpon them behind: ſo that the ſtrength of all the corpes of the battell (which conſiſteth in keeping cloſe together) being opened in this ſorte,

Victorie wõne by labour, not by ſlothe.

Salius a captaine of the Pelignians tooke the enſigne, and ſhrewe it among the enemies.

A was straight ouerthrowen. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or a fewe
againſt a fewe: the MACEDONIANS with their litle ſhorte ſwordes, came to ſtrike vpon the
great ſheldes of the ROMAINES, which were very ſtrong, and couered all their bodies downe
to the foote. And they to the contrarie, were driuen of neceſſitie to receaue the blowes of the
ſtrong heauy ſwordes of the ROMAINES, vpon their litle weake targettes: ſo that what with
their heauines, and the vehement force wherewith the blowes lighted vpon them, there was
no target nor corſelet, but they paſſed it through, and ranne them in. By reaſon whereof they
could make no long reſiſtance, whereupon they turned their backes, and ranne awaye. But
when they came to the ſquadron of the olde beaten ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, there
was the cruelleſt fight and moſt deſperate ſeruice, where they ſaye that *Marcus Cato* (ſonne of *The valliãs-*
B great *Cato*, and ſonne in lawe of *Æmylius*) ſhewing all the valliantnes in his perſone that a *nes of Mar-*
noble minde could poſſibly performe, loſt his ſword which fell out of his hande. But he like a *cus Cato.*
young man of noble corage, that had bene valliantly brought vp in all diſcipline, & knew how
to follow the ſteppes of his father (the nobleſt perſone that euer man ſawe) was to ſhewe then
his value and worthines: and thought it more honour for him there to dye, then liuing to
ſuffer his enemies to enioye any ſpoyle of his. So, by & by he ranne into the ROMAINE army,
to finde out ſome of his friendes, whom he tolde what had befalled him, and prayed them to
helpe him to recouer his ſworde: whereto they agreed. And being a good company of luſty
valliant ſouldiers together, they ruſhed ſtraight in among their enemies, at the place where
he brought them, and ſo dyd ſet apon them with ſuche force and furie, that they made a lane
C through the middeſt of them, and with great ſlaughter and ſpilling of bloude, euen by plaine
force, they cleared the waye ſtill before them. Now when the place was voyded, they ſought
for the ſworde, and in the ende founde it with great a doe, amongeſt a heape of other ſwords
and dead bodies, whereat they reioyced maruelouſly. Then ſinging a ſonge of victorie, they
went againe more fiercely then before to geue a charge vpon their enemies, who were not yet
broken a ſonder: vntill ſuche time as at the length, the three thouſand choſen MACEDO-
NIANS fighting valliantly euen to the laſt man, and neuer forſaking their rancks, were all ſlaine
in the place. After whoſe ouerthrowe, there was a great ſlaughter of other alſo that fled: ſo *Æmilius vi-*
that all the valley and foote of the mountaines thereaboutes was couered with dead bodies. *ctorie of Per-*
The next daye after the battell, when the ROMAINES dyd paſſe ouer the riuer of *Leucus*, they *ſeus.*
D founde it ronning all a bloude. For it is ſayed there were ſlaine at this field, of *Perſeus* men, a-
boue fiue and twentie thouſand: and of the ROMAINES ſide, as *Poſidonius* ſayeth, not aboue
ſixe ſcore, or as *Naſica* writeth, but foure ſcore only. And for ſo great an ouerthrowe, it is re-
ported it was wonderfull quickly done, and executed. For they beganne to fight about three
of the clocke in the after noone, and had wonne the victorie before foure, and all the reſt of *The battell*
the daye they followed their enemies in chaſe, an hundred & twenty furlonges from the place *fought and*
where the battell was fought: ſo that it was very late, and farre forth night, before they re- *wonne in one*
turned againe into the campe. So ſuche as returned, were receyued with maruelous great *howr.*
ioye of their pages that went out with linckes and torches lighted, to bring their maſters into
their tentes, where their men had made great bonfiers, and decked them vp with crownes and
E garlands of laurell, ſauing the generalles tent only: who was very heauy, for that of his two
ſonnes he brought with him to the warres, the younger could not be founde, which he loued
beſt of the twaine, bicauſe he ſawe he was of a better nature then the reſt of his brethern. For *The valliã-*
euen then, being newe crept out of the ſhell as it were, he was maruelous valliant and hardie, *nes of Scipio*
and deſired honour wonderfully. Now *Æmylius* thought he had bene caſt awaye, fearing leaſt *the leſſe.*
for lacke of experience in the warres, and through the raſhnes of his youthe, he had put him
ſelfe to farre in fight amongeſt the preaſe of the enemies. Hereupon the campe heard ſtraight
what ſorowe *Æmylius* was in, and how grieuouſly he tooke it. The ROMAINES being ſet at
ſupper, roſe from their meate, and with torche light ſome ranne to *Æmylius* tent, other went
out of the campe to ſeeke him among the dead bodies, if they might knowe him: ſo all the
F campe was full of ſorowe and mourning, the vallies & hilles all abouts dyd ringe againe with
the cries of thoſe that called *Scipio* alowde. For euen from his childhood he had a naturall
gift in him, of all the rare and ſingular partes required in a captaine & wiſe gouernour of the

common weale aboue all the young men of his time. At the laſt, when they were out of all hope of his comming againe, he happely returned from the chaſe of the enemies, with two or three of his familliars only, all bloudied with new bloude (like a ſwift running greyhounde fleſhed with the bloude of the hare) hauing purſued very farre for ioye of the victorie. It is that *Scipio* which afterwards deſtroyed both the cities of CARTHAGE and NVMANTIVM, who was the greateſt man of warre, and valliantest captaine of the ROMAINES in his time, and of the greateſt authoritie and reputation emong them. Thus fortune deferring till another time the execution of her ſpite, which ſhe dyd beare to ſo noble an exployte, ſuffered *Æmylius* for that time, to take his ful pleaſure of that noble victorie. And as for *Perſeus*, he fled firſt from the cittie of PYDNE, vnto the cittie of PELLA, with his horſemen, which were in manner all ſaued. Whereupon the footemen that ſaued them ſelues by flying, meeting them by the waye, called them traitours, cowards, and villanes: & worſe then that, they turned them of their horſe backes, and fought it out luſtely with them. *Perſeus* ſeeing that, and fearing leaſt this mutinie might turne to light on his necke, he turned his horſe out of the highe waye, and pulled of his purple coate, and caried it before him, and tooke his diademe, fearing leaſt they ſhould knowe him by theſe tokens: and bicauſe he might more eaſely ſpeake with his friends by the waye, he lighted a foote, and led his horſe in his hande. But ſuche as were about him, one made as though he would mende the latchet of his ſhooe, an other ſeemed to water his horſe, another as though he would drincke: ſo that one dragging after another in this ſorte, they all left him at the laſt, and ranne their waye, not fearing the enemies furie ſo muche, as their Kings crueltie: who being greued with his misfortune, ſought to laye the faulte of the ouerthrowe vpon all other, but him ſelfe. Now he being come into the cittie of PELLA by night, *Euctus* and *Eudæus*, two of his treaſorers came vnto him, and ſpeaking boldly (but out of time) preſumed to tell him the great faulte he had committed, and dyd counſell him alſo what he ſhould doe. The King was ſo moued with their preſumption, that with his owne handes he ſtabbed his dagger in them both, and ſlue them outright. But after this facte, all his ſeruauntes and friendes refuſed him, and there only taried with him but *Euander* CRETAN, *Archedamus* ÆTOLIAN, and *Neo* BOEOTIAN. And as for the meane ſouldiers, there were none that followed him but the CRETANS, & yet it was not for the good will they dyd beare him, but for the loue of his golde and ſiluer, as bees that keepe their hiues for loue of the hony. For he caried with him a great treaſure, and gaue them leaue to ſpoyle certen plate and veſſell of golde and ſiluer, to the value of fiftie talents. But firſt of all, when he was come into the cittie of AMPHIPOLIS, and afterwards into the cittie of ALEPSE, and that the feare was well blowen ouer: he returned againe to his olde humour, which was borne and bred with him, and that was, auarice and miſerie. For he made his complainte vnto thoſe that were about him, that he had vnwares geuen to the ſouldiers of CRETA, his plate and veſſell of golde to be ſpoyled, being thoſe which in olde time belonged vnto *Alexander* the great: & prayed them with teares in his eyes that had the plate, they would be contented to chaunge it for ready money. Now ſuche as knewe his nature, founde ſtreight this was but a fraude and a CRETAN lye, to deceaue the CRETANS with: but thoſe that truſted him, and dyd reſtore againe the plate they had, dyd looſe it euery iotte, for he neuer payed them pennie of it. So he got of his friendes, the value of thirtie talents which his enemies ſone after dyd take from him. And with that ſumme he went into the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where he tooke the ſanctuarie and priuiledge, of the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. They ſaye, that the MACEDONIANS of long continuaunce dyd naturally loue their Kings: but then ſeeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hartes failed them, and broke withall. For they all came and ſubmitted them ſelues vnto *Æmylius*, and made him lorde of the whole Realme of MACEDON in two dayes: and this doth ſeeme to confirme their wordes, who impute all *AEmilius* doings vnto his good fortune. And ſurely, the maruelous fortune he happened on in the cittie of AMPHIPOLIS, doth confirme it muche, which a man cannot aſcribe otherwiſe, but to the ſpeciall grace of the godds. For one daye beginning to doe ſacrifice, lightning fell from heauen, and ſet all the wodde a fire apon the aulter, & ſanctified the ſacrifice. But yet the miracle of his fame is more to be wondred at. For foure dayes after *Perſeus* had loſt the battell, & that the

Perſeus fled from Pydne to Pella.

Time, & durie, to be obſerued to the Prince.

Death, the indignation of the Prince.

The couetouſnes of the Cretans.

Miſers whine for their goodes.

The Macedonians ſubmit them ſelues to AEmylius.

Wonders.

A the cittie of PELLA was taken, as the people of ROME were at the listes or showe place, seing horses ronne for games: sodainly there rose a rumour at the entring into the listes where the games were, how *Æmylius* had wonne a great battell of king *Perseus*, and had conquered all MACEDON. This newes was rife straight in euery mans mouthe, and there followed vpon it a maruelous ioye and great cheere in euery corner, with showtes and clapping of handes, that continued all the daye through the cittie of ROME. Afterwards they made diligent enquierie, how this rumour first came vp, but no certaine authour could be knowen, and euery man sayed they heard it spoken: so as in the ende it came to nothing, and passed awaye in that sorte for a time. But shortely after, there came letters, and certen newes that made them wonder more then before, from whence the messenger came that reported the first newes of it: which

Newes brought to Rome out of Macedon in 4. dayes, of Aemylius victorie there: and no man knewe howe they came.

B could be deuised by no naturall meanes, and yet proued true afterwards. We doe reade also of a battell that was fought in ITALIE, nere vnto the riuer of SAGRA, whereof newes was brought the very same daye vnto PELOPONNESVS. And of another also in like manner that was fought in ASIA against the MEDES, before the cittie of MYCALA, the newes whereof came the same daye vnto the campe of the GRÆCIANS, lying before the cittie of PLATOEES. And in that great iorney where the ROMAINES ouerthrewe the *Tarquines*, and the armie of the LATINES: immediatly after the battell was wonne, they sawe two goodly young men come newly from the campe, who brought newes of the victorie to ROME, and they iudged they were *Castor* and *Pollux*. The first man that spake to them in the market place before the fountaine, where they watered their horse being all of a white some, tolde them: that he wondred howe they

C could so quickly bring these newes. And they laughing came to him, and tooke him softely by the beard with both their handes, and euen in the market place his heare being blacke before, was presently turned yellowe. This miracle made them beleeue the reporte the man made, who euer after was called *Ænobarbus*, as you would saye, bearded as yellowe as golde. Another like matter that happened in our time, maketh all suche newes credible. For when *Antonius* rebelled against the emperour *Domitian*, the cittie of ROME was in a maruelous perplexitie, bicause they looked for great warres towards GERMANIE. But in this feare, there grewe a sodaine rumour of victorie, and it went currantly through ROME, that *Antonius* him selfe was slaine, and all his armie ouerthrowen, & not a man left a liue. This rumour was so rife, that many of the chiefest men of ROME beleeued it, and dyd sacrifice thereupon vnto the goddes,

Ænobarbus why so called.

D geuing them thankes for the victorie. But when the matter came to sifting, who was the first authour of the rumour: no man could tell. For one put it ouer still to another, and dyed so in the ende amongest the people, as in a bottomles matter, for they could neuer boult out any certen grounde of it: but euen as it came flying into ROME, so went it flying awaye againe, no man can tell howe. Notwithstanding, *Domitian* holding on his iorney to make this warre, met with postes that brought him letters for the certen victorie: and remembring the rumour of the victorie that ranne before in ROME, he founde it true, that it was on the very same daye the victorie was gotten, and the distaunce betweene ROME & the place where the field was wonne, was aboue twenty thousand furlõges of. Euery man in our time knoweth this to be true. But againe to our historie. *Cn. Octauius*, lieutenant of the armie of *Æmylius* by sea,

Cn. Octauius, Æmylius lieutenaunt by sea.

E came to ancker vnder the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where he would not take *Perseus* by force out of the sanctuarie where he was, for the reuerence he dyd beare vnto the goddes *Castor* and *Pollux*: but he dyd besiege him in suche sorte, as he could not scape him, nor flye by sea out of the Ilande. Yet he had secretly practised with one *Oroandes* a CRETAN, that had a brigantine, and was at a prise with him for a summe of money to conuey him awaye by night: but the CRETAN serued him a right CRETANS tricke. For when he had taken a borde by night into his vessell, all the Kings treasure of golde and siluer, he sent him worde that he should not faile the next night following to come vnto the peere by the temple of *Ceres*, with his wife, his children and seruauntes, where in deede was no possibilitie to take shipping: but the next night following he hoysed saile, and got him awaye. It was a pittifull thing that *Per-*

The miserable state Perseus was brought vnto, by the craft & subtiletie of a Cretan.

F *seus* was driuen to doe and suffer at that time. For he came downe in the night by ropes, out of a lide straight windowe vpon the walles, and not only him selfe, but his wife and litle babes, who neuer knewe before what flying and hardnes ment. And yet he fetched a more grieuous

bitter ſighe, when one tolde him on the peere, that he ſawe *Oroandes* the CRETAN vnder ſaile in the mayne ſeas. Then daye beginning to breake, and ſeeing him ſelfe voyde of all hope, he ranne with his wife for life to the wall, to recouer the ſanctuarie again, before the ROMAINES that ſawe him could ouertake him. And as for his children, he had geuen them him ſelfe into the hands of one *Ion*, whom before he had maruelouſly loued, and who then dyd traiterouſly betraye him: for he deliuered his children vnto the ROMAINES. Which parte was one of the chiefeſt cauſes that draue him (as a beaſt that will followe her litle ones being taken from her) to yeld him ſelfe into their hands that had his children. Now he had a ſpeciall confidence in *Scipio Naſica*, and therefore he asked for him when he came to yeld him ſelfe: but it was anſwered him, that he was not there. Then he beganne to lament his hard and miſerable fortune euery waye. And in the ende, conſidering howe neceſſitie enforced him, he yelded him ſelfe into the hands of *Cneus Octauius*, wherein he ſhewed plainely, that he had another vice in him more vnmanly and vile, then auarice: that was, a fainte harte, and feare to dye. But hereby he depriued him ſelf of others pittie & compaſſion towards him, being that only thing which fortune cannot denie and take from the afflicted, and ſpecially from them that haue a noble harte. For he made requeſt they would bring him vnto the generall *Æmylius*, who roſe from his chayer when he ſawe him come, and went to mete him with his friends, the water ſtanding in his eyes, to mete a great King, by fortune of warre, and by the will of the goddes, fallen into that moſt lamentable facte. But he to the contrarie, vnmanly, and ſhamefully behaued him ſelfe. For he fell downe at his feete, and embraced his knees, and vttered ſuche vncomely ſpeache and vile requeſtes, as *AEmylius* ſelfe could not abide to heare them: but knitting his browes againſt him, being hartely offended, he ſpake thus vnto him. Alas poore mā, why doeſt thou diſcharge fortune of this faulte, where thou mighteſt iuſtly charge and accuſe her to thy diſcharge, doing things, for the which euery one iudgeth thou haſt deſerued thy preſent miſerie, & art vnworthie alſo of thy former honour? why doſt thou defame my victorie, & blemiſh the glory of my doings, ſhewing thy ſelf ſo baſe a mā, as my honour is not great, to ouercome ſo vnworthie an enemie? The ROMAINES haue euer eſteemed magnanimitie, euen in their greateſt enemies: but daſtardlines, though it be fortunate, yet is it hated of euery bodie. Notwithſtanding, he tooke him vp, and taking him by the hande, gaue him into the cuſtodie of *Ælius Tubero*. Then *AEmylius* went into his tent, & caried his ſonnes, & ſonnes in law with him, & other men of qualitie, and ſpecially the younger ſorte. And being ſet downe, he continued a great ſpace very penſiue with him ſelf, not ſpeaking a word: in ſo much as all the ſtanders by, wondered much at the matter. In the ende, he beganne to enter into diſcourſe & talke of fortune, & the vnconſtancy of theſe worldly things, & ſayed vnto them. Is there any man liuing, my friends, who hauing fortune at will, ſhould therefore boaſt and glorie in the proſperitie of his doings, for that he hath cōquered a contrie, cittie, or Realme: & not rather to feare the vnconſtancie of fortune? who laying before our eyes, & all thoſe that profeſſe armes at this preſent, ſo notable an example of the cōmon frayeltie of men, doth plainely teache vs to thincke, that there is nothing cōſtant or perdurable in this world. For when is it, that men maye thinke them ſelues aſſured, conſidering that when they haue ouercome others, then are they driuen to miſtruſt fortune moſt, & to mingle feare & miſtruſt, with ioye of victorie: if they will wiſely conſider the cōmon courſe of fatall deſtenie that altereth daylie, ſomtime fauoring one, otherwhile throwing down another? you ſee, that in an howers ſpace we haue trodē vnder our feete, the houſe of *Alexander* the great: who hath bene the mightieſt & moſt redouted prince of the world. You ſee a King, that not lōg ſince was folowed & accōpanied, with many thouſand ſouldiers of horſemen & footemen: brought at this preſent into ſuch miſerable extremitie, that he is inforced to receiue his meate & drinke daylie at the hands of his enemies. Should we haue any better hope then, that fortune will allwayes fauour our doings, more thē ſhe doth his now, at this preſent? no out of doubt. Therefore digeſting this matter well, you young men I ſaye, be not to bragge nor fooliſh prowde, of this conqueſt & noble victorie: but thinke what maye happē hereafter, marking to what end fortune will turne the enuie of this our preſent proſperitie. Such were *Æmylius* words to theſe young men, as it is reported, bridling by theſe & ſuch like perſuaſions, the luſty brauery of this youth, euen as with the bit & bridle of reaſon. Afterwards

King Perſeus yeldeth him ſelf in Samothracia, vnto Cneus Octauius.

Perſeus vnprincely behauiour vnto AEmylius.

AEmylius oration vnto Perſeus priſoner.

AEmylius oration touching fortune and her vnconſtancie.

A wardes he put his armie into garriſons to refreſhe them: and went him ſelfe in perſone in the meane time to viſite GRÆCE, making it an honorable progreſſe, and alſo a commendable. For as he paſſed through their citties, he releued the people, reformed the gouernment of their ſtate, and euer gaue them ſome gifte or preſent. Vnto ſome he gaue corne, which king *Perſeus* had gathered for the warres: and vnto other he gaue oyles, meeting with ſo great ſtore of prouiſion, that he rather lacked people to geue it vnto, to receyue it at his handes, then wanting to geue, there was ſo much. As he paſſed by the cittie of DELPHES, he ſawe there a great piller, foure ſquare, of white ſtone, which they had ſet vp, to put king *Perſeus* image of gold vpon it. Whereupon he commaunded them to ſet vp his in that place, ſaying: it was reaſon the conquered ſhould geue place vnto the conquerours. And being in the cittie of OLYM-
B PIA, viſiting the temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, he ſpake this openly, which euer ſince hath bene remembred: that *Phidias* had rightly made *Iupiter*, as *Homer* had deſcribed him. Afterwardes when the tenne ambaſſadours were arriued that were ſent from ROME to eſtabliſh with him the realme of MACEDON, he redeliuered the MACEDONIANS their countrie, and townes a-
gaine, to liue at libertie, according to their lawes, paying yerely to the ROMAINES for tribute, a hundred talents: where before they were wont to paye vnto their Kings tenne times as muche. And he made playes and games of all ſortes, and dyd celebrate ſumptuous ſacrifices vnto the goddes. He kept open courte to all commers, and made noble feaſtes, and defrayed the whole charge thereof, with the treaſure *Perſeus* had gathered together, ſparing for no coſte. But through his care and foreſight there was ſuche a ſpeciall good order taken, euery
C man ſo curteouſly receyued and welcommed, and ſo orderly marſhalled at the table according to their eſtate and calling: that the GRÆCIANS wondred to ſee him ſo carefull in matters of ſporte and pleaſure: and that he tooke as great paynes in his owne perſone, to ſee that ſmall matters ſhould be ordered as they ought: as he tooke great regard for diſcharge of more weighty cauſes. But this was a maruelous pleaſure to him, to ſee that among ſuch ſumptuous ſightes prepared to ſhewe pleaſure to the perſones inuited, no ſight nor ſtately ſhewe dyd ſo delight them, as to enioye the ſight and company of his perſone. So he told them, that ſeemed to wonder at his diligence and care in theſe matters: that to order a feaſt well, required as great iudgement and diſcretion, as to ſet a battell: to make the one fearefull to the enemies, and the other acceptable to his friendes. But men eſteemed his bountie and magna-
D nimitie for his beſt vertue and qualitie. For he dyd not only refuſe to ſee the Kings wonderful treaſure of golde and ſiluer, but cauſed it to be told, and deliuered to the cuſtodie of the treaſurers, to carie to the coffers of ſtore in ROME: and only ſuffered his ſonnes that were learned, to take the bookes of the Kings librarie. When he dyd rewarde the ſouldiers for their valliant ſeruice in this battell, he gaue his ſonne in lawe *Æmylius Tubero* a cuppe, [redacted]g fiue talents. It is the ſame *Tubero* we tolde you of before, who liued with ſixteene o[redacted]of his kynne all in one houſe, and of the only reuenue they had of a litle farme in the countrie. Some ſaye, that cuppe was the firſt pece of plate that euer came into the houſe of the *Ælians*, and yet it came for honour and reward of vertue: but before that time, neither them ſelues, nor their wiues, would euer haue, or weare, any gold or ſiluer. After he had wery well ordered
E and diſpoſed all things, at the laſt he tooke leaue of the GRÆCIANS, and counſelled the MACEDONIANS to remember the libertie the ROMAINES had geuen them, and that they ſhould be carefull to keepe it, by their good gouernment and concorde together. Then he departed from them, and tooke his iorney towardes the countrie of EPIRVS, hauing receyued commiſſion from the Senate of ROME, to ſuffer his ſouldiers who had done ſeruice in the battell, and ouerthrowe of king *Perſeus*, to ſpoyle all the citties of that countrie. Wherefore that he might ſurpriſe them on a ſodaine, and that they ſhould miſtruſt nothing, he ſent to all the citties that they ſhould ſend him by a certaine daye, tenne of the chiefeſt men of euery cittie. Who when they were come, he commaunded them to goe and bring him by ſuche a daye, all the golde and ſiluer they had within their citties, aſwell in their priuate houſes, as in their
F temples and churches, and gaue vnto euerie one of them a captaine and garriſon with them, as if it had bene only to haue receaued and ſearched for the gold and ſiluer he demaunded. But when the daye appointed was come, the ſouldiers in diuers places (and all at one time)

AEmylius honorable progreſſe in Grace.

AEmylius ſeiseth Macedon as a ſlaye.

AEmylius wordes about the care and good order at feaſts.

AEmylius abſtinence.

AEmylius cruell acte ſpoyling of Epirus.

ſet vpon their enemies, and dyd rifle and ſpoyle them of that they had, and made them also paye ranſome euery man: So as by this policie, there were taken and made ſlaues in one daye, a hundred and fiftie thouſand perſones, and three ſcore and tenne citties ſpoyled and ſacked euery one. And yet when they came to deuide the ſpoyle of this generall deſtruction of a whole Realme by the polle, it came not to euery ſouldiers parte, aboue eleuen ſiluer Drachmes a pece. Which made euery one to wonder greatly, and to feare alſo the terrour of the warres, to ſee the wealthe and riches of ſo great a Realme, to amowunte to ſo litle for euery mans ſhare. When *AEmylius* had done this facte againſt his owne nature, which was very gentle and curteous: he went vnto the ſea ſyde to the citty of ORICA, and there imbarked with his armie bownde for ITALIE. Where when he was arriued, he went vp the riuer of Tyber againſt the ſtreame, in king *Perſeus* chief galley, which had ſixteene owers on a ſide, richely ſet out with the armour of the priſoners, riche clothes of purple culler, and other ſuche ſpoyles of the enemies: ſo that the ROMAINES ronning out of ROME in multitudes of people to ſee this galley, and going ſide by ſide by her as they rowed ſoftely, *Æmylius* tooke as great pleaſure in it, as in any open games or feaſtes, or triumphe that had bene ſhewed in deede. But when the ſouldiers ſawe, that the golde and ſiluer of king *Perſeus* treaſure was not deuided amongeſt them according vnto promiſe, and that they had a great deale leſſe then they looked for, they were maruelouſly offended, and inwardly grudged *AEmylius* in their hartes. Neuertheles they durſt not ſpeake it openly, but dyd accuſe him, that he had bene to ſtraight vnto them in this warre, and therefore they dyd ſhewe no great deſire, nor forwardnes, to procure him the honour of triumphe. Which *Seruius Galba* vnderſtanding, that had bene an olde enemie of his, notwithſtanding he had the charge of a thouſand men vnder him in this warre: he like an enuious viper tolde the people, howe *Æmylius* had not deſerued the honour of triumphe, and ſowed ſeditious wordes againſt him among the ſouldiers, to aggrauate their ill will the more againſt him. Moreouer, he craued a daye of the Tribunes of the people, to haue reſpit to bring forth ſuche matter as they determined to obiect againſt him: ſaying the time then was farre ſpent, the ſunne being but foure howers highe, and that it would require lenger time and leyſure. The Tribunes made him aunſwer, that he ſhould ſpeake then what he had to ſaye againſt him, or otherwiſe they would not graunte him audience. Hereupon he beganne to make a long oration in his diſpraiſe, full of railing wordes, and ſpent all the reſt of the daye in that rayling oration. Afterwardes when night came on, the Tribunes brake vp the aſſembly, and the next morning the ſouldiers being incoraged by *Galbaes* oration, and hauing confedered together, dyd flocke about *Galba*, in the mount of the Capitoll, where the Tribunes had geuen warning they would [illegible]e their aſſembly. Now being broade daye, *AEmylius* triumphe was referred to the m[illegible]umber of voyces of the people, and the firſt tribe flatly dyd denie his triumphe. The Senate, and the reſidue of the people hearing that, were very ſorie to ſee they dyd *Æmylius* ſo open wrong and iniurie. The common people ſayed nothing to it, but ſeemed to be very ſorie, howbeit they ſought no redreſſe. The lordes of the Senate cried out apon them, & ſayd it was to much ſhame, and exhorted one another to bridell the inſolencie and boldnes of theſe ſouldiers, who would grōwe in the ende to ſuch tumulte and diſorder, that they would commit all miſchief and wickednes, if betimes they were not looked to, and preuented, ſeeing they dyd ſo openly ſtand againſt their generall, ſeeking to depriue him of the honour of his triumphe and victorie. So they aſſembled a good company of them together, and went vp to the Capitoll, and prayed the Tribunes they would ſtaye to take the voyces of the people, vntill they had acquainted them with ſuch needefull matter, as they had to open vnto them. The Tribunes graunted to it, and ſilence was made. Then *Marcus Seruilius*, who had bene Conſul, and had fought three and twenty combats of life and death in his owne perſone, and had allwayes ſlaine as many of his enemies as chalenged him man for man: roſe vp, and ſpake in fauour of *AEmylius* in this manner. I knowe now (ſayed he) better then before, how noble and worthie a captaine *Paulus AEmylius* is, who hath atchieued ſuch glorie and honorable victorie, with ſo diſhonorable and diſobedient ſouldiers. And I can but wonder, that the people not long ſince reioyced, and made great accompt, of the victories and triumphes

AEmylius tooke ſhippe at the cittie of Orica, and returned into Italie.

The enuie of Seruius Galba vnto AEmylius.

Contention about AEmylius triumphe.

Seruilius oration for the furtheraunce of AEmylius triumphe.

„ „ „ „

A triumphes wonne apon the ILLYRIANS and other nations of AFRICKE: and that now they « should for spite enuie his glorie (doing what lyeth in them to hinder) to bring a MACEDO- « NIAN king aliue in a triumphe, and to shewe the glorie and greatnes of king *Philip* and *Alex-* « *ander* the great, subdued by the ROMAINES force and power. What reason haue ye, that not « long since, apon a flying rumour that *Æmylius* had wonne the battell against *Perseus*, you « straight made sacrifices to the goddes with great ioye, praying them, that you might be wit- « nesses of the trothe thereof: and now that the persone him selfe whom you made generall « is returned home, and doth deliuer you most assured victorie, you doe frustrate the goddes « most solemne thankes and honour due to them, and doe depriue your selues also of your « wonted glorie in such a case? as if you were afeard to see the greatnes of your prosperitie, or « B that you ment to pardone a King, your slaue and prisoner. And yet of the two, you haue more « reason to hinder the triumphe, as pittying the King: then enuying your captaine. But the ma- « lice of the wicked, through your pacience is growen to suche an insolent audacitie and bold- « nes, that we see men present here before vs, which neuer went frō the smoke of the chimney, « nor caried away any blowes in the field, being crammed at home like women & housedowes: « and yet they are so impudent and shameles, as they dare presume vnreuerently to your faces, « to prate of the office and duety of a generall of an armie, and of the desert of triumphe, be- « fore you I saye, who by experience of many a sore cut and wounde apon your bodies in the « warres, haue learned to knowe a good and valliant captaine, from a vile and cowardly persone. « And speaking these wordes, he cast open his gowne, and shewed before them all, the infinite « C scarres and cuttes he had receyued vpon his brest: and then turning him behinde, shewed all « suche places as were not fitte to be seene openly, and so turned him againe to *Galba*, and sayed « vnto him. Thou mockest me for that I shewe thee: but I reioyce before my countrie men and « cittizens: that for seruing my cōtrie night & daye a horse backe, I haue these wounds apon me « which thou seest. Now get thee about thy busines, & receiue their voyces: & I wil come after; « noting them that are naughtie and vnthankfull cittizens, who like to be soothed with flatterie; « and not stowtely commaunded, as behoueth a generall in the warre. These wordes so reined « the harde headed souldiers with the curbe of reason, that all the other tribes agreed in one, « and graunted *Æmylius* triumphe: the order and solemnitie whereof was performed in this sorte. First, the people hauing set vp sundrie scaffoldes, aswel in the listes & field (called *Circus* *A notable de-*
D by the LATINES) where the games and common running of horses and charrets are made, as *scription of*
also about the market place, and in other streetes of the cittie, through the which, the shewe *Æmylius*
of the triumphe should passe: they all presented them selues in their best gownes to see the *triumphe.*
magnificence and state thereof. All the temples of the goddes also were set wide open, hanged full of garlands of flowers, and all perfumed within: and there were set through all the quar- ters of the cittie, numbers of sergeaunts and other officers holding tipstaues in their hands, to order the straglingpeople, and to keepe them vp in corners and lanes endes, that they should not pester the streetes, & hinder the triumphe. Furthermore, the sight of this triumphe was to continue three dayes, whereof the first was scant sufficient to see the passing by of the images, tables, & pictures, & statues of wonderfull bignes, all wonne and gotten of their enemies, and
E drawen in the showe, vpon two hundred & fiftie charrets. The second dayd, there were caried vpon a number of cartes, all the fairest and richest armour of the MACEDONIANS, aswell of copper, as also of iron and steele, all glistering bright, being newly furbished, and arteficially layed in order (and yet in such sorte, as if they had bene cast in heapes one vpon another, with- out taking any care otherwise for the ordering and laying of them) fayer burganets vpon tar- gets: habergions, or brigantines and cotselets, vpon greaues; rounde targets of the CRE- TANS, and iauelings of the THRACIANS, and arrowes amongest the armed pykes: all this ar- mour and cariage, being bound one to another so trimly (neither being to lose, nor to straight) that one hitting against another, as they drue them vpon the carres through the cittie, they made suche a sound and noyse, as it was fearefull to heare it: so that the only sight of these
F spoyles of the captiues being ouercome, made the sight so muche more terrible to behold it. After these cartes loden with armour, there followed three thousand men, which caried the ready money in seuen hundred & fiftie vessels, which wayed about three talets a peece, & euery

one of them were caried by foure men: & there were other that caried great bowles of siluer, cuppes & goblets facioned like hornes, & other pottes to drinke in, goodly to behold, aswel for their bignes, as for their great & singular imbossed workes about it. The third day early in the morning, the trūpets beganne to sound & set forwardes, sounding no marche nor swete note, to beawtifie triumphe withall: but they blewe out the braue alarom they sounde at an assaute, to geue the souldiers corage for to fight. After them followed sixe score goodly fat oxen, hauing all their hornes gylte, & garlands of flowers & nosegayes about their heads, & there wēt by them certaine yong men, with aprons of nedle worke, girt about their midle, who led them to the sacrifice, & young boyes with them also, that caried goodly basons of gold & siluer, to cast & sprinkle the bloud of the sacrifices about. And after these, followed those that caried all coynes of gold deuided by basons & vessels, & euery one of them waying three talents as they dyd before, that caried the great holy cuppe, which *Æmylius* had causēd to be made of masse gold, set full of precious stones, waying the weight of tenne talents, to make an offering vnto the godds. And next vnto them went other that caried plate, made & wrought after antike facion, & notable cuppes of the auncient kings of MACEDON: as the cuppe called *Antigonus*, & another *Seleucus*: & to be shorte, all the whole cubberd of plate of gold & siluer of king *Perseus*. And next them came the charret of his armour, in the which was all king *Perseus* harnesse, & his royall bande (they call a *Diademe*) vpon his armour. And a litle space betweene them, followed next the Kings children, whom they led prisoners, with the traine of their schoolemasters & other officers, & their seruaunts, weeping & lamenting: who held vp their hands vnto the people that looked apon them, & taught the Kings young children to doe the like, to aske mercie & grace at the peoples hands. There were three prety litle children, two sonnes and a daughter amongest them, whose tender yeres and lacke of vnderstanding, made them (poore soules) they could not feele their present miserie, which made the people so muche more to pittie them, when they saw the poore litle infants, that they knew not the chaūge of their hard fortune: so that for the cōpassion they had of thē, they almost let the father passe without looking vpon him. Many peoples harts did melt for very pittie, that the teares ranne downe their cheekes, so as this sight brought both pleasure & sorow, together to the lookers on, vntill they were past & gone a good way out of sight. King *Perseus* the father, followed after his children & their traine, & he was clothed in a blacke gowne, wearing a payer of slippers on his feete after his contrie māner. He shewed by his countenance his troubled minde, oppresst with sorow of his most miserable state & fortune. He was followed with his kinsefolks, his familliar frends, his officers & household seruants, their faces disfigured by blubbering, shewing to the world by their lamēting teares, & sorowfull eyes cast apon their vnfortunate master, how much they sorowed & bewailed his most hard & cursed fortune, litle accōpting of their own miserie. The voice goeth, that *Perseus* sent vnto *Æmylius* to intreate him, that he should not be led through the cittie in the showe & sight of the triūphe. But *Æmylius* mocking (as he deserued) his cowardly faint hart, aunswered: as for that, it was before, & is now in him, to doe if he wil. Meaning to let him vnderstād thereby, that he might rather chuse to dye, then liuing to receiue such opē shame. Howbeit his hart would not serue him, he was so cowardly, & made so effeminate, by a certen vaine hope he knew not what, that he was cōtented to make one amōg his own spoiles. After all this, there followed 400. princely crownes of golde, which the cities and townes of GRÆCE had purposly sent by their ambassadours vnto *Æmylius*, to honour his victorie: & next vnto thē, he came him selfe in his charret triūphing, which was passing sumptuously set forth & adorned. It was a noble sight to behold: & yet the person of him self only was worth the looking on, without all that great pōpe & magnificēce. For he was apparelled in a purple gowne branched with gold, & caried in his right hand a lawrell boughe, as all his armie did besids: the which being deuided by bands & cōpanies, followed the triūphing charret of their captaine, some of the souldiers singing songes of victorie, which the ROMAINES vse to singe in like triumphes, mingling thē with mery pleasant toyes, reioycing at their captaine. Other of thē also dyd singe songs of triūphe, in the honour & praise of *Æmylius* noble cōquest & victorie. He was opēly praised, blessed, & honored of euery body, & neither hated nor enuied of honest mē. Sauing the ordinary vse of some god, whose propertie is allwayes to lessen or cut of some part

Perseus children.

king Perseus.

ÆEmylius scorneth Perseus cowardlines.

Foure hūdred crownes of gold sent vnto ÆEmylius by the cities of Græce.

of

A of mans exceding prosperitie & felicitie, mingling with mans life the sence & feeling of good & euill together: bicause that no liuing persone should passe all his time of life, without some aduersitie or misfortune, but that such (as *Homer* sayeth) should only thinke thē selues happie, to whom fortune hath equally sorted the good with the euill. And this I speake, bicause *Æmylius* had 4. sonnes, two of the which he gaue in adoptiō vnto the families of *Scipio* & of *Fabius*, as we haue sayed before: & two other which he had by his secōd wife, be brought vp with him in his owne house, & were both yet very young. Of the which the one dyed, being 14. yeres of age fiue dayes before his fathers triūphe: & the other dyed also, 3. dayes after the pompe of triumphe, at 12. yeres of age. When this sorowfull chaūce had befallen him, euery one in Rome did pittie him in their hartes: but fortunes spite & crueltie did more greue & feare them, to see B her litle regard towards him, to put into a house of triūphe (full of honour & glorie, & of sacrifices & ioye) such a pittiefull mourning, & mingling of sorowes & lamētations of death, amōgest such songs of triumple & victorie. Notwithstāding this, *Æmylius* taking things like a wise man, thought that he was not only to vse constācie & magnanimitie, against the sword & pike of the enemie: but a like also against all aduersitie and enmitie of spiteful fortune. So, he wisely wayed & cōsidered his presēt misfortune, with his former prosperitie: & finding his misfortune cōterpeased with felicitie, & his priuate grieues cut of with cōmon ioye, he gaue no place to his sorowes & mischāces, neither blemished any way the dignity of his triūphe & victorie. For when he had buried the eldest of his two last sonnes, he left not to make his triūphant entrie, as you haue heard before. And his secōd sonne also being deceased after his triumphe, he C caused the people to assemble, & in face of the whole cittie he made an oration, not like a discōforted man, but like one rather that dyd cōforte his sorowfull contrymen for his mischāce. He told them, that concerning mens matters, neuer any thing dyd feare him: but for things aboue, he euer feared fortune, mistrusting her chaūge & incōstācy, & specially in the last warre, doubting for so great prosperitie as could be wished, to be payed home with an after intollerable aduersitie, & sinister chaunce. For as I went (sayed he) I passed ouer the gulfe of the Adriatike sea, from Brindes vnto Corfv in one daye. And from thence in fiue dayes after, I arriued in the cittie of Delphes, where I dyd sacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And within fiue other dayes, I arriued in my cāpe, where I found mine armie in Macedon. And after I had done the sacrifice, & due ceremonies for purifying of the same, I presently begāne to followe the purpose & D cause of my cōming: so as in 15. dayes after, I made an honorable ende of all those warres. But yet, mistrusting fortune allwayes, seing the prosperous course of my affaires, & cōsidering that there were no other enemies, nor daūgers I neded to feare: I feared sorely she would chaunge at my returne, when I should be vpon the sea, bringing home so goodly & victorious an armie, with so many spoiles & so many Princes and Kings taken prisoners. And yet when I was safely arriued in the hauen, & seing all the cittie at my returne full of ioye, & of feastes & sacrifices: I still suspected fortune, knowing her manner well enough, that she vseth not to gratifie men so franckly, nor to graunt them so great things clearly, without some certen sparke of enuie waiting on them. Neither dyd my minde being still occupied in feare of some thing to happen to the cōmon wealth, shake of this feare behind me: but that I sawe, this home mishappe & misE rie lighted vpō me, enforcing me with mine owne hands in these holy dayes of my triūphe, to burie my two young sonnes one after another, which I only brought vp with me, for the succession of my name & house. Wherefore, me thinkes now I may saye, I am out of all daūger, at the least touching my chiefest & greatest misfortune: & doe beginne to stablish my selfe with this assured hope, that this good fortune henceforth shall remaine with vs euermore, without feare of other vnlucky or sinister chaunce. For she hath sufficiently contervailed the fauorable victorie she gaue you, with the enuious mishappe wherewith she hath plagued both me and mine: shewing the cōquetour & triūpher, as noble an exāple of mans miserie & weaknes, as the party cōquered, that had bene led in triūphe. Sauing that *Perseus* yet, conquered as he is, hath this cōforte left him: to see his childrē liuing, & that the cōquerour *Æmylius* hath lost his. And F this was the summe of *Æmylius* notable oration he made vnto the people of Rome, proceeding of a noble & honorable disposed minde. And though it pittied him in his harte to see the straunge chaunge of king *Perseus* fortune, and that he hartely desired to helpe him, and to doe

AEmylius aduersitie.

AEmylius fortitude in his great aduersitie.

AEmylius oration in his trouble, for the death of his children.

him good: yet he could neuer obtaine other grace for him, but only to remoue him from the common prisone (which the Romaines call *Carter*) into a more clenly and sweter house where being straitly garded and looked vnto, he killed him selfe by abstinence from meate, as the most parte of historiographers doe write. Yet some writers tell a maruelous straunge tale and manner of his death. For they saye the souldiers that garded him, kept him from sleepe, watching him straightly when sleepe tooke him, and would not suffer him to shut his eye liddes (only apon malice they dyd beare him, bicause they could not otherwise hurte him) keeping him awake by force, not suffering him to take rest: vntill suche time as nature being forced to gene ouer, he gaue vp the ghoste. Two of his sonnes dyed also: but the third called *Alexander*, became an excellent turner and ioyner, and was learned, and could speake the Romaine tongue very well, and dyd write it so trimly, that afterwards he was chauncelour to the magistrates of Rome, and dyd wisely and discretly behaue him selfe in his office. Furthermore, they doe adde to this goodly conquest of the realme of Macedon, that *Æmylius* conquered another speciall good thing, that made him maruelously well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought so muche gold and siluer vnto the treasurie store of Rome, as the common people needed neuer after to make contribution for any thing, vntill the very time and yere that *Hircius* and *Pansa* were Consuls, which was about the beginning of the first warres of *Augustus* and *Antonius*. And yet *Æmylius* had one singular good gift in him: that though the people dyd greatly loue and honour him, yet he euer tooke parte with the Senate and nobilitie, and dyd neuer by worde nor dede any thing in fauour of the people, to flatter or please them, but in matters concerning gouernment, he dyd euer leane to the nobilitie and good men. And this dyd *Appius* afterwards cast in his sonnes teethe, *Scipio Africanus*. For both of them being two of the chiefest men of their time, and contending together for the office of Censor: *Appius* had about him to fauour his sute, all the Senate and Nobilitie, as of auncient time the familie of the *Appians* had euer held on their parte. And *Scipio Africanus*, though he was a great man of him selfe, yet he was in all times fauoured and beloued of the common people. Whereupon when *Appius* sawe him come into the market place, followed with men of small qualitie and base condition, that had bene slaues before, but otherwise could skilfully handle suche practises, bring the people together, and by oportunitie of cries and lowde voyces (if neede were) obteine what they would in the assemblies of the cittie: he spake out alowde, and sayed. O *Paulus Æmylius*, now hast thou good cause to sighe, and mourne in thy graue where thou lyest (if the dead doe know what we doe here on earth) to see *Æmylius* a common sergeant, and *Licinius* a pratling fellowe, howe they bring thy sonne vnto the dignitie of a Censor. And as for *Scipio*, he was allwayes beloued of the common people, bicause he dyd fauour them in all things. But *Æmylius* also, although he tooke euer the noble mens parte, he was not therefore lesse beloued of the common people, then those that allwayes flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to please them: which the common people did witnesse, aswell by other honours & offices they offred him, as in the dignitie of the Censor which they gaue him. For it was the holiest office of all other at that time, and of greatest power and authoritie, specially for inquierie and reformation of euery mans life and manners. For he that was Censor, had authoritie to put any Senatour of the counsell, and to disgrade him, if he dyd not worthely behaue him selfe according to his place and calling: and might name and declare any one of the Senate, whom he thought to be most honest, and fittest for the place againe. Moreouer, they might by their authoritie, take from licentious young men, their horse which was kept at the charge of the common weale. Furthermore, they be the sessours of the people, and the muster masters, keping bookes of the number of persones at euery mustering. So there appeared numbred in the register booke *Æmylius* made then of them, three hundred, seuen and thirtie thousand, foure hundred, and two and fiftie men, and *Marcus Æmylius Lepidus* named president of the Senate, who had that honour foure times before, and dyd put of the counsell three Senatours, that were but meane men. And the like meane and moderation he & his companion, *Marcus Philippus* kept, vpon viewe and muster taken of the Romaine horsemen. And after he had ordered and disposed the greatest matters of his charge and office, he fell sicke of a disease

The death of king Perseus.

A straunge kind of death.

The state of Perseus sonnes.

By Æmylius victorie, the people payed no more subsidie.

Æmylius chosen Cẽsor.

The office & authoritie of the Censor.

Æmylius sickues.

A ſeaſe that at the beginning ſeemed very daungerous, but in the ende there was no other daunger, ſauing that it was a lingring diſeaſe, and hard to cure. So, following the counſell of phiſitians, who willed him to goe to a cittie in ITALY called VELIA, he tooke ſea, and went thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleaſaunt houſes vpon the ſea ſide, quietly and out of all noyſe. But during this time of his abſence, the ROMAINES wiſhed for him many a time and ofte. And when they were gathered together in the Theaters, to ſee the playes and ſportes, they cried out diuers times for him: whereby they ſhewed that they had a great deſire to ſee him againe. Time being come about when they vſed to make a ſolemne yerely ſacrifice, and *Æmylius* finding him ſelfe alſo in good perfect health: he returned againe to ROME, where he made the ſacrifice with the other prieſtes, all the people of B ROME gathering about him, reioycing muche to ſee him. The next daye after, he made another particular ſacrifice, to geue thankes vnto the goddes for recouerie of his healthe. After the ſacrifice was ended, he went home to his houſe, & ſate him downe to dinner: he ſodainly fell into a rauing (without any perſeuerance of ſicknes ſpied in him before, or any chaunge or alteration in him) and his wittes went from him in ſuche ſorte, that he dyed within three dayes after, lacking no neceſſarie thing that an earthly man could haue, to make him happy in this world. For he was euen honoured at his funeralles, and his vertue was adorned with many goodly glorious ornaments, neither with gold, ſiluer, nor iuorie, nor with other ſuche ſumptuouſnes or magnificence of apparell, but with the loue and good will of the people, all of them confeſſing his vertue and well doing: and this dyd not only his naturall country C men performe in memorie of him, but his very enemies alſo. For all thoſe that met in ROME by chaunce at that time, that were either come out of SPAYNE, from GENVA, or out of MACEDON, all thoſe that were young and ſtrong, dyd willingly put them ſelues vnder the coffin where his bodie laye, to helpe to carie him to the churche: and the olde men followed his bodie to accompany the ſame, calling *Æmylius* the benefactour, ſauiour, and father of their countrie. For he dyd not only intreate them gently, and graciouſly, whom he had ſubdued: but all his life time he was euer ready to pleaſure them, and to ſet forwardes their cauſes, euen as they had bene his confederates, very friends, and neere kinſemen. The inuentorie of all his goodes after his death, dyd ſcant amownte vnto the ſumme of three hundred, three ſcore, and tenne thouſand ſiluer Drachmes, which his D two ſonnes dyd inherite. But *Scipio* being the younger, left all his right vnto his elder brother *Fabius*, bicauſe he was adopted into a very riche houſe, which was the houſe of the great *Scipio Africanus*. Suche they ſaye was *Paulus Æmylius* conditions and life.

AEmylius removed from Rome, and dwelt in the citty of Velia.

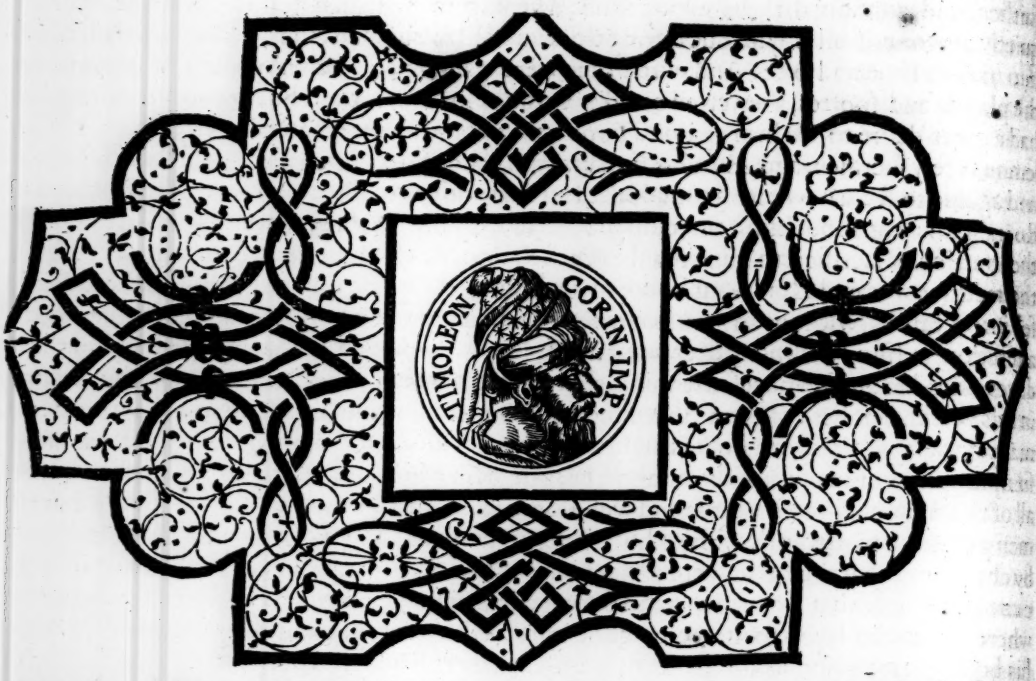
The death of AEmylius in Rome.

AEmylius funeralles.

AEmylius goodes what they came to.

The ende of Paulus AEmylius life.

THE LIFE OF *Timoleon.*



The ſtate of the Syracuſans before Timoleons cõming.

BEFORE *Timoleon* was ſent into SICILE, thus ſtoode the ſtate of A
the SYRACVSANS. After that *Dion* had driuen out the tyranne *Dionyſius*, he him ſelfe after was ſlaine immediatly by treaſon: and thoſe that ayded him to reſtore the SYRACVSANS to their libertie, fell out, and were at diſſention among them ſelues. By reaſon whereof, the cittie of SYRACVSA chaunging continually newe tyrannes, was ſo troubled and turmoiled with all ſorte of euills, that it was left in manner deſolate, and without inhabitants. The reſt of SICILE in like caſe was vtterly deſtroyed, and no citties in manner left ſtanding, by reaſon of the long warres: and thoſe fewe that remained, were moſt inhabited of forreine ſouldiers & ſtraungers (a company of loſe men gathered together that tooke paye of no prince nor cittie) B
all the dominions of the ſame being eaſely vſurped, and as eaſie to chaunge their lorde. In ſo muche, *Dionyſius* the tyranne, tenne yeres after *Dion* had driuen him out of SICILE, hauing gathered a certen number of ſouldiers together againe, and through their helpe driuen out *Niſeus*, that raigned at that time in SYRACVSA: he recouered the Realme againe, and made him ſelfe King. So, if he was ſtraungely expulſed by a ſmall power out of the greateſt Kingdome that euer was in the worlde: likewiſe he more ſtraungely recouered it againe, being baniſhed and very poore, making him ſelfe King ouer them, who before had driuen him out. Thus were the inhabitants of the cittie compelled, to ſerue this tyranne: who beſides that of his owne nature he was neuer curteous nor ciuill, he was now growen to be farre more dogged and cruell, by reaſon of the extreme miſerie and misfortune he had endured. But the no- C
bleſt cittizens repaired vnto *Icetes*, who at that time as lorde ruled the cittie of the LEONTINES, and they choſe him for their generall in theſe warres: not for that he was any thing better then the open tyrannes, but bicauſe they had no other to repaire vnto at that time, & they truſted him beſt, for that he was borne (as them ſelues) within the cittie of SYRACVSA, & bicauſe alſo he had men of warre about him, to make head againſt this tyranne. But in the meane time, the CARTHAGINIANS came downe into SICILE with a great armie, and inuaded the countrie. The SYRACVSANS being afrayed of them, determined to ſend ambaſſadours

Icetes, tyräne of the Leontines.

A dours into GRÆCE vnto the CORINTHIANS, to praye ayde of them against the barbarous people, hauing better hope of them, then of any other of the GRÆCIANS. And that not altogether bicause they were lineally descended from them, and that they had receyued in times past many pleasures at their handes: but also for that they knewe that CORINTHE was a cittie, that in all ages and times, dyd euer loue libertie, and hate tyrannes, and that had allwayes made their greatest warres, not for ambition of Kingdomes, nor of couetous desire to conquer and rule, but only to defend and mainteine the libertie of the GRÆCIANS. But *Icetes* in another contrarie sorte, he tooke apon him to be generall, with a minde to make him selfe king of SYRACVSA. For he had secretly practised with the CARTHAGINIANS, and openly notwithstanding, in words he commended the counsell and determination of the SYRACVSANS, and sent
B ambassadours from him selfe also with theirs, vnto PELOPONNESVS: not that he was desirous any ayde should come from them to SYRACVSA, but bicause he hoped if the CORINTHIANS refused to send them ayde (as it was very likely they would, for the warres and troubles that were in GRÆCE) that he might more easely turne all ouer to the CARTHAGINIANS, and vse them as his friendes, to ayde him against the SYRACVSANS, or the tyrante *Dionysius*. And that this was his full purpose, and intent, it appeared plainely sone after. Now when their ambassadours arriued at CORINTHE, & had deliuered their message, the CORINTHIANS, who had euer bene carefull to defend such cities as had sought vnto them, & specially SYRACVSA: very willingly determined in counsaill to send them ayde, and the rather for that they were in good peace at that time, hauing warres with none of the GRÆCIANS. So their only staye rested,
C vpon choosing of a generall to leade their armie. Now as the magistrates and gouernours of the cittie were naming suche cittizens, as willingly offred their seruice, desirous to aduaunce them selues: there stept vp a meane commoner, who named *Timoleon*, *Timodemas* sonne, a man that vntill that time was neuer called on for seruice, neither looked for any suche preferment. And truely it is to be thought it was the secret working of the gods, that directed the thought of this meane commoner to name *Timoleon*: whose election fortune fauored very much, and ioyned to his valliantnes and vertue, maruelous good succesfe in all his doings afterwardes.

By what voice Timoleon came to be generall.

This *Timoleon* was borne of noble parents, both by father and mother: his father was called *Timodemus*, and his mother *Demareta*. He was naturally inclined to loue his countrie and common weale: and was allwayes gentle and curteous to all men, sauing that he mortally hated
D tyrantes and wicked men. Furthermore nature had framed his bodie apt for warres and for paynes: he was wise in his greneft youth in all things he tooke in hande, and in his age he shewed him selfe very valliant. He had an elder brother called *Timophanes*, who was nothing like to him in condition: for he was a rashe harebraynd man, & had a greedy desire to reigne, being put into his head by a companie of meane men, that bare him in hande they were his friendes, and by certen souldiers gathered together, which he had allwayes about him. And bicause he was very hotte and forward in warres, his cittizens tooke him for a noble captaine, & a man of good seruice, and therefore oftentimes they gaue him charge of men. And therein *Timoleon* dyd helpe him muche to hide his faulte he committed, or at the least made them seeme lesse, & lighter then they were, still increasing that small good gifte that nature brought
E forth in him. As in a battell the CORINTHIANS had against the ARGIVES and the CLEONEIANS, *Timoleon* serued as a priuate souldier amongest the footemen: and *Timophanes* his brother, hauing charge of horsemen, was in great daunger of being cast away, if present helpe had not bene. For his horse being hurte, threwe him on the grounde in the middest of his enemies. Whereupon parte of those that were about him, were affrayed, and dispersed them selues here and there: and those that remained with him, being fewe in nomber, and hauing many enemies to fight withall, dyd hardly withstand their force and charge. But his brother *Timoleon* seeing him in suche instant daunger a farre of, ranne with all speede possible to helpe him, and clapping his target before his brother *Timophanes*, that laye on the grounde, receyuing many woundes on his bodie with swordes and arrowes, with great difficultie he repulsed
F the enemies, and saued his owne and his brothers life. Now the CORINTHIANS fearing the like matter to come that before had happened vnto them, which was to lose their cittie through default of their friends helpe: they resolued in counsell, to entertaine in paye conti-

Timophanes, Timoleons brother, what he was.

Timoleon saued his brothers life.

The Corinthians entertained 400. straungers, & made Timophanes captaine of them to keepe their cittie.

nually foure hundred ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, whom they aſſigned ouer to *Timophanes* charge. Who, abandoning all honeſtie and regarde of the truſt repoſed in him, dyd preſently practiſe all the wayes he could to make him ſelfe lorde of the cittie: and hauing put diuers of the chiefeſt cittizens to death without order of lawe, in the ende, he openly proclaimed him ſelfe King. *Timoleon* being very ſorie for this, and taking his brothers wickednes would be the very highe waye to his fall and deſtruction: ſought firſt to winne him with all the good words and perſuaſion he could, to moue him to leaue his ambitious deſire to reigne, and to ſaue (as neere as might be) his harde dealing with the cittizens. *Timophanes* ſet light by his brothers perſuaſions, and would geue no eare vnto them. Thereupon *Timoleon* then went vnto one *Æſchylus* his friend, and brother vnto *Timophanes* wife, and to one *Satyrus* a ſoothſayer (as *Theopompus* the hiſtoriographer calleth him, and *Ephorus* calleth him *Orthagoras*) with whom he came againe another time vnto his brother: and they three comming to him, inſtantly beſought him to beleeue good counſell, and to leaue the Kingdome. *Timophanes* at the firſt dyd but laughe them to ſcorne, and ſported at their perſuaſions: but afterwards he waxed warme, and grew into great choller with them. *Timoleon* ſeeing that, went a litle a toſide, and couering his face fell a weeping: and in the meane ſeaſon, the other two drawing out their ſwordes, ſlue *Timophanes* in the place. This murder was ſtraight blowen abroade through the cittie, and the better ſorte did greatly commend the noble minde and hate *Timoleon* bare againſt the tyrante: conſidering that he being of a gentle nature, and louing to his kinne, dyd notwithſtanding regard the benefit of his countrie, before the naturall affection to his brother, and preferred duety and iuſtice, before nature and kinred. For, before he had ſaued his brothers life, fighting for defence of his countrie: and now in ſeeking to make him ſelfe King, and to rule the ſame, he made him to be ſlaine. Suche then as miſliked popular gouernment and libertie, and allwayes followed the Nobilitie: they ſet a good face of the matter, as though they had bene glad of the tyrantes death. Yet ſtill reprouing *Timoleon* for the horrible murder he had committed againſt his brother, declaring howe deteſtable it was both to the gods and men: they ſo handled him, that it grieued him to the harte he had done it. But when it was told him that his mother tooke it maruelous euill, and that ſhe pronounced horrible curſes againſt him, and gaue out terrible wordes of him, he went vnto her in hope to comfort her: howbeit ſhe could neuer abide to ſee him, but allwayes ſhut her doore againſt him. Then he being wounded to the harte with ſorowe, tooke a conceit ſodainly to kill him ſelfe by abſteining from meate: but his friends would neuer forſake him in this deſpaire, and vrged him ſo farre by intreaty and perſuaſion, that they compelled him to eate. Thereupon he reſolued thenceforth to giue him ſelf ouer to a ſolitarie life in the countrie, ſecluding him ſelfe from all companie and dealings: ſo as at the beginning, he dyd not only refuſe to repaire vnto the cittie, and all acceſſe of companie, but wandring vp and downe in moſt ſolitarie places, conſumed him ſelfe and his time with melancholie. And thus we ſee, that counſells and iudgements are lightly caried awaye (by prayſe or diſprayſe) if they be not ſhored vp with rule of reaſon, and philoſophie, and reſt confounded in them ſelues. And therefore it is very requiſite and neceſſarie, that not only the acte be good and honeſt of it ſelfe, but that the reſolution thereof be alſo conſtant, and not ſubiect vnto chaunge: to the ende we maye doe all things conſideratly. Leſt we be like vnto likerous mowthed men, who as they deſire meates with a greedy appetite, and after are ſone weary, diſliking the ſame: euen ſo we do ſoddenly repent our actions, grounded vpon a weake imagination, of the honeſtie that moued vs thereunto. For repentaunce maketh the acte, which before was good, naught. But determination, grounded vpon certaine knowledge and truthe of reaſon, doth neuer chaunge, although the matter enterpriſed, haue not allwayes happy ſucceſſe. And therefore *Phocion* the Athenian hauing reſiſted (as muche as in him laye) certen things which the generall *Leoſthenes* dyd, and which contrarie to his minde tooke good effect: and perceyuing the Athenians dyd open ſacrifice vnto the goddes, to geue them thankes for the ſame, and muche reioyce at the victorie they had obteined. I would haue reioyced to (ſayed he) if I had done this: but ſo would I not for any thing, but I had geuen the counſell. And after that ſorte, but more ſharpely dyd *Ariſtides* Locrian (a very friend and companion of *Platoes*) aunſwer *Dionyſius* the elder, tyrante of Syracvsa: who asked his

Timophanes ſlaine by his brothers procurement.

Our acts muſt be honeſt, and conſtant.

Phocions ſaying.

Ariſtides graue ſaying.

good

A goodwill to marye one of his daughters. I had rather see my daughter deade (sayde he) then maried vnto a tyranne. And within a certayne tyme after, the tyranne put all his sonnes to deathe: and then he asked him in derision, to greeue him the more, if he were still of his former opinion for the marying of his daughter. I am very sorye, (sayed he) with all my harte, for that thou hast done: but yet I doe not repent me of that I haue sayed. That peraduenture proceeded of a more perfect vertue. But to returne againe to *Timoleon*. Whether that inwarde sorowe strooke him to the harte for the deathe of his brother, or that shame did so abash him, as he durst not abide his mother: twenty yeares after, he neuer did any notable or famous acte. And therefore, when he was named to be generall of the ayde that shoulde be sent into SICILE, the people hauing willingly chosen and accepted of him: *Telecslides*, who

Timoleō chosen generall to go into Sicile.

B was chiefe gouernor at that time in the citie of CORINTHE, standing vppon his feete before the people, spake vnto *Timoleon*, and did exhorte him to behaue him selfe like an honest man, and valiant Captaine in his charge. For, sayd he, if you handle your selfe well, we will thinke you haue killed a tyranne: but if you doe order your selfe otherwise then well, we will iudge you haue killed your brother. Nowe *Timoleon* being busie in leauying of men, and preparing him selfe: letters came to the CORINTHIANS from *Icetes*, whereby plainely appeared, that *Icetes* had caried two faces in one hoode, and that he was become a traytor. For he had

Icetes tyran of the Leontines, a traytor

no sooner dispatched his Ambassadors vnto them, but he straight tooke the CARTHAGINIANS parte, and dealt openly for them, intending to driue out *Dionysius*, and to make him selfe king of SYRACVSA. But fearing least the CORINTHIANS would send ayde before he

C had wrought his feate: he wrote againe vnto the CORINTHIANS, sending them worde, that they shoulde not neede nowe to put them selues to any charge or daunger for comming into SICILE, and specially, bicause the CARTHAGINIANS were very angrie, and did also lye in wayte in the way as they should come, with a great fleete of shippes to meete with their armie: and that for him selfe, bicause he sawe they taried long, he had made league and amitie with them, against the tyranne *Dionysius*. When they had red his letters, if any of the CORINTHIANS were before but coldely affected to this iorney, choller did then so warme them against *Icetes*, that they franckly graunted *Timoleon* what he would aske, and did helpe to furnishe him to set him out. When the shippes were ready rigged, and that the souldiers were furnished of all thinges necessary for their departure, the Nunnes of the goddesse *Proserpina*

D sayed, they sawe a vision in their dreame, and that the goddesses *Ceres* and *Proserpina* did appeare vnto them, apparrelled like trauellers to take a iorney: and tolde them, that they woulde goe with *Timoleon* into SICILE. Apon this speache onely, the CORINTHIANS rigged a galley, they called, the galley of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*: and *Timoleon* him selfe before he would take the seas, went into the citie of DELPHES, where he made sacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And as he entred within the Sanctuarie where the aunsweres of the Oracle are made, there happened a wonderfull signe vnto him. For amongest the vowes and offerings that are hanged vppe vppon the walles of the Sanctuarie, there fell a bande directly vppon *Timoleons* heade, imbrodered all about with crownes of victorie: so that it seemed *Apollo* sent him already crowned, before he had set out one foote towardes the iorney. He tooke

A signe happened to Timoleon.

Timoleon tooke shippe towards Sicile

E shippe, and sayled with seuen gallyes of CORINTHE, two of CORPHVE, and tenne the LEVCADIANS did set out. When he was launched out in the mayne sea, hauing a francke gale of winde and large, he thought in the night that the element did open, and that out of the same there came a maruelous great bright light ouer his shippe, and it was much like to a torche burning, when they showe the ceremonies of the holy mysteries. This torche did accompanie and guide them all their voyage, and in the ende it vanished away, and seemed to fall downe vppon the coast of ITALYE, where the Shippemasters had determined to arriue. The wise mens opinions being asked what this might signifie: they aunswered. That this wonderfull sight did betoken the dreame, the Nunnes of the goddesse *Ceres* dreamed, and that the goddesses fauoring this iorney, had shewed them the waye,

A burning torche appeared in the element vnto Timoleon.

F by sending of this light from heauen: bicause that the Ile of SICILE is consecrated vnto the goddesse *Proserpina*, and specially for that they reporte her rauishement was in that Ile, and that the whole realme was assigned vnto her for her ioynter, at the day of her mariage.

Thus did this celestiall signe of the goddes bothe encorage those that went this iorney, and deliuer them also assured hope, who sayled with all possible speede they coulde: vntill such time, as hauing crossed the seas, they arriued vpon the coast of Italie. But when they came thither, the newes they vnderstoode from Sicile put *Timoleon* in great perplexitie, and did maruelously discourage the souldiers he brought with him. For *Icetes* hauing ouerthrowē the battell of the tyranne Dionysius, and possessed the greatest parte of the citie of Syracusa: he did beseege him within the castell, and within that parte of the citie which is called the Ile, where he had pent him vp, and inclosed him in with walles rounde about. And in the meane time he had prayed the Carthaginians, that they would be carefull to keepe *Timoleon* from landing in Sicile, to the ende that by preuenting that ayde, they might easily deuide Sicile betwene them, and no man to let them. The Carthaginians following his request, sent twenty of their gallyes vnto Rhegio, amonge which *Icetes* Ambassadors were sent to *Timoleon*, with testimonie of his doinges: for they were fayer flattering wordes, to cloke his wicked intent he purposed. For they willed *Timoleon* he shoulde goe him selfe alone (if he thought good) vnto *Icetes*, to counsell him, and to accompanie him in all his doinges, which were nowe so farre onwardes in good towardnes, as he had almost ended them all. Furthermore, they did also perswade him, he shoulde send backe his shippes and souldiers to Corinthe agayne, considering that the warre was nowe brought to good passe, and that the Carthaginians woulde in no case that his men should passe into Sicile, and that they were determined to fight with them, if they made any force to enter. So the Corinthians at their arriuall into the citie of Rhegio, finding there these Ambassadors, and seeing the fleete of the Carthaginians shippes, which did ryde at ancker not farre of from them: it spyted them on the one side to see they were thus mocked and abused by *Icetes*. For euery one of them were maruelous angrye with him, and were greatly afeard also for the poore Sicilians, whome to playnely they sawe left a praye vnto *Icetes* for rewarde of his treason, and to the Carthaginians for recompence of the tyrannie, which they suffered him to establish. So, on the other side they thought it impossible to concquer the shippes of the Carthaginians, which laye in wayte for them, and so neare vnto them: considering they were twyse as many in number as they, and hard for them to subdue the armie also that was in the handes of *Icetes* in Sicile, considering that they were not come to him, but onely for the mayntenaunce of the warres. Notwithstanding, *Timoleon* spake very curteously vnto those Ambassadors, and captaynes of the Carthaginians shippes, letting them vnderstande that he would doe as much as they would haue him: and to say truely, if he woulde haue done otherwise, he could haue wonne nothing by it. Neuertheles he desired for his discharge, they woulde say that openly, in the presence of the people of Rhegio, (being a citie of Greece, friend and common to both parties) which they had spoken to him in secrete: and that done, he would departe incontinently, alledging that it stoode him very much vppon for the safetie of his discharge, and that they them selues also should more faithfully keepe that they promised vnto him touching the Syracusans, when they had agreed vpon it, and promised it, before all the people of Rhegio, who should be witnes of it. Now, all this was but a fetche and policie deliuered by him, to shadowe his departure, which the Captaines and gouerners of Rhegio did fauor, and seeme to helpe him in: bicause they wished Sicile should fall into the handes of the Corinthians, and feared much to haue the barbarous people for their neighbours. For this cause they commaunded a generall assembly of all the people, during which tyme, they caused the gates of the citie to be shut: geuing it out, that it was bicause the Citizens should not goe about any other matters in the meane time. Then when all the people were assembled, they beganne to make long orations without concluding any matter: the one leauing alwayes to the other a like matter to talke of, to the ende they might winne time, vntill the gallyes of the Corinthians were departed. And staying the Carthaginians also in this assemblye, they mistrusted nothing, bicause they sawe *Timoleon* present: who made a countenaunce, as though he woulde ryse to say some thing. But in the meane tyme, some one did secretely aduertise *Timoleon*, that the other gallyes were vnder sayle, and gone their waye, and that there

Icetes beseegeth Dionysius.

Icetes sendeth Ambassadors vnto Timoleō

Timoleō craftier then the Carthaginians

Rhegio a citie of Greece.

A there was but one galley left, which taried for him in the hauen. Thereupon he sodainly stale away through the preasse, with the helpe of the RHEGIANS, being about the chayer where the orations were made: and trudging quickly to the hauen, he imbarked incontinently, and hoysed saile also. And when he had ouertaken his fleete, they went all safe together to lande at the citie of TAVROMENION, which is in SICILE: there they were very well receiued by *Andromachus*, who long before had sent for them, for he gouerned this citie, as if he had bene Lorde thereof. He was the father of *Timæus* the Historiographer, the honestest man of all those that did beare rule at that time in all SICILE. For he did rule his Citizens, in all iustice and equitie, and did alwaies shew him selfe an open enemy of tyrans. And following his affection therein, he lent his citie at that time vnto *Timoleon*, to gather people together, and perswaded his Citi-

B zens to enter into league with the CORINTHIANS, and to ayde them, to deliuer SICILE from bondage, and to restore it againe to libertie. But the captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS that were at RHEGIO, when they knewe that *Timoleon* was vnder sayle and gone, after the assemblie of the counsell was broken vppe: they were ready to eate their fingers for spyte, to see them selues thus finely mocked and deceiued. The RHEGIANS on the other side, were mery at the matter, to see howe the PHENICIANS stormed at it, that they had such a fine parte played them. Howbeit in the ende, they determined to send an Ambassador vnto TAVROMENION, in one of their gallyes. This Ambassador spake very boldely, and barbarously vnto *Andromachus*, and in a choller: and last of all, he shewed him first the palme of his hande, then the backe of his hande, and did threaten him that his citie shoulde be so turned

C ouer hand, if he did not quickly send away the CORINTHIANS. *Andromachus* fell a laughing at him, and did turne his hande vppe and downe as the Ambassador had done, and bad him that he shoulde get him going, and that with speede out of his citie, if he would not see the keele of his galley turned vpward. *Icetes* nowe vnderstanding of *Timoleons* comming, and being affrayed, sent for a great number of gallyes vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. Then the SYRACVSANS beganne to despayre vtterly, when they sawe their hauen full of the CARTHAGINIANS galleyes, the best parte of their citie kept by *Icetes*, and the castell by the tyran *Dionysius*. And on thother side, that *Timoleon* was not yet comen but to a litle corner of SICILE, hauing no more but the litle citie of TAVROMENION, with a small power, and lesse hope: bicause there was not aboue a thowsand footemen in all, to furnishe these warres,

D neither prouision of vittells, nor so much money as woulde serue to entertayne and pay them. Besides also, that the other cities of SICILE did nothing trust him. But by reason of the violent extorcions they had alate suffered, they hated all Captaines and leaders of men of warre to the deathe, and specially for the tretcherie of *Calippus* and *Pharax*, whereof the one was an ATHENIAN, and the other a LACEDÆMONIAN. Both of them sayed they came to set SICILE at libertie, and to driue out the tyrans: and yet neuertheles they had done so much hurte vnto the poore SICILIANS, that the miserie and calamitie which they had suffered vnder the tyrans, seemed all to be golde vnto them, in respect of that which the Captaines had made them to abyde. And they did not thinke them more happy, that had willingly submitted them selues vnto the yoke of seruitude: then those which they sawe restored, and set

E at libertie. Therefore perswading them selues, that this CORINTHIAN woulde be no better vnto them, then the other had bene before, but supposing they were the selfe same former craftes, and alluring baytes of good hope and fayer wordes, which they had tasted of before, to drawe them to accept newe tyrans: they did fore suspect it, and reiected all the CORINTHIANS perswasions. Sauing the ADRANITANS onely, whose litle citie being consecrated to the god *Adranus*, (and greatly honored and reuerenced through all SICILE) was then in dissention one against an other: in so muche as one parte of them tooke parte with *Icetes*, and the CARTHAGINIANS, and an other side of them sent vnto *Timoleon*. So it fortuned, that bothe the one and the other, making all the possible speede they coulde, who shoulde come first: arriued bothe in manner at one selfe tyme.

F *Icetes* had about fiue thowsande souldiers. *Timoleon* had not in all, aboue twelue hundred men, with the which he departed to goe towards the citie of ADRANVS, distant from TAVROMENION, about three hundred and fortie furlonges. For the first dayes iorney, he went

Timoleon sayleth to Tauromenion in Sicile.

Andromach⁹ the father of Timæus the Historiographer, gouerner of the citie of Tauromenion.

The Carthaginians Ambassador did threaten to destroy the citie of Tauromenion, by shewing Andromach⁹ the palme and backe of his hand.

The god Adranus.

no great way, but lodged betymes: but the next morning he marched very haſtely, & had maruelous ill way. When night was come, and day light ſhut in, he had newes that *Icetes* did but newly arriue before ADRANVS, where he encamped. When the priuate captaines vnderſtood this, they cauſed the voward to ſtay, to eate & repoſe a litle, that they might be the luſtier, & the ſtronger to fight. But *Timoleon* did ſet ſtill forwards, & prayed them not to ſtay, but to goe on with all the ſpeede they could poſſible, that they might take their enemies out of order (as it was likely they ſhould) being but newly arriued, & troubled with making their cabbons, & preparing for ſupper. Therewithall as he ſpake theſe wordes, he tooke his target on his arme, and marched him ſelfe the formoſt man, as brauely and coragiouſly as if he had gon to a moſt aſſured victorie. The ſouldiers ſeeing him marche with that life, they followed at his heeles with like corage. So they had not paſſing thirty furlonges to goe, which when they had ouercomen, they ſtraight ſet apon their enemies, whome they found all out of order, and began to flye, ſo ſoone as they ſaw they were vpon their backes before they were aware. By this meanes there were not aboue three hundred men ſlayne, and twiſe as many moe taken priſoners, and ſo their whole campe was poſſeſſed. Then the ADRANITANS opening their gates, yelded vnto *Timoleon*, declaring vnto him with great feare, and no leſſe wonder, how at the very time when he gaue charge apon the enemies, the dores of the temple of their god opened of them ſelues, & that the laueling which the Image of their god did hold in his hand, did ſhake at the very ende where the iron head was, and how all his face was ſeene to ſweate. This (in my opinion) did not onely ſignifie the victorie he had gotten at that time, but all the notable exploytes he did afterwardes, vnto the which, this firſt encounter gaue a happye beginning. For immediatly after, many cities ſent vnto *Timoleon*, to ioyne in league with him. And *Mamercus*, the tyran of CATANA, a ſouldier, and very full of money, did alſo ſeeke his friendſhip. Furthermore, *Dionyſius* the tyran of SYRACVSA, being weary to follow hope any longer, and finding him ſelfe in maner forced vnto it by long continuaunce of ſeige: made no more reckoning of *Icetes*, when he knewe that he was ſo ſhamefully ouerthrowen. And contrariwiſe, much eſteeming *Timoleons* valiantnes, he ſent to aduertiſe him, that he was contented to yelde him ſelfe and the caſtell into the handes of the CORINTHIANS. *Timoleon* being glad of this good happe vnlooked for, ſent *Euclides* and *Telemachus*, two Captaines of the CORINTHIANS, to take poſſeſſion of the caſtell, with fowre hundred men, not all at a tyme, nor openly (for it was vnpoſſible, the enemies lying in wayte in the hauen) but by ſmall companies, and by ſtelthe, he conueyed them all into the caſtell. So the ſouldiers poſſeſſed the caſtell, and the tyrans pallace, with all the moueables and munition of warres within the ſame. There were a great number of horſe of ſeruice, great ſtore of ſtaues and weapons offenſiue of all ſortes, and engynes of batterie to ſhoote farre of, and ſundry other weapons of defence, that had bene gathered together of long tyme, to arme threeſcore and tenne thowſand men. Moreouer, beſides all this, there were two thowſand ſouldiers, whome with all the other thinges rehearſed, *Dionyſius* deliuered vp into the handes of *Timoleon*: and he him ſelfe, with his money and a few of his friendes, went his way by ſea, *Icetes* not knowing it, and ſo came to *Timoleons* campe. This was the firſt tyme that euer they ſawe *Dionyſius* a priuate man, in baſe and meane eſtate. And yet within fewe dayes after, *Timoleon* ſent him from thence vnto CORINTHE in a ſhippe, with litle ſtore of money. Who was borne and brought vp in the greateſt and moſt famous tyrannie, and kingdome, conquered by force, that euer was in the world: and which him ſelfe had kept by the ſpace of tenne yeares after the death of his father. Since *Dion* draue him out, he had bene maruelouſly turmoyled in warres, by the ſpace of twelue yeares: in which time, although he had done muche miſchiefe, yet he had ſuffered alſo a great deale more. For he ſawe the death of his ſonnes when they were men growen, and able to ſerue and cary armor. He ſaw his daughters rauiſhed by force, & deflowred of their virginitie. He ſaw his owne ſiſter (who was alſo his wife) firſt of all ſhamed, & cruelly handled in her perſon, with the greateſt villanies & moſt vile partes done vnto her, that his enemies could deuiſe: & afterwards horribly murdered with his childrē, & their bodies in the end throwen into the ſea, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Dion*. Now when *Dionyſius* was arryued in the cittie of CORINTHE, euery GRECIAN was wonderfull deſirous

Timoleon ouerthrew Icetes armie, & made him flye from Adranus

The Adranitans yeld vnto Timoleon.

Mamercus tyran of Catana.

Dionyſius the tyran, yeldeth him ſelfe and the caſtell of Syracuſa, vnto Timoleon.

Dionyſius the tyran of Syracuſa ſens to Corinthe.

The miſeries & calamities of Dionyſius the tyran.

to

A to go ſee him, and to talke with him. And ſome went thither very glad of his ouerthrow, as if they had troden him downe with their feete, whom fortune had ouerthrowen, ſo bitterly did they hate him. Other pittiyng him in their heartes, to ſee ſo great a chaunge, did behold him as it were with a certaine compaſſion, conſidering what great power, ſecret and diuine cauſes haue ouer mens weakenes and frailtie, and thoſe thinges that daily paſſeth ouer our heades. For the world then, did neuer bring forth any worke of nature, or of mans hand ſo wonderful, as was this of fortune. Who made the world ſee a man, that before was in maner Lorde and King of all SICILE, ſit then commonly in the cittie of CORINTHE, talking with a vitailer, or ſitting a whole day in a perfumers ſhoppe, or commonly drinking in ſome celler or tauerne, or to brawle and ſcolde in the middeſt of the ſtreetes, with common whores in face of the B world, or els to teach common minſtrels in euery lane & alley, and to diſpute with them with the beſt reaſon he had, about the harmony & muſike, of the ſongs they ſang in the THEATERS. Now ſome ſay he did this, bicauſe he knew not els how he ſhould driue the time away, for that in dede he was of a baſe mynde, and an effeminate perſon, giuen ouer to all diſhoneſt luſts and deſires. Other are of opiniõ, he did it to be the leſſe regarded, for feare leſt the CORINTHIANS ſhould haue him in gealouzy and ſuſpicion, Imagining that he did take the chaunge and ſtate of his lyfe in grieuous part, and that he ſhould yet looke backe, hoping for a tyme to recouer his ſtate againe: and that for this cauſe he did it, and of purpoſe fained many thinges againſt his nature, ſeeming to be a ſtarke nideotte, to ſee him do thoſe thinges he did. Some notwithſtanding haue gathered together certaine of his anſwers, which doe teſtifie that he did not all C theſe thinges of a baſe brutiſh mynde, but to fitte himſelfe onely to his preſent miſery and miſfortune. For when he came to LEVCADES, an auncient cittie built by the CORINTHIANS, as was alſo the citty of SYRACVSA: he told the inhabitants of the ſame, that he was like to yong boyes that had done a fault. For as they flye from their fathers being aſhamed to come in their ſight, & are gladder to be with their brethrẽ: euẽ ſo is it with me, ſaid he: for it would pleaſe me better to dwell here with you, then to go to CORINTHE our head citty. Another tyme, being at CORINTHE, a ſtranger was very buſie with him, (knowing how familiar *Dionyſius* was with learned men and Philoſophers, while he raigned in SYRACVSA) and asked him in the ende in deriſion: what benefite he got by *Platoes* wiſedome and knowledge? he anſwered him againe: how thinkeſt thou, hath it done me no good, whẽ thou ſeeſt me beare ſo paciently this change D of fortune? *Ariſtoxenus* a muſitian, and other, asking him what offence *Plato* had done vnto him: he anſwered. That tyrans ſtate is euer vnfortunate, and ſubiect to many euills: but yet no euill in their ſtate was comparable to this. That none of all thoſe they take to be their moſt familiars, dare once tell them truely any thing: and that through their fault, he left *Platoes* company. Another tyme there commeth a pleaſaunt fellow to him, and thinking to mocke him finely, as he entred into his chamber, he ſhooke his gowne, as the manner is when they come to tyrans, to ſhewe that they haue no weapons vnder their gownes. But *Dionyſius* encountred him as pleaſantly, ſaying to him: do that whẽ thou goeſt hẽce, to ſe if thou haſt ſtollẽ nothing. And again, *Philip* King of MACEDON, at his table one day diſcẽding into talke of ſongs, verſe, and tragedies, which *Dionyſius* his father had made, making as though he wondred at thẽ, how E poſſibly he could haue leiſure to do them: he anſwered him very trimly, and to good purpoſe. He did them euen at ſuch tymes (quod he) as you and I, and all other great Lordes whom they recken happy, are diſpoſed to be drunke, & play the fooles. Now for *Plato*, he neuer ſaw *Dionyſius* at CORINTHE. But *Diogenes Sinopian*, the firſt tyme that euer he met with *Dionyſius*, ſayd vnto him. O, how vnworthy art thou of this ſtate. *Dionyſius* ſtayed ſodainely, and replied: Truly I thanke thee (*Diogenes*) that thou haſt compaſſion of my miſery. Why ſayd *Diogenes* againe: Doeſt thou thinke I pitty thee? Nay it ſpiteth me rather to ſee ſuch a ſlaue as thou (worthy to dye in the wicked ſtate of a tyrant like thy father) to lyue in ſuch ſecuritie, and idle lyfe, as thou leadeſt amongſt vs. When I came to compare theſe wordes of *Diogenes*, with *Philiſtus* wordes the Hiſtoriographer, bewailing the harde fortune of the daughters of the F LEPTINES, ſaying that they were brought from the toppe of all worldly felicity, honor, and goodes, (whereof tyrannicall ſtate aboundeth) vnto a baſe, priuate, and humble life: me thinkes they are the proper lamentations of a woman, that ſoroweth for the loſſe of her

Dionyſius brought to Corinthe.

The Inconſtancie of fortune.

Notable ſayings of Dionyſius Syracuſan.

The benefite of Philoſophy.

A tyrannes ſtate vnfortunate.

This agreeth with AEſops wordes to Solon, who wiſhed him cõming to princes, to pleaſe them, or not to come nere them.

See Solons life, and his anſwer to AEſop.

Diogenes ſaying to Dionyſius the tyrane.

boxes of painting cullers, or for her purple gownes, or for other ſuche prety fine trimmes of golde, as women vſe to weare. So, me thinkes theſe things I haue intermingled concerning *Dionyſius*, are not impartinent to the deſcription of our liues, neither are they troubleſom nor vnprofitable to the hearers, oneles they haue other haſty buſines to let or trouble them. But now if the tyraunt *Dionyſius* wretched ſtate ſeeme ſtraunge, *Timoleons* proſperitie then was no leſſe wonderfull. For within fiftie dayes after he had ſet foote in SICILE, he had the caſtel of SYRACVSA in his poſſeſſion, and ſent *Dionyſius* as an exile to CORINTHE. This did ſet the CORINTHIANS in ſuche a iollitie, that they ſent him a ſupply of two thouſand footemen, and two hundred horſemen, which were appointed to land in ITALIE, in the countrie of the THVRIANS. And perceyuing that they could not poſſiblie goe from thence into SICILE, bicauſe the CARTHAGINIANS kept the ſeas with a great nauie of ſhippes, and that thereby they were compelled to ſtaye for better oportunitie: in the meane time they beſtowed their leyſure in doing a notable good acte. For the THVRIANS, being in warres at that time with the BRVTIANS, they dyd put their cittie into their hands, which they kept very faithfully and friendly, as it had bene their owne natiue countrie. *Icetes* all this while dyd beſiege the caſtell of SYRACVSA, preuenting all he could poſſible, that there ſhould come no corne by ſea vnto the CORINTHIANS that kept within the caſtell: and he had hiered two ſtraunge ſouldiers, which he ſent vnto the cittie of ADRANVS, to kill *Timoleon* by treaſon, who kept no garde about his perſone, and continued amongeſt the ADRANITANS, miſtruſting nothing in the world, for the truſt and confidence he had in the ſafegard of the god of the ADRANITANS. Theſe ſouldiers being ſent to do this murther, were by chaunce enformed that *Timoleon* ſhould one day do ſacrifice vnto this god. So apon this, they came into the temple, hauing daggers vnder their gownes, & by litle and litle thruſt in through the preaſe, that they got at the length hard to the aulter. But at the preſent time as one encoraged another to diſpatche the matter, a third perſone they thought not of, gaue one of the two a great cut in the head with his ſworde, that he fell to the grounde. The man that had hurte him thus, fled ſtraight vpon it, with his ſworde drawen in his hande, and recouered the toppe of a highe rocke. The other ſouldier that came with him, and that was not hurte, got holde of a corner of the aulter, and beſought pardone of *Timoleon*, and told him he would diſcouer the treaſon practiſed againſt him. *Timoleon* thereupon pardoned him. Then he tolde him howe his companion that was ſlaine, and him ſelfe, were both hiered, and ſent to kill him. In the meane time, they brought him alſo that had taken the rocke, who cried out alowde, he had done no more then he ſhould doe: for he had killed him that had ſlaine his owne father before, in the cittie of the LEONTINES. And to iuſtifie this to be true, certaine that ſtoode by dyd affirme, it was ſo in deede. Whereat they wondred greatly to conſider the maruelous working of fortune, howe ſhe doth bring one thing to paſſe by meanes of another, & gathereth all things together, howe farre a ſonder ſoeuer they be, & linketh them together, though they ſeeme to be cleane contrary one to another, with no manner of likenes or coniunction betwene them, making the ende of the one, to be the beginning of another. The CORINTHIANS examining this matter throughly, gaue him that ſlue the ſouldier with his ſworde, a crowne of the value of tenne minas, bicauſe that by meanes of his iuſte anger, he had done good ſeruice to the God that had preſerued *Timoleon*. And furthermore, this good happe dyd not only ſerue the preſent turne, but was to good purpoſe euer after. For thoſe that ſawe it, were putte in better hope, and had thenceforth more care and regard vnto *Timoleons* perſone, bicauſe he was a holy man, one that loued the goddes, and that was purpoſely ſent to deliuer SICILE from captiuitie. But *Icetes* hauing miſſed his firſt purpoſe, and ſeeing numbers daylie drawen to *Timoleons* deuotion: he was mad with him ſelf, that hauing ſo great an armie of the CARTHAGINIANS at hand at his commaundement, he tooke but a fewe of them to ſerue his turne, as if he had bene aſhamed of his facte, and had vſed their frendſhippe by ſtelth. So he ſent hereupon for *Mago* their generall, with all his fleete. *Mago* at his requeſt brought an huge army to ſee to, of a hundred and fiftie ſayle, which occupied and couered all the hauen: and afterwards landed three ſcore thouſand men, whom he lodged euery man within the cittie of SYRACVSA. Then euery man imagined the time was now come, which olde men had threatned SICILE with many yeres before, and that continually

Timoleons proſperitie.

Icetes hireth two ſouldiers to kill Timoleon at Adranus.

The treaſon diſcouered to Timoleon by one of the ſouldiers.

The wonderfull worke of fortune.

Icetes bringeth Mago a Carthaginian with a great army to Syracuſa.

A nually: that one day it ſhoud be conquered, and inhabited by the barbarous people. For in all the warres the CARTHAGINIANS euer had before in the countrie of SICILE, they could neuer come to take the cittie of SYRACVSA: and then through *Icetes* treaſon, who had receyued them, they were ſeene encamped there. On thother ſide, the CORINTHIANS that were within the caſtell, founde them ſelues in great diſtreſſe, bicauſe their vittells waxed ſcant, and the hauen was ſo ſtraightly kept. Moreouer, they were driuen to be armed continually to defend the walles, which the enemies battered, and aſſaulted in ſundry places, with all kyndes of engines of batterie, and ſundry ſortes of deuiſed inſtruments and inuentions to take cities: by reaſon whereof, they were compelled alſo to deuide them ſelues into many companies. Neuertheles, *Timoleon* without, gaue them all the ayde he could poſſible: ſending them corne
B from CATANA, in litle fiſher botes and ſmall crayers, which got into the caſtell many times, but ſpecially in ſtorme and fowle weather, paſſing by the gallyes of the barbarous people, that laye ſcatteringly one from another, diſperſed abroad by tempeſt, and great billowes of the ſea. But *Mago* and *Icetes* finding this, determined to goe take the cittie of CATANA, from whence thoſe of the caſtell of SYRACVSA were vittelled: and taking with them the beſt ſouldiers of all their armie, they departed from SYRACVSA, and ſayled towardes CATANA. Nowe in the meane ſpace, *Leon* CORINTHIAN, captaine of all thoſe that were within the caſtell, perceyuing the enemies within the cittie kept but ſlender warde: made a ſodaine ſalie out apon them, and taking them vnwares, ſlue a great number at the firſt charge, and draue awaye the other. So by this occaſion he wanne a quarter of the cittie, which they call ACRADINA,
C and was the beſt parte of the cittie, that had receyued leaſt hurte. For the cittie of SYRACVSA ſeemeth to be built of many townes ioyned together. So hauing found there great plenty of corne, golde, and ſiluer, he would not forſake that quarter no more, nor returne againe into the caſtell: but fortifying with all diligence the compaſſe and precinct of the ſame, and ioyning it vnto the caſtell with certen fortifications he built vp in haſte, he determined to keepe both the one and the other. Now were *Mago* and *Icetes* very neere vnto CATANA, when a poſt ouertooke them, purpoſely ſent from SYRACVSA vnto them: who brought them newes, that the ACRADINA was taken. Whereat they both wondred, and returned backe againe with all ſpeede poſſible (hauing failed of their purpoſe they pretended) to keepe that they had yet left in their handes. Now for that matter, it is yet a queſtion, whether we ſhould impute it vnto
D wiſedome and valliancie, or vnto good fortune: but the thing I will tell you now, in my opinion, is altogether to be aſcribed vnto fortune. And this it is. The two thouſand footemen and two hundred horſemen of the CORINTHIANS, that remained in the cittie of the THVRIANS, partly for feare of the gallyes of the CARTHAGINIANS that laye in wayte for them as they ſhould paſſe, *Hanno* being their admirall: and partly alſo for that the ſea was very rough and highe many dayes together, and was allwayes in ſtorme and tempeſt: in the ende, they ventured to goe through the countrie of the BRVTIANS. And partly with their good will (but rather by force) they got through, and recouered the cittie of RHEGIO, the ſea being yet maruelous highe and rough. *Hanno* the admirall of the CARTHAGINIANS, looking no more then for their paſſage, thought with him ſelfe that he had deuiſed a maruelous fine policie, to deceyue
E the enemies. Thereuppon he willed all his men to put garlands of flowers of triumphe vpon their heades, and therewithall alſo made them dreſſe vp, and ſet forth his gallyes, with targets, corſelets, and brigantines after the GRÆCIANS facion. So in this brauery he returned backe againe, ſailing towards SYRACVSA, & came in with force of owers, rowing vnder the caſtells ſide of SYRACVSA, with great laughing, and clapping of hands: crying out alowde to them that were in the caſtell, that he had ouerthrowen their ayde which came from CORINTHE, as they thought to paſſe by the coaſt of ITALIE into SICILE, flattering them ſelues, that this dyd muche diſcorage thoſe that were beſieged. But whileſt he ſported thus with his fonde deuiſe, the two thouſand CORINTHIANS being arriued through the countrie of the BRVTIANS in the citie of RHEGIO, perceyuing the coaſte cleare, and that the paſſage by ſea was not kept, &
F that the raging ſeas were by miracle (as it were) made of purpoſe calme for them: they tooke ſeas forthwith in ſuch fiſher boates & paſſengers as they found readie, in the which they went into SICILE, in ſuche good ſafety, as they drue their horſe (holding them by the raynes) alon-

Leon captaine of the Corinthians within the caſtell.

Leon wanne Acradina.

Contention of fortune and valliancie.

The ſtratagcame of Hanno the admirall of the Carthaginians.

geſt their boates with them. When they were all paſſed ouer, *Timoleon* hauing receiued them, A
went immediatly to take MESSINA, and marching thence in battell raye, tooke his way to-
Timoleon marcheth to Syracuſa. wards SYRACVSA, truſting better to his good fortune, then to his force he had: for his whole
number in all, were not aboue foure thowſand fighting men. Notwithſtanding, *Mago* hearing
of his comming, quaked for feare, & dowted the more vpon this occaſion. About SYRACVSA
are certeyne mariſhes, that receiue great quantitie of ſweete freſh water, aſwell of fountaynes
and ſpringes, as alſo of litle ronning brookes, lakes, & riuers, which ronne that wayes towards
the ſea: and therefore there are great ſtore of eeles in that place, and the fiſhing is great there
at all tymes, but ſpecially for ſuch as delite to take eeles. Whereuppon the GRÆCIANS that
tooke paye on both ſides, when they had leyſure, and that all was quiet betwene them, they
intended fiſhing. Now, they being all contrey men, and of one language, had no priuate quar- B
rell one with an other: but when tyme was to fight, they did their duties, and in tyme of peace
alſo frequented familiarly togither, and one ſpake with an other, and ſpecially when they
were buſie fiſhing for eeles: ſaying, that they maruelled at the ſcituacion of the goodly places
thereabouts, and that they ſtoode ſo pleaſauntly and commodious apon the ſea ſide. So one of
the ſouldiers that ſerued vnder the CORINTHIANS, chaunced to ſay vnto them Is it poſſible
that you that be GRÆCIANS borne, and haue ſo goodly a citie of your owne, & full of ſo ma-
ny goodly commodities: that ye will giue it vppe vnto theſe barbarous people, the vile CAR-
THAGINIANS, and moſt cruell murderers of the worlde? where you ſhould rather wiſhe that
there were many SICILIES betwixt them and GREECE. Haue ye ſo litle conſideration or
iudgement to thinke, that they haue aſſembled an armie out of all AFRICKE, vnto *Hercules* C
pillers, and to the ſea ATLANTICKE, to come hether to fight to ſtabliſh *Icetes* tyrannie? who,
if he had bene a wiſe and skilfull Captaine, would not haue caſt out his aunceſtors & founders,
to bringe into his contrye the auncient enemies of the ſame: but might haue receiued ſuch ho-
nor and authoritie of the CORINTHIANS and *Timoleon*, as he could reaſonably haue deſired,
and that with all their fauor and good wil. The ſouldiers that heard this tale, reported it agayne
in their campe: Inſomuch they made *Mago* ſuſpect there was treaſon in hand, and ſo ſought
ſome culler to be gon. But hereuppon, notwithſtanding that *Icetes* prayed him all he could to
tary, declaring vnto him how much they were ſtronger then their enemies, and that *Timoleon*
did rather preuayle by his hardines and good fortune, then exceede him in number of men:
Mago forſaketh Sicile vpõ ſuſpect of treaſon. yet he hoyſed ſayle, and returned with ſhame enough into AFRICKE, letting ſlyppe the con- D
queſt of all SICILE out of his handes, without any ſight of reaſon or cauſe at all. The next day
after he was gone, *Timoleon* preſented battell before the citie, when the GRÆCIANS and he
vnderſtoode that the CARTHAGINIANS were fled, and that they ſaw the hauen ryd of all the
ſhippes: and then beganne to ieaſt at *Magoes* cowardlines, and in deriſion proclaymed in the
citie, that they would giue him a good reward that could bringe them newes, whether the ar-
mie of the CARTHAGINIANS were fled. But for all this, *Icetes* was bent to fight, & woulde not
leaue the ſpoyle he had gotten, but defende the quarters of the citie he had poſſeſſed, at the
ſwordes poynt, truſting to the ſtrength and ſcituacion of the places, which were hardly to be
approached. *Timoleon* perceyuing that, deuided his armie, and he with one parte thereof did
Anapus fl. ſett vpon that ſide which was the hardeſt to approache, and did ſtand vpon the riuer of ANA- E
PVS: then he appoynted an other part of his armie to aſſault all at one time, the ſide of ACRA-
DINA, whereof *Iſias* CORINTHIAN had the leading. The thirde parte of his armie that came
laſt from CORINTHE, which *Dinarchus* and *Demaratus* led: he appoynted to aſſault the quar-
ter called EPIPOLES. Thus, aſſault being giuen on all ſides at one time, *Icetes* bandes of men
Timoleon wynneth the citie of Syracuſa. were broken, and ranne their way. Now that the citie was thus wonne by aſſault, and come ſo
ſodaynely to the handes of *Timoleon*, and the enemies being fled: it is good reaſon we aſcribe
it to the valiantnes of the ſouldiers, and the captaines great wiſedom. But where there was not
one CORINTHIAN ſlayne, nor hurt in this aſſault: ſure me thinkes herein, it was onely the
worke and deede of fortune, that did fauor and protect *Timoleon*, to contende againſt his vali-
antnes. To the ende that thoſe which ſhould hereafter heare of his doings, ſhould haue more F
occaſion to wonder at his good happe: then to prayſe and commend his valiantnes. For the
fame of this great exployte, did in few dayes not onely ronne through all ITALYE, but alſo
through

A through all GREECE. Insomuch as the CORINTHIANS, (who could scant beleeue their men were passed with safetie into SICILE) vnderstoode withall that they were safely arriued there, and had gotten the victorie of their enemies: so prosperous was their iorney, & fortune so spedely did fauor his noble actes. *Timoleon* hauing now the castell of SYRACVSA in his hands, did not followe *Dion*. For he spared not the castell for the beawtie and stately building thereof, but auoyding the suspicion that caused *Dion* first to be accused, and lastly to be slayne: he caused it to be proclaymed by trompett, that any SYRACVSAN whatsoeuer, should come with crowes of iron, and mattocks, to helpe to digge downe and ouerthrow the forte of the tyrans. There was not a man in all the citie of SYRACVSA, but went thither straight, and thought that proclamacion and day to be a most happy beginning, of the recouerie of their libertie. So they did

Timoleon ouerthroweth the castell of Syracusa.

B not onely ouerthrowe the castell, but the pallace also, and the tombes: and generally all that serued in any respect for the memorie of any of the tyrans. And hauing cleared the place in fewe dayes, and made all playne: *Timoleon* at the sute of the Citizens, made counsell halls, and places of iustice to be built there: and did by this meanes stablish a free state and popular gouernment, and did suppresse all tyrannicall power. Nowe, when he sawe he had wonne a citie that had no inhabitants, which warres before had consumed, and feare of tyrannie had emptied, so as grasse grewe so highe and rancke in the great market place of SYRACVSA, as they

Timoleon made Syracusa a popular gouernment.

grased their horses there, and the horsekeepers laye downe by them on the grasse as they fed: and that all the cities, a fewe excepted, were full of redde deare and wilde bores, so that men geuen to delite in hunting, hauing leysure, might finde game many tymes within the suburbes

The miserable state of Sicile.

C and towne dytches, hard by the walles: and that such as dwelt in castells and stronge holdes in the contrye, would not leaue them, to come and dwell in cities, by reason they were all growen so stowte, and did so hate and detest assemblies of counsell, orations, and order of gouernment, where so many tyrans had reigned. *Timoleon* thereuppon seeing this desolacion, and also so fewe SYRACVSANS borne that had escaped, thought good, and all his Captaines, to write to the CORINTHIANS, to send people out of GREECE to inhabite the citie of SYRACVSA agayne. For otherwise the contrye would growe barren and vnprofitable, if the grounde were not plowed. Besides, that they looked also for great warres out of AFRICKE: being aduertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had honge vp the body of *Mago* their generall vpon a crosse (who had slayne himselfe for that he could not aunswere the dishonor layed to his charge) and that

Mago slue himselfe, being called to aunswer his departure out of Sicile.

D they did leauy another great mightie armie, to returne againe the next yere following, to make warres in SICILE. These letters of *Timoleon* being brought vnto CORINTHE, and the Embassadors of SYRACVSA being arriued with them also, who besought the people to take care and protection ouer their poore citie, and that they would once againe be fownders of the same: the CORINTHIANS did not gredily desire to be Lordes of so goodly and great a citie, but first proclaymed by the trompett in all the assemblies, solemne feastes, and common playes of GREECE, that the CORINTHIANS hauing destroyed the tirannie that was in the citie of SYRACVSA, and driuen out the tyrannes, did call the SYRACVSANS that were fugitiues out of their contrye, home againe, and all other SICILIANS that liked to come and dwell there, to enioy all freedom and libertie, with promise to make iust and equall diuision of the landes a-

E mong them, the one to haue as much as the other. Moreouer they sent out postes and messengers into ASIA, and into all the Ilands where they vnderstoode the banished SYRACVSANS remayned: to perswade and intreat them to come to CORINTHE, and that the CORINTHIANS would giue them shippes, Captaines, and meanes to conduct them safely vnto SYRACVSA, at their owne proper costes and charges. In recompence whereof, the citie of CORINTHE receaued euery mans most noble praise and blessing, aswell for deliuering SICILE in that sorte from the bondage of tyrannes: as also for keeping it out of the handes of the barbarous people, and restored the naturall SYRACVSANS, and SICILIANS, to their home and contrye againe. Neuertheles, such SICILIANS as repayred to CORINTHE apon this proclamacion (them selues being but a small number to inhabite the contrye) besought the CORINTHIANS to

F ioyne to them some other inhabitantes, aswell of CORINTHE it selfe, as out of the rest of GREECE: the which was performed. For they gathered together about tenne thowsand persons, whom they shipped, and sent to SYRACVSA. Where there were already a great number

The Corinthians replenished the citie of Syracusa, with three score thowsand inhabitants.

of other comen vnto *Timoleon*, aswell out of SICILE it self, as out of all ITALIE beside: so that the whole number (as *Athanis* writeth) came to three score thowsand persons. Amongst them he deuided the whole contrye, and sold them houses of the citie, vnto the value of a thowsand talents. And bicause he would leaue the olde SYRACVSANS able to recouer their owne, and make the poore people by this meanes to haue money in common, to defraye the common charges of the citie, as also their expences in time of warres: the statues or images were solde, and the people by most voyces did condemne them. For they were solemly indited, accused, & arraigned, as if they had bene men aliue to be condemned. And it is reported that the SYRACVSANS did reserue the statue of *Gelon*, an auncient tyranne of their citie, honoring his memorie, bicause of a great victorie he had wonne of the CARTHAGINIANS, neare the citie of HIMERA: and condemned all the rest to be taken away out of euery corner of the citie, and to be sold. Thus beganne the citie of SYRACVSA to replenishe againe, and by litle and litle to recouer it selfe, many people comming thither from all partes to dwell there. Thereupon *Timoleon* thought to set all other cities at libertie also, and vtterly to roote out all the tyrans of SICILE and to obteyne his purpose, he went to make warres with them at their owne dores. The first he went against, was *Icetes*: whome he compelled to forsake the league of the CARTHAGINIANS, and to promise also that he would rase all the fortresses he kept, and to liue like a priuate man within the citie of the LEONTINES. *Leptines* in like maner, that was tyran of the citie of APOLLONIA, and of many other litle villages thereabouts: when he saw him selfe in daunger to be taken by force, did yeld him selfe. Whereupon *Timoleon* saued his life, and sent him vnto CORINTHE: thinking it honorable for his contrye, that the other GRÆCIANS should see the tyrans of SICILE in their chiefe citie of fame, liuing meanely and poorely like banished people. When he had brought this to passe, he returned forthwith to SYRACVSA about the establishment of the common weale, assisting *Cephalus* and *Dionysius*, two notable men sent from CORINTHE to reforme the lawes, and to helpe them to stablishe the goodliest ordinaunces for their common weale. And now in the meane time, bicause the souldiers had a minde to get some thing of their enemies, and to auoyd idlenes: he sent them out abroade to a contrye subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, vnder the charge of *Dimarchus*, and *Demaratus*. Where they made many litle townes rebell against the barbarous people, and did not onely liue in all aboundance of wealth, but they gathered money together also to mainteyne the warres. The CARTHAGINIANS on thother side, while they were busy about the matters, came downe into LILYBEA, with an armie of three score and tenne thowsand men, two hundred gallyes, and a thowsand other shippes and vessells that caried engines of batterie, cartes, vittells, munition, and other necessary prouision for a campe, intending to make sporting warres no more, but at once to driue all the GRÆCIANS againe quite out of SICILE. For in deede it was an able armie to ouercome all the SICILIANS, if they had bene whole of them selues, and not diuided. Now they being aduertised that the SICILIANS had inuaded their contrye, they went towards them in great furie, led by *Asdrubal* & *Amilcar*, generalls of the armie. This newes was straight brought to SYRACVSA, and the inhabitants were so striken with feare of the report of their armie: that being a maruelous great number of them within the citie, scant three thowsand of them had the hartes to arme them selues, and to goe to the fielde with *Timoleon*. Now the straungers that tooke pay, were not aboue foure thowsand in all: & of them, a thowsand of their hartes fayled, and left him in midd way, and returned home againe. Saying, that *Timoleon* was out of his wittes, and more rashe then his yeares required, to vndertake with fiue thowsand footemen, & a thowsand horse, to goe against three score and tenne thowsand men: and besides, to cary that small force he had to defend him selfe withal, eight great dayes iorney from SYRACVSA. So, that if it chaunced they were compelled to flye, they had no place whether they might retyre them selues vnto with safetie, nor man that woulde take care to burye them, when they were slayne. Neuertheles, *Timoleon* was glad he had that proofe of them, before he came to battell. Moreouer, hauing incoraged those that remayned with him, he made them marche with speede towards the riuer of CRIMESVS, where he vnderstoode he should meete with the CARTHAGINIANS. So getting vp vpō a litle hil, from whence he might se the campe of the enemies on the other side: by chaunce, certen moyles fell apon his armie, loden with

Leptines, tyran of Apollonia, yelded to Timoleon.

The armie & shippes of the Carthaginiās, against Timoleō, Asdrubal & Amilcar being generalls.

Timoleon wēt with 6000. men against the Carthaginians.

Crimesus fl.

A with ſmallage. The ſouldiers tooke a conceyt at the firſt apon ſight of it, and thought it was a token of ill lucke: bicauſe it is a maner we vſe, to hange garlands of this erbe, about the tombes of the dead. Hereof came the common prouerbe they vſe to ſpeake, when one lyeth a paſſing in his bed: he lacketh but ſmallage. As much to ſay, he is but a dead man. But *Timoleon* to draw them from this fooliſh ſuperſtition, & diſcorage they tooke, ſtayed the armie. And when he had vſed certen perſwaſions vnto them, according to the time, his leyſure, and occaſion: he told them that the garland of it ſelfe came to offer them victorie before hand. For, ſayd he, the CORINTHIANS doe crowne them that winne the ISTMIAN games (which are celebrated in their contrye) with garlands of ſmallage. And at that time alſo euen in the ſolemne ISTMIAN games, they vſed the garland of ſmallage for reward and token of victorie: and at this preſent B it is alſo vſed in the games of NEMEA. And it is but lately taken vp, that they haue vſed braunches of pyne apple trees in the ISTMIAN games. Now *Timoleon* had thus incoraged his men, as you haue heard before: he firſt of all tooke of this ſmallage, and made him ſelfe a garland, & put it on his head. When they ſawe that, the Captaines and all the ſouldiers alſo tooke of the ſame, and made them ſelues the like. The ſoothſayers in like maner at the very ſame time, perceyued two eagles flying towards them: the one of them holding a ſnake in her talents, which ſhe pearced through and through, and the other as ſhe flewe, gaue a terrible cry. So they ſhewed them both vnto the ſouldiers, who did then all together with one voyce call vpon the gods for helpe. Now this fortuned about the beginning of the ſommer, and towards the later ende of Maye, the ſunne drawing towards the ſolſtyce of the ſommer: when there roſe a great myſt C out of the riuer, that couered all the feilds ouer, ſo as they could not ſee the enemies campe, but onely heard a maruelous confuſed noyſe of mens voyces, as it had come from a great armie, and riſing vp to the toppe of the hil, they layed their targets downe on the grownd to take a litle breathe: and the ſunne hauing drawen and ſucked vp all the moyſt vapours of the myſte vnto the toppe of the hills, the ayer began to be ſo thicke, that the toppes of the mountaynes were all couered ouer with clowdes, and contrarily, the valley vnderneath was all cleare and fayer, that they might eaſily ſee the riuer of CRIMESVS, and the enemies alſo, how they paſſed it ouer in this ſort. Firſt, they had put their cartes of warre foremoſt, which were very hotly armed and well appoynted. Next vnto them there followed tenne thowſand footemen, armed with white targets vpon their armes: whom they ſeeing a farre of ſo well appoynted, they con- D iectured by their ſtately marche and good order, that they were the CARTHAGINIANS them ſelues. After them, diuers other nations followed confuſedly one with an other, and ſo they thronged ouer with great diſorder. There *Timoleon* conſidering the riuer gaue him oportunity to take them before they were halfe paſt ouer, and to ſet vpon what number he would: after he had ſhewed his men with his finger, how the battel of their enemies was deuided in two partes by meanes of the riuer, ſome of them being already paſſed ouer, & the other to paſſe: He commaunded *Demaratus* with his horſemen, to geue a charge on the voward, to keepe them from putting them ſelues in order of battell. And him ſelfe comming downe the hill alſo with all his footemen into the valley, he gaue to the SICILIANS the two winges of his battell, mingling with them ſome ſtraungers that ſerued vnder him: and placed with him ſelfe in the middeſt, E the SYRACVSANS, with all the choyce & beſt liked ſtraungers. So he taried not long to ioyne, when he ſaw the ſmall good his horſemen did. For he perceyued they could not come to geue a luſty charge apon the battell of the CARTHAGINIANS, bicauſe they were paled in with theſe armed cartes, that ranne here and there before them: whereupon they were compelled to wheele about continually, (onles they would haue put them ſelues in daunger to haue bene vtterly ouerthrowen) and in their returnes to geue venture of charge, by turnes on their enemies. Wherefore *Timoleon* taking his target on his arme, cried out alowde to his footemen, to follow him coragiouſly, & to feare nothing. Thoſe that heard his voyce, thought it more then the voyce of a man, whether the furie of his deſire to fight did ſo ſtrayne it beyonde ordinary courſe, or that ſome god (as many thought it then) did ſtretch his voyce to cry out ſo lowde & F ſenſibly. His ſouldiers aunſwered him againe with the like voyce: & prayed him to leade them without lenger delay. Then he made his horſemen vnderſtand, that they ſhould draw on the toneſide from the cartes, and that they ſhould charge the CARTHAGINIANS on the flanckes:

Smallage an ill ſigne.

Prouerbe.

Garlandes of ſmallage.

The order of the Carthaginians armie.

Timoleon geueth charge apon the Carthaginians as they came ouer the riuer of Crimeſus.

The ſeruice of the armed cartes.

Timoleons maruelous bigge voyce.

Timoleons order and fight.

and after he did set the formost rancke of his battell, target to target against the enemies, commaunding the trumpets withall to sownd. Thus with great furie he went to gene a charge upon them, who valiantly receyued the first charge, their bodies being armed with good iron corselets, and their heades with fayer murrions of copper, besides the great targetts they had also, which did easily receyue the force of their dartes, and the thrust of the pyke. But when they came to handle their swordes, where agilitie was more requisite then force: a fearfull tempest of thunder, & flashing lightning withall, came from the mountaynes. After that came darke thicke clowdes also (gathered together from the toppe of the hilles) and fell vppon the valley, where the battell was fought, with a maruelous extreame shower of rayne, fierce violent windes, and hayle withall. All this tempest was vpon the GRÆCIANS backes, and full before the barbarous people, beating on their faces, and did blindefold their eyes, and continually tormented them with the rayne that came full apon them with the winde, & the lightnings so ofte flashing amongest them, that one vnderstoode not another of them. Which did maruelously trouble them, and specially those that were but freshe water souldiers, by reason of the terrible thunderclapps, and the noyse, the boysterous winde and hayle made vppon their harnes: for that made them they could not heare the order of their Captaines. Moreouer, the durt did as much annoye the CARTHAGINIANS, bicause they were not nimble in their armor, but heauely armed as we haue told you: and besides that also, when the playtes of their coates were through wett with water, they did lode and hinder them so muche the more, that they could not fight with any ease. This stoode the GRÆCIANS to great purpose, to throwe them downe the easier. Thus when they were tombling in the durte with their heauy armor, vp they could rise no more. Furthermore, the riuer of CRIMESVS being risen highe through the great rage of waters, and also for the multitude of people that passed ouer it, did ouerflowe the valley all about: which being full of ditches, many caues, and hollow places, it was straight all drowned ouer, and filled with many ronning streames, that ranne ouerthwart the feild, without any certen channell. The CARTHAGINIANS being compassed all about with these waters, they could hardly get the way out of it. So as in the end they being ouercome with the storme that still did beate apon them, and the GRÆCIANS hauing slayne of their men at the first onset, to the number of foure hundred of their choycest men, who made the first fronte of their battell: all the rest of their armie turned their backes immediatly, and fled for life. Insomuch, some of them being followed very neare, were put to the sworde in the middest of the valley: other, holding one another hard by the armes together, in the middest of the riuer as they passed ouer, were caried downe the streame and drowned, with the swiftnes and violence of the riuer. But the greatest number did thinke by footemanship to recouer the hilles thereabouts, who were ouertaken by them that were light armed, and put to the sworde euery man. They saye, that of tenne thowsande which were slayne in this battell, three thowsande of them were meere naturall citizens of CARTHAGE, which was a very sorowfull and greeuous losse to the city. For they were of the noblest, the richest, the lustiest, & valiantest men of all CARTHAGE. For there is no chronicle that mentioneth any former warres at any tyme before, where there dyed so many of CARTHAGE at one feild and battell, as were slayne at that present tyme. For before that time, they did alwayes entertaine the FIBYANS, the SPANYARDS, and the NOMADES, in all their warres: so as when they lost any battell, the losse lighted not on them, but the straungers payed for it. The men of accompt also that were slayne, were easily knowen by their spoyles. For they that spoyled them, stoode not trifling about getting of copper and iron together, bicause they found gold and siluer enoughe. For the battell being wonne, the GRECIANS passed ouer the riuer, and tooke the campe of the barbarous people, with all their cariages and bagage. And as for the prisoners, the souldiers stole many of them away, and sent them going: but of them that came to short to make common diuision of the spoyle amonge them, they were about fiue thowsand men, and two hundred cartes of warre that were taken besides. Oh, it was a noble sight to behold the tent of *Timoleon* their generall, how they enuyroned it all about with heapes of spoyles of euery sorte: amongest which there were a thowsand braue corselets guylt, and grauen, with maruelous curious workes, and brought thither with them also tenne thowsand targets. So the conquerours being but a small number, to take the spoyle

A maruelous tempest of thunder, lightning, rayne, winde, and hayle, full in the Carthaginians faces as they fought.

Timoleons victorie of the Carthaginians.

A spoile of a multitude that were slaine they filled their purses euen to the toppe. Yet were they three daies about it, & in the end, the third day after the battel, they set vp a marke or token of their victorie. The *Timoleon* sent vnto CORINTH, with the newes of this ouerthrow, the faireſt armors that were gotten in the spoyle: bicause he would make his countrie & natiue citie spoken of & commẽded through the world, aboue al the other cities of GREECE. For that at CORINTH only, their chief tẽples were set forth & adorned, not with spoiles of the GREECIANS, nor offerings gotten by spilling the blood of their owne nation & contrie: (which to say truely, are vnpleasant memories) but with the spoiles taken from the barbarous people their enemies, with inscriptions witnessing the valliancie & iustice of those also, who by victorie had obteined thẽ. That is to wit, that the CORINTHIANS & their captaine *Timoleon*, (hauing deliuered the

B GRECIANS dwelling in SICILE, from the bondage of the CARTHAGINIANS) had geuen those offerings vnto the gods, to geue thanks for their victory. That done, *Timoleon* leauing the straungers he had in pay, in the contrie subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, to spoile & destroy it: he retorned with the rest of his army vnto SYRACVSA. Where at his first cõming home, he banished the thowsand souldiers that had forsaken him in his iorney, with expresse charge that they should departe the cittie before sunne sette. So these thowsand cowardly and mutinous souldiers passed ouer into ITALIE, where, vnder promise of the countrie, they were al vnfortunately slayne by the BRVTIANS: such was the iustice of the goddes to paie their iuste reward of their treason. Afterwards, *Mamercus* the tyranne of CATANA, *Icetes* (whether it was for the

C enuie they did beare to *Timoleons* famous dedes, or for that they were affrayde of him) perceiuing tyrannes could looke for no peace at his handes: they made league with the CARTHAGINIANS, and wrote vnto them that they should send another armie and captaine sodainely, if they would not vtterly be driuẽ out of SICILE. The CARTHAGINIANS sent *Gisco* thither with threescore & tenne saile, who at his first comming tooke a certen number of GRECIAN souldiers into pay, which were the first the CARTHAGINIANS euer retained in their seruice: for they neuer gaue thẽ pay vntil that present time, when they thought them to be men inuincible, and the best souldiers of the world. Moreouer, the inhabitantes of the territorie of MESSINA, hauing made a secret conspiracie amongest them selues, did slay foure hundred men that *Timoleon* had sent vnto them: & in the territories subiect vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, nere vnto a place they call HIERES, there was another ambush layd for *Euthimus* LEVCADI-

D AN, so as him self & al his souldiers were cut in peces. Howbeit the losse of thẽ made *Timoleons* doings notwithstanding more fortunate: for they were euen those that had forcibly entred the tẽple of *Apollo* in the cittie of DELPHES, with *Philodemus* PHOCIAN, & with *Onomarchus*, who were partakers of their sacriledge. Moreouer, they were lose people & abiectes, that were abhorred of euerie body, who vacabondlike wandred vp & downe the contry of PELOPONNESVS, when *Timoleon* for lacke of other was glad to take them vp. And when they came into SICILE, they alwaies ouercame in al battels they fought, whilest they were in his company. But in the ende, when the furie of warres was pacified, *Timoleon* sending them about some speciall seruice to the ayde of some of his, they were cast away euery man of them: and not all together, but at diuers times. So as it seemed that Goddes iustice, in fauor of *Timoleon*, did separate them

E from the rest, when he was determined to plague them for their wicked desertes, fearing least good men should suffer hurt by punishing of the euill. And so was the grace & goodwill of the goddes wonderful towards *Timoleon*, not onely in matters against him, but in those things that prospered well with him. Notwithstanding, the common people of SYRACVSA tooke the ieasting wordes and writings of the tyrans against them, in maruelous euill part. For *Mamercus* amongest other, thinking well of him selfe, bicause he could make verses & tragedies, hauing in certen battels gotten the better hand of the straungers, which the SYRACVSANS gaue pay vnto, he gloried very much. And when he offred vp the targets he had gotten of them, in the tẽples of the goddes: he set vp also these cutting verses, in derision of them that were vanquished

F *With buckler so pol'd like, as might of sun a value were,*
we haue these geodly targets downe, so richly trymmed here,
All gorgeously wrought with golde and eke with Iuorie,
with purple cullers finely wrought, and deckt with Ebonie.

These thinges done, *Timoleon* led his armie before the citie of CALAVRIA, & *Icetes* there-

Timoleon banisheth the thowsand traytorous souldiers out of Sicile.

Gisco sent frõ Carthage with 70. saile into Sicile.

Messina riseth against Timoleon.

Mamercus verses, tyranne of Catana.

Calauria yeeldeth vnto him.

while entred the cõfines of the SYRACVSANS with a maine army,& caried away a maruelous great ſpoile. And after he had done great hurt, & ſpoiled the contry, he returned backe againe, & came by CALAVRIA, to deſpite *Timoleon*, knowing wel enough he had at that time but few men about him. *Timoleon* ſuffered him to paſſe by, but folowed him afterwards with his horſemen & lighteſt armed footemẽ. *Icetes* vnderſtanding that, paſſed ouer the riuer called DAMYRIAS, & ſo ſtaied on the other ſide as though he would fight, truſting to the ſwift rõning of the riuer, and the height of the bankes on either ſide of the ſame. Now the captaines of *Timoleons* bands fell out maruelouſly amongeſt them ſelues, ſtriuing for honor of this ſeruice, which was cauſe of delaying the battel. For none would willingly come behind, but euery man deſired to lead the vowarde, for honor to begin the charge: ſo as they could not agree for their going ouer, one thruſting another to get before his companion. Wherfore *Timoleon* fell to drawing of lots, which of them ſhould paſſe ouer firſt, & tooke a ring of euery one of them, and caſt them all within the lappe of his cloke: ſo rolling them together, by chaunce he pluckt one at the firſt, wheron was grauen the markes & tokens of a triumph. The young Captaines ſeeing that, gaue a ſhoute of ioy, & without tarying drawing of other lottes, they began euery man to paſſe the riuer as quickly as they could, & to ſet apõ the enemies as ſodainely. But they being not able to abide their force, ranne their wayes, and were faine to caſt their armor away to make more haſt: howbeit there were a thowſand of them lay dead in the feilde. And within few daies after, *Timoleon* leading his armie to the citie of the LEONTINES, tooke *Icetes* aliue there, with his ſonne *Eupolemus*, and the generall of his horſemen, who were deliuered into his hands by his owne ſouldiers. So *Icetes* & his ſonne were put to death, like the traitors & tyrannes: and ſo was *Euthydemus* alſo, who though he was a valliant ſouldier, had no better mercie ſhewed him, then the father & the ſonne, bicauſe they did burden him with certaine iniurious words he ſpake againſt the CORINTHIANS. For they ſay, that when the CORINTHIANS came firſt out of their contrie into SICILE to make wars againſt the tyrannes: that he making an oration before the LEONTINES, ſaid amõgeſt other things: that they ſhould not neede to be afraide, if

The vvomen of Corinthe vvere come out of their contrie.

Thus we ſee, that men do rather ſuffer hurt, then put vp iniurious words: & do pardone their enemies, though they reuenge by deds, bicauſe they can do no leſſe. But as for iniurious words, they ſeme to proceed of a deadly hate, & of a cancred malice. Furthermore, whẽ *Timoleon* was returned againe to SYRACVSA, the SYRACVSANS arrained the wiues of *Icetes*, and his ſonne, and their daughters: who being arrained, were alſo condemned to die by the iudgement of the people. Of al the actes *Timoleon* did, this of al other (in my opinion) was the fowleſt dede: for if he had liſted, he might haue ſaued the poore womẽ from death. But he paſſed not for them, & ſo left them to the wrath of the cittizens, who would be reuenged of them, for the iniuries that were done to *Dion*, after he had driuen out the tyranne *Dionyſius*. For it was *Icetes* that cauſed *Arete*, the wife of *Dion*, to be caſt into the ſea, his ſiſter *Ariſtomache*, and his ſonne that was yet a ſucking child, as we haue written in another place in the life of *Dion*. That done, he wẽt to CATANA againſt *Mamercus*, who taried him by the riuer of ABOLVS, where *Mamercus* was ouerthrowen in battel, & aboue two thowſand men ſlaine, the greateſt part wherof were the CARTHAGINIANS, whõ *Giſco* had ſent for his reliefe. Afterwards he graũted peace to the CARTHAGINIANS, vpon earneſt ſute made vnto him, with conditiõ, that they ſhould kepe on thother ſide of the riuer of LYCVS, & that it ſhould be lawful for any of thinhabitãts there that would, to come & dwel in the territory of the SYRACVSANS, & to bring away with thẽ their goodes, their wiues & their children: and furthermore, that from thenceforth the CARTHAGINIANS ſhould renounce al league, cõfederacy, & alliance with the tyrannes. Wherupon *Mamercus* hauing no hope of good ſucceſſe in his doings, he would goe into ITALYE to ſtir vp the LVCANIANS againſt *Timoleon*, and the SYRACVSANS. But they that were in his company, returned backe againe with their gallies in the myd ways: and when they were returned into SICILE, they deliuered vp the cittie of CATANA into the handes of *Timoleon*, ſo as *Mamercus* was conſtrained to ſaue him ſelfe, and to flye vnto MESSINA, to *Hippon* the tyranne thereof. But *Timoleon* followed him, and beſeged the cittie both by ſea and by lande. Whereat *Hippon* quaked for feare, and thought to flye by taking ſhippe, but he was taken ſtarting.

And

Damirias fl.

Strife among Timoleons captaines for paſſing ouer the riuer.

Timoleons deuiſe to draw lottes to pacifie the ſtrife.

Timoleon taketh Icetes, & Eupolemus his ſonne aliue, and did put them to death.

Icetes wiues and children put to death.

The crueltie of Icetes towards Dion and his.

Mamercus ouercome in battel.

Abolus fl.

Timoleon maketh peace with the Carthaginians.

Lycus fl.

Catana yelded vp vnto Timoleon.

Hippon the tyranne of Meſſina.

A And the MESSENIANS hauing him in their hands, made all the childrē come from the ſchole to the THEATER, to ſee one of the goodlieſt ſightes that they could deuiſe: to wit, to ſee the tyran puniſhed, who was openly whipped, & afterwards put to death. Now for *Mamercus*, he did yeld him ſelf vnto *Timoleon*, to be iudged by the SYRACVSANS, ſo that *Timoleon* might not be his accuſer. So he was brought vnto SYRACVSA, where he attempted to make an oration to the people, which he had premeditated long before. But ſeeing that the people cryed out, and made a great noyſe, bicauſe they would not heare him, and that there was no likelyhoode they would pardone him: he ranne ouerthwart the THEATER, and knocked his head as hard as he could driue, vpon one of the degrees whereon they ſate there to ſee the ſportes, thinking to haue daſhed out his braynes, & haue rid him ſelf ſodainely out of his paine. But he was not B happy to die ſo, for he was taken ſtraight being yet aliue, & put to death as theues & murderers are. Thus did *Timoleon* roote all tyrans out of SICILE, & make an end of all warres there. And wheras he found the whole ile, wilde, ſauage, & hated of the natural contrymen & inhabitants of the ſame, for the extreme calamities & miſeries they ſuffred: he brought it to be ſo ciuil, and ſo much deſired of ſtraungers, that they came farre & neare to dwell there, where the naturall inhabitants of the contry ſelfe before, were glad to flye and forſake it. For AGRIGENTVM, and GELA, two great cities, did witneſſe this, which after the warres of the ATHENIANS, had bene vtterly forſaken and deſtroyed by the CARTHAGINIANS, and were then inhabited againe. The one, by *Megellus* and *Pheriſtus*, two Captaines that came from ELEA: and the other by *Gorgos*, who came from the ile of CEO. And as nere as they could, they gathered againe toge- C ther the firſt auncient Citizens and inhabitants of the ſame: whom *Timoleon* did not onely aſſure of peace and ſafetie to liue there, to ſettle them quietly together: but willingly did helpe them beſides, with all other thinges neceſſary, to his vttermoſt meane and abilitie, for which they loued and honored him as their father and founder. And this his good ſoue & fauor, was common alſo to all other people of SICILE whatſoeuer. So that in all SICILE there was no truce taken in warres, nor lawes eſtabliſhed, nor landes deuided, nor inſtitucion of any policie or gouernment thought good or auayleable, if *Timoleons* deuiſe had not bene in it, as chiefe director of ſuch matters: which gaue him a ſingular grace to be acceptable to the goddes, and generally to be beloued of al mē. For in thoſe dayes, there were other famous men in GREECE, that did maruelous great thinges: amongeſt whom were theſe, *Timotheus*, *Ageſilaus*, *Pelopidas*, D and *Epaminondas*, which *Epaminondas* *Timoleon* ſought to follow in all thinges, as neare as he could, aboue any of them all. But in all the actions of theſe other great Captaines, their glorie was alway mingled with violence, payne, & labor: ſo as ſome of them haue bene touched with reproche, and other with repentaunce. Whereas contrarywiſe, in all *Timoleons* doinges (that onely excepted, which he was forced to doe to his brother) there was nothing but they might with trothe (as *Timæus* ſayd) proclayme the ſaying of *Sophocles*:

Oh mightie goddes of heauen, vvhat Venus ſtately dame,
or Cupid, (god) haue thus vput, their handes vnto this ſame?

And like as *Antimachus* verſes, and *Dionyſius* paynting, both COLOPHONIANS, are ful of ſynewes & ſtrength, & yet at this preſent we ſe they are things greatly labored, & trauelled with E much payne: & that contrariwiſe in *Nicomachus* tables, and *Homers* verſes, beſides the paſſing workmāſhip & ſingular grace in thē, a man findeth at the firſt ſight, that they were eaſily made, & without great payne. Euen ſo in like manner, whoſoeuer will compare the paynefull bloudy warres & battels of *Epaminondas*, & *Ageſilaus*, with the warres of *Timoleon*, in the which, beſides equitie & iuſtice, there is alſo great eaſe & quietnes: he ſhall finde, waying things indifferently, that they haue not bene fortunes doings ſimply, but that they came of a moſt noble & fortunat corage. Yet he him ſelf doth wiſely impute it vnto his good happe, & fauorable fortune. For in his letters he wrote vnto his familiar frendes at CORINTHE, & in ſome other oratiōs he made to the people of SYRACVSA: he ſpake it many times, that he thanked the almighty gods, that it had pleaſed thē to ſaue & deliuer SICILE from bondage, by his meanes & ſeruice, & to geue F him the honor & dignitie of the name. And hauing builded a temple in his houſe, he did dedicate it vnto fortune, & furthermore did conſecrate his whole houſe vnto her. For he dwelt in a houſe the SYRACVSANS kept for him & gaue him in recompence of the good ſeruice he had

Hippon put to death.

Mamercus the tyranne put to death.

Timoleō quieteth all Sicile.

Timoleon compared with the famouſeſt mē of Grece.

Timoleon attributeth his good ſucceſſe vnto fortune.

Timoleon dwelleth ſtill with the Syracuſans.

done them in the warres, with a maruelous faire pleasaunt house in the contrie also, where he kept most whē he was at leisur. For he neuer after returned vnto CORINTHE againe, but sent for his wife and children to come thither, and neuer delt afterwards with those troubles that fell out amongest the GREECIANS, nether did make him selfe to be enuied of the cittizens: (a mischiefe that most gouernors and captains do fal into, through their vnsatiable desire of honor & authoritie:) but liued al the rest of his life after in SICILE, reioycing for the great good he had done, and specially to see so many cities and thowsands of people happy by his meanes. But bicause it is an ordinary matter, and of necessitie, (as *Simonides* saith) that not only al larkes haue a tuft vpon their heades, but also that in all citties there be accusers, where the people rule: there were two of those at SYRACVSA, that continually made orations to the people, who did accuse *Timoleon*, the one called *Laphystius*, and the other *Demænetus*. So this *Laphystius* appointing *Timoleon* a certen day to come & aunswere to his accusation before the people, thinking to conuince him: the cittizens began to mutine, & wold not in any case suffer the day of adiornement to take place. But *Timoleon* did pacifie them, declaring vnto them, that he had taken all the extreame paines & labor he had done, and had passed so many daungers, bicause euery cittizen & inhabitant of SYRACVSA, might franckly vse the libertie of their lawes. And another time *Demænetus*, in open assembly of the people, reprouing many thinges *Timoleon* did when he was generall: *Timoleon* aunswered neuer a word, but onely said vnto the people, that he thanked the goddes they had graunted him the thing he had so oft requested of them in his praiers, which was, that he might once see the SYRACVSANS haue full power and libertie to say what they would. Now *Timoleon* in all mens opinion, had done the noblest actes that euer GREECIAN captaine did in his time, and had aboue deserued the fame and glory of al the noble exploytes, whiche the rethoricians with all their eloquent orations perswaded the GREECIANS vnto, in the open assemblies, and common feastes and plaies of GREECE, out of the which fortune deliuered him safe and sound before the trouble of the ciuill warres that folowed sone after: and moreouer he made a great proofe of his valliancie and knowledge in warres, against the barbarous people and tyrannes, and had shewed him selfe also a iust and merciful man vnto al his frendes, and generally to al the GREECIANS. And furthermore, seeing he wonne the most part of all his victories & triumphes, with out the sheading of any one teare of his men, or that any of them mourned by his meanes, and also ryd all SICILE of all the miseries and calamities raigning at that time, in lesse then eight yeeres space: he beyng nowe growen olde, his sight first beginning a litle to faile him, shortly after he lost it altogether. This happened, not through any cause or occasion of sickneesse that came vnto him, nor that fortune had casually done him that iniurie: but it was in my opinion, a disease inheritable to him by his parētes, which by time came to laie hold on him also. For the voyce wēt, that many of his kin in like case had also lost their sight, which by litle & litle with age, was cleane take from thē. Howbeit *Athanis* the Historiographer writeth, that during the warres he had against *Mamercus* & *Hippon*, as he was in his campe at MYLES, there came a white spott in his eyes, that dimmed his sight somwhat: so that euery man perceiued that he should lose his sight altogether. Notwithstanding that, he did not raise his seige, but continued his enterprise, vntill he tooke both the tyrans at last: & so soone as he returned to SYRACVSA againe, he did put him self out of his office of general, praying the citizens to accept that he had already done, the rather bicause things were brought to so good passe, as they them selues could desire. Now, that he paciently tooke this misfortune to be blind altogether, peraduenture men may somewhat maruel at it: but this much more is to be wondred at, that the SYRACVSANS after he was blind, did so much honor him, & acknowledge the good he had done thē, that they went them selues to visite him oft, and brought straungers (that were trauellers) to his house in the city, & also in the contry, to make them see their benefactor, reioycing and thinking thē selues happy, that he had chosē to end his life with thē, & that for this cause he had despised the glorious retorne that was prepared for him in GREECE, for the great & happy victories he had wōne in SICILE. But amongest many other thinges the SYRACVSANS did, & ordeyned to honor him with, this of all other me thinketh was the chiefest: that they made a perpetuall lawe, so oft as they should haue warres agaynst forreyne people, & not agaynst their owne contry men, that

Simonides saying.

Timoleons accusers.

Timoleons great praise.

Timoleon in his age lost his sight.

The great honor the Syracusans did Timoleon being blind.

A lawe made to honor Timoleon.

A that they ſhould euer chooſe a CORINTHIAN for their generall. It was a goodly thing alſo to ſee how they did honor him in the aſſemblies of their councell. For if any trifling matter fell in queſtion among them, they diſpatched it of them ſelues: but if it were a thing that required great counſaill and aduiſe, they cauſed *Timoleon* to be ſent for. So he was brought through the market place in his litter, into the Theater, where all the aſſembly of the people was, and caryed in euen ſo in his litter as he ſate: and then the people dyd all ſalute him with one voyce, and he them in lyke caſe. And after he had pawſed a while to heare the praiſes and bleſſinges the whole aſſembly gaue him, they dyd propounde the matter doubtfull to him, and he deliuered his opinion vpon the ſame: which being paſſed by the voyces of the people, his ſeruauntes caryed him backe againe in his litter through the Theater, and the citizens
B dyd wayte on him a litle way with cryes of ioye, and clapping of handes, and that done, they dyd repayre to diſpatche common cauſes by them ſelues, as they dyd before. So his olde age being thus entertayned with ſuche honour, and with the loue and good wyll of euery man, as of a common father to them al: in the ende a ſickneſſe tooke him by the backe, whereof he dyed. So the SYRACVSANS had a certen tyme appoynted them to prepare for his funeralles, & their neighbours alſo therabouts to come vnto it. By reaſō wherof his funeral was ſo much more honorably performed in al thinges, & ſpecially for that the people apoynted the nobleſt younge gentelmen of the citie to carrie his coffyn vpon their ſhoulders, rychely furniſhed and ſet forth, whereon his body laye, and ſo dyd conuey him through the place,
C where the Palyce and Caſtell of the tyranne *Dionyſius* had been, which then was raſed to the grounde. There accompanied his body alſo, many thowſandes of people, all crowned with garlandes of flowers, and apparreled in their beſt apparell: ſo as it ſeemed it had been the proceſſion of ſome ſolemne feaſt, and all their woordes were praiſinges and bleſſinges of the dead, with teares ronnyng downe their cheekes. which was a good teſtimonie they dyd not this as men that were glad to be diſcharged of the honor they dyd him, neither for that it was ſo ordayned: but for the iuſt ſorowe and griefe they tooke for his death, and for very hartie good loue they dyd beare him. And laſtly, the coffin being put vppon the ſtacke of wod where it ſhould be burnt, *Demetrius* one of the heralds that had the lowdeſt voyce, proclaymed the decree that was ordeined by the people, the effect whereof was this.
D The people of SYRACVSA hath ordained, that this preſent body of *Timoleon* CORINTHIAN, the ſonne of *Timodemus*, ſhould be buried at the charges of the common weale, vnto the ſumme of two hundred MINAS, & hath honored his memorie with playes and games of muſicke, with ronning of horſes, and with other exerciſes of the bodie, whiche ſhalbe celebrated yeerely on the day of his death for euermore: and this, bicauſe he dyd driue the tyrannes out of SICILE, for that he ouercame the barbarous people, and bicauſe he repleniſhed many great cities with inhabitantes againe, which the warres had left deſolate and vnhabited: & laſtly, for that he had reſtored the SICILIANS againe to their libertie, & to liue after their owne lawes. And afterwards, his tombe was built in the market place, about the which a certen time after, they builded
E certen cloyſters and gallaries to exerciſe the youth in, with exerciſe of their bodyes, and the places ſo walled in, was called *Timoleontium*: and ſo long as they dyd obſerue the lawes, and ciuill policie he eſtabliſhed amongeſt them, they liued long tyme in great continuall proſperitie.

The death of Timoleon.

Timoleons funeralles.

An honorable decree of the Syracuſians for the memorie of Timoleon.

Timoleons tombe built in the market place.

THE COMPARISON OF
Paulus Æmylius with Timoleon.

The cõpariſon of Timoleon and Paulus AEmylius for the warres.

SYthe theſe two men were ſuche as the Hiſtoriographers haue deſcribed them to be: it is certayne, that comparing the one with the other, we ſhall fynde no great oddes nor difference betweene them. For fyrſt of all, the warres they made, haue been agaynſt great and famous enemies: the one againſt the MACEDONIANS, and the other agaynſt the CARTHAGINIANS, and both their victories very notable. For the one of them conquered the realme of MACEDON, whiche he tooke from the ſeuenth kyng that raigned by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne, ſince the tyme of the great *Antigonus* and the other draue al the tyrannes out of SICILE, and reſtored the whole Ile & Cities therin, vnto their former libertie. Vnles ſome wil alledge perhappes that there was this difference betweene them, that *AEmylius* fought agaynſt kyng *Perſeus*, when he had all his power whole and entier, and had fought with the ROMANS many tymes before, and had the better of them in all conflictes: where *Timoleon* ſet vppon *Dionyſius*, when he was in greateſt diſpayre, and in maner vtterly caſt away. On the contrarie ſyde, it may be obiected for *Timoleon*, that he ouercame manie tyrannes, and a myghtie great armie of the CARTHAGINIANS, with a verie ſmall number of men, and yet men of all ſortes: not as *AEmylius* with a great armie of well trayned and expert ſouldiers in warres, but with men gathered togeather at aduenture of all ſortes, being mercenarie hierlings, and fighting men for paie, loſe people, and men vnruly in warres, that woulde doo but what they liſted. For where the goodly deeds are like, and the meanes vnequall: there we muſt confeſſe that the praiſe is due vnto the generall. Bothe the one and the other kept their handes cleane from corruption, in the charge which they tooke vpon them. But it ſeemeth that *AEmylius* came ſo facioned and prepared, by the good ciuill lawe, and moral diſciplyne of his countrie: and that *Timoleon* came rawly thither, and afterwards facioned him ſelfe to be that he was. And this is to be proued: for that al the ROMAINS in that time were ſo ciuilly brought vp, and exceeded al other in ſtraight keeping the lawes of their countrie. Where to the cõtrarie, there was not one of the captaines of the GREECIANS that came then, or were ſent into SICILE, but fell ſtraight to corruption, when he had put his foote in SICILE, *Dion* onely excepted: and yet they had a certaine ſuſpicion of him, that he aſpired to the kingdome, and imagined in his head to ſtabliſhe a certaine Empire at SIRACVSA, like vnto that of LACEDAEMON. TIMAEVS the Hiſtoriographer writeth, that the SIRACVSANS ſent *Gilippus* with ſhame backe againe into his countrie, for his vnſaciable greedy couetouſnes, and for his great theftes, and bribes taken in his charge. Diuers other haue alſo writtẽ the great treaſons & falſehoddes *Pharax* SPARTAN, & *Calippus* ATHENIAN did cõmit, both of them ſeeking to make them ſelues lordes of SIRACVSA: and yet what men were they, and what meanes had they to haue ſuche a fooliſhe vaine hope & fancie in their heades? Conſidering

A sidering that the one dyd folowe and serue *Dionysius*, after that he was driuen out of SIRACVSA: and the other also was but a priuate captaine of a bande of footemen, of those that came in with *Dion*. *Timoleon* in contrary maner was sent, to be generall of the SIRACVSANS, vpon their great instance and sute. And he hauing no neede to seeke or hunte after it, but onely to keepe the power and authoritie they dyd willingly put into his handes: so soone as he had destroyed and ouerthrowen all suche as woulde vniustly vsurpe the gouernment, he dyd immediately of his owne good wyll, franckly resigne vp his office and charge. And sure, so is this a notable thyng to be commended, and estemed in *Paulus AEmylius*: who hauing conquered so great and riche a realme, he neuer increased his goodes the value of one farthing, nether dyd see nor handle any mony at all, although he was very liberall, and gaue largely vnto others. I *The wōderful continencie of AEmylius from bribes.*

B meane not in speaking this to vpbrayde or detect *Timoleon*, for that he accepted a fayre house the SIRACVSANS gaue him in the citie, and a goodly mannor also in the countrie: for in such

C cases there is no dishonesty in receiuing, but so is it greater honesty to refuse, then to take. But that vertue is most rare and singuler, where we see they will receiue nor take nothing, though they haue iustly deserued it. And if it be so, that the body is stronger & better cōpoūded, which best abideth chaunge of parching heate, and nipping cold: and that the mynde is much more stronger and stable, that swelleth not vp with pride of prosperitie, nor drowpeth for sorowe in aduersitie. Then it appeareth, that *AEmylius* vertue was so much more perfect, in that he shewed him selfe of no lesse graue and constant a mynde, in the pacience he endured for his losse and sorowe happened vnto him: (losyng at one tyme in manner, both his children) then he had done before, in al his triumphe and greatest felicitie. VVhere *Timoleon* to the contrarye, hauing done a worthie act against his brother, could with no reasone suppresse the griefe and sorowe he felt: but ouercome with bitter griefe and repentaunce, continued the space of twentie yeeres togeather, and neuer durst once only shewe his face againe in the market place, nor deale any more in matters of the common weale. Truely, for a man to beware to doo euil, and to shonne from euil, it is a verie good and comely thyng: so also to be sorie, and a fearde of euerye reproche, and ill opinion of the worlde, it sheweth a simpleneſse of nature, and a good and well disposed minde, but no manly corage.

Not to take giftes, commended for a singuler vertue.

AEmylius Constancie far exceeded Timoleons.

The ende of Timoleons life.

THE LIFE OF *Pelopidas.*

To be to bold & vēturous is not good.

CAto the elder, aunſwered certaine on a time, that maruelouſly commended a bolde, a venturous, and deſperate man for the warres: that there was great oddes, to eſteeme manhodde ſo muche, and lyfe ſo litle. And ſurely it was wiſely ſpoken of him. The report goeth, that king *Antigonus* gaue paye to a ſouldier among other, that was very hardie and venturous, but he had a noughtie ſickly bodye. The king asked him one day, what he ayled to be ſo pale, and euill cullered? The ſouldier told him, he had a ſecret diſeaſe vpon him, that he might not tell him with reuerence. The king hearing him ſay ſo, commaunded his Phiſitions and Surgeons to looke to him, and if he were curable, that they ſhould heale him with all poſſible ſpeede: and ſo they dyd. After the ſouldier had his health againe, he would venter no more ſo deſperately in the warres, as he dyd before. Inſomuch, king *Antigonus* ſelfe perceiuing his ſlacknes, and drawing backe, rebuked him, and ſaid vnto him: that he wondred to ſee ſo great a chaunge and alteration in him. The ſouldier neuer ſhrinking at the matter, told him the troth plainely. Your ſelfe, and it pleaſe your maieſtie, is cauſe of my cowardlynes now, by healing my diſeaſe, that made my life lothſome to me. Much like were a SIBARITANS wordes, towching the life and manner of the LACEDÆMONIANS, That it was no maruaill they had ſuch a deſire to die in the warres, ſeeing they did it to ridde them ſelues of their troubles, and moſt miſerable and ſtraight life. But we muſt not wonder though the SYBARITANS, being womaniſh men, and altogeather geuen to pleaſure, did ſo thinke: that thoſe men hated their liues, who feared not death, for the deſire they had to doo good, and goodwill they had to doo their duetie. Which was contrarie in the LACEDÆMONIANS. For they were of opinion, that to liue and die willingly, was a vertue: as theſe funerall verſes doo witneſſe.

The aunſwere of a ſouldier to king Antigonus.

Diuers opinions of life & death.

The dead vvhich here doe reſt, did not in life eſteeme,
that life or death vvere (of them ſelues) or good or bad to deme.
But euen as life did end, or death vvas brought to paſſe,
ſo life or death, vvas good or bad, this their opinion vvas.

A B C D E F

And

A And in deede to flye death, is no ſhame, ſo it proceede not of a cowardly hart: nether to deſire death is commendable, if it be with contempt and hate of life. This is the reaſon why *Homer* ſaith, the valliantest men are euer best armed, when they come to battaile. The lawe makers among the GREECIANS, doo euer puniſhe him that caſtes away his target, but neuer him that caſteth away his ſworde or lawnce. For euery man muſt firſt thinke to defende him ſelfe, before he ſeeke to hurt his enimie, and ſpecially ſuch as haue the whole ſtate of a realme in their handes, and be generalles of the feeld. For if the compariſon be true, that *Iphicrates* the ATHENIAN captaine made, that in an armie of men, the light horſeme reſemble the handes, the men of armes the feete, the battaill of footemen the ſtomake & breſt, the captaine, the head of a mans body: it ſeemeth then, that the venturous captaine putting
B him ſelfe in daunger with out cauſe, is not onely careles of his owne life, but alſo of all theirs whoſe liues depende vpon his ſaftie. As contrarily, he being carefull of his owne perſon, cannot but be carefull of his ſouldiers that ſerue vnder him. Therefore *Callicratidas* a LACEDÆMONIAN captaine, and a woorthie man otherwiſe, did vnwiſely aunſwere a ſoothſaier that bad him take hede to him ſelfe: for the ſignes and tokens of the ſacrifices did threaten his death. *Sparta*, ſaid he, ſtandeth not vpon one man alone. It is true, that to fight by ſea or by land man for man, *Callicratidas* was but one man of him ſelfe: but as captaine or lieuetenaunt generall, he had the whole power and force of the armie in his perſon. For he was not a man alone, when ſo manie mens liues were loſt with his. Now olde *Antigonus* was of a contrary
C minde. For he being redie to geue battell by ſea, about the Ile of ANDROS, made a better aunſwer to one that ſaid vnto him: his enemies had moe ſhippes then him ſelfe. For how many ſhippes doeſt thou recken then my ſelfe, ſaid he? Therein he did wiſely to make great accompt of the worthines of a generall, ſpecially when it is ioyned with hardines, and experience. For the chiefeſt poynte of ſeruice, is to ſaue him, that ſaueth all other. For when *Chares* on a time ſhewed the ATHENIANS openly, the ſundrie woundes and cuttes he had receiued apō his body, & his target alſo thruſt through with many piks: *Timotheus* ſtraight ſaid vnto him, *Chares*, I am not of thy minde. For when I did beſege the citie of SAMOS, I was aſhamed to ſee a darte throwne from the walles, light hard by me, for that I ſhewed my ſelfe a raſhe young man, and more venturous then became a generall of ſo great an armie. For when it ſtandeth much apon the whole armie, and that it is neceſſarie the generall thereof doo put
D him ſelfe in daunger: then he ſhould put him ſelfe forwarde, and occupie both handes and body without reſpect, not regarding their wordes that ſay, a good wiſe captaine ſhoulde die for age, or at the leaſt old. But where there is ſmal honor to be woone by very good ſucceſſe, and contrariewiſe muche loſſe and diſtruction by great miſſortune: no man of wiſedome or iudgement would wiſh a generall, to fight as a priuate ſouldier, to hazard the loſſe of a generall. I thought good therefore to make this preface before the liues of *Pelopidas*, and of *Marcellus*, both which were woorthie men, and died otherwiſe then they ſhoulde. For they both were valliant ſouldiers in the fielde, and did both of them honor their contrie with famous victories, and ſpecially againſt great and dreadfull enemies. For the one was the firſt (as they
E ſaie) that ouerthrewe *Hanniball*, who was neuer ouercome by any before. And the other alſo ouercame the LACEDÆMONIANS in battell, that ruled al GREECE at that time both by ſea and by land. Yet they both careleſly loſt their liues, by venturing to boldely: when their contrie ſtoode in greateſt neede of ſuche men and captaines, as they were. This is the cauſe, why we folowing the reſemblaunce that was betweene them, haue compared their liues together. *Pelopidas*, the ſonne of *Hippoclus*, came of one of the nobleſt houſes of the citie of THEBES, as *Epaminondas* did. He being brought vp in great wealth, his father left him heire of all his landes and goodes, being but a young man. So he ſtraight ſhewed him ſelfe willing to doo good with his monie, to thoſe that needed helpe, and were worthie: to let the worlde ſee, that his monie was not his maiſter. For as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, of theſe rich men, the moſt part of them do not vſe their goods, for extreame couetouſnes: other againe doo abuſe them, as
F being geuen to ouermuche pleaſures. So riche men became ſlaues all their life time, ſome to pleaſure, other to profit. Now, al *Pelopidas* other frendes woulde be beholding to him, and take very thanckfully his curteſie and liberalitie towardes them. But *Epaminondas* could neuer

why the Greecians do punish him that casteth away his target.

Iphicrates comparison of an armie of men.

A lieutenant of an armie must be careful to saue himselfe.

Timotheus saying.

Pelopidas & Marcellus lost both their liues, by to much venturing.

Pelopidas stock & liberalitie.

Aristotles saying of rich men.

be brought to any thing at his handes. Howbeit *Pelopidas* ſelfe folowed *Epaminondas* maner A
for he tooke a pride and pleaſure to goe ſimply appareled, to fare meanely, to labor willingly,
and to make warres openly as he did. He was euen ſuch another, as *Euripides* the Poet deſcri-
bed *Capaneus* to be: when he ſaid of him:

He rich and vvelthie vvas, yet vvas he therevvithall,
no vvight that purchaſt vvorldly hate, nor inſolent at all.

For he would haue been aſhamed, that the pooreſt man of the cittie of THEBES, ſhoulde
haue worne meaner apparell apon his backe, then himſelfe. As for *Epaminondas*, his po-
uertie was not daintie to him, bicauſe his parentes were euer poore: and yet for all that he
paſſed it ouer more eaſely, by ſtudie of Philoſophie, which he gaue him ſelfe vnto, and for that
from his youth he liked to leade a ſpare life without exceſſe. Where *Pelopidas* matched B
in a noble houſe, and maryed highly, and had two children by his wife: neuertheleſſe he had
no minde to keepe or increaſe his goodes the more for that, but gaue him ſelfe altogeather to
ſerue the common weale as long as he liued. By reaſon whereof his wealth decaied, and his
beſt frendes grewe angrie with him, telling him how he did not well to make no more recko-
ning of a thing that was ſo neceſſarie, as to haue goodes. And he aunſwered them: In dede
they are neceſſarie, I doo confeſſe it, but yet for ſuche a one, as this poore, lame, and blynd
man that ſtandeth by. They both were a like borne to all vertue, ſauing that *Pelopidas* tooke
moſt pleaſure in exerciſe of his body and ſtrength, and *Epaminondas* in the exerciſe of his
wit and learning. So as the paſtyme eche of them tooke when they were at leaſure, was, that
the one delighted to wraſtle, and to hunte, and liked any kinde of exerciſe of his body: and C
the other to heare, to ſtudie, and alwaies to learne ſome thing of Philoſophie. But among
all the excellent giftes and good partes in either of them, and that moſt wanne them honor
and eſtimation in the world, they were onely commended, and ſingulerly noted of wiſe men,
for the perfect loue and frendſhippe that was euer inuyolably kept betwene them, vntil their
deathes: hauing been ioyned togeather in ſo many battels, warres, charges of armies, and
otherwiſe in matters of ſtate and gouernment. For if a man will conſider, and looke into the
doinges of *Ariſtides*, *Themiſtocles*, and *Cimon*, of *Pericles*, *Nicias*, and *Alcibiades*, how full
of diſſentions, enuies, & ſuſpicions they were one againſt another in gouerning the common
weale: and againe will conſider the loue, honour, and kindneſſe, that continued alwaies
betwext *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*: no doubt they will ſaie theſe two are more worthie to be D
called brethren in warre, (as they ſaie) and companions in gouernment, then any of them we
haue named before, whoſe care and ſtudie was alwaies rather to ouercome one another, then
to ouercome their enemies, and the onely cauſe thereof was their vertue. For their actes
ſhewed they did not ſeeke glorie, nor riches for them ſelues (the couetouſnes whereof doth
allwaies breede quarrelles and enuy) but both of them from the beginning fell one in loue
with an other, with a great kindenes and eſtimation of them ſelues, to ſee their contrie flo-
riſhe, and growe to great honor through their ſeruice, and in their time: and ſo they recko-
ned all the good exployes both of the one and the other, that tended to that ende, as their
owne. The moſt part of writers thinke, this great and earneſt loue thone did beare to an o-
ther, did growe firſt betwene them, in a iorney they made togeathet vnto MANTINIA, to E
ayde the LACEDÆMONIANS, that were at that time confederates of the THEBANS. For
they being both ſet in battell raye, one hard by another among the footmen, againſt the
Arcadians that ſtoode before them: it fortuned that the point of the battell of the LACEDÆ-
MONIANS in the which they were, gaue backe, and many of them ranne away. But they
determyning to die rather then to flye, ſtoode cloſe together, and fought with the enemies
that came apon them: vntyll ſuch time as *Pelopidas* being hurt in ſeuen places before, fell
downe at the laſt vpon a heape of dead bodies, aſwell of their owne ſouldiers, as of their ene-
mies, euen one apon an other. Then *Epaminondas* thinking he had ben ſlaine, ſtept notwith-
ſtanding before him to defend his body & armor, & he alone fought againſt many, being wil-
ling to die, rather then to forſake *Pelopidas* lying amongeſt the dead bodies: vntyl him ſelfe F
being thruſt into the breſt with a pyke, and ſore cut on his arme with a ſwoorde, was euen
ready to geue ouer, when *Ageſipolis* (king of the LACEDÆMONIANS,) came with the other

poynt

Pelopidas ſaying for the neceſſitie of monie.

The perfit frendshippe betwixt Pelopidas & Epaminondas.

The true cauſe of frendshippe.

Ageſipolis, king of the Lacedæmonians.

A point of the battell in happie howre, who ſaued both their liues paſt all hope. Now after this battell, the LACEDÆMONIANS both in wordes and deedes did curteouſly intreate the THEBANS, as their frendes, and confederates. Notwithſtanding, in troth they beganne to feare the power and great corage of that cittie, and ſpecially the faction and aſſociates *Iſmenias* & *Androclidas* had ſet vp, whereof *Pelopidas* alſo was a cõpanion: bicauſe they thought it was populer, and inclined muche to deſire libertie. VVhereupon *Archias*, *Leontidas*, and *Philip*, al three great welthie men of the cittie of THEBES, and miſliking to be equall with other cittizens: did perſwade *Phœbidas*, a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that going and comming through the contrie of BOEOTIA with an armie, he would one day aſſaie to take the caſtell of THEBES called CADMEA, and driuing thoſe out of the cittie that would reſiſt him, he would
B put the gouernment of the ſtate into the hands of a fewe of the nobleſt perſones, who would be at the deuotion of the LACEDÆMONIANS, & obey them in all thinges. *Phœbidas* brought it to paſſe, and did worcke his feate before the THEBANS miſtruſted any thing, apon a holy day called THESMOPHORIA. After he had wonne the caſtell, he apprehended *Iſmenias*, and ſent him to LACEDÆMON, where ſhortly after they put him to death. *Pelopidas*, *Pherenicus*, and *Androclidas*, with many other, ſaued them ſelues by flying, and were baniſhed THEBES by ſounde of Trompet. *Epaminondas* taried ſtil in THEBES, and no man tutched him, for they made ſmall accompt of him, bicauſe he was altogether geuen to his booke: and though his goodwill had ſerued him to haue done ſome feate, his pouertie made him vnable to doo any thing. The LACEDÆMONIANS vnderſtanding of the taking of the caſtel, did ſtraight put
C *Phœbidas* out of his charge, and ſet a fine of a hundred thowſand DRACHMES apon his head: but yet they kept ſtill the caſtell of CADMEA in their handes with a great garriſon. All the other cities and people of GREECE did wonder much at it, that they ſhould allowe the fact, and puniſhe notwithſtanding the doer. So the THEBANS hauing loſt their auncient libertie, and being made ſubiect by both theſe, *Archias*, and *Leontidas*, ſo as all hope was taken from them euer to winde out of this tyrannie, or at any time to ouerthrowe it, ſeing it was maintained and defended by the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that they coulde not poſſibly take from them all the ſeigniorie and dominion they had throughout GREECE, aſwell by ſea as by lande: *Leontidas* and his followers notwithſtanding, when they vnderſtoode that they who were baniſhed frõ THEBES, were very wel receiued & entertained of the people at ATHENS,
D and much made of alſo of the nobilitie, they ſought ſecretly by treaſon to haue them kylled. To do this feate, they ſent certaine men vnknowen vnto ATHENS, who by treaſon ſlue *Androclidas*, howbeit they miſſed the kylling of the other. Furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS wrote to the ATHENIANS, that they ſhould not receiue ſuche as were baniſhed from THEBES, nor that they ſhoulde fauor them, but driue them out of their cittie, as thoſe which by their allyes were Iuſtly proclaimed common enemies. The ATHENIANS notwithſtanding, being men alwaies ciuilly geuen, and inclined in nature to humanitie, as being borne and bred vp withall, and very deſyrous beſides to requite the THEBANS curteſy, who had bene the chiefeſt meanes and doers in reſtoring againe the populer ſtate and gouernment at ATHENS: they would by no meanes offer the THEBANS any ſuch iniurie, ſeing they had
E ſtabliſhed a lawe and decree, that if any ATHENIAN paſſing to and fro through the contrie of BOEOTIA, did beare armor againſt the thirtie tyrannes, that were gouernors and oppreſſors of the libertie of ATHENS, there ſhould no BOEOTIAN ſeeme to ſee, or knowe any thing therof. In the meane time *Pelopidas*, though he were of the younger ſort, did procure ſtill euery one that was baniſhed, to ſeeke the libertie of his contrie, and openly made an oration to them all, declaring, that it were not onely a cowardly part, but alſo a wicked offence to the goddes, if they would ſuffer their contrie to remaine ſo in cõtinuall bondage, & ſtraungers to inhabite it with a garriſon, to make them ſubiect to the yoke: and they in the meane time to be contẽted to ſaue thẽ ſelues, to liue delicately and idely at ATHENS, to ſtudie to doe what ſhal pleaſe the ATHENIANS to commaund thẽ, & to be affraide of the orators, & thoſe which through
F eloquence can perſwade the common people to doo what they luſt. Therefore he perſwaded them that they ſhould hazard all, being a matter of ſo great weight, and take example of *Thraſybulus* noble corage and hardynes: who departing from THEBES, did driue out the ty-

Cadmea, the caſtel of Thebes, taken by Phœbidas captaine of the Lacedæmonians.

Ismenias death.

Pelopidas, Pherenicus and Androclidas, baniſhed from Thebes.

Archias and Leontidas, gouernors of Thebes, vnder the Lacedæmonians.

Androclidas ſlayne.

The thanckfulnes of the Athenians vnto the Thebans.

Pelopidas counſel for the libertie of the Thebans.

rannes that did oppresse ATHENS: and euen so, we departing from ATHENS, should seeke to deliuer *Thebes* also from bōdage. When he had by these persuasions drawen them to his opinion, they secretely sent vnto their frendes that remayned still in THEBES, to let them vnderstand their minde and determination: who all lyked very well of their purpose. Insomuche, CHARON that was the chiefest man among them, promised to lende them his house to assemble in. *Philidas* also founde meanes to be secretarie to *Philip* and *Archias*, who were gouerners & captaines of the city at that time for the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Epaminondas* on the other side making no shewe of any thing, had of longe time practised to styrre vp the corage of the younge men of THEBES. For when they were at any games or exercises of bodye, he woulde euer procure them to wrastle with the LACEDÆMONIANS. And after he sawe them reioyce when they had cast them, and that they were the stronger: he would chide them & tell them they might be ashamed, for lacke of corage, to suffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to hold their noses to the gryndstone, that were nothing like to them in strength. Now, the confederates appointed a day certen, to breake the ise of their pretended enterprise, & agreed that *Pherenicus*, with other that were banished, shoulde tarie at the village of THRIASIVM, and that they should sende the valliaunteſt and lusteſt young men before, to geue the venter to enter the cittie: adding this therewithall, that if the enemies fortuned to surprise them, all the other of the conspiracie ioyntly togeather, should be ready to geue order, that their fathers, mothers, and children, should lacke nothing necessarie for them. *Pelopidas* was the first man offered him selfe to vndertake the enterprise: & after him *Melon*, *Damoclidas*, & *Theopompus*, all three, men of the greateſt houses of THEBES, who loued maruelously togeather, and for no respect would euer offend one another, although from the beginning there was euer emulation among them for honor & glory, by striuing who should exceede other in vertue & valliantnes. Now they were twelue of them, who taking leaue of the reſt, sent a foote post before to *Charon*, to aduertise him of their comming: and they them selues went on their iorney casting litle short clokes apon them, and taking houndes with them, and hunters staues in their handes, bicause their enterprise should not be mistrusted by those that met them on the way, and that they should thinke them hunters vp and downe the feildes for their pleasure. So, whē their messenger they sent came to the cittie, and had tolde *Charon* that they were comming: he neuer shronke from his worde, though the daunger towarde was great, but like a stowt and honeſt man did abide by his promise he made, and tolde him they should be most hartely welcom to his house. But another man called *Hippostheneidas*, very honeſt otherwise, & one that loued his contry and the preseruation thereof, and a good frend of those also that were banished: fainting straight apon the sodaine report of these newes, and his minde was troubled, and his hart fayled him so, as his nose fell a bleeding, to thinke apon the greatnes of the instant daunger he was like to fal into, hauing neuer cast before with him selfe, how by this enterprise they shoulde put all the empire of the LACEDÆMONIANS in hazard of vtter destruction, and laye a plat besides to ouerthrowe all their owne common weale and state, by laying al their hope apon a fewe banished men, hardly able to wade through with their enterprise. Whereupon, so sone as he was come home, he secretly dispatched a messenger, one of his familliar frends, vnto *Melon* & *Pelopidas*, to will them they should deferre their enterprise for better oportunitie, & so to returne backe again to ATHENS. *Chlidon* was the man he sent of this message, who presently went home to his house: and taking his horse out of the stable, bad his wife fetche him the brydell quickly. The brydell not being readily to be founde, she told him she had lent it out to one of their neighbours. Then they fell a chiding togeather about it, and at length brake out to fowle wordes, and lastely his wife fell a cursing of him, and prayed the goddes he might haue ill lucke in his iorney, and those that sent him: *Chlidon* hauing spent the most part of the day, chiding and brawling with his wife about the brydell, and furthermore misliking the tokens of his wiues cursing and banning of him: he determined not to goe a foote out of the dores of that arrant, and so went about some other busines. Thus had this noble enterprise in manner bene altogeather dashed, before it was fully begonne. Now those that were in *Pelopidas* companie, chaunged apparell with the conttie men, bicause they woulde not be knowen, and did deuide them selues, for that they would not come into the cittie ill

Conspiracie against the Lacedæmonians, for the libertie of Thebes.

Charon kept promise, with daunger of life.

Pelopidas cōmeth into Thebes disgised in cloynes apparel.

togeather

A together, but at diuers gates, beinge day light. At that time it was a meruelous winde and great snowe, and the weather was so boysterous, that euery man got him within dores: which fell out happily for the conspirators, that they were not knowen when they came into the cittie. So their frendes and confederates within the citie receaued them as they came, and brought them to *Charons* house: where were assembled together, with those that were banished, eight and forty persones only. Now for the tyrans, thus stoode the matter with them. *Philidas* their secretary was of the conspiracy, as we haue told you before, and he knewe all the practise. Wherefore he had longe before solemnely bidden *Archias* and his companie, to supper to his house that verie night, to be mery together, & had promised to entertaine them with women to welcome them with all: of purpose, that when they had in their full cuppes, and were in the middest of all their
B pleasure, the conspirators might then vse them as they woulde. So they beinge sette at table, before they were sped of their cuppes, one came to them, and told them truely of the treason (not the particularities, neither as a thinge certaine, but of a rumor onely that ranne abroade in the towne) howe the banished men were hidden in *Charons* house. *Philidas* woulde haue passed the matter ouer. Howbeit *Archias* would nedes sende one of his garde straight for *Charon*, to commaunde him to come to him presently. It was within night, and *Pelopidas* and his company prepared themselues to worke their feate, being armed euery man, and their swords in their hands, when apon a sodaine they heard one knocke at the gate. And one of the house runninge straight to the gate, came backe againe afearde to tell them that it was one of *Archias* garde that came for *Charon*, to come immediatly to the gouernours. Then were they in doubt that their practise
C was discouered, & that they were all cast away, before they coulde make any proofe of their valiantnes: notwithstanding, they were all of opinion, that *Charon* should obey the message, & that he should present himselfe before the gouernors, to take away all suspition from them. *Charon* of him selfe was a stout man, very constant, & resolute in daunger for his owne persone: yet it greued him much at that time, for feare the confederates shoulde suspect him he hadde bewrayed the, if so many honest citizens whom he had lent his house vnto, should vnfortunately miscarie. Therefore before he went out of his house, he went into his wiues chamber to fetch his sonne, that was a goodly boy, but strong as any boy of his age could be: so he brought him to *Pelopidas*, and prayed him, if he vnderstoode that he had betrayed them any way, or otherwise had sought their hurt, they shoulde then vse his sonne as an enemie, without any compassion towardes him.
D When the cõfederates saw the good zeale & true noble mind of *Charon*, they all fell a weping, and were angrie with him, that he should thinke any of them so faint harted, or timerous, for any daunger coulde come to them, that they shoulde suspect or accuse him for any thinge: and therewith all they prayed him, not to leaue the boye with them, but rather to conuey him into some place out of the tyrans daunger, where he might be brought vp, that one day he might be reuenged of the wrong & iniurie they had done to them, and to their contrie. *Charon* aunswered them, he woulde not take him away, & that he saw no life nor health more happy for him, then to dye with his father without infamy, and with so many honest men his frends. So after he had besought the goddes to prosper them, and hadde encouraged and embraced euerie one of the confederators one after an other: He went to the gouernors, and studied by the way so to frame
E his wordes and countenance, as though he shoulde seeme to thinke of any thinge else, then of that he purposed to do. When he came to *Philidas* dore that made the feast, *Archias* and *Philidas* him selfe came vnto him, and asked him: *Charon*, what are they (sayd they) that are come into the city, and hidden in some house, with certaine citizens that do accompany them? *Charon* was somewhat abashed at the first, and asked them againe: what men be they? who are they that hides them in the citie? But when he perceiued that *Archias* coulde tell nothinge of certaintie, then he thought straight that some man hadde informed them that was not priuie to the practise, but hadde hearde some thinge of it. Thereupon he willed them to take heede it was no false alarome, to make them afrayed: neuertheless (sayd he) I will enquire further of it: for at all aduenture it is good to be circumspect in such a case to be sure. *Philidas* aunswered him,
F he said truely: and so he brought *Archias* backe againe into the hall, where he made him drinke deeper then before, still entertaining the company with hope of the womens comming. *Charon* returning home againe, found all the cõfederats ready to attẽpt their enterprise, not as men that

Philidas secretary to the tyrans.

Pelopidas daunger.

reckened of their liues,nor that had any hope to preuaile: but as thoſe that were determined to dye valliantly, and to ſell their liues dearly. Now he truely tolde vnto *Pelopidas* onely, what was ſaid vnto him & the reſt:he told that *Archias* had ſent for him to ſpeake with him, of other matters. The ſtorme of the former daunger was ſcant blowen ouer, but fortune ſent them an other. For immediatly vppon talke had with *Charon* at the firſt,came a meſſenger from ATHENS, that brought a letter to the ſame *Archias*,written by the Biſhop of ATHENS at that time,called *Archias* alſo as him ſelfe,& was his old hoſte & frende:wherein he wrote not of ſimple coniecture, nor ſurmiſed ſuſpition,but the plaine conſpiracy in euery degree,as afterwards it fell out. So the meſſenger was brought to *Archias* that was dronke, and deliueringe him the letter,he ſaid vnto him. Sir,he that ſendeth you this letter,ſtraightly charged me to tel you,that you ſhould preſently read the contents thereof,becauſe it is a matter of great importance. *Archias* laughing ſayd vnto him:waighty matters to morow. So he tooke the letter and put it vp,& then fell againe to his tale he had begonne with *Philidas*. But euer after, the GREECIANS made this a common prouerbe among them:waighty matters to morrow. Now when the cõſpirators ſpied their time to go about their buſineſſe,they deuided them ſelues in two companies. *Pelopidas* and *Damocli-das* went with one company,to ſette vpon *Leontidas* and *Hypates*,becauſe they dwelt nere together: *Charon* and *Melon* with the reſt,went againſt *Archias* and *Philip*, beinge diſguiſed in womens apparell they had put vpon their priuy cotes,& wearing garlands of pyne apple and fyrre trees on their heads,that couered all their faces. So when they came to ſhew them ſelues at the hall dore where the bancket was made,they that were in the hall at the firſt ſight,thinking they had beene the women they looked for, beganne to ſhowte,and made great noyſe for ioye. But when the conſpirators caſt their eyes rounde about the hall to knowe thoſe which were at the table,they drew out their ſwordes,and ſet vppon *Archias* and *Philip* ouerthwart the table:then they ſhewed them ſelues what they were. Then *Phidias* bad his gueſtes he hadde bidden to the bancket with them,that they ſhoulde not ſtirre, for they ſhoulde haue no hurt:ſo ſome of them ſate ſtill. But the greateſt nomber of them woulde needes from the borde, to defende their gouernours. Howebeit bicauſe they were ſo dronke that they knewe not what they did,they were ſoone ſlaine with them. Now *Pelopidas* enterpriſe was not ſo eaſie. For they went againſt *Leontidas*,that was a ſober diſcrete man,and withall,hardy of his handes:and they found he was gone to bed,his dores were ſhut vp,and they knocked long before any man came to the dore. At the length,one of his men that hearde them rappe ſo hard,with much a do came to open the dore: but he had no ſooner thruſt backe the bolt of the dore,and beganne to open it,but they puſhed it from them with ſuch a force apon him altogether, that they layed him on the grounde, and went ſtraight to his maiſters chamber. *Leontidas* hearinge the noyſe of them that ranne vppe to him in ſuch haſt,preſently miſtruſted the matter:and leaping out of his bed,tooke his ſworde in his hande, but did forget to put out the lampes that burned in his chamber all night, for if they hadde beene out, they might eaſily haue hurt one an other in the darke. But the lampes giuinge cleare light in the chamber, he went to the chamber dore, and gaue *Cephiſodorus*, the firſt man that preſſed to enter apon him,ſuch a blowe with his ſword,that he dropped downe dead at his feete. Hauinge ſlaine the firſt man, he dealt with the ſeconde that came after him,and that was *Pelopidas*. The fight went hard betwene them two, bothe for that the chamber dore was vetie ſtraight,as alſo for that *Cephiſodorus* body lying on the ground,did choke the comming in at the chamber. Notwithſtandinge, *Pelopidas* ouercame him in the ende, and ſlue him:and went from thence with his companie, ſtraight to *Hypates* houſe, where they got in, as they did into *Leontidas* houſe before. But *Hypates* knewe preſently what it was, and thought to ſaue him ſelfe in his neighbours houſes. Howbeit the conſpirators followed him ſo harde,that they cutte him of before he coulde recouer their houſes. Then they gathered together, and ioyned with *Melons* company, and ſent immediatly with all poſſible ſpeede to ATHENS, to the baniſhed THEBANS there,& cried through the city,liberty,liberty,arming thoſe citizens that came to them,with the armor & ſpoyles of their enemies,that were hanged vp in common vawtes,& armorers ſhops about *Charons* houſe, which they brake open, or cauſed to be opened by force. On the other ſide,*Epaminondas*,and *Gorgidas*,came to ioyne with them,with a company of young men & honeſt olde men well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Hereupon, the whole citie

was

Archias Biſhop of Athẽs, bewraieth the treaſon to Archias in a letter.

Waighty matters to morrow. Prou. Pelopidas killeth the tyrans.

The liberty of the Thebans reſtored.

A was straight in an vprore & tumult, & euery house was full of lights, one running to an other to know what the matter was. Neuertheles the people did not yet assemble together, but euery one being amazed, musing at this stur, not vnderstāding the troth, staied vntill day came on, that they might call a counsell. But truely herein, me thinkes the Captaines of the garrison of the LACEDÆMONIANS were greatly in fault, that they did not sturre betimes, & set vpon thē incontinently: consideringe they were xv. hundred souldiers, besides a great number of citizens that would haue come, one after an other to take their partes. But the great noyse they heard, made them afeard, & to see lights in euery mans house, & the people running vp & down the streets in great multitudes to & fro: wherupon they stirred not, but only kept thē within the castel of CADMEA. The next morninge by breake of day, came the other banished THEBANS from ATHENS very
B wel armed, & al the people of THEBES drew together in counsail. Thither did *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* bring *Pelopidas*, & his cōsorts, & presented thē before the people, cōpassed about with priests & the professed of the city, offering them crownes to put vpon their heads, & they praied the assembly of the citizens, that they would help their gods, & their contrie. Al the people that were present, whē they saw them, rose vp, & stoode on their feete, & with great showtes & clapping of hands receiued thē, as their sauiours, that had deliuered their contry frō bondage, & restored them again to liberty: & therupon, before them al, euen in the market place, by the whole voice & consent of the people, they chose *Pelopidas*, *Melon*, & *Charon*, gouernors & captaines of all BOEOTIA. *Pelopidas* then immediatly made them besiege the castell of CADMEA about, with trenches, & force of wod, doing al he could possible to winne it, & to expulse the LACEDÆMO-
C NIANS, before any supply & aide came to them frō SPARTA. So he did, & preuēted it so sodainly, that the garrison being departed out of the castel by cōposition, as they returned towards LACEDÆMONIA, they found *Cleombrotus* king of SPARTA in the contry of MEGARA, comming towards thē with a great army to help thē. Afterward, of the three captaines which had charge of their garrison that lay at THEBES, the SPARTANS condēned two of them to death: *Hermippidas*, & *Arcissius*, were presently executed: & the third captaine, *Dysacoridas*, they set so greeuous a fyne on his head, that he wēt out of PELOPONESVS. This enterprise being attēpted, & executed with the like valiantnes, & the same daūger & trouble, that *Thrasybulus* practise was, whē he deliuered ATHENS from the slauery of the thirty gouernors & tyrans, & hauing the like fortune, & happy ende: the GRÆCIANS termed it cosyn german to *Thrasybulus* act. And in deede it were a harde
D matter to find two other such, besides thē two, that with so few mē ouercame their enemies, being many moe in nōber then thē selues, or that with so small help did ouercome those that were of so great force, or that performed their enterprise with their only valiantnes & wisedō, & were cause besides of so great blessing & benefit to their contry, as *Pelopidas* & *Thrasybulus* attēpt was. But the great chaūge & alteracion of the state afterwards, did make their actes farre more noble & famous. For the warre that ouerthrew the maiestie of SPARTA, & that tooke away al the seigniorie & rule of the LACEDÆMONIANS bothe by sea & by land, beganne the very same night, when *Pelopidas* him self making the twelut person, & entring into a priuate house, (taking nether citie, nor castel, nor stronge hold) to tel truly by figuratiue speach, did breake & cut in sonder the linkes & chaynes that lincked straight together, & strēgthened the LACEDÆMONIANS whole
E empire & monarchie ouer al GREECE: who vntil that presēt time were thought so strong, as no possibilitie could breake or sonder them. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS fortuning afterwards to inuade the cōtry of BOEOTIA with a mighty army: the ATHENIANS trēbling for feare of their great power, did vtterly leaue to protect thē, & renownced the league & alliance they had made before with them. And moreouer, they did straightly prosecute law against those, that were accused to take part with the BOEOTIANS: wherof some of thē were put to death, other were banished from ATHENS, & the rest condēned in great summes of money. To be short, euery man sayd the THEBANS were but vndone, considering they had no help, & were beloued besides of none. At that presēt time it fel out *Pelopidas* & *Gorgidas* were generals ouer al BOEOTIA for that yere, who deuising to throw a bone betwixt the ATHENIANS & the LACEDÆMONIANS again,
F to make thē square, they vsed this policie. There was a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS called *Sphodrias*, a valliāt mā, but else of smal capacity, & vainly giuē, hauing a certē fond ambitiō & humor, perswading him selfe he had done some notable good seruice in his time. This *Sphodrias* was left in the city of THESPIES, with a great band of souldiers, to receaue & fauor al the BOEO-

Pelopidas receiueth the Castell of Cadmea by composition.

Pelopidas ouerthrewe the seigniorie of the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas policy to make the Athenians fall out againe with the Lacedæmonians.

TIANS, that had a minde to reuolte frō the THEBANS. *Pelopidas* of him ſelfe ſent a marchaunt, (a very frende of his) vnto *Sphodrias*, with a great ſome of money from him; and certaine perſwaſions withall, which preuailed more then the money, wiſhinge him to attempt ſome greater matter, & to ſeke to winne the hauen of PIRAEA: a thing ſoone wonne, if he came to aſſault it on the ſodaine, & the rather, for that the ATHENIANS miſtruſte nothinge, neither keepe watch nor ward there. Moreouer, that he might aſſure him ſelfe, nothinge coulde be better welcome to the lords of LACEDÆMONIA, thē to make them lords of the city of ATHENS alſo. And againe, that the THEBANS, being at deadly foode with the ATHENIANS, for that they had betraied & forſake them in their nede, would not aide nor ſuccor thē in any reſpect. *Sphodrias* giuing to light eare to this vaine perſwaſion, tooke the ſouldiers he had with him, and marching away by night, entred the realme of ATTICA, & wēt on to the city of ELEVSIN: but whē he came thither, his ſouldiers were afeard, & would go no further. So his purpoſe beinge diſcouered, he was forced to returne backe to THESPIES, hauing raiſed ſuch a warre to the LACEDÆMONIANS, as fel out to be of no ſmall importance to them, nor eaſie to be pacified. For after that time, the ATHENIANS ſought league & amity againe with the THEBANS, & did aide them very louingly: & moreouer, putting them ſelues to ſea, they ſailed vp & downe, procuring & drawing to their league all ſuch, as were willing to rebell againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS: & the THEBANS beſides, had many prety ſkirmiſhes with the LACEDÆMONIANS in the meane time, in their own cōtry of BOEOTIA. It is true they came to no great battels, but yet it was ſuch a great learning & cōtinual training of them in marſhall diſcipline, as the THEBANS ſtil increaſed in corage & valliantnes, & waxed ſtronger & better ſouldiers: for by thoſe skirmiſhes they grewe not onely expert ſouldiers, but waxed more skilfull in vſing their weapons, then before. As we read, that *Antalcidas* a SPARTAN ſaid one day to king *Ageſilaus*, cōminge home ſore hurt frō BOEOTIA: ſurely the THEBANS haue giuen you a worthy reward, for teaching thē to be ſouldiours againſt their wils. But to ſay truly, *Ageſilaus* was not their maiſter to teache thē to make wars, but they were the good & wiſe leaders of the THEBANS, who like good wod mē in chooſing their game, could skilfully chooſe both time & place to giue their enemies battel, & make thē retire again with ſafety, after they had bin fleſhed, giuing thē a litle taſt of the frutes & cōmodity of victory: but among thē, *Pelopidas* was he that deſerued moſt honor and glory. For, ſince the firſt time they gaue him charge of men of warre, they neuer failed, but choſe him continually euery yeare, either Captaine of the holy bande, or gouernor of BOEOTIA ſo long as he liued: ſo that *Pelopidas* only did the moſt things in this warre. The LACEDÆMONIANS were ouerthrowē in ſundry iorneis, that they were diſtreſſed by the cities of PLATEES, & of THESPIES, where *Phœbidas* himſelfe (that had before taken the caſtell of CADMEA) was ſlaine amongſt other. An other great power of theirs alſo was ouerthrowen nere to the city of TANAGRA, where *Panthoidas* gouernor of the ſame, was alſo ſlaine. Now all theſe victories, though they much encoraged the hearts of the conquerors, & made thē hardy: yet did they not therby altogether cōquer the mindes of thē vanquiſhed. For the LACEDÆMONIANS were not ouercome in any pitched field, nor ſet battel, where they had their whole army together: but they were light rodes, & skirmiſhes properly laid of purpoſe, where ſomtime flying, ſomtime driuing thē againe, they bickered very oft, & put thē to the worſt. But the battell of TEGYRA, which was but a floriſh & profe to the iourney of LEVCTRES, wan *Pelopidas* great honor. For he had no cōpaniō to chalēge any part of his glory & victory, neither did he leaue his enemies any lawful excuſe, to ſhadow or couer their ouerthrow. For he ſpied al occaſiō he might poſſible, how to take the city of ORCHOMENE, that tooke part with the LACEDÆMONIANS, and had receiued two enſignes of footemen of theirs to kepe it. *Pelopidas* being aduertiſed one day, that the garriſon of ORCHOMENE was gone abroad to make a rode into the contrey of the LOCRIDES, hoping he ſhuld finde ORCHOMENE without garriſon: he marched thither with his holy band, & certaine nūber of horſemē. But whē he drew neere the city, he had intelligēce there was another garriſon cōming frō SPARTA, to ſupply the place of the garriſon that was abroad: wherupō he returned backe againe by the city of TEGYRA, for he could haue paſſed no other way, but to haue turned down by the foote of the moūtaine. For al the valley that lay betwen both, was drowned with the ouerflowing of the riuer of MELAS, which euē frō his very hed carieth euer ſuch bredth with it, as it maketh the mariſhes nauigable, ſo as it is vnpaſſable for any ſhallow it hath. Not far frō theſe mariſhes, ſtādeth the tēple of *Apollo* TEGYRIAN, where was an oracle in old time, but left of at this

The Thebans exerciſe in armes.

Antalcidas ſaying to king Ageſilaus.

The victory of the Thebans againſt the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas victory of the Laced.æmonians at the battaile of Tegyra.

Melas fl.

this day, & had neuer long continuance, but only vntill the time of the warres of the MEDES, when *Echecrates* was maister and chiefe priest there. And some holde opinion, that *Apollo* was borne there: for they cal the next mountaine to it, DELOS, at the foote whereof the marishes of the riuer of MELAS doo end; and behinde the temple are two goodly springes, from whence commeth great aboundance of good sweete water: whereof the one of them is called to this day the Palme, and the other the Oliue. And some say also, that the goddesse *Latona* was not brought to bed betwene two trees, but betwene these two springes. For mowntill ROMA is hard by it also, from whence the wilde bore came on a sodaine that slighted her. And the tale that is tolde of the serpent *Pytho*, and of the gyaunt *Tityus*, doo both confirme it, that *Apollo* was borne in the same place. I passe ouer manie other coniectures confirming the same, for that we doo not beleue in oure contrie that *Apollo* is among the nomber of those, who from mortall menne haue bene translated to immortall goddes; as are *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, that through the excellencie of their vertue, did put of mortalitie, and tooke immortality apon them: but we rather take him for one of those that neuer had beginninge nor generation, at the least if those thinges be to be credited, which so many graue and auncient writers haue left in writing to vs, touching so great and holy things. The THEBANS returning backe from ORCHOMENE, and the LACEDÆMONIANS on the other side returning also from LOCRIDE, both at one time, they fortuned both armies to mete about the citty of TEGYRA. Now, so sone as the THEBANS had discouered the LACEDÆMONIANS passing the straite, one of them ranne sodainely to *Pelopidas*, and tolde him: Sir, we are fallen into the handes of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Nay, are not they rather fallen into ours, answered *Pelopidas* againe? with these wordes, he commaunded his horsemen that were in the rereward, to come before, and sett apon them: and him selfe in the meane time put his footemen immediately into a pretie squadron close togeather, being in all, not aboue three hundred men, hoping when he should come to geue charge with his battell, he should make a lane through the enemies, though they were the greater nomber. For the LACEDÆMONIANS deuided them selues in two companies, and euery company, as *Ephorus* writeth, had fiue hundred men: and as *Callistenes* sayed, seuen hundred. *Polybius*, and diuers other authors saye, they were nyne hundred men. So, *Theopompus* and *Gargoleon*, the Captaynes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, lustely marched agaynst the THEBANS: and it fell out so, that the first charge was geuen, where the chiefe taynes or generalles were of either side, with great furie on eyther parte, so as both the generalls of the LACEDÆMONIANS which set vppon *Pelopidas* together, were slayne. They being slayne, and all that were about them, being either hurt or killed in the fielde: the rest of the armie were so amased, that they deuided in two, and made a lane on either side, for the THEBANS to passe through them if they would. But when they saw *Pelopidas* mene not to take the passage they offered him, and that he came on still with his men to set apon those that were yet in battel raye, and slue all them that stoode before him: then they turned tayle, and tooke them to their legges. Howbeit the THEBANS did not chase them farre, fearing the ORCHOMENIANS who were not farre from them, and the new garison besides, that were come from LACEDÆMON not long before. And this was the cause they were contented that they had ouercomed them by force, and had passed through their armie in despite of them, and broken and ouerthrowen them. So when he had set vp markes of triumphe, and spoyled their slayne enemies, they returned home againe, glad men for their obteyned victorie. For in all the warres the LACEDÆMONIANS euer made, aswell with the GREKIANS, as with the barbarous people also, there was neuer chronicle mencioned at any tyme, that their enemies being so fewe, did ouercome them that were so many, nor that they were ouercome also by any number equall in battell. Whereuppon they grewe so coragious and terrible, that no man durst once abyde them: for their onely fame did so terrifie their enemies that came to fight agaynst them, that they thought with no equall force to be able to performe asmuche as they had done. But this battell of TEGYRA was the first that made both them and the other GREKIANS knowe, that it was not the ryuer of EVROTAS alone, nor the valley that lyeth betweene the ryuers of GNACION, and of BARYCES, that breedeth the valiant and hardy fighting men: but that it is in all places else, where they learne young

Latona brought to bed betwene two springes: called the Palme, and the Olive.

Pelopidas victorie.

What enemies are moste terrible & to be feared.

men to be ashamed of dishoneſt and vyle thinges, and to venter their liues for honeſt cauſes, fearing more diſhonorable reproche, then honorable daunger. Theſe are the people moſt to be feared, & are moſt terrible alſo to their enemies. And for the holy bād we mēcioned before, it is ſaide, *Gorgidas* was the firſt erector of the ſame. They were three hundred choſen men entertained by the ſtate, and they alwaies kept within the caſtell of CADMEA, and the bande was called the townes bande: for at that time, and ſpecially in that part of GREECE, they called the caſtels and great holdes in citties, the townes. Other ſay it was a bande of footemen that were in loue one with another. And therefore *Pammenes* pleaſaunt wordes are noted, ſaiyng, that *Neſtor* coulde no skyll to ſet an armie in battell raye, ſeeing he gaue the GREECIANS counſell, in the ILIADES of HOMER, that they ſhould ſet them in battel raye, euery countrie and tribe by them ſelues.

The firſt inſtitution of the holie bande.

That by affections force, and lynkes of kyndly loue:
that one might alwaiſe helpe at hande, that other to behoue.

Men louing together, fight deſperately againſt their enemeis.

For, ſaide he, one frende ſhould rather be ſet by another that loues togeather: bicauſe in daunger, men commonly do litle regarde their contrie men, or ſuche as are of their tribe. But men that doo loue one another, can neuer be broken nor ouercome: for the paſſion of loue that entertaineth eche others affection, for affection ſake, dothe kepe them from forſaking one another. And thoſe that are beloued, being aſhamed to doo any vyle or diſhoneſt thing before thoſe that loue them, for very loue will ſticke one by another to the death. And ſure the reaſon is good, if it be true that louers doo in deede more regard them they loue, though they be abſent: then other that be preſent. As appeareth by the example of hym, that being ſtriken downe to the ground, his enemie lifting vp his ſwoorde to kyll him, he praied him he woulde geue him his deathes wounde before, leſt his frende that loued him, ſeeing a wounde on his backe, ſhoulde be aſhamed of him. It is reported alſo, that *Iolaus* being beloued of *Hercules*, did helpe and accompanie him in all his labors and quarrels. Whereupon *Ariſtotle* writeth, that vnto his time, ſuch as loued hartily togeather, became ſworne brethren one to another, apon *Iolaus* tombe. And therefore me thinkes it is likely, that this bande was firſt called the holy bande, by the ſelfe ſame reaſon that *Plato* calleth a louer, a diuine frende by goddes appointment. It is written alſo, that this bande was neuer broken, nor ouerthrowen, before the battel of CHAERONEA: After that battel, *Philip* taking vewe of the ſlaine bodies, he ſtayed in that place where the foure hundred men of that bande laye all dead on the grounde, one harde by another, and all of them ſlayne and thruſt through with pikes on their breſtes, whereat he wondred muche: and being tolde him that it was the louers bande, he fel a weeping for pittie, ſaying. Wo be to them that thinke theſe men did, or ſuffered any euyll or diſhoneſt thing. And to be ſhort, the miſfortune of *Laius*, that was ſlaine by his owne brother *Oedipus*, was not the firſt originall cauſe of this cuſtome, that the THEBANS beganne to be in loue one with an other as the POETS write: but they were their firſt lawmakers, who perceiuing them to be a ſtout & fierce natiō of nature, they ſought euen frō their youthe to make them gentell and ciuill, and therefore in all their actions both of ſport and earneſt, they continually acquainted them with playing of the flute, beinge highly eſtemed of them in thoſe dayes. They brought in the vſe alſo to make loue, in the middeſt of all their youthefull ſportes & exerciſes of their bodies, to frame the young mens manners, and to bring them to a ciuil lyfe. And therfore they had reaſō that gaue the goddeſſe HARMONIA to the THEBANS, for defender and patroneſſe of their cittie, who was begotten (as they ſay) betwene *Mars* and *Venus*. For that geueth vs to vnderſtande, that where force and warlike corage is ioyned with grace, to winne and perſwade: all thinges by this vnion and accorde are brought, to a goodly, proffitable, and moſt perfect gouernment. Now, to returne againe to the matter of this holy bande of the THEBANS. *Gorgidas* deuiding it in the former ranckes, and placing it all alongeſt the fronte of the battell of the footemen, it did not appeare what they were able to doo of them ſelues, for that he brought them not all into one body: ſo as thereby they might ſee what ſeruice the whole companie coulde doo, being togeather, conſidering that it was deuided and mingled amongeſt manie other, that were a great deale of leſſe value then them ſelues. But *Pelopidas* that had made good proofe of their valliauntnes before, when they fought

Hercules & Iolaus loue.

Platoes ſaying of a louer.

The Goddeſſe Harmonia.

about

A about him of them ſelues, without others by them, at THEGYRA: woulde neuer after deuide nor ſeperat them one frō the other, but keeping them together as one entier body that had al his members, he would alwaies beginne with them to geue a charge, in his moſt daungerous battels. For, as we ſee in running of coches at games, that horſes being tyed all together in a fronte, doo runne faſter and ſtronger, then they doo when they are loſe, and put to it alone: and not for that they being many togeather doo breake through the ayer better, but for that the contention and enuy betweene them to outronne one another doth in dede ſet their hartes and ſtomakes a fyre. Euen ſo he thought, that valliaunt men geuing one another a deſire and enuie to doo well, ſhoulde haue the more corage, and woulde be of greater force, when they fought one in anothers ſight. But the LACEDÆMONIANS afterwardes being
B at peace and leagne with all the other GREECIANS, proclaymed open warres againſt the THEBANS onely: and kyng *Cleombrotus* went to inuade them with an army of tenne thowſande footemen, and a thowſande horſemen. Wherupon, the THEBANS were not only in the like daunger they ſtoode in before to loſe their libertie, but the LACEDÆMONIANS did openly threaten they would vtterly deſtroy them for euer: ſo that all the contrie of BOEOTIA ſtoode in greater feare, then euer they did before. And one day as *Pelopidas* went out of his houſe to goe to the warres, his wife bringing him out of the doores to take her leaue of him, weeping, ſhe praied him hartely to looke well to him ſelfe. But he aunſwered her againe: my good wife, it is for priuate ſouldiers to be carefull of them ſelues, but not for captaines, for they muſt haue an eye to ſaue others liues. And when he came to the campe, he
C founde the captaines and the Lieuetenantes of the armie, in ſundrie opinions: and he was the firſt that agreed with *Epaminondas* opinion, who thought it beſt they ſhoulde geue battell to the enemies. *Pelopidas* at that time was neither gouernor of BOEOTIA, nor generall of the armie, but onely captaine of the holy bande: notwithſtanding they had great affiance in him, & gaue him great authoritie in coūſaile concerning their affaiers: ſuch as became a man that had made ſo good teſtimonie of his naturall loue & affection to his contrie, as he had done. Now, being determined in counſaile that they ſhoulde geue the enemie battell, they all muſtred together in the valley of LEVCTRES, where he had a viſion in his dreame, that troubled him verie muche. In that valley there are the tombes of the daughters of one *Scedaſius*, whiche by reaſon of the place, they call the LEVCTRIDES, for that they were
D buried there, after they had bene defyled and rauiſhed, by certaine gueſtes of the SPARTANS that laye in their houſe, trauayling that way. This act being ſo horrible and wicked, the poore father of theſe defiled virgines, coulde neither haue iuſtice, nor reuenge of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and therefore after he had bande and curſed the LACEDÆMONIANS with moſt horrible and execrable raylinges and curſes as might be poſſible, he kylled him ſelfe vpon the graues of his daughters. The LACEDÆMONIANS had many ſundrie oracles, prophecies & ſignes of the goddes to warne them, to take heede of the wrathe of the LEVCTRIDES: howbeit euerie man vnderſtoode not the ſignification of this prophecie, but were deceiued by the equiuocation of the name. For there was a litle towne in the contrie of LACONIA, ſtanding apon the ſea, called LEVCTRVM: and in ARCADIA alſo by
E the cittie of MEGALIPOLIS, there was another towne called by the ſame name. This miſfortune chaunced longe before the battell of LEVCTRES: but then *Pelopidas* dreaming in his tente, thought he ſawe in a viſion the daughters of *Scedaſius* weeping about their graues, and curſing the LACEDÆMONIANS: and that he ſawe their father alſo, commaunding him to ſacrifice a red mayden to his daughters, if they woulde obtaine the victorie. This commaundement at the firſt, ſeemed verie cruel and wicked: whereuppon when he roſe, he went to the Prognoſticators and generalles of the armie, and tolde them his dreame. So, ſome of them ſaide, this was no matter to be lightly paſſed ouer, but to be conſidered of, alledging manie examples in the like caſes. As of *Menecius* the ſonne of *Creon* in olde time, and of *Macaria* the daughter of *Hercules*. And yet of later memorie, the wife *Phereclydes*, whome the
F LACEDÆMONIANS ſlue, and whoſe ſkynne their kynges doo keepe at this daye, by commaundement of an oracle. And *Leonidas*, who following a prophecie of the goddes, did as it were ſacrifice him ſelfe, for the ſafetie of GREECE. And furthermore, the younge boyes

Cleombrotus king of the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas princely aunſweare.

See what plagues folowe where iuſtice is denied.

Pelopidas dreame & viſion in the fieldes of Leuctres.

which *Themistocles* did sacrifice to *Bacchus Omestes* (to say, eating rawe flesh) before the battell of *Salamina*. And all these sacrifices were acceptable to the goddes, as the victories following did plainely shewe it. In contrarie manner also king *Agesilaus*, comming from those very places, from whence king *Agamemnon* came in the time of the warres of *Troia*, and going also against the same enemies: dreamed one night in the cittie of AVLIDE, he sawe the goddesse *Diana*, asking him his daughter for sacrifice. But he tenderly louing her, would by no meanes perfourme it: and thereupon was compelled to breake of his iorney, before he had executed his enterprise, and departed with small honor. Other to the contrarie stoode to it stowtely, and saide it was not to be done. For, so cruell, abhominable, and brutish a sacrifice, could not be acceptable to any of the goddes, nor to any god, better or mightier then ours: considering that they be no impressions in the ayre, nor gyants that rule the world, but the one onely mightie & eternal, God, father of gods, & men. And, to beleue that either goddes or demy goddes doo delite in murder, or sheading of mans blood, it is a meere mockery and folly. But, admit it were so, they were no more to be regarded therein, then those that haue no power at all: for it is a manifest token of a wicked spirite, when they haue suche damnable and horrible desires in them, and specially if they abide styll with them. Now, the generalles and heads of the armie of the THEBANS being of sondry opinions, & *Pelopidas* being more afraid then before, by reason of their disagreement: a young mare colte, or fyllie, breaking by chaunce from other mares ronning and flynging through the campe, came to staye right against them. Then euery man beganne to looke apon her, and to marke what a faire fyllie it was, and red colored euery where, and what a pride she tooke with her selfe to heare her owne neying. *Theocritus* then the soothesayer being amongest them, did beholde her, and knew straight what the fyllie ment, and so cried out foorthwith: O happie *Pelopidas*, loe here is the sacrifice thou lookest for, seeke no other virgine for thy sacrifice, but take this that God him selfe doth send thee. When *Theocritus* had saide so, they tooke the fyllie, and laide her apon the tombe of *Scedasus* dawghters, and put garlandes of flowers about her, as they handled other sacrifices: and then after their praiers made to the gods, they did sacrifice her with great ioye, and told *Pelopidas* vision in his dreame the night before through all the campe, and the sacrifice they had made also according to the signification thereof. Moreouer, when they came to ioyne battell, *Epaminondas* being generall, drew all his army on the left hande, bicause he woulde bring the right winge of the enemies army (where they had placed the naturall SPARTANS) further from the other GREECIANS their frendes and allyes, that were set in the other wing of their battell: that he comming with his whole power together to geue a charge vppon *Cleombrotus* their king (being in a corner by him selfe) might be distressed or ouerthrowen. The enemies fynding *Pelopidas* intent, beganne to chaunge their order, and hauing meane nowe, ment to thruste out their ryght winge at length to compasse in *Epaminondas*. But, *Pelopidas* in the meane time sodainely preuented them, and ronning with great furie with his squadron of three hundred men, he set apon *Cleombrotus* before he coulde disorder his men to put furth the right winge, and ioyne them together againe. And so he founde the LACEDÆMONIANS not yet setled in their rankes, and brake them in this disorder, thrusting one in anothers place to put them selues againe in order: notwithstanding the LACEDÆMONIANS of all other men were the only captaines and most expert souldiers in marshall discipline, as men so trained and practised, that no sodaine altering, of forme or order in their rankes, coulde either trouble or disorder them. For they were men so trained, that they could turne head or side vpon any sodaine occasion offered, and coulde fight and order them selues in battell euery way alike. So *Epaminondas* going to geue thonset apon them alone, with the whole force of his battaile togeather, not tarrying for others: and *Pelopidas* also with an incredible corage and readines, presenting him selfe in battell before them, did put them into such a terrible feare, that they cleane forgotte their skill in fightinge, and their wonted courage fayled them. For they cowardly turned their backes, and their were moe LACEDAEMONIANS slaine that day then euer were before in any former battell. *Pelopidas* therefore, being neither gouernor of BOEOTIA, nor general of all the army, but onely captaine of the holy band: did notwithstanding winne as muche honor and glorie of this victorie, as *Epaminondas*, that

Agesilaus dreame.

Godly sayings concerning God.

Gods prouidence and sodaine ayde.

The silly slaine & sacrificed.

The battell at Leuctres.

The cause of the ouerthrow of the Lacedaemonians.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas victorie, at the battaile of Leuctres.

was

A was gouernor of Boeotia, and generall of all the armie. In dede afterwardes they were both gouernors of Boeotia together, when they inuaded the contrey of Peloponnesvs: where they made moſt parte of the cities & people rebell againſt the Lacedæmonians, and take their parte. As the Elians, the Argives, and all Arcadia, and the beſt parte of Laconia ſelfe, notwithſtandinge it was in the hart of winter, and in the ſhorteſt dayes of the yeare, and towardes the latter ende alſo of the laſt moneth of their yeares authority and rule, hauing not many dayes to cõtinew in office, being forced to leaue their authority, apon paine of death if they did refuſe, vnto other officers new choſen, the beginning of the next moneth following. Whereupon their other companions, & gouernors alſo of the contrie of Boeotia, what for feare to incurre the daunger of the lawe, as alſo to auoyde the trouble to lye in campe in the B ſharpeſt of winter: they did vrge and perſwade them to bring the armie backe againe into their contrie. But *Pelopidas* was the firſt that yeelded to *Epaminondas* opinion, and wanne the other Thebans alſo to conſent vnto it, to be contented to be led by them, to geue aſſault to the city ſelfe of Sparta. So, through their perſwaſion they paſſed ouer the riuer of Evrotas, and tooke many litle townes of the Lacedaemonians, & waſted & deſtroyed all the contrie to the ſea ſide, leading vnder their enſignes an armie of threeſcore and ten thowſande fightinge men, and all Greecians, the Thebans not making vp the twelut parte of them. Now, the honor and great reputacion of theſe two perſones, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, brought their frendes and confederates, that they followed them, without any reſolution of counſell or publike order, and neuer opened their mouthes againſt them, but willingly marched vnder their C conduction. And in my opinion, truely me thinkes it is the firſt and chiefeſt point in the lawe of nature, that he that is weake, not able to defend himſelfe, ſhould leane to one that is ſtrong, and able to defende bothe. Euen much like to freſhe water ſouldiers, and rawe ſea men, that lying at ſea in calme weather, & in ſafe harber, are as luſty & bragge with the maſters & boteſwaines as may be: and let a litle ſtorme of weather come apon them ſodainely, and that they be in any daunger, then they looke on the maſters, hoping for no life but at their handes. And euen in like maner the Elians and Argives, who though in all aſſemblies of counſel they woulde euer iarre and ſtriue with the Thebans, for honor and ſuperioritie in the armie: yet when any battell came to be fought, wherin they ſaw there was daunger, then their pecockes brauerie was gone, and they were glad to obey their generalles commaundement. In this D iourney they brought all the cities of the prouince of Arcadia to be in league with them, and tooke all the contrie of Messenia from the Lacedaemonians, which they peaceably enioyed: and called home againe all the auncient inhabitantes of the ſame, and reſtored them to their contrie, and repleniſhed the citie of Ithome: Then returninge afterwardes into their contrie by the citie of Cenchrees, they ouerthrew the Athenians that came to trouble them, in entringe into the ſtraight of Peloponnesvs, ſuppoſinge to haue ſtopped their paſſage. Thus was the valliantnes of theſe two worthy men greatly commended and honored of euery body, for ſo many notable exployts & victories as they had wonne, and their maruelous good ſucceſſe greatly wondered at. But as their glory and renowne increaſed abroade, ſo did their contrie mens malice and enuie encreaſe againſt them at home: who had E prepared ſuch a welcome home for them, as was to bad and vile for ſo honorable ſeruice as they had done. For *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* bothe, at their returne, were accuſed of treaſon. For there was a ſpeciall law at Thebes, that commaũded all ſuch as ſhould happen to be gouernors of Boeotia, to reſigne their office immediatly to the new officers elect, at the beginning of the firſt moneth of the yeare, which in Boeotia they call Bovcation: and they had kept it foure whole moneths aboue their tearme appointed, in which time they had done all that we haue ſpokẽ of before, as well in the prouince of Messenia & of Arcadia, as alſo in the contrie of Laconia. *Pelopidas* was the firſt of the two that was called in by proceſſe, therfore he ſtoode in the greater daũger: howbeit in the end, they were both diſcharged again. As for *Epaminondas*, he tooke his accuſatiõ & the attempt of his enemies (wherby they ſought to F haue caſt them both away) quietly enough: Iudging, that pacience to thoſe that deale in ſtate and gouernment, is a great ſhew of force & magnanimitie. But *Pelopidas* being of a hotter nature, and more chollericke, and ſet on beſides by ſome of his friendes, did take this occaſion to

Pelopidas & Epaminondas iorney into Peloponeſus, being both gouerners of Boeotia.

A penall lawe at Thebes, for reſigning vp of offices at the yeers end.

Pelopidas & Epaminondas went ouer the riuer of Eurotas, with 70. thowſand mẽ.

The ingratitude of the Thebans, toward Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

The Lawe Boucation.

Epaminondas pacience.

Pelopidas condemneth Meneclidas, a seditious orator and accuser.

be reuenged. *Meneclidas* the orator was one of those that came into *Charons* house with *Pelopidas*, and *Melon*, but notwithstandinge the THEBANS did nothing honor him, as they did the rest. He taking this ill at their handes, being maruelous eloquent of speeche, but vitiously geuen otherwayes, and a man of a vile and mischieuous nature: did fondly abuse his eloquence, falsely accusinge those that were his betters, in honesty and credit. And not beinge contented with this first accusation, he practised so commonly, that he put *Epaminondas* one yeare from being gouernor of BOEOTIA, which he sued for: and moreouer he was euer against him in all matters of state he tooke in hande. But he coulde neuer bring *Pelopidas* out of fauour with the people: and therefore he sought to make bate betwixt him and *Charon*. For it is the common tricke of all spitefull persones, when they can not be thought so honest men as those whome they enuie: to go about to proue that they are not so honest and meete men, as those whome they preferre and commende. So, in all his orations he made to the people, he continually extolled and commended *Charons* noble actes and victories, and specially that victory aboue other, which the THEBANS wanne before the iorney of LEVCTRES, in a skirmish of horsemen, that was before the city of PLATEES, he hauinge charge of the same: of the which he woulde leaue this memory. *Androcydes* a CYZICENIAN and painter, was at a price with the THEBANS to painte them some other battell in a table, and he did drawe this worke in the citie selfe of THEBES: but as he was in hand with all, the rebellion of the THEBANS fell out against the LACEDAEMONIANS, and warre followed on the necke of that, whereuppon the painter forsooke THEBES, leauinge his worke in manner done and perfitte. The THEBANS kept this table by them, and this *Meneclidas* moued the people they woulde hange it vp in some temple or publicke place with an inscription apon it, sayinge thus. This was *Charons* victorie, of purpose to deface and obscure the glorie of *Pelopidas* and of *Epaminondas*. To vaine and fond was his ambition, to set before so many noble battells and victories, one simple ouerthrowe of *Charon*, in the which *Gerandas*, one of the meanest gentlemen of all SPARTA was slayne, and forty other with him: & this was all he did. *Pelopidas* misliked *Meneclidas* motion, maintaining that it was directly against the lawes of THEBES, which did expresly forbid that no priuate person should be honored with the title of common victorie, but willed the glory thereof should be attributed to all the people generally. In dede *Pelopidas* in all his orations did greatly praise and commend *Charon*, notwithstandinge, he made open proofe, howe *Meneclidas* was an enuious and spitefull detractor, and a naughty wicked man, oftentimes askinge the THEBANS, if they themselues were worthy of no honor? so as in the end he caused *Meneclidas* to be condemned in a great summe of money. But he finding him selfe vnable to pay it, beinge so great a summe: practised afterwardes to alter the whole state and gouernment. I thought good to dilate this at large, bicause me thinkes it doth somewhat declare *Pelopidas* nature, and maners, what they were. Now about that time, *Alexander*, the tyran of PHERES, was at open warres with many people of THESSALIE, and did vse all policie he coulde, to bringe them all to his obedience. Whereupon the free cities sent their Ambassadors vnto THEBES, to pray them to send them a captaine, with an armie to aide them. Then *Pelopidas* seeinge *Epaminondas* occupied about the warres of PELOPONNESVS, did offer himselfe to the THESSALIAN Ambassadors, beinge lothe to drowne his experience and sufficiency in warres, with vnprofitable and tedious idlenes, knowing that in those partes where *Epaminondas* lay, there neded no other captaine. Now when he came with his armie into THESSALIE the citie of LARISSA yelded presently vnto him: where the tyran *Alexander* came to mete with him, and to pray him to treate a peace betwixt him and the THESSALIANS. *Pelopidas* attempted to bring it to passe, seeking in steade of a tyran, to make him a gentle, iust, and lawefull gouernor of THESSALIE. But when he saw no perswasions could take place with the tyran, and that he grewe more stubborne and vntractable, and woulde not heare reason: and moreouer that he heard many greuous complaintes of his great cruelties, and how they accused him to be a maruelous dissolute and vnruly person in all his doinges, and extreamely couetous besides: then he beganne to speake roundly to him, and to handle him roughly. But the tyran thereupon stole away secretely from him, and fled with his gard and souldiers about him. So *Pelopidas* leauinge the THESSALIANS out of all feare and daunger of the tyran, and furthermore in good peace and amity one with the other,

The practise of spitefull men.

Our forefathers did paint and set forth their battailes.

Alexander the tyran of Pheres.

Larissa, a city.

A B C D E F

ther,

A ther, he went into MACEDON: where *Ptolomy* made warre at that time with *Alexander*, beinge kinge of MACEDON, they bothe hauing ſent for him to heare and determine the quarrell betwixt them, and alſo to helpe him that had the right, againſt him that did the wrong. So when he came thither, he pacified them bothe, and reſtored the baniſhed men of either ſide, to their landes and goodes againe. For aſſurance of the peace, he tooke the kinges brother in oſtage, whoſe name was *Philip*, and thirtie other children of the nobleſt mens ſonnes of MACEDON, whom he brought away with him to THEBES, to let the GREECIANS ſee, that the reputacion of the THEBANS power ſtretched farre, & the renowne alſo of their manner of gouernment and iuſtice. It is the ſame *Philip*, that made warre afterwardes with the GREECIANS, to take their libertie frō them: howbeit being but a boy at that time, he was brought vp at THE-

B BES in *Pammenes* houſe. And this is the cauſe, why ſome thought *Philip* did followe *Epaminondas* manner: and it might be paraduenture, he did learne of him to be quicke and ready in the warres, which in deede was but a peece of *Epaminondas* vertue. But as to the continency, iuſtice, magnanimitie, and clemencie, which were the ſpeciall pointes that made *Epaminondas* of great fame: *Philip* coulde neither by nature, education, nor ſtudie euer attaine vnto. The THESSALIANS hauinge ſent afterwardes to THEBES, to complaine of *Alexander* the tyran of PHERES, that did againe moleſt and trouble the free cities of THESSALIE: *Pelopidas* was ſent thither Ambaſſador with *Iſmenias*, carying no power with him frō THEBES, litle thinking he ſhoulde haue needed to haue made warres: whereupon he was compelled to take men of the contrie ſelfe, vppon the inſtant neceſſitie offered. At the very ſame time alſo, all MACEDON

C was vp in armes. For *Ptolomy* had ſlaine the king, and vſurped the kingdom, and the ſeruaunts and frendes of the dead king called vpon *Pelopidas* for aide: who deſiring to come euen vppon the fact, and hauing brought no men of warre out of his owne contrie with him, did preſently leauie certaine men where he was, and ſo marched forward with them againſt *Ptolomy*. Nowe *Ptolomy* when bothe their powers met, did corrupt the ſouldiers *Pelopidas* had brought with money, to take his parte. But notwithſtandinge this policy he had practiſed, yet he was afeard of the name onely, and greatnes of *Pelopidas* reputacion: wherefore he went vnto *Pelopidas*, as to a better man than him ſelfe, and making maruelous much of him, and intreating of him, he made promiſe, and bounde it by othe, that he would keepe the realme for the brethren of the dead king, and that he woulde take all thoſe for his frendes or enemies, whom the THEBANS

D did either loue or hate. And for aſſurance of his promiſe, he gaue him his ſonne *Philoxenus* in oſtage, and fifty other of his frendes, all the which *Pelopidas* ſent vnto THEBES. But in the meane time, beinge maruelouſly offended with the treaſon of the ſouldiers againſt him, vnderſtandinge that the moſt parte of their goodes, their wiues and children, were in the citie of PHARSALE, he thought if he coulde winne that, it were a maruelous good way for him to be reuenged of the trechery of the ſouldiers againſt him: whereupon he leauied certaine THESSALIANS, & went to that citie. *Pelopidas* was no ſooner come thither, but *Alexander* the tyran arriued alſo with his armie. *Pelopidas* ſuppoſing he had come to iuſtifie him ſelfe, clearing the complaintes of the THESSALIANS made againſt him: went to him, though he knew him to be a very wicked man, and one that delited in murder and ſheading of blood. Neuertheles, he ho-

E ped he durſt not haue attempted any thing againſt him, for the authority and ſeigniories ſake of THEBES, by whom he was ſent thither, as alſo for his owne reputacion. But the tyran ſeeing him ſlenderly accompanied, and without traine of ſouldiers: tooke him priſoner, and wanne the city of PHARSALE at that preſent time. But this act of his put his ſubiects in a great feare, who ſeeing him commit ſo ſhamefull a deede againſt all equity, did thinke ſtraighe he ment to ſpare no man, but would vſe men, and all thinges elſe that came in his handes, like a deſperate man, & one that reckned him ſelf caſt away. But when the THEBANS vnderſtoode this newes, they were maruelous ſorie, and ſtraight ſent an army thither appointinge other Captaines then *Epaminondas*, bicauſe then they had ſome miſliking of him. *Alexander* the tyran hauing brought *Pelopidas* in the meane time to PHERES, did ſuffer any man that woulde, at the firſt to

F come and ſee him, and ſpeake with him: ſuppoſinge his impriſonment had killed his hart, and had made him very humble. But when he was tolde the contrary, how *Pelopidas* did comforte the citizens of PHERES, and willed them to be of good cheare, tellinge them the power was

Philip of Macedon, deliuered for oſtage vnto Pelopidas.

Pelopidas taken priſonner by the tyran Alexander at Pharſale.

Pelopidas ſtoutnes.

now come that the tyran ſhould ſmarte for al the miſchiefes he had done: and that he ſent him word to his face, he had no reaſon to hang and put his poore citizens daily to death as he did, with ſundry kindes of cruell torments, who had in nothing offended him, & did let him alone, knowinge that if euer he got out of his hands, he would be reuenged of him. The tyran wondering at this great ſtomake of his, & at his maruelous conſtancy fearing nothing: asked what he ment to long for haſty death? *Pelopidas* beinge tolde what he ſayd, aunſwered him againe: Mary, ſayd he, bicauſe thow ſhouldeſt dye the ſooner, beinge more odious to the goddes and men, then yet thou art. After this anſwere, the tyran would neuer ſuffer any man to come and ſpeake with him againe. But *Thebe*, that was the daughter of the tyran *Iaſon* deceaſed, and wife at that time of *Alexander* the tyran, hearinge reporte of *Pelopidas* noble minde and corage by his keepers: ſhe hadde a meruelous deſire to ſee him, and to ſpeake with him. But when ſhe came to ſee him, like a woman ſhe could not at the firſt diſcerne the greatneſſe of his noble heart, and excellent hidden vertue, findinge him in ſuch miſery: yet conieꝯturinge by exterior ſhow, notinge his ſimple apparell, his heares and beard growen very long, & how poorely he was ſerued, and worſe entertained: ſhe thought with her ſelfe his caſe was to be pitied, and that he was in no ſtate mete for the glory of his name, wherewith ſhe fell a weepinge for compaſſion. *Pelopidas* that knewe not what ſhe was, beganne to muſe at the firſt: but when it was tolde him ſhe was *Iaſons* daughter, then he curteouſly ſaluted her for her father *Iaſons* ſake, who while he liued was his very good frend. So *Thebe* ſaid vnto him: my Lord *Pelopidas*, I pittie thy poore Lady & wife. Truely ſo do I pitty thee, quod *Pelopidas* againe to her: that thou beinge no priſoner, canſt abide ſuch a wicked *Alexander*. This aunſwere tickled *Thebe* at the heart, who with great impacience did beare the cruelty, violence, and villany of the tyran her husband: that beſides all other infamous actes of his deteſtable life, committed Sodomy with her youngeſt brother. So ſhe oft viſitinge *Pelopidas*, and boldly makinge her mone to him, telling him cloſely all the iniuries her husbande offered her: through *Pelopidas* talke with her, by litle and litle ſhe grew to abhorre him, and to conceiue a hate in heart againſt him, deſiring reuenge of him. But now the Captaines of the THEBANS that were ſent to deliuer *Pelopidas*, beinge entred into THESSALIE with their armie: (whether it was through default of ignorance, or their mishap) they returned home with ſhame, and did nothing. Whereupon the THEBANS at their returne home, condemned them euerie man in the ſumme of tenne thouſande Drachmes, & ſent *Epaminondas* thither againe with an other armie: at whoſe comming, all THESSALIE roſe incontinently, for the reputation of ſo great a captaine. And his fortune was ſo good, that he had in a manner vtterly ouerthrowen all the whole ſtate of the tyran: his frends and captaines were ſo much afraid, and his ſubiectes on the other ſide ſo well diſpoſed to rebell, and maruelous glad for the hope they had, quickely to ſee the tyran haue his deſerued hyer, for all his former wicked deedes he had committed. Notwithſtanding, *Epaminondas* preferring the deliuerie and ſafety of *Pelopidas*, before the conſideration of his owne honor & glorie, and fearinge leaſt *Alexander* ſeeinge him ſelfe in daunger to be turned out of all he had, falling in deſpayre like a bedlem beaſt, woulde bende all his deſperation and fury againſt *Pelopidas*: he drew theſe warres out in length, compaſſinge him rounde about, but not fiercely ſetting apon him, with culler to prepare his way the better by delaying ſtill, thereby to ſofter the cruell minde of this tyran, goinge on in this gentle ſorte, and partely to cutte his combe and extreme pride, but ſpecially to preſerue *Pelopidas*, from the daunger and crueltie of his beaſtly rage. For he knew right well he was a cruel man, and one that neither regarded reaſon, nor iuſtice in any ſorte, conſideringe howe he made ſome man to be buried aliue, and others to be put in the skinnes of beares and wilde bores, and then to ſet houndes apon them to teare them in peeces, or elſe him ſelfe for his paſtime would kill them, with ſhootinge or throwinge of dartes at them. And in the cities of MELIBAEA and of SCOTVSA, bothe of them beinge in league and frendſhippe with him, he ſpying a time one day when the citizens were aſſembled in counſaill together, ſodainely compaſſed them in with his gard and ſouldiers, and put them euery one to the ſword, euen to the litle children. And he conſecrated the darte also wherwith he had ſlaine his owne vncle *Polyphron*, and hauing put garlandes apon it, he did ſacrifice to it, as to a god, and called it TYCHON, as one woulde ſay, happy killer. And an other time being in

Thebe the wife of Alexander the tyran.

Epaminondas ſent into Theſſalie with an army.

The bruiſhe cruelty of Alexander the tyran.

A in a Theater, where the tragedy of *Troades* of *Euripides* was played, he went out of the Theater, and ſent word to the players notwithſtandinge, that they ſhoulde go on with their playe, as if he had bene ſtill amonge them: ſaying, that he came not away for any miſliking he had of them or of the play, but bicauſe he was aſhamed his people ſhoulde ſee him weepe, to ſee the miſeries of *Hecuba* and *Andromacha* played, and that they neuer ſaw him pity the death of any one man, of ſo many of his citizens as he had cauſed to be ſlaine. The gilty conſcience therefore of this cruell and heathen tyran, did make him tremble at the only name and reputacion of *Epaminondas*: and as the common prouerbe ſayth:

He lett his vvinges dovvne fall, not much vnlike the cocke,
vvhich doth refuſe the pit preparde, and lyſt not bide the shocke.

B So he ſent ſtraight vnto *Epaminondas* to excuſe him ſelfe. But *Epaminondas* woulde in no wiſe ſuffer the THEBANS, through his meanes, to make league with ſuch an hell hounde: only he yelded to abſtinēce of armes for thirty daies, apon deliuery of *Pelopidas* & *Iſmenias* into his handes, with whom he ſtraight returned vnto THEBES. Now the THEBANS being aduertiſed that the LACEDÆMONIANS & the ATHENIANS did ſende Ambaſſadors to *Artaxerxes* the mighty king of PERSIA, to make league with him: they ſent to him *Pelopidas* for them alſo, being wiſely conſidered of them to ſende a man of ſuch fame and reputacion. For *Pelopidas* paſſing firſt through contries ſubiect to the kinge of PERSIA, his fame was ſuch where he came, that the peoples talke was onely of him. For the reporte of the famous battells he had wonne of the LACEDÆMONIANS, was not only caried into the next regions and contries of ASIA:

Epaminondas deliuered Pelopidas out of priſon.
Artaxerxes king of Perſia.
Pelopidas ſent Ambaſſador to the king of Perſia.

C but ſince the firſt newes of the iourney of LEVCTRES was brought thither, *Pelopidas* hauinge after that wonne victorie apon victorie, his eſtimacion grewe ſo great, as it was blowen abroade through the worlde, euen to the higheſt and furtheſt partes of the Eaſt contries. And when he came to the king of PERSIAES court, the princes, great Lordes, and captaines of PERSIA that ſawe him, had him in great admiration, ſayinge: loe this is he that conquered the LACEDÆMONIANS, and tooke all their ſeigniorie, and authority from them, bothe by ſea and by land, and draue the SPARTANS beyond the riuer of EVROTAS, and from mount TAVGETVM, who not longe before made warres with the great kinge of PERSIA, beinge ledde vnder their kinge *Ageſilaus*, euen to the middeſt of ASIA, for the realmes of SVSE, and of ECBATANE. So king *Artaxerxes* ſelfe was very glad of his comminge, and praiſed him aboue them all,

Pelopidas greatly honored of the king of Perſia.

D and made his eſtimacion greater then it was before, by his great and honorable entertaininge of him, meaninge thereby to returne the honor to him ſelfe againe: bicauſe menne ſhoulde thinke that the moſt famous men of the worlde came to honor him, and to ſee his court, as eſteeminge bothe him, and his greatneſſe, the onely happines of the worlde. But when he had ſeene his face, and heard him ſpeake, and perceiued that his wordes were much grauer then the ATHENIANS, and plainer then the LACEDÆMONIANS: he then was further in loue with him then before, and without diſguiſing he did honor and fauor him aboue all the other Ambaſſadors, who found that he made more eſtimacion of him, then of thē all. Notwithſtanding, he ſeemed to beare greater good will vnto *Antalcidas* LACEDÆMONIAN, then to any other of the GREECIANS: for that one day beinge at the table, he tooke a garlande of flowers from his

E owne head, and waſhed it in perfuming water, and ſent it vnto him. In dede he did not vſe *Pelopidas* with that open familiaritie, yet did he ſend him the goodlieſt and richeſt preſentes he could deuiſe, & graunted him beſides al his requeſtes he made vnto him: which were, that all the people of GREECE ſhould be free: that the city & contrie of MESSINA, ſhould be inhabited againe: & that the citizens of THEBES by their ſucceſſors ſhould be takē, as ancient frends & allyes of the kings of PERSIA. So when he had receaued theſe aunſwers, he returned home againe, & would by no meanes accept any of the great preſents the king had offred him: which cauſed the other Ambaſſadors of the GREECIANS to be ſo ill welcome home to their cities. For among other, *Timagoras* was accuſed to the ATHENIANS, & condemned to dye, and was executed: which if they did in reſpect of the great preſents he had taken of the kinge, truely

Pelopidas refuſed the great gifies of the kinge Artaxerxes.
Timagoras Ambaſſador for the Athenians, put to death for taking great gifies of the kinge of Perſia.

F they had reaſon, & it was worthily done of thē. For he tooke not only gold & ſiluer enough, as much as they would giue him: but receaued a very rich bed alſo, & PERSIAN chamberlains to make and dreſſe it vp, as if no GREECIAN ſeruauntes of his could haue ſerued that turne.

Moreouer he receaued foure ſcore milche kine to the paile,& neateheards to keepe them,ha- A
uing neede of cowes milke belike,to heale a diſeaſe that fell vpon him:and woulde needes be
caried in a litter apon mens armes from the kings court,vnto the MEDITERRANIAN ſea,the
king rewarding them for their paines that caried him, with foure Talents. Yet it ſeemeth the
gifts he tooke did not offende the ATHENIANS ſo much,conſidering that *Epicrates*(a drudge
or tanckerd bearer) did not onely confeſſe before the people,howe he had taken giftes of the
king of PERSIA:but ſayd furthermore,that he would haue a law made,that as they did yerely
chooſe nine officers to rule the whole city:ſo that they would chooſe nine of the pooreſt and
meaneſt citizens,and ſende them Ambaſſadors vnto the king of PERSIA, that they might re-
turne home rich men with his giftes. The people laughed to heare him, but yet were they
very angry the THEBANS had obtained all that they demaunded:not conſidering that *Pelopi-* B
das eſtimacion and worthineſſe did more preuaile, and take better effect,then all the orations
the other could make,and ſpecially to a Prince that ſought alwaies to enterteine thoſe GRÆ-
CIANS,which were of greateſt force and power in the warres.This Ambaſſade did greatly in-
creaſe euery mans loue and good will vnto *Pelopidas*, bicauſe of the repleniſhinge againe of
MESSINA with inhabitants,& the infrancheſing & ſetting at liberty of all the other GREECI-
ANS.But the tyran *Alexander* of PHERES,returning againe to his old accuſtomed cruelty,and
hauing deſtroied many cities of THESSALIE,& placed his garriſons through al the contry of
the PHTHIOTES,ACHAIANS, and MAGNESIANS:the cities being aduertiſed of *Pelopidas* re-
turne againe to THEBES,they ſent Ambaſſadors immediatly to THEBES,to pray thē to ſende
thē an army,& namely *Pelopidas* for Captaine,to deliuer thē frō the miſerable bondage of the C
tyran.The THEBANS willingly graunted them,& put all things in readines very ſodainely.But
Pelopidas being ready to ſet forward in his iorney,there fel a ſodain eclipſe of the ſunne,ſo as at
none daies it was very darke in THEBES.*Pelopidas* ſeing euery man afraid of this eclipſe aboue,
he would not compell the people to depart with this feare,nor with ſo ill hope to hazard the
loſſe of ſeuen thowſande THEBANS,being all billed to go this iorney:but notwithſtanding,he
put him ſelfe alone into the THESSALIANS handes,with three hundred horſemen of ſtraun-
gers,that were glad to ſerue with him,with whom he tooke his iorney againſt the ſoothſayers
mindes,and againſt the good will of all his citizens,who thought this eclipſe did threaten the
death of ſome great perſone like him ſelfe.But *Pelopidas* though he needed no ſpurre to be re-
uenged apon the tyran *Alexander*,being by nature hotte, and deſirous of him ſelfe to reuenge D
the ſpite and villany he had offred him:yet he had a further hope to finde the tyrans houſe de-
uided againſt himſelfe,by the former talke he had with his wife *Thebe*,in time of his impriſon-
ment there. Neuertheles,the fame and reputacion of the iorney vndertaken,did wonderfully
increaſe his noble corage,and the rather,bicauſe he was deſirous(all he coulde)the GREECI-
ANS ſhould ſee,that at the very ſame time when the LACEDÆMONIANS did ſende gouernors
& captaines to *Dionyſius*,the tyran of SICILE,to ſerue & aide him,& that the ATHENIANS as
hyerlings tooke pay of the tyran *Alexander* of PHERES, in whoſe honor they had ſet vp a ſta-
tue of braſſe in their city, as vnto their ſauior:the THEBANS only at the ſelfe ſame time tooke
armes againſt thē,to deliuer thoſe whom the tyrans oppreſſed,& ſought to roote out al tyran-
nical gouernment ouer the GREECIANS.So, when he came to the city of PHARSALE,& had E
gathered his army together,he went preſently into the field to mete with the tyran.*Alexander*,
perceauing *Pelopidas* had very fewe THEBANS about him,and that he had twiſe as many moe
THESSALIANS with him,then the other had:he went to the temple of THETIS,to mete with
Pelopidas.There one telling *Pelopidas*,that *Alexander* was comminge againſt him with a great
power:*Pelopidas* anſwered him ſtraight,al the better,we ſhal kil the more.Now,in the middeſt
of the valley,there are certaine round hils of a good prety height, which they commonly call
the dogges heads:they both ſtriued which of their footemen ſhould firſt get thoſe hils.*Pelopi-*
das hauing a great number of horſemen,& good men at armes in the fielde,ſent them before
to giue charge apon the enemies,that preaſed to winne the vantage of the place:& hauing o-
uerthrowen them,they followed the chaſe all the valley ouer.But in the meane time, *Alexan-* F
der hauing his footemē hard by,marched forwards,& got the hils,bicauſe the THESSALIANS
that were further of came to late:notwithſtandinge, when they came to the hilles,they ſought
forcibly

Pelopidas ſe-
cond iorney
againſt the
tyran Alexā-
der of Phe-
res.

The eclipſe of
the ſunne
made the
Thebans a-
fraid.

Battaill geuen
by the temple
of Thetis,vn-
to the tyran
Alexander.

A forcible to clime them vp, being very high and ſteepe. But *Alexander* comming downe the hil, gaue charge apon them to their diſaduantage, & ſlue the firſt that gaue the attempt to get vp againſt the hil: and the reſidue beinge ſore hurt, retyred againe without their purpoſe. *Pelopidas* ſeeing that, ſounded the retreate for the horſemen that followed the chaſe, to repayre to the ſtandard, and commaunded them they ſhould ſet apon the footemen of the enemies that were in battell raye: and him ſelfe ranne to helpe thoſe that fought to winne the hilles. So he tooke his target on his arme, and paſſing through the rereward, got to the formeſt ranckes: to whome, the ſight of his perſone did ſo redouble their force and corage, that the enemies them ſelues thought it hadde beene a freſhe ſupply of newe mens hartes and other bodies, then theirs with whom they hadde fought before, that came thus luſtely to ſette againe apon
B them. And yet they did abide two or three onſettes. Howebeit in the ende, perceiuing thoſe men did ſtill more fiercely force to gette vp the hill, and moreouer how their horſemen were come in from the chaſe: they gaue way, and left them the place, retyring backe by litle and litle. Then *Pelopidas* hauinge wonne the hilles, ſtayed on the top of them, viewinge the army of his enemies, which were not yet returned from their flying, but waued vp and downe in great diſorder. And there he looked all about, to ſee if he coulde ſpye out *Alexander*: and at the length he founde him out amongeſt others, in the right winge of his battell, ſettinge his men againe in order, and incoraging of them. After he had ſet eye on him, it was no holding of him backe, his hart ſo roſe againſt him apon ſight of him, that geuinge place to wrath, he neither regarded his perſone, nor the intent of his iorney, but runninge farre before his men, he cried
C with a lowde voyce to the tyran, and chalenged the combat of him. The tyran woulde not abide him, nor come out to fight with him, but fled, and hid him ſelfe amongeſt his ſouldiers. But for his ſouldiers, the firſt that thought to ſet apon *Pelopidas*, were ſlaine by him, and many left dead in the fielde. The reſidue ſtanding ſtowtly to it, and cloſe together, did paſſe his curaces through with their long pykes, and thruſt him into the breſt. The THESSALIANS ſeeinge him thus ſore handled and diſtreſſed, for pities ſake came runninge from the toppe of thoſe hilles, to the place where *Pelopidas* was, to helpe him. But euen as they came, he fell downe deade before them. Then did they together with their horſemen ſo fiercely ſette apon them, that they made the whole battell of the enemies to flye: and followinge them in chaſe a great waye from that place, they couered the valley with deade bodies, for they ſlue aboue three
D thowſande men. It is no maruell, if the THEBANS that were at *Pelopidas* death, tooke it very heauilie, and lamented bitterly: callinge him their father, their ſauiour, and maiſter, as one that hadde taught them the worthieſt thinges that might be learned of any. But the THESSALIANS, and other frendes and confederates alſo of the citie of THEBES, beſides their excedinge in ſetting out their common proclamations and edictes in prayſe of his memorie, and doing him all the honor that could be due to the moſt rare and excellent perſone that euer was: they did yet more ſhewe their loue and affection towardes him, by their paſſinge great ſorowe and mourning they made for him. For it is ſayed, that they that were at the battell, did not put of their armor, nor vnbridle their horſes, nor woulde dreſſe their woundes, hearinge tell of his death: before they went firſt and ſawe his body not yet colde with fightinge, laying
E great heapes of the enemies ſpoyles about it, as if he coulde haue tolde what they had done, nor before they hadde clipped of their owne heares, and the heare of their horſes, in token of ſorowe. And many of them alſo, when they were come into their tentes and pauilions, woulde neither haue fier, eate, nor drinke: and all the campe was full of ſorowe and mourninge, as if they hadde not wonne a notable victorie, but hadde beene ouerthrowen and made ſubiect by the tyranne. Afterwardes when the newes of his deathe was ſpread through all the contrie, the Magiſtrates of euerie cittie through which *Pelopidas* bodie was conueyed, went to receaue it verie honorablie, accompanied with all the younge menne, Prieſtes, and children, caryinge tokens and crownes of triumphe, and other ornamentes of golde. And when his funerall daye came, that his bodie ſhoulde be caried to be bu-
F ried, the oldeſt and nobleſt perſones of the THESSALIANS went to the THEBANS, and prayed them that they might haue the buryinge of him: and one amonge them beinge the mowthe of the reſte, ſpake in this manner to the THEBANS. My Lordes of THEBES,

Pelopidas ſlaine.

The great lamentacion & mourning for Pelopidas death.

The oration of the Thessaliās to the Thebans.

our good beloued frendes, and confederates, we onely craue this good turne at your handes, wherin you shal much honor vs,& in our great calamity somwhat also cōfort vs. For we shall neuer more accōpany *Pelopidas* aliue,nor requite his honorable deserts to vs,that he shal euer know them.But if it please you to let vs handle his body with our handes,and that we may bury him,and set forth his obsequies: we will imagine then at the least that you doe thinke that, which we our selues do certainly beleue:that we THESSALIANS,not you THEBANS,haue receiued the greatest losse of both.For you haue lost in deede a worthy Captaine, and we haue not only receaued that like losse with you,but the hope also of recoueringe of our liberty.For how dare we againe sende to you for an other Captaine, when we can not redeliuer you *Pelopidas*? The THEBANS hearing their peticion,graunted their desire:and in mine opinion, no funeralles could be done with greater pompe and honor,then the THESSALIANS performed his:being men that recken not dignity,magnificence, & pompe, to consist in ornaments of Iuory, nor of purple. As *Philistus* doth set it out, who praiseth to the moone the buryinge of *Dionysius* the tyran of SYRACVSA,which was the ende of his tyranny,as a sumptuous conclusion of a stately tragedy.And *Alexander* the great,at the death of *Ephestion*,did not only clippe his horse heares & mules,but plucked downe also the battellments of the wals of the city: because it shoulde appeare,that the very walles them selues did mourne for his death,shewinge that deformitie,in steede of their former beawtie. But all such thinges are done only by force and compulsion, apon the Lordes commaundementes, which doe but raise vp enuy against their memorie for whom they are done,and hatred of them that are against their willes constrained to do the thing they misliked:& are no iust proofes of honor nor good will,but rather vaine showes of barbarous pompe, and pride in him, that disposeth his authority and plenty of goodes,in trifling toyes not to be desired.Where contrariwise it plainely appeareth,that a priuate man dying in a foreine contry,by reason should be accompted most happy of all other creatures,that hauing neither his wife,kinne,nor his children by him,he should be conueyed to his funerals, accompanied with such multitudes of crowned people and number of cities, enuying one an other who should most honor the funerals,as being vnrequested,& least of all compelled. For saith *Esope*, the death of a happy man is not greuous, but most blessed, seeing it bringeth all good mens doinges to happines,and leaueth fortune to her fickle chaunge,and sportinge pleasure. But in my iudgement, a LACEDÆMONIAN spake better, when he sayd to *Diagoras* an old man,that had him selfe in old time gotten victory in the games Olympicall,& had sene besides,his own childrē,& his childrens childrē (both sonnes & daughters)crowned with victories also in the self same games:O *Diagoras*,die presently,els thou shalt neuer come to heauen.But these victories of the Olympicall & Pythian games,whosoeuer should put thē al together,are not to be cōpared with one of the battels only,that *Pelopidas* hath foughten & wonne:hauing spent the most parte of his time in great calling and dignity,& lastly ended the same,beinge gouernor of BOEOTIA the third time(which was the higheste office of state in all his contry)when he had distroied the tyrans that kept the THEBANS in bondage,and was also slaine himselfe,valiantly fighting for the recouery of the THESSALIANS liberty.But as *Pelopidas* death was greuous to the THEBANS frends & confederats: so fell it out very profitable for them.For the THEBANS hearinge of *Pelopidas* death,did not delay reuenge,but sent an army forthwith of seuen thowsande footemen, and seuen hundred horsemen, vnder the conduct of *Malcitas*,and of *Diogiton*.They findinge *Alexanders* army ouerthrowen,& that he had lost the most parte of his strength,did compel him to geue vp the THESSALIANS townes he kept by force against thē,& to set the MAGNESIANS, the PHTHIOTES, & the ACHAIANS at liberty, withdrawinge his garrisons he had placed in their strong holdes:and therewithall to sweare, that from thence forth he would marche vnder the THEBANS,against any enemy they should leade him,or commaunde him to go against.So,the THEBANS were pacified apon these conditions.Now will I tell you how the gods plagued him soone after for *Pelopidas* death,who(as we haue tolde you before)had pretily instructed *Thebe* his wife,that she shoulde not feare the outward appearance nor power of his tyranny,although she were enuironed with souldiers of baniſhed mē,whom the tyran enterteined to gard his person.Her self on the other side,fearing his falshode,as also hating his cruelty,conspired her husbands death with her three brethren,

The strange manner of sorowe, of Alexander the great, for the death of Ephestion.

Pelopidas happines.

Esops sayinge of the happines of the dead.

Death a blessed thing.

The Thebans reuenged Pelopidas death.

Alexander the tyran of Pheres slaine by his wife.

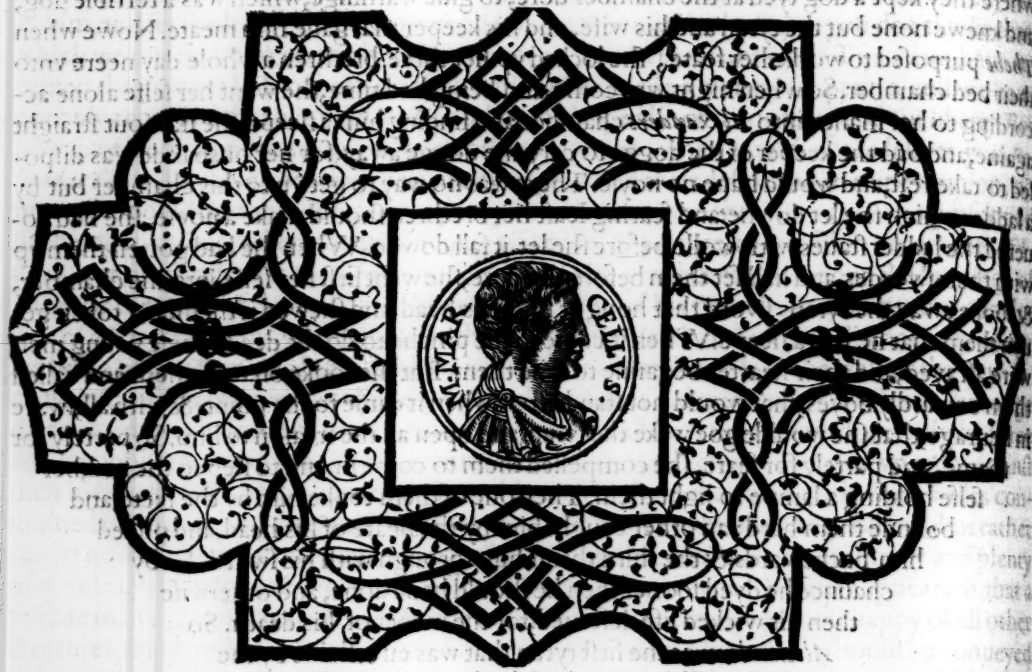
Tisiphonus,

A *Tisiphonus, Pytholaus,* & *Lycophron,* & executed her cõspiracy after this sorte. The tyrans palice where he lay, was straightly garded euery where with souldiers, who nightly watched his persone: but their bed chamber which they cõmonly vsed to lie in, was in the top of al his palice, where they kept a dog tyed at the chamber dore, to giue warninge, which was a terrible dog, and knewe none but the tyran and his wife, and his keeper that gaue him meate. Nowe when *Thebe* purposed to worke her feate, she locked vp her three brethren a whole day neere vnto their bed chamber. So when night was come, and being bed time, she went her selfe alone according to her maner, into *Alexanders* chamber: and finding him a sleepe, she stale out straight againe, and bad the keeper of the dogge to cary the dogge away, for her husbande was disposed to take rest, and would haue no noyse. There was no way to get vp to this chamber but by
B a ladder, which she let downe: and fearing least her brethren should make a noyse, she had couered the ladder staues with wolle before she let it fall downe. When she had gotten them vp with their swordes, and had set them before the dore, she went first her selfe into the chamber, & tooke away the tyrans sword that hong at his beds head, and shewed it them, as a token geuen them that he was a sleepe. When it came to the pinche to do the deede, these young men were afrayed, and their heartes beganne to faile them. But she tooke on with them and called them cowardly boyes, that would not stande to it, when it came to the point, & with all, sware in her rage, that she woulde goe wake the tyran, and open all the treason to him. So partely for shame, and partely for feare, she compelled them to come in, and to step to the bed, her selfe holding a lampe to light them. Then one of them tooke him by the feete, and
C bounde them hard: an other caught him by the heare of his head, and pulled him backewards: & the third thrust him through with his sword. So by chaunce he dyed sooner then he should haue done, and otherwise then his wicked life deserued, for the maner of his death. So *Alexander* was the first tyran that was euer slaine by the treason of his wife, whose body was most villanously & dispitefully vsed after his death. For when the townes men of PHERES had drawen him through the city in myer and durt, they cast him out at length to the dogs to deuoure.

Alexander the tyran of Pheres was the first tyran that was slaine by his wife.

The ende of Pelopidas life.

THE LIFE OF *Marcellus.*



Marcellus kinred.

Marcellus condicions.

Arcus Claudius that was fiue times Conſull at Rome, was the ſonne (as they ſay) of an other *Marcus*: and as *Poſidonius* wryteth, he was the firſt of his houſe ſurnamed *Marcellus*, as who would ſay, a marſhall & warlike man by nature. For he was cunninge at weapons, skilfull in warres, ſtronge and luſty of body, hardy, and naturally geuen to fight. Yet was he no quarreller, nor ſhewed his great corage, but in warres againſt the enemy: otherwiſe he was euer gentle, and fayer condicioned. He loued learning, and delited in the Greeke tongue, and much eſteemed them that could ſpeake it. For, he him ſelfe was ſo troubled in matters of ſtate, that he could not ſtudy and follow it, as he deſired to haue done. For if God (as *Homer* ſayth) did euer make men

To vſe their youth in vvarres, and battells fierce and fell,
till crooked age came creeping on, ſuch feates for to expell:

The Romaines troubled with warres.

They were the nobleſt and chiefeſt men of Rome at that time. For in their youth, they fought with the Carthaginians in Sicile: in their midle age, againſt the Gavles, to kepe them from the winning of all Italie: & againe in their old age, againſt *Hannibal* & the Carthaginians. For their age was no priuiledge for them to be diſpenced with, in the ſeruice of their warres, as it was elſe for common citizens: but they were bothe for their nobilitie, as alſo for their valliantnes and experience in warres, driuen to take charge of the armies deliuered them, by the Senate & people. Now for *Marcellus*, there was no battell could make him giue grounde, beinge practiſed in all fightes: but yet he was more valliant in priuate combate man for man, then in any other fight. Therefore he neuer refuſed enemie that did chalenge him, but ſlue all thoſe in the fielde that called him to the combat. In Sicile he ſaued his brother *Octacilius* life, being ouerthrowen in a skirmiſhe: for with his ſhielde he couered his brothers body, & ſlue them that came to kill him. Theſe valliant partes of him, being but a young man, were rewarded by the generalles vnder whom he ſerued, with many crownes, and warlike honors, vſually beſtowed apon valliant ſouldiers. *Marcellus* increaſing ſtill his valliantnes and good ſeruice, was by the people choſen Ædilis, as of the number of thoſe that were the worthieſt

Marcellus ſaued his brother Octacilius.

Marcellus choſen AEdilis and Augure.

A worthieſt men,and moſt honorable: and the Prieſtes did create him Augure, which is a kinde of Prieſthoode at ROME, hauing aithority by law,to conſider and obſerue the flying of birds, to diuine and prognoſticate thinges thereupon. But in the yere of his office of Ædile, he was forced againſt his wil to accuſe *Capitolinus*, his brother in office with him. For he being a raſh, and diſſolute man of life, fell in diſhoneſt loue with his colleagues ſonne *Marcellus*, that bare his owne name: who beinge a goodly younge gentleman, and newly come to mans ſtate, was as well thought of, and taken of euery man for his manhoode and good qualities, as any way for his beawty and perſonage. The firſt time *Capitolinus* moued this diſhoneſty to him, he did of him ſelfe repulſe his ſhameles offer, without any others priuitie: but when he ſaw he came againe to tempt him the ſeconde time, he ſtraight reuealed it to his father. *Marcellus* his fa-
B ther beinge maruelouſly offended withall, (as he had good cauſe) went and accuſed *Capitolinus* before the Senate. *Capitolinus* at the firſt, layed in many exceptions and fained excuſes, to kepe him from appearing, and in the end he appealed to the Tribunes of the people: but they declared plainely they would not receiue his appeale, nor take any knowledge of the matter. At the length he was forced to aunſwere the matter before the Senate, and denied ſtarkly that he attempted euer any ſuch thinge, bicauſe there were no witneſſes to proue it againſt him. Whereupon the Senate thought good to ſende for young *Marcellus*, who comminge before them, bothe bluſhed, and wept together. The Senate ſeeinge ſhamefaſtneſſe in him, mingled with teares, and a malice that coulde not be pacified without ſeeking other proofe: they tooke it a cleare caſe, & ſo condemned *Capitolinus* preſently in a great ſumme of money, which *Mar-*
C *cellus* conuerted into ſiluer veſſell, to ſerue at ſacrifices, and ſo did conſecrate them to the ſeruice of the goddes. Now when the ROMAINES had ended their firſt warre againſt the CARTHAGINIANS, which held them fully the ſpace of two and twenty yeares: Immediatly after that, they beganne a newe warre againſt the GAVLES. For the INSVBRIANS, beinge a people deriued frō the GAVLES, & dwelling at the foote of the moūtaines of the ALPES on ITALIE ſide, being able to make a good power of them ſelues, did notwithſtanding pray aide of the o-
D ther GAVLES inhabiting on the other ſide of the mountaines: & they cauſed the GESSATES, a mercenary people and hierlings to them that woulde giue pay, to bring great numbers with them. Truely me thinkes it was a maruelous matter, and wonderfull good happe for the ROMAINES, that this warre of the GAVLES came not apon thē, while they were at wars with the CARTHAGINIANS: & that the GAVLES alſo had lien quiet all that while (as if they had purpoſely ſworne to ſet apon the conquerors) expecting ſtill an end betwene thē, & then to ſet apon the cōquerors, when they had nothing to ſay to any other. Yet the ſcituacion of their cōtry did trouble the ROMAINES much, bicauſe they were ſo nere neighbours vnto them, & had warres as it were at their owne dores. And ſo did the auncient reputacion of the GAVLES ſomewhat appawle the ROMAINES, who as it ſhoulde ſeeme they did feare more, then any o-
E ther nation whatſoeuer: bicauſe ROME had bene taken before by the GAVLES. Since which time, a law was made, that Prieſtes and eccleſiaſticall perſones ſhould be diſpenced with, from going to the warres, onles the GAVLES did riſe againſt them. The preparacion they made for this warre at that time, did plainly ſhow the feare they had thē of the GAVLES. For the world thinkes, that neuer before, nor ſince, there were ſo many naturall ROMAINES aſſembled toge-
F ther in fielde, as were then at that preſent. Moreouer, the new come cruelty they vſed in their ſacrifices, doth record this to be true. For before, they neuer vſed any ſtraunge maner in their ſacrifice, or barbarous facion, but were fauorable in their opinions about the ceremonies of religion, & agreeable to the GREECIANS, touching the ſeruice of the goddes. But then, they were compelled to obey certaine oracles, and auncient prophecies they found wrytten in SIBYLLES bookes: & they buried two GREECIANS aliue in the oxe market, a man & a woman, and likewiſe two GAVLES, a man and a woman. Vnto them they doe yet continew certaine ſecret anniuerſaries in Nouēber, that are not to be ſene of euery body. The ROMAINES in their firſt battels of this warre, were often ouercommen, and did ouercome: but theſe battels were to litle purpoſe, for ending of the warres. In the yere that *C. Quintius Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philo* were Conſuls, and ſent with great armies to make warres apon the INSVBRIANS, people ſubiect to the ſtate of MILANE: newes were brought to ROME, that there was a riuer ſeene

Marcellus accuſeth Capitolinus.

The Romaines had warres with the Carthaginians two & twenty yeres together.

The warre of the Gaules.

Geſſates mercenary Gaules.

A lawe to exempt eccleſiaſticall perſons frō the warr.

The Romaines did feare the warre of the Gaules.

Men and women buried aliue.

Flaminius & P. Furius Conſulls.

Newes brought to Rome, of strange things seene in Romania.

in the cõtry of ROMANIA, red as blood, & three moones also at the very same time in the city of RIMINI. Furthermore, the Priestes & Soothsayers, that had obserued & considered the tokens, & significations of birdes on that day, when these two were chosen Consuls: they tolde plainly there was error in their election, & that they were directly chosen against all signes & tokens of the birdes. Thereupon the Senate wrote immediatly to the campe to them, & willed them to come home to depose themselues of their Consulshippe, before they did attempt any thing as Consuls against the enemies. The Consul *Flaminius* receaued the letters in time but bicause he was ready to giue battell, he woulde not open them, before he had first ouerthrowen his enemies, & spoyled their contrie, as in dede he did. But when he was come backe to ROME againe, and had brought marueious great spoyles with him, the people for all that woulde not goe out to meete him, bicause he did not presently obey the letters they wrote vnto him, nor returned apon it as they commaunded him, but contemptuously, without any regard of their displeasure, followed his owne phantasie: whereupon they had almost flatly denied him the honor of triumphe. For his triumphe was no sooner ended, but they compelled him to giue ouer his Consulship, and made him a priuate man with his companion. The ROMAINES therein were so religiously bent, as they would all things shoulde be referred vnto the gods good grace & pleasure, & would suffer none to contemne the obseruations & prognosticatinge of the soothsayers, nor their auncient vses & customes, for any prosperity & felicity that could happen. For they thought it more necessary and profitable for benefit of the common weale, that the Senate and magistrates should reuerence the ceremonies and seruice of the goddes: then that they should ouercome their enemies in battell. As for example *Tiberius Sempronius*, a man as much honored and esteemed of the ROMAINES for his iustice and valliantnes, as any other of his time: beinge one yeare Consul, did nominate & elect two other for Consuls the yeare following, *Scipio Nasica*, & *Caius Martius*. These two being entred into their Consulship, and sent from ROME also to their seuerall prouinces appointed them by lot: *Sempronius* by chaunce tooke certen litle bookes in his hande, where were briefly written the rules appertaining to the ceremonies of publike sacrifice, and reading in them, he found a certaine ordinaunce he neuer heard before. And this it was. That if a magistrate were set in any tent or hyred house without the citie, to beholde and obserue the prognostications of birdes, & that vpon any sodaine occasion he were driuẽ to come againe into the citie, before the birdes had giuen any certaine signes: the second time when he returned againe to ende his obseruations, there was no remedy, but he must leaue his tent or first hyred house, and take an other, and beginne new obseruations againe. *Tiberius* vtterly ignoraunt of this ordinaunce before, had kept his obseruations twise in one selfe house, and had chosen there, *Nasica* and *Martius*, Consulls to succeede him. But when he knew he had offended, he told the Senate of it: who would not let slippe so litle a fault: but wrote to the newe Consulls, and they straight left their prouinces, and returned againe to ROME, willingly resigninge vp their offices. That was a prety while after. Againe also, about the very present time we write of nowe, there were two Priestes of noble houses (and noble persones also) the one called *Cornelius*, and the other *Cethegus*, bothe which were disgraded of their Priesthoode, bicause they had not giuen the intrayles of the sacrificed beast in order, as they should haue done. *Quintus Sulpitius* in like maner, was disgraded of his Bishopricke, bicause his miter which the FLAMINES doe weare, fell of his head in his sacrificing. *Minutius* being Dictator also, and hauinge chosen *Caius Flaminius* generall of the horsemen: bicause they heard the noyse of a ratte at the electiõ of *Flaminius*, they were bothe put out of their authoritie, and other chosen in their place. Now, though they were thus precise euen in trifles, it was not by reason of any superstition mingled with their religion: but bicause they woulde not breake any iotte of the auncient institucions and ceremonies of their contrie. But to our storie againe. *Flaminius* beinge depriued of his Consullshippe, *Marcellus* was created Consull in his place, by the regents at that time called *Interreges*. *Marcellus* being inuested in his office, chose *Cneus Cornelius* for his companion: and they say, that the GAVLES beinge inclined to peace, and the Senate of ROME also willinge to harken to peace, *Marcellus* did stirre vp the people, and made them rather desire warre. Notwithstandinge, they concluded peace at that time: but the GAVLES GESSATES immediatly after renued the wars againe.

Flaminius ouercame the Gaules in battayle.

The great religion of the Romaines.

An ordinance for publike sacrifice.

Marcellus & Cneus Cornelius Consulls.

For

A For there came ouer the mountaines of the ALPES, a thirty thowſand of them, & they ioyned with the INSVBRIANS, which were many moe in number then thē ſelues. Now, they being in a maruelous iolity, went incontinently to lay ſiege to the city of ACERRES, that ſtandeth apon the riuer of Po: and during the ſiege, king *Britomarus* taking ten thowſande GESSATES with him, went & deſtroyed all the contrie about the Po. *Marcellus* hearing that, left with his compaſſion *Cneus Cornelius*, al the armed footemen, & the third parte of the horſemē, in his campe by ACERRES: & he him ſelfe with the reſidue of the horſemē, & ſix hundred footemē light armed, marched towards the enemy, trauelling night & day, vntil he met with the ten thowſand GESSATES, nere vnto a village of GAVLE on this ſide the mountaines, called CLASTIDIVM, which was ſubiect not long before to the ROMAINES. So he had no leaſure to take reſt, nor to B refreſh his men a litle: for the barbarous people knew ſtraight he was come, & tooke him for no better then by and by ouercome, bicauſe he had ſo fewe footemen. And for his horſemen, the GAVLES made no reckening of them: for beſides themſelues are very good men at armes, and excell all other in that fight, yet were their number of horſemen farre aboue *Marcellus*. Therefore they ſtraight marched towardes him in a maruelous furie, and with thunderinge ſhowtes, as if they would haue deuowred them at their comminge. *Britomarus* their king, aduaunced him ſelfe before all his company. *Marcellus* fearing to be compaſſed in behinde, being ſo ſmall a number: he put out the winges of his horſemen as much as he could, to haue the contrie at large, ſo that his two wings were very ſlender, vntill he came nere his enemies. And being ready to gallop towardes the enemie, it fortuned his horſe beinge afraid with the noyſe C of his enemies, turned about, & caried *Marcellus* backe againe in ſpite of his teeth. But he fearing the ROMAINES ſuperſticion, in taking this for an euill token, and that they woulde take a conceite apon the ſame: plucking the bridle with his left hande, turned his horſe head againe vppon the enemie, and then he worſhipped the ſunne, as though he had not turned his horſe by chaunce, but purpoſely for that cauſe. For it is the ROMAINES manner to turne about ſo, when they do honor their goddes. So when they beganne to ioyne battell, he made a vowe to *Iupiter Feretrian*, to offer him vppe the goodlieſt ſpoyles of his enemies, if he did ouercome. The kinge of the GAVLES ſeeinge him at that inſtant, imagined by the markes and tokens he ſaw, that he ſhould be the general of his enemies: So he ſet ſpurres to his horſe, and gallopped towardes him from all his company geuing him defiance, & chalenged him, ſhaking his ſtaffe D in his hande. He was the goodlieſt perſone and ſtrongeſt man of all the GAVLES, and his armor was all guilt and ſiluered, and ſo ſet foorth with ſundry workes and colours, that it ſhined as the ſunne. *Marcellus* on the other ſide hauinge viewed all the army of his enemies through out, and perceauinge none ſo richely armed as the king: thought ſtraight it was againſt him, that he had made his prayer and vowe to *Iupiter*. Then he put his horſe in full cariere againſt him, and came with ſuch a force & fury to him, that he pearced his armor with his ſtaffe, and ouerthrew him, but yet he killed him not dead: wherupon he ſodainly redoubled two or three ſtrokes beſides apon him, and ſo ſlew him right out. Then he lighted from his horſe, & taking the dead kinges armor in his hande, he lift vp his eyes to heauen, and ſaid. O *Iupiter Feretrian*, thou that doeſt from heauen beholde and direct, all marſhall feates and Captaines deedes: thy E ſelfe I call to witnes, that I am the third ROMAINE Captaine, that being generall of the army, haue ſlaine with my owne handes, the king and generall of the enemies: and I promiſe here to thee, to offer thee vp the richeſt ſpoyles of mine enemies, ſo thy godheade will vouchſafe to graunt vs the like good fortune in all this warre beſides. His prayer ended, the men of armes of the ROMAINES ranne in among the horſemen & footemen of the GAVLES, one being vnparted from an other: and fortune did ſo fauor them, that they wanne a paſſing victory, in ſuch a ſtraunge and wonderfull maner, as was incredible. For it was neuer ſeene before nor ſince, that ſo fewe horſemen did ouerthrow, ſo great a number of men of armes and footemen ranged together. Now when *Marcellus* hadde ſlaine the greater number of them, and had gotten their ſpoyles & all their baggage: he returned againe to his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, whom F he founde makinge warres vnfortunately with the GAVLES, before the greateſt and moſt populous city they had, called MILLAINE, which the GAVLES on this ſide the mountaines take for their chiefe city, and from whence all other had their firſt originall. Whereupon they did

The Gaules Geſſates make warres with Rome, and come ouer the Alpes.

Acerres, a city apon the riuer of Po.

Claſtidium, a village on this ſide the mountaines.

The maner of the Romaines when they worſhip.

The combat a horſebacke betwixt Britomarus king of the Gaules, and Marcellus.

Marcellus ſlue king Britomarus at Claſtidium.

Marcellus prayer vnto Iupiter Feretrian.

The Gaules ouercome by Marcellus.

all their possible endeuor to defende it, and did as straightly besiege the Consull *Cornelius*, as he did them. Now, when *Marcellus* was come to the campe againe, the GESSATES vnderstãding that their king *Britomarus* was slaine in battel, returned backe againe into their contry, & the city of MILLAINE was taken. After that, all the other cities there about yelded of them selues, without force of siege, and the GAVLES wholly submitted them selues & all that they had, to the mercy of the ROMAINES, who graunted them peace vppon easie condicions. For these famous victories, the Senate of ROME gaue all the honor of triumphe vnto *Marcellus* only, and that was as wonderfull and worthy a sight, as any that euer past before him: what for the infinite spoyles, and the numbers of great men taken prisoners, and also for the exceeding sumptuousnes & stately shew thereof. But the goodliest sight of all for the rarenes, was to behold *Marcellus* selfe, carying on his shoulders the whole spoyle of the barbarous king, to offer vp to *Iupiter Feretrian*. For he had cut downe a goodly younge oke of the mountaine, straight, and shut vp very long, which he had trimmed vp in forme of triumphe, hanging all the armed peces he had wonne of the king, very orderly rounde about it. Then, when all the show of his triumphe was past, he him selfe tooke the oke on his shoulders, and gotte vp vpon his triumphing charet, and so marched through the city, carying these signes thereupon: which was the noblest sight, and honorablest show, of the whole triumphe. His army followed after the charet, singing verses and songes of victory, in praise of the goddes and their Captaine: and when he had passed through the whole city, and was come to the temple of *Iupiter* called *Feretrius*, there he set vp this young oke, and token of triumphe. This *Marcellus* is the third and last ROMAINE Captaine, to whom happened this honor in our age. For the first man that euer offred vp to *Iupiter* the spoyles of the general of their enemies, was king *Romulus*, who wanne the like spoyles of *Acron*, king of the CÆNINIANS. The second was *Cornelius Cossus*, who slue *Tolumnius*, generall of the THVSCANS. And the third was *Marcellus*, who slue with his owne handes *Britomarus*, king of the GAVLES: and after him, no man euer since could obtaine the like good fortune. The god to whom these maner of spoyles are consecrated thus, is called *Iupiter Feretrian*, so tearmed as some write, bicause they do cary this token of triumphe to him, following the deriuation of this Greeke word, *Ferin*, which signifieth to cary: for in those former times, many Greeke words were mingled with the Latine. Other affirme it is one of the surnames of *Iupiter*, signifying as much as lightening: for *Ferire* in the Latine tonge, signifieth to strike. And some say also, in warres it is properly to hurt or kill with his owne handes: for the ROMAINES do vse at this day when they geue a charge apon their enemies in battell, or that they haue them in chase flying, to crie, incoraging one an other, *Feri, Feri*: which is as much, as kill, kill. And the spoyles taken frõ the enemies also, are generally called *Spolia*: but those which Lieutenantes, generall, or generalles, do take from the generalles of their enemies, when they haue slaine them, they are called particularly *Spolia opima*. Yet some hold opinion, that kinge *Numa Pompilius* mencioning the rich spoyles, or *Spolia opima* in his cõmentaries, speaketh of the first, the second, and the third: and commaundeth that the first spoyles which are wonne, should be consecrated to *Iupiter Feretrian*: the second vnto *Mars*: and the third vnto *Quirinus*. And that they should giue to him that had wonne the first spoyles, three hundred Asses: the second, two hundred: & the third a hũdred. But notwithstanding, the best opinion & vsuall taking of *Spolia opima*, referreth them to be the first spoyles wonne in a foughten field, & those which the Lieutenãt of an army, or a general, doth take frõ the general of the enemies, after he hath slaine him with his owne handes. And thus much for declaracion of this matter. Furthermore, the ROMAINES were so ioyfull of this victory, & of their good successe in this warre, that they caused a massie cuppe of golde to be made of the spoyle they had gotten, weyinge a hundred pounde weight, which they sent to offer vp in the temple of *Apollo Pythias*: in the city of DELPHES, in token of thankes: and they made liberall diuision besides of the spoyles vnto their frendes and confederates, and sent a great parte of it vnto *Hieron* king of SYRACVSA, who was their confederate. Not lõg after, *Hannibal* being entred ITALIE, *Marcellus* was sent with an army by sea, into SICILE. And after the great ouerthrow was giuen at the battel of CANNES, wherin there died so many thowsande ROMAINES, and that very few of them saued them selues by flyinge, into the city of CANNVSIVM: they looked that *Hannibal* hauinge ouercome the flower of all the

Marcellus wanne the city of Millaine.

Marcellus triumphe.

Marcellus offeringe vp of his rich spoiles.
The three persones that offered vp Spolia opima in Rome:
Romulus.
Cossus.
Marcellus.
Iupiter Feretrian why so called.

Spolia opima what they be.

Marcellus sent into Sicile with an army.

A the ROMAINES youth, and their greateſt force, woulde not fayle to come ſtraight to ROME. Wherefore *Marcellus* firſt ſent fifteene hundred of his men by ſea, to help to defende ROME: and hauinge afterwardes receaued commaundement from the Senate, he came to CANNVSIVM, where he tooke ſuch as were fled thither for ſuccor after the battell, & ſo brought them out to the fielde, to defende the contrie. Now the ROMAINES hauing loſt the moſt parte of all their beſt Captaines, in diuerſe ſundry battells before: of all thoſe that remained, *Fabius Maximus* was the onely able and reputed man for commendacion of his honeſty and wiſedom, yet they miſliked of him notwithſtanding, for a timerous man, and of no corage, as a man to ful of doubts and conſideracion, and loth to put any thing in hazard: ſaying, he was a good Captaine to defende, but not to offende the enemy. Whereupon they thought good to ioyne *Marcel-*
B *lus* liuely youth & corage, with *Fabius* feminine feare and wiſedom: and therefore ſome yeares they choſe them both Conſulls together, or elſe they ſent one of them as Conſull, and the other as Proconſull, eche in his turne, to the contrie where they hadde warres. And for proofe hereof, *Poſidonius* wryteth, that the ROMAINES at that time called *Fabius Maximus* their target, and *Marcellus* their ſword. Therefore *Hannibal* him ſelfe ſayed, he feared *Fabius Maximus* as his gouernor, and *Marcellus* as his enemy: bicauſe the one kept him from hurting of others, and the other did hurt to him ſelfe. Immediatly after this great victory at CANNES, *Hannibals* ſouldiers became ſo bolde, ſo careleſſe, and diſordered, that they kept the fielde without feare of any thing, and diſperſed them ſelues farre from their campe: wherefore *Marcellus* ſetting apon thoſe ſtragglers, he ſlue them euery man, & ſo by litſe and litle did ſtill leſſen the power
C and ſtrength of his enemy. Afterwardes he aided the cities of BIZANTIVM and of NOLA, and ſtabliſhed the true deuotion and loue of the BIZANTINES towardes the ROMAINES: from thence he went to NOLA, & found great ſedition there betwixt the Senate & people, bicauſe the Senate coulde not keepe the people in obedience, but they woulde needes take *Hannibals* parte. The cauſe of the peoples ſtubbornneſſe grewe, by occaſion of a gentleman of the city called *Bandius*, a noble gentleman to the people, and a valliant man of his hands. This *Bandius* hauing fought valliantly at the battell of CANNES, after he hadde ſlaine many a CARTHAGINIAN, was him ſelfe in the ende ſtriken downe, and founde lyinge amonge deade bodies, ſore wounded and mangled: whereupon *Hannibal* greatly commending his valliantnes, did not onely let him go without ranſome, but furthermore preſented him, & made him his hoſte and
D frende. Hereupon *Bandius* at his comming home, to requite *Hannibals* honor and curteſie, became one of thoſe that moſt fauored *Hannibal*, & moſt perſwaded the people of NOLA to take his parte. Notwithſtandinge this, *Marcellus* thinking it to great a ſinne againſt the goddes, to put a man to death that had made ſo great proofe of his valliantnes, and had ſerued with the ROMAINES in their greateſt warres and extremeſt daunger, and who beſides the goodnes of his nature, hadde a maruelous gift alſo, to winne mens good wills by his great curteſie: when this *Bandius* came one day to do his duety to him, *Marcellus* of purpoſe asked him what he was, though he had knowen him long before, only to take occaſion to talke with him. The other aunſwered him, his name was *Lucius Bandius*. Then *Marcellus* ſeeming to be maruelous glad, and to wonder at him, ſayed: and art thou that *Bandius* they ſpeake of ſo much at ROME,
E whom they ſay did ſo notable ſeruice in perſone at the battel of CANNES, and neuer forſooke *Paulus AEmilius* the Conſull, but receaued ſo many woundes vppon thy body in defence of him? *Bandius* aunſwered, that he was the man, and therewith ſhewed him many woundes he had apon his body. *Marcellus* then replyed: alas, thou that carieſt ſuch notable markes of thy vnfained loue towards vs, what diddeſt thou meane, that thou cameſt not ſtraight againe vnto vs? art thou perſwaded we are ſo miſerable & vnthankefull, that we will not worthily reward the vertue and valliantneſſe of our frendes, whom our enemies ſelues do honor? After *Marcellus* had vſed this curteous ſpeach vnto him, and had imbraced him, he gaue him a goodly horſe for ſeruice in the warres, & fiue hundred Drachmes of ſiluer beſides. So after that time, *Bandius* did euer take *Marcellus* parte, and alwayes followed him, being very faithfull to him,
F and ſhewed him ſelfe very ſeueare and earneſt to accuſe them, that tooke *Hannibals* parte in the city: which were many in number, & had conſpired among them ſelues, that the firſt time the ROMAINES ſhould go into the fielde to skirmiſhe with the enemies, they woulde ſhut the

Poſidonius wordes of Fabius & Marcellus.

Lucius Bandius, of Nola: a valliant man.

Marcellus gentlenes.

Reward made Bandius a true ſubiect.

gates after them,& take the ſpoyle of al their cariages. *Marcellus* being informed of this treaſon,did ſet his men in battell raye within the city, hard by the gates,& behind them he placed al the ſumpters & cariage in good order:beſides that,he made proclamation by trompet,that no citizen apon paine of death ſhoulde approch the walles. This occaſion drew *Hannibal* to come hard to the city,ſeeinge no watche apon the walles, and made him the bolder to come in diſorder, imagininge there had bene ſome mutinie or ſedition within, betwene the noble men and the people. But in the meane time, *Marcellus* ſet open the gates being hard by, and ſayling out apon the ſodaine with the beſt men of armes he had,he gaue a charge vpō *Hannibal* in the voward. Immediatly after came out his footemen at an other gate,running ſtraight vpon *Hannibal*,with a wonderfull crie and ſhowte:ſo as *Hannibal* to withſtand them, was driuen to deuide his men in two companies. But as he was deuidinge of them, ſodainely a third gate opened apon them, from whence all the reſidue of the Romaines iſſued out, who ſette vppon the Carthaginians on euery ſide, they beinge maruelouſly amazed to be ſo ſodainely ſet on, which they looked not for: ſo hauing their handes full with thoſe that came firſt apon them, beinge ſcant able to defende them ſelues againſt them, and ſeeinge this newe and laſt charge alſo: they were forced to retyre. This was the firſt time, that euer *Hannibals* ſouldiers beganne to giue place to the Romaines,who draue them backe vnto their campe, and ſlewe a great number of them, and did hurt diuerſe of them beſides. For ſome wryte, there were ſlaine of the Carthaginians at that conflict, aboue fiue thowſande : and of the Romaines there died not paſt fiue hundred men. But *Titus Liuius* doth not ſet out the ouerthrow ſo great,and yet confeſſeth that *Marcellus* wanne great honor by it, & that it made the Romaines maruelous valliant againe, after ſo many and ſundry battells as they had loſt one after an other: for then they were perſwaded that they fought not with an enemy altogether vnuincible,but that he might ſomtime alſo, as well as them ſelues,receiue both loſſe and hurt. Therefore, one of the Conſulls dyinge about that time,the people cauſed *Marcellus* to be ſent for, & placed him in his roome:and in ſpite of the Senate they deferred all deputacion vntill his returne from the campe. *Marcellus* came no ſooner to Rome, but he was choſen Conſull in the deade mans roome,by all the voyces of the people. Notwithſtandinge, when they went to chooſe him,it thundered maruelouſly : which the Prieſtes & Augures tooke for an ill token, but yet they durſt not openly ſpeake againſt his election, bicauſe they feared the people. Howbeit *Marcellus* of him ſelfe did willingly giue vp his Conſullſhippe,and yet was it no exception to him for his ſeruice in the warres:for they created him Proconſull, and ſent him againe to the campe at Nola, where he did ſeuerely puniſhe ſuch as tooke *Hannibals* parte. Who being aduertiſed thereof,came thither with all poſſible ſpede to helpe them:and euen at his firſt comming, he offered *Marcellus* battell,which refuſed it at that time. Neuertheles he tooke his time, when *Hannibal* hadde ſent the beſt parte of his army to forrage, as meaning to fight no more battels:and then he ſet apon him, hauing giuen his footemen long pykes, ſuch as they vſe in fight apon the ſea, and taught them alſo,howe to hurt the enemy a farre of,keping them ſtill in their handes. But the Carthaginians hauing no skill of their pykes,and fighting with ſhorte iauelings in their hands, did ſtrike downe right blowes:which was the cauſe, that they being ſet apon by the Romaines,were driuen to turne their backes, and flee before them. So there were fiue thowſande of the Carthaginians left dead in the field,foure elephants ſlaine,and two taken aliue:and furthermore,three dayes after the battell, there came a three hundred horſemen, ſome of them Spaniards, and other Numidians, that ſubmitted them ſelues to the Romaines. Neuer came there ſuch a misfortune before to *Hannibal*:who had of lōg time kept together in great loue & amity,an army aſſembled of ſundry barbarous nations and people. Howbeit theſe three hundred continued euer after faithfull to the end,both to *Marcellus*,and to all other Lieutenants & generals of the Romaines. Shortely after, *Marcellus* beinge againe choſen Conſull the thirde time, went into Sicile. For *Hannibals* proſperous ſucceſſe and victories had ſo incoraged the Carthaginians, as they ſought againe to conquer this Ilande:and ſpecially bicauſe that after the death of *Hieronimus* the tyran, there roſe ſome tumult at Syracvsa. Vppon which occaſion,the Romaines had ſent an army thither before,and a Prætor called *Appius* : at whoſe handes *Marcellus* hauing

Marcellus victorie of Hannibal at Nola.

Marcellus proconſull.

Certaine Spanyards and Numidians reuolted from Hanniball.

Marcellus the third time Conſull, ſent into Sicile.

A hauing receiued the army, a great number of the ROMAINES became humble ſuters to him, to pray him to aide them in their calamity, which was this. Of thoſe that ſcaped from the battell of CANNES, ſome ſaued them ſelues by flying, other were taken priſoners, of which there were ſuch a number, as it appeared that ROME had not people enough left onely to keepe the walles. Neuertheles, thoſe few that remained, their hartes were ſo great, that they would neuer redeeme the priſoners, which *Hannibal* was contented to deliuer them vppon ſmall ranſome, but made a decree they ſhould not be redeemed: and ſo ſuffered ſome of them to be killed, others to be ſolde for ſlaues out of ITALIE. And moreouer, thoſe that ſaued them ſelues by flying, they ſent ſtraight into SICILE: commaunding they ſhould not once ſet foote againe in ITALIE, whileſt they had warres with *Hannibal*. Theſe were the men that came altogether,

The ſeuerity of the Romaines to cowardly ſouldiers.

B and fell downe at *Marcellus* feete, ſo ſoone as he arriued in SICILE, & humbly beſought him, to appoint them to ſerue vnder ſome enſigne, that they might fight to do their contrie honor and ſeruice: promiſing him with teares running downe their cheekes, that their faithfull ſeruice then ſhould witneſſe for them, that the ouerthrow they had at CANNES, fell apon them rather by misfortune, then through lacke of corage. Whereupon *Marcellus* hauing compaſſion on them, wrote to the Senate in their fauor, & prayed them that they would graunt him licence to ſupply the bands of his army, as they diminiſhed, with thoſe poore ROMAINES his contrymen. Many reaſons paſſed to, and fro, againſt this ſute: neuertheles, it was concluded in the ende by the Senate, that the common wealth made no reckening of the ſeruice of faint harted men like women: wherefore if *Marcellus* thought good of their ſeruice, yet it ſhoulde

Cowardes deteſted of the Romaines.

C not be lawfull for him to giue them any crownes or rewards of honor, for any notable ſeruice ſoeuer they did, as all generalles are wont to giue to honeſt men that ſerue valliantly. This order of the Senate miſliked *Marcellus* very much, who at his returne home out of SICILE, made his complaint in open Senate, and told them they did him manifeſt wrong, to deny him that fauor, that hauing done his common wealth ſuch faithful ſeruice diuerſe times, as he had done, he might not reſtore ſo many poore ROMAINES to their honor againe. Nowe, when *Marcellus* was in SICILE, he receiued great hurtes and iniuries by *Hippocrates*, generall of the SYRACVSANS: who, to pleaſure the CARTHAGINIANS, and by their meanes to make him ſelfe chiefe Lord of SYRACVSA, did put many ROMAINE citizens to death. Whereupon *Marcellus* went and layed ſiege to the city of the LEONTINES, and when he had taken it by aſſault,

Hippocrates generall of the Syracuſans.

Marcellus wanne the city of the Leontines.

D he hurt neuer a townes man, nor naturall citizen of the ſame: but ſuch traytors as he founde there, and had fled from his campe, & yelded to the enemies, them he cauſed to be whipped, and then hanged. But notwithſtanding, *Hippocrates* had before cauſed it to be bruted at SYRACVSA, that *Marcellus* had put all the LEONTINES to the ſword, not ſparing litle children: and afterwards *Hippocrates* comming thither on the ſodaine, in the feare and garboyle of this falſe brute, he eaſily tooke the city. *Marcellus* hearing *Hippocrates* had taken SYRACVSA, left forthwith the LEONTINES, & went with his whole army, & camped hard by SYRACVSA: and ſent his Ambaſſadors to tell the SYRACVSANS truely, what he had done in the city of the LEONTINES, and quite contrarie to that they were informed of. Howbeit that preuailed not, for they beleued not *Marcellus*, bicauſe *Hippocrates* being the ſtronger, had wonne the city. Wher-

Marcellus beſiegeth Syracuſa.

E upon he beganne then to approch the walles, and to aſſault in euery quarter, as well by ſea as by lande. *Appius* tooke charge of them that gaue aſſault by lande. *Marcellus* him ſelfe, with three ſcore galleyes of fiue owers at euery bancke, well armed, and full of all ſortes of artillery and fire works, did aſſault by ſea, and rowed hard to the walle, hauing made a great engine and deuiſe of battery, vppon eight galleyes chained together, to batter the walle: truſting in the great multitude of his engines of battery, and to all ſuch other neceſſarie prouiſion as he had for warres, as alſo in his owne reputacion. But *Archimedes* made light accompt of all his deuiſes, as in deede they were nothinge comparable to the engines him ſelfe had inuented: and

Archimedes a notable mathematician.

yet were not his owne ſuch, as him ſelfe did recken of, to ſhew ſingularity of worke and deuiſe. For thoſe he had made, were but his recreations of Geometry, and thinges done to paſſe the

F time with, at the requeſt of king *Hieron*: who had prayed him to call to minde a litle his geometricall ſpeculation, and to apply it to thinges corporall and ſenſible, and to make the reaſon of it demonſtratiue, and plaine, to the vnderſtanding of the common people by experi-

ments, and to the benefit and commodity of vse. For this inuentiue arte to frame instruments and engines, (which are called mechanicall, or organicall, so highly commended and esteemed of all sortes of people) were first set forth by *Architas*, and by *Eudoxus*: partely to beawtifie a litle the science of Geometry by this fineness, and partly to proue and confirme by materiall examples and sencible instruments, certeine Geometrical conclusions, wherof a man can not finde out the conceiueable demonstrations, by enforced reasons and proofes. As that conclusion which instructeth one to searche out two lynes meane proportionall, which can not be proued by reason demonstratiue, and yet notwithstandinge is a principall and an accepted grounde, for many thinges which are conteined in the arte of portraiture. Both of them haue facioned it to the workemanship of certeine instruments, called Mesolabes or Mesographes, which serue to finde these meane lines proportionall, by drawing certaine curue lines, and ouerthwart and oblike sextions. But after that, *Plato* was offended with them, and mainteined against them, that they did vtterly corrupt and disgrace, the worthines & excellency of Geometry, making it to discende from things not comprehensible, and without body, vnto things sencible and materiall, and to bringe it to a palpable substance, where the vile and base handie worke of man is to be employed: since that time I say, handy craft, or the arte of engines, came to be separated from Geometry, and being long time despised by the Philosophers, it came to be one of the warlike artes. But *Archimedes* hauinge tolde king *Hieron*, his kinseman and very frende, that it was possible to remoue as great a weight as he would, with as litle strength as he lifted to put to it: and boasting him selfe thus (as they reporte of him) and trusting to the force of his reasons, wherewith he proued this cõclusion, that if there were an other globe of earth, he was able to remoue this of ours, and passe it ouer to the other: kinge *Hieron* wondering to heare him, required him to put this deuise in execution, and to make him see by experience, some great or heauy weight remoued, by litle force. So *Archimedes* caught hold with a hooke of one of the greatest carects, or hulkes of the king (that to draw it to the shore out of the water, required a maruelous number of people to go about it, and was hardly to be done so) and put a great number of men more into her, than her ordinary burden: and he himselfe sittinge alone at his ease farre of, without any straining at all, drawing the ende of an engine with many wheeles and pullyes, fayer and softly with his hande, made it come as gently and smoothly to him, as it had floted in the sea. The king wondering to see the sight, and knowing by proofe the greatnes of his arte: he prayed him to make him some engines, both to assault and defend in all maner of sieges and assaultes. So *Archimedes* made him many engines, but kinge *Hieron* neuer occupied any of them, bicause he raigned the most parte of his time in peace, without any warres. But this prouision and munition of engines, serued the SYRACVSANS turne maruelously at that time: and not only the prouision of the engines ready made, but also the enginer & worke maister him selfe, that had inuented them. Now, the SYRACVSANS seeing them selues assaulted by the ROMAINES, both by sea and by land, were maruelously perplexed, and could not tel what to say they were so afrayed: imagining it was impossible for them to withstande so great an army. But when *Archimedes* fell to handle his engines, and to set them at liberty, there flue in the ayer infinite kindes of shot, and maruelous great stones, with an vncredible noyse and force on the sodaine, apon the footemen that came to assault the city by land, bearing downe, and tearing in peeces all those, which came against them, or in what place soeuer they lighted, no earthly body beinge able to resist the violence of so heauy a weight: so that all their rankes were maruelously disordered. And as for the gallies that gaue assault by sea, some were soncke with long peeces of timber like vnto the yards of shippes, whereto they fasten their sailes, which were sodainly blowen ouer the walles with force of their engines into their gallies, and so soncke them by their ouergreat weight. Other being hoysed vp by the prooes with handes of Iron, and hookes made like cranes billes, plonged their poupes into the sea. Other being taken vp with certaine engines fastened within, one contrary to an other, made them turne in the ayer like a whirlegigge, & so cast them apon the rockes by the towne walles, and splitted them all to fitters, to the great spoyle and murder of the persons that were within them. And sometimes the shippes and gallies were lift cleane out of the water, that it was a fearfull thing to see them hang and turne in the ayer as they did: vntill that casting their men

Architas and Eudoxus, famous Mathematicians.

VVhy Plato reproued Eudoxus and Architas.

Archimedes with an engine drew one of the greatest hulkes Hieron the king had a shore.

The wõderful force of Archimedes engines at Marcellus siege of Syracusa.

men within them ouer the hatches, ſome here, ſome there, by this terrible turning, they came in the end to be empty, and to breake againſt the walls, or elſe to fall into the ſea againe, when their engines left their hold. Now for *Marcellus* engine, which he brought againſt the walles, vppon a bridge made of gallies ioyned together: that was called Sambuca, by reaſon of the facion it had like to an inſtrument of muſicke of the ſame name, which is a harpe. The ſame being yet a good prety way of frō the walls, there fell a great ſtone apon it ſent frō the walls, weying ten talents. Then, a ſeconde after that, and a third one after that, the which falling all intō this engine with ſuch a thunder and terrible tempeſt, brake the fundacion of the engine, and tare all the bridge of the gallies ioyned together in peeces, that ſuſteined it. So that *Marcellus* being amazed with all, not knowing well what it ment: was glad to retyre quickely, and ſent to make his trompet ſound the retreate to thoſe that gaue aſſault by land. Hereupon they ſate in counſaill to determine what was to be done, and they reſolued, that the next morninge before day they ſhoulde approche the walles if it were poſſible: bicauſe that *Archimedes* engines, which were very ſtrong and hard wounde vp, ſhould by this meanes ſende all the force and furie of their ſtones and ſhot ouer their heades, and that neere hande alſo he coulde do no good with them, for that they had not the ſcope of their leauel and cariage they ſhould haue. But *Archimedes* had preuented this deuiſe by long preparation before, hauing made prouiſion of engines for farre and neere, the leauell and cariage whereof was proportioned for all diſtances: their ſhot ſhorte, the arrowes not very long, many holes and arches in the walles one harde by an other, where there were ſtore of crosbowes to kill neere hande, ſette in ſuch places, as the enemies coulde not ſee them without. Wherefore, when the ROMAINES thought to approche, thinking they had bene ſafe and cloſe, that no man ſaw them: it amazed them all when they were receaued againe with infinite ſhot, and ſtriken to the ground with ſtones that fell apon their heades like leade: (for there was no parte of all the walles, from whence they had not the like ſhotte.) Whereupon they were forced againe to retyre from the walles. And yet when they were further of from them, the arrowes, ſtones, and other kinde of ſhotte that flue in euery place amonge them, killed a great nomber of them, ſcattered farre from thence: ſo that many of them were ſlaine and ſore wounded, and diuerſe of their ſhippes ſplitted, and they not once able to be reuenged, nor to hurt their enemies, bicauſe *Archimedes* had placed his engines very cloſely behinde the walles, and not apon the walles in ſight of the enemy. So that it appeared the goddes fought againſt the ROMAINES, they were ſo ſlaine and wounded, and yet they coulde not tell how, nor by whom. Notwithſtanding, *Marcellus* eſcaped with life, ſafe from hurt, and mocking his workemaiſters and enginers he had in his campe, he ſayd vnto them. What, ſhall we not leaue to make warres with this Briarian enginer and Geometrician here? who ſitting ſtill apon the wharfe, in ſporting manner hath with ſhame ouerthrowen our nauy, and exceeded all the fabulous hundred handes of the Gyants, diſchargінge at one inſtant ſo many ſhot among vs? For in deede, all the reſidue of the SYRACVSANS were, as the body and members of *Archimedes* preparacion: and he him ſelfe was the only creature that moued and did all, all weapons elſe being quiet, and his engines only occupied, to aſſault and defend. At the length, *Marcellus* ſeeing his men thus afeard, as if they did but ſee the ende of a rope, or any peece of timber vpon the walle, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* was letting looſe ſome of his engines apon them: he would no more approche the walles, nor geue aſſault, determininge to ſee if he coulde winne it by longe ſiege. Notwithſtanding, *Archimedes* had ſuch a great minde, and was ſo profoundly learned, hauing hidden in him the onely treaſure and ſecrets of Geometricall inuentions: as he would neuer ſet forth any booke how to make all theſe warlicke engynes, which wanne him at that time the fame & glory, not of mans knowledge, but rather of diuine wiſedom. But he eſteminge all kinde of handy craft & inuention to make engines, & generally all maner of ſciences bringing common commodity by the vſe of them, to be but vyle, beggerly, & mercenary droſſe: employed his witte & ſtudy onely to write thinges, the beawty and ſubtiltie whereof, were not mingled any thinge at all with neceſſitie. For all that he hath written, are geometricall propoſicions, which are without compariſon of any other writings whatſoeuer: bicauſe the ſubiect whereof they treate, doeth appeare by demonſtracion, the matter giuing them the grace & the greatnes, and the demon-

Marcellus Sambuca.

Marcellus wondred at Archimedes engynes.

Archimedes profoundely learned.

ſtracion prouing it ſo exquiſitely, with wonderfull reaſon and facilitie, as it is not repugnable. For in all Geometry are not to be founde more profounde and difficulte matters wrytten, in more plaine and ſimple tearmes, & by more eaſie principles, then thoſe which he hath inuented. Now ſome do impute this, to the ſharpnes of his wit & vnderſtanding, which was a naturall gift in him: other do referre it to the extreame paines he tooke, which made theſe things come ſo eaſily from him, that they ſeemed as if they had bene no trouble to him at all. For no man liuinge of him ſelfe can deuiſe the demonſtracion of his propoſitions, what paine ſoeuer he take to ſeeke it: & yet ſtraight ſo ſoone as he commeth to declare & open it, euery man then imagineth with him ſelfe he could haue found it out well enough, he can then ſo plainly make demonſtracio of the thing he meaneth to ſhew. And therfore that me thinks is like enough to be true, which they write of him: that he was ſo rauiſhed & dronke with the ſwete intyſements of this Sirene, which as it were lay continually with him, as he forgate his meate & drinke, and was careles otherwiſe of him ſelfe, that oftentimes his ſeruants got him againſt his will to the bathes, to waſhe & annoynt him: & yet being there, he would euer be drawing out of the Geometricall figures, euen in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were annointing of him with oyles & ſwete ſauors, with his finger he did draw lines apon his naked body: ſo farre was he take frō himſelf, & brought into an extaſy or traunſe, with the delite he had in the ſtudy of Geometry, & truely rauiſhed with the loue of the Muſes. But amongſt many notable things he deuiſed, it appeareth, that he moſt eſtemed the demonſtracion of the proportion betwene the Cylinder (to wit, the round colomne) & the Sphære or globe conteined in the ſame: for he prayed his kinſemē & frends, that after his death they would put a Cylinder apon his tombe, conteining a maſſie Sphære, with an inſcription of the proportion, wherof the continent excedeth the thing cōteined. So *Archimedes* being as you haue heard, did aſmuch as lay in him, both ſaue him ſelfe & Syracvsa from taking. But now againe to *Marcellus*. *Marcellus* during the ſiege at Syracvsa, wanne the city of Megares in Sicile, one of the auncienteſt cities in all the Ilande: & he tooke beſides, the campe of *Hippocrates*, lying by Aciles, where he ſlue aboue eight thouſand men, ſurpriſing them apon the ſodaine, euen as they were preparing to lodge, & to fortifie their campe. Then he ouercame a great parte of the champion contrie of Sicile, & made the cities to rebel that tooke the Carthaginians parte: & in al the battels he fought, he euer ouercame them that durſt bid him battell. It chaunced afterwards, that he tooke a Lacedæmonian Captaine priſoner, called *Danippus*: euen as he came out of Syracvsa by ſea. The Syracvsans deſirous to redeme him, ſent to him to pray he might be ranſommed. They made many parlees about his raunſome, and drew out this practiſe to diuerſe meetings: vntil *Marcellus* had taken good markes of a certeine tower, that had no great watch kept vpon it, & into the which he might ſecretly cōuey a certeine number of men, the walle of the city in that place being no very hard thing to skale. Therefore when he had geuen a good geſſe by eſtimacion at the height of that tower, by often approching to it, hauing parled many a time hard by it: he prouided skaling ladders, & tooke the oportunity of a feaſt which the Syracvsans ſolemniſed in the honor of *Diana*, on which day they gaue thē ſelues to al feaſting, ſporting & playes. So he tooke not only the tower, but filled all the walls round about with armed mē before day, & brake open the maine gate & entry of the citie called Hexapyle. And as the Syracvsans began to ſtirre, perceiuing the Romaines on the wals: *Marcellus* made his men ſound their trompets on euery ſide. Whereupon the Syracvsans were ſo afraid & amazed, that they beganne to flie, thinkinge all the city beſides had bene taken, where in deede the greateſt & ſtrongeſt quarter of the city called Acradina, was not yet touched: bicauſe it is walled in rounde about, and ſeparated from the reſt of the citie, which is deuided into two other partes, the one called the newe citie, and the other fortune. The two partes whereof beinge wonne, *Marcellus* by the breake of the daye forced in by the gate or entrie of the Hexapyle. And when his Captaynes tolde him he was happie, to winne ſo goodly a citie, ſo eaſely: they ſay, that he lookinge about him, and conſideringe the greatneſſe and ſtatelineſſe of the ſame, he wept for verie pitie, foreſeeinge whereto it ſhoulde come, thinking with him ſelfe what a ſodayne chaunge it ſhoulde haue, when his armie came to ſpoyle and ſacke the ſame. For there was not a Captaine that durſt denie the ſouldiers when they demaunded

Archimedes Syren.

Archimedes demonſtracion of the Cylinder.

Marcellus victories in Sicile.

Danippus a Lacedæmoniā Captaine taken priſoner.

Marcellus winneth Syracuſa.

Acradina.

the

A the ſpoyle, and yet were there many that would nedes haue it burnt and raſed to the ground. But *Marcellus* would not agree to that in any caſe, and beſides, it was ſore againſt his minde to graunt them the ſpoyle of the goodes and ſlaues: ſtraightly commaunding them notwithſtanding, not to lay handes of any free man, and not to kill, hurt, nor to make any SYRACVSAN ſlaue. Wherein, though he ſhewed great fauor and mercy, yet it greued him to ſee ſo famous a citie, brought to that miſerable ſtate: and in the middeſt of all the ioy he had for his victorie, he could not refraine from weeping for pity to ſee ſo rich and wealthie a citie, in the turning of a hand, ſpoyled, and brought to nought. For it is ſayd, that the riches and goodes taken away at the ſacke of SYRACVSA, were nothinge inferior to the ſpoyles of CARTHAGE, which was alſo ſacked not longe after that: for the other parte of the city of SYRACVSA called A-

Marcellus gentlenes.

Rich ſpoyles as Syracuſa.

B CRADINA, was ſoone after alſo taken by treaſon, and ſpoyled againſt the Captaines willes, ſauinge the kinges treaſure, which was reſerued to be caried to the common treaſure of ROME. SYRACVSA beinge taken, nothinge greued *Marcellus* more, then the loſſe of *Archimedes*. Who beinge in his ſtudie when the citie was taken, buſily ſeekinge out by him ſelfe the demonſtracion of ſome Geometricall propoſition which he hadde drawen in figure, and ſo earneſtly occupied therein, as he neither ſawe nor hearde any noyſe of enemies that ranne vppe and downe the citie, and much leſſe knewe it was taken: He wondered when he ſawe a ſouldier by him, that bad him go with him to *Marcellus*. Notwithſtandinge, he ſpake to the ſouldier, and bad him tary vntill he had done his concluſion, and brought it to demonſtracion: but the ſouldier being angry with his aunſwer, drew out his ſword, and killed him. Other ſay, that

Archimedes mathematicia ſlaine in his ſtudy.

C the ROMAINE ſouldier when he came, offered the ſwords poynt to him, to kill him: and that *Archimedes* when he ſaw him, prayed him to hold his hand a litle, that he might not leaue the matter he looked for vnperfect, without demonſtracion. But the ſouldier makinge no reckening of his ſpeculation, killed him preſently. It is reported a third way alſo, ſayinge, that certeine ſouldiers met him in the ſtreetes going to *Marcellus*, carying certeine Mathematicall inſtrumentes in a litle pretie coffer, as dialles for the ſunne, Sphæres and Angles, wherewith they meaſure the greatneſſe of the body of the ſunne by viewe: and they ſuppoſing he hadde caried ſome golde or ſiluer, or other pretious Iuells in that litle coffer, ſlue him for it. But it is moſt true, that *Marcellus* was maruelous ſorie for his death, and euer after hated the villen that ſlue him, as a curſed and execrable perſone: and howe he made alſo maruelous much af-

Diuers opinions of Archimedes death.

D terwards of *Archimedes* kinſemen for his ſake. The ROMAINES were eſtemed of at that time by all nations, for maruelous expert ſouldiers, and taken for verie vallyant and daungerous men to be dealt with: but they neuer ſhewed any example of their clemencie and curteſie, and leaſt of all of any ciuill manner to any ſtraungers, vntill *Marcellus* taught the way, whoſe actes did ſhewe the GREECIANS then, that the ROMAINES were more gratious and merciſull, then they. For he did ſo curteouſlie intreate thoſe that hadde to do with him, and ſhewed ſuch fauour to priuate perſones, and alſo to whole citties: that if there were any crueltie ſhewed in the citties of ENNA, or at MEGARES, or againſt the SYRACVSANS, it was rather through their owne fault and follie that were hurt, then theirs that didde them the hurte. And for proſe hereof, I will recite you one example onely amongeſt many. There is

Marcellus clemency.

E a citie in SICILE called ENGYIVM, it is no great thinge, but a verie auncient citie of name, by reaſon of the trafficke thither, for that there are certeine goddeſſes to be ſeene, whome they worſhip, called the mothers. Some ſay the CRETANS were the firſt builders and founders of the temple there, where you ſhall ſee ſpeares and helmets of copper, and apon them are grauen the name of *Meriones*: and apon others, *Vlyſſes* name alſo, which are conſecrated to theſe goddeſſes. This citie ſtoode altogether at the deuotion of the CARTHAGINIANS: and *Nicias* beinge the chiefeſt man of the ſame, was all he might againſt it, and perſwaded them openlie in all their counſailles to take parte with the ROMAINES, prouinge it by many reaſons, that his enemies counſaylinge the contrarie, were vnprofitable members of the common wealth. Whereuppon *Nicias* enemies fearinge his greatneſſe and au-

Engyium a city in Sicile.

F thoritie, they did conſpyre amonge them ſelues to apprehende him, and to deliuer him to the CARTHAGINIANS. But *Nicias* hearinge of ſuche a matter, and findinge that they laye in wayte to take him: vſed this pollicie to preuent their treaſon. He gaue out openlie

Nicias craft.

very ill ſpeeches againſt the goddeſſes, and did many things in derogation of their honor: and ſayd the ſight of them (which was a matter of great credit) was but deuiſe, and that there was no credit to be geuen to them. Theſe words tickled his enemies, imagining that the common people would lay the miſchiefe they pretended againſt him, to him ſelfe, as the only cauſer of his owne hurt. So they hauinge appointed a day to apprehende him, by chaunce a common counſaill was kept that day they hadde determined of: where *Nicias* ſpeaking to the people about matter of counſaill, in the middeſt of his oration fell to the grounde, to the great wonder of the whole aſſembly, as euery man may coniecture. Howbeit neuer a man ſturred, & a prety while after he beganne to lift vppe his head a litle, and to looke gaſtely about him, with a faint trembling voyce, which he ſtill gathered higher and lowder by litle and litle, vntill he ſawe all the people wonderouſly afrayed and amazed, that not one of them durſt ſpeake. Then throwing his gowne from him, and renting his coate, he got vpon his feete halfe naked, and ranne towardes the gate of the Theater, cryinge out that the goddeſſes mothers did torment him: and not a man durſt once come neere him, nor offer to ſtoppe him, they were ſo ſuperſticious and fooliſhly afrayed of the goddeſſes, imagining it was ſome diuine puniſhment. But by this meanes he eaſily got to the gates of the city, and fled from them all: and he was neuer ſeene after that time, to do, or ſpeake, like a madde man in any thing. His wife that was made priuy to his deuiſe, and furthered his intent, went firſt and fell downe on her knees before the goddeſſes mothers in their temple, as ſhe had hartily prayed vnto them: & fayning afterwards ſhe would go ſeeke her husbande, that ranne vp and downe the fieldes like a madde man, ſhe went out of the city with her litle childrẽ, and no body troubled her. Thus did they eſcape without daunger, and went vnto *Marcellus* to Syracvsa. The Engienians afterwards played ſuch inſolent partes, that *Marcellus* in the ende went thither, and cauſed them all to be taken and bounde, as though he woulde haue put them to execution. But *Nicias* came to him with the teares in his eyes, and embracing his knees, and kiſſinge his handes, beſought him to take pitie of his poore citizens, beginning firſt with thoſe that were his greateſt enemies. This good nature of *Nicias* ſo pacified *Marcellus* wrath, that he pardoned them all, & did no hurt to the city, and gaue *Nicias* certeine land, beſides many other rich giftes he beſtowed apon him. Thus it is reported in the hiſtory of *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher. Now *Marcellus* being ſent for home by the Romanes, bicauſe they had warres in their owne contrie, and euen at Rome gates: he departed out of Sicile, returning towardes Rome, and caried the goodlieſt tables, pictures, and ſtatues, and other ſuch ornamentes as were in Syracvsa, meaning firſt to beautifie his triumphe with them, and to leaue them afterwardes for an ornament to Rome, which before that time neuer knewe what ſuch curious workes ment. For, this finenes, and curious tables and imagery, neuer came into Rome before, but was throughly ſet out with armor and weapons of barbarous people, and with bloody ſpoyles, and was alſo crowned with monumentes of victories and triumphes of diuerſe enemies, which were no pleaſaunt, but rather feareſull ſightes to looke apon, farre vnfitte for feminine eyes. But euen as *Epaminondas* did call the plaine of Boeotia, *Mars* ſcaffolde, where he kept his games: and *Xenophon* alſo called the city of Ephesvs, the armorers ſhoppe: euen ſo me thinkes (as *Pindarus* ſaid) they might rightly haue tearmed Rome, the temple of *Mars* fighting. And this wanne the peoples good willes much more to *Marcellus*, bicauſe he did ſo paſſingly ſet foorth Rome, with ſuch excellent fine toyes of Greece. But *Fabius Maximus* on the other ſide, was better beloued of the old men: bicauſe he brought no ſuch toyes with him from the city of Tarentvm, when he wanne it. In deede he brought away golde and ready coyne, and much other goodes that were profitable: but for images and tables, he left them ſtanding in their places, ſpeaking a thing of great note. Let vs leaue the Tarentines their goddes offended with them. And furthermore the noble men were angry with *Marcellus*, ſaying, that by this act he had purchaſed Rome great malice and hate. Firſt, bicauſe he did not onely leade men priſoners in his triumphe, but the gods alſo: and ſecondly, bicauſe he had filled the people full of pritle pratle, & idle curioſity, ſpending all the whole day in gaſinge, and wondering at the excellency of the workemen, and of their workes, where before they woulde fall to their labor, or elſe they went to the warres, not being acquainted with curioſity, nor idle life as *Euripides* ſayd, ſpeaking of *Hercules*;

Marcellus the firſt that brought in finenes & curious tables and pictures into Rome, of the ſpoyles of Syracuſa.

In

In vvicked practises, he simple vvas to see,
but he excelld in vertuous dedes, and feates that vvorthy be.

Notwithstandinge, *Marcellus* did glory amongest the GREECIANS them selues, sayinge: that he had taught the ROMAINES to esteeme the wonderfull workes of GREECE, which they knewe not before. But at his returne out of SICILE, his enemies procured, that his honor of triumphe was denied him. So *Marcellus* knowing that he had yet left somewhat to do in SICILE, and that the warre was not altogether ended, and fearing besides least a third triumphe would make him to much enuied: he was contented with good will to haue the honor of the great triumphe, in the mountaine of ALBA only: & of the litle triumphe, in the city of ROME: This maner of litle triumphe is called in Greeke, *Euan*, and the ROMAINES call it *Ouatio*. And this difference there is betwene them: that in the *Ouation* triumphe, the party to whom it is graunted, doth not enter into the city apon triumphing charet drawen with foure horses, nor doth cary any lawrell apon his head in token of triumphe, nor hath any trompettes or hornes blowen before him, but doth marche a foote with a payer of slippers on his fete, hauing flutes and howboyes playing before him, and wearing a garlande of fyrre tree apon his heade: so as this maner of entry is nothing warlike, and is rather a pleasaunt then fearefull sight. And that reason doth flatly drawe me to beleue, that these two kindes of entries they graunted to the Captaines, returning from the warres with victorie: were deuided in the olde time, rather for the maner, then for the greatnes of the doings. For such as had ouercomen their enemies by great slaughter and bloody battells, they did make their entry with pompe of triumphe, that was altogether marshall and terrible, followed with their souldiers armed, and crowned with lawrell garlandes, as their custome was in musteringe their campe in the warres. But they on the contrary side, that without any exployte of armes returned home with victorie, either by peaceable meanes, or by force of their eloquence: the law graunted them the honor of Ouation triumphe, which was quiet, and full of all ioy and mirth. For the flute is an instrument of pleasure belonginge to peace, and the fyrre tree is a tree consecrated to *Venus*, which goddesse, aboue all goddes and goddesses doth most deteste warres. This second kinde of entry was called *Ouatio*, not as many GREECIANS haue taken it, comming of this word *Euan*, which is a voyce and song of ioy, although they did vse also to accompanie the Captaines making their entry in this sorte, crying and singing *Euan*: but there were certeine GREECIANS that would haue fetched the deriuation of this word, from an old common custome they had: & were of opinion besides, that parte of this honor did apperteine to god *Bacchus*, whose surname we cal *Euius*, and somtimes *Thriambus*. Howbeit this is not the true deriuation of the name, but after this sorte. At the great triumphe and entry made, the Captaine or generall that triumpheth as a conqueror, did offer and sacrifice (by the old orders and ancient customes of ROME) one, or diuers oxen: where at the seconde triumphe called the Ouation, he onely sacrificed a mutton, which the ROMAINES call in their tongue *Ouem*, and thereof was it called Ouation. And here by the way is to be noted, the difference betwixt the lawe maker of the ROMAINE lawes and customes, and the law maker of the LACEDÆMONIANS: how both of them were contrary to the other, in appointinge their sacrifices for victorie. For at SPARTA, the Captaine or generall that had done his feate by policy or frendshippe, the sacrifice he did offer vppe to the goddes, was an oxe: and he that by force, and bloody battell had obtained victory, only offred vp a cocke for sacrifice. For though they were very good souldiers, yet they thought better of his seruice, that by his wisedom & wise perswasions obteined victory: then of his, that wanne it by valliantnes, and force of armes. Thus may you see which of these two lawemakers hadde best reason in his ordinaunces. But nowe to *Marcellus* againe. He beinge chosen Consull the fourth time, his enemies and euill willers did stirre vppe the SYRACVSANS against him, and perswaded them to complayne to the Senate of him, that he had cruelly, and vncurteously vsed them, contrary to the auncient league & allyances made long time before with the ROMAINES. *Marcellus* beinge sacrificinge one day in the Capitoll, while the Senate were sette in counsaill: the SYRACVSANS deputies came before them, & kneeling downe, besought the to giue them audience, & that they would do them iustice. The other Consull that was present rebuked them, being angry they had so maliciously spyed the occasion of *Marcellus* absence.

Marcellus entreth into Rome with Ouation triumphe.

VVhat the Ouation triumphe is.

Ouation whereof it is called.

The sacrifices of the quiet triumphe.

The sacrifices of the litle triumphe Ouation.

The differēce betwixt the Spartans and Romaines in their sacrifices for victorie.

The Syracusans accuse Marcellus.

But when *Marcellus* hearde of it, he ſtraight left of all, and came to the Senate, and firſt ſatte him downe in his Conſulls chayer, where he gaue audience as Conſull, and diſpatched diuerſe cauſes: when he had done ſo, he roſe out of his chayer, and came downe among them, ſtandinge as a priuate perſone to aunſwere at the barre, as other offenders and men accuſed, ſuffering the SYRACVSANS to alleadge and ſay againſt him what they would. Then were the SYRACVSANS blancke, when they ſaw the maieſty of *Marcellus*, and his ſtayed countenance in all thinges: ſo that hauing founde him before a very valliant man in warres and vnconquerable, they found him then a man no leſſe dreadful in his Conſuls robe: that they hong downe their eyes, and durſt not looke him in the face. Notwithſtanding, they being ſuborned by his enemies, beganne at the length boldely to accuſe him, and yet with ſorow and lamentacion, the effect whereof was this. That they beinge the ROMAINES frendes and confederates, had abidden ſuch iniuries at *Marcellus* handes, as all other generalles neuer offred their very enemies. Whereto *Marcellus* ſtraight aunſwered againe to the contrary. That for many iniuries the ROMAINES had receiued of thē, they ſuffred nothing but that, which was vnpoſſible they ſhould not ſuffer, that reſiſted vntill they were taken by force: and yet they might thanke themſelues for any thing they ſuffered, bicauſe they would not obey nor conſent, to reaſonable capitulacions and articles of peace, which he had oftentimes offered them. And againe, they could not alleage for their excuſe, that the tyrans had compelled them to make warres: when they to the contrary, bicauſe they would enter into warres, were contented to be ſubiect to a tyran. So, when both parties hadde ſpoken their mindes, the SYRACVSANS (as the maner is) went out of the Senate houſe, and *Marcellus* alſo, leauinge his fellowe Conſull in his place in the Senate, and taried without the dore, attending the ſentence of the Senate, neuer altering his countenaunce nor wonted looke, neither for feare of ſentence, nor for malice or anger againſt the SYRACVSANS, quietly looking for his iudgement. Afterwards when the Senators voyces were gathered together, and that *Marcellus* was cleared by the moſt voyces: then the SYRACVSANS fell downe at his feete weeping, and beſought him not to wreake his anger apon them that were preſent, and moreouer that he would haue compaſſion of the reſidue of the citizens, who did acknowledge his great grace and fauor extended to them, and confeſſed themſelues bound to him for euer. *Marcellus* moued with pity by their intreaty, he pardoned them, and euer after did all the SYRACVSANS what pleaſure he coulde poſſible. For through his intreaty and requeſt, the Senate did confirme and ratifie his graunt vnto them, which was: that they might vſe the liberty and benefit of their owne lawes, and quietly enioy their goodes alſo which were left them. To requite this ſpecial grace procured them by *Marcellus*, the SYRACVSANS gaue him many honors, & among others they made a law, that euer after, as oft as any of *Marcellus* name or houſe came into SICILE, the SYRACVSANS ſhould kepe a ſolemne feaſt, with garlands on their heades, and ſhould alſo ſacrifice vnto the goddes. After this, *Marcellus* went againſt *Hanniball*. And where all the other Conſulls almoſt, & generalles, after the ouerthrow at CANNES, had vſed this only policie with him, not to come to battell: he tooke a contrarie courſe to them all, thinkinge that tract of time, (whereby they thought to eate out *Hannibals* force) was rather a direct conſuming and deſtroying of all ITALIE: and that *Fabius Maximus* ſtandinge to much vpon ſafety, tooke not the way to cure the diſeaſe and weakenes of the common weale of ROME, looking to ende this warre, conſuming by litle and litle the ſtrength and power of ROME, committing a fearefull phiſitions fault and error, being afraid to heale their pacient ſodainly, imagining that to bring them low, doth leſſen the diſeaſe. So, firſt of all he went to beſiege certeine great cities of the SAMNITES, which were reuolted from obedience of the ROMAINES: and thoſe he wanne againe with a great prouiſion of corne and money he founde in them, beſides three thouſande ſouldiers *Hanniball* left in garriſon there, whome he tooke priſoners. *Hanniball* after that, hauinge ſlaine the viceconſul *Cneus Fuluius* in APVLIA, with eleuen *Tribunis militum* (to wit, Colonels, euery one hauinge charge of a thouſande footemen) and ouerthrowen the greateſt parte of his armie: *Marcellus* wrote letters to ROME, hoping to comforte the Senate & people, telling he would go thither, and did warrant them he woulde driue *Hanniball* out of APVLIA. When the ROMAINES had red his letters, they were nothing the more cōforted, but rather (as *Liuie* writeth) more

Marcellus being Conſull, aunſwered the Syracuſans accuſations as a priuate man.

Marcellus conſtancy.

Marcellus curteſie to the Syracuſans.

Marcellus actes againſt Hanniball in his fourth Conſullſhip.

Cneus Fuluius viceconſull ſlaine in Apulia by Hanniball.

A more afraid and discouraged: bicause they doubted the daunger to come woulde be greater, then the losse past, takinge *Marcellus* to be a farre greater and better generall, then euer was *Fuluius*. Neuertheless, *Marcellus* performing the contentes of his letters wrytten to ROME, draue *Hanniball* out of APVLIA, and made him retyre into LVCANIA. And *Marcellus* finding him in that contry, by a city called NVMISTRON, lodged apon hilles, and in places of strength and aduantage: he camped hard by him in the valley, and the next morninge he was the first that presented his enemy battell. *Hannibal* on the other side, came downe into the valley, and they ioyned battell: which was so cruelly fought, and so long time, as it coulde not be discerned who had the better. For the battell being begonne at nine of the clocke in the morning, it was darke night ere they gaue ouer. The next morning by pepe of day, *Marcellus* set his men

Marcellus fought a battell with Hanniball at Numistron in Apulia.

B againe in battell raye, in the middest of all the dead bodies that lay slaine in the fielde, and chalenged *Hanniball*, to proue who should haue the field. But *Hannibal* refused, and marched his way thence: so as *Marcellus* thereby had good leasure left him to strippe his slaine enemies, and also to bury his owne souldiers. When he had finished that, he presently followed his enemie by the foote, who layed many ambushes for him, but he coulde neuer trappe him in any: and in euery encounter or skirmishe they had together, *Marcellus* hadde euer the better, which wanne him great fame and credit. Nowe time beinge commen about to choose newe Consulls, the Senate thought good to sende rather for the other Consul that was in SICILE, then to remoue *Marcellus* thence, who had fought with *Hanniball*. So when the other Consull was come to ROME, the Senate commaunded him to name *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, bi-

C cause the Dictator was neither chosen by the people, nor by the Senate: but one of the Consuls or Prætors, in open assembly of the people, nameth such a one Dictator, as he liketh of. Wherefore it seemeth, that this word Dictator, came apon that word naming: for, *Dicere* in the ROMAINE tongue, signifieth to name. Howebeit other holde opinion, that he was called Dictator, bicause he commaundeth of him selfe what he will, without the counsell of the Senate, & the voyces of the people: and this seemeth to be true, bicause the commaundements of the Senate of ROME are called *Edicta*, which we GREECIANS call *Diatagmata*. Now the other Consull and companion of *Marcellus* being come out of SICILE, he would nedes name an other Dictator, then him whom the Senate offred him: and bicause he would not be compelled to do that he was vnwilling to do, he stale away one night, and returned againe into Si-

The Dictator chosen by the Consull or Prætor, not by the people nor Senate. Whereof Dictator comneth.

D CILE. Hereupon the people did name and appoint *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, and the Senate wrote their letters to *Marcellus*, to confirme him: which *Marcellus* did, and authorised the peoples election. So he him selfe was chosen againe Proconsul, for the next yeare following: in the which he hauing conferred with *Fabius Maximus* about the warres, they were agreed, that *Fabius* should proue if he could winne the city of TARENTVM againe: and that *Marcellus* in the meane time shoulde keepe *Hannibal* occupied, that he might not come to aide it. This resolution being taken betwene them, *Marcellus* went to meete *Hannibal* by the city of CANNVSIVM: who as he still chaunged and shifted lodginge, bicause he woulde not come to the battell against his will, found *Marcellus* euer in his eye before him. Insomuch as *Hannibal* remouinge thus his campe, *Marcellus* plyed him so one day with continuall alaroms and skir-

Quintus Fuluius chosen Dictator, by the people. Marcellus Proconsull.

E mishes, that he brought him to a battell that held all day long till night, and compelled them both to leaue of til the next morning: where *Marcellus* shewed againe in field by breake of the day, in battell ray. Whereat *Hannibal* being in a maruelous rage, he called his souldiers together, and made an oration to them, earnestly mouinge them once againe to fight with *Marcellus*, if euer they had heretofore fought for his sake. You see, sayd he, that hauing fought so many battells, and gotten such victories as we haue done, we can not yet take breath as we would, nor be in quiet, how much soeuer we winne, if we driue not away yonder fellow *Marcellus*. When *Hannibal* had ended his oration to the CARTHAGINIANS, he led them on to the battell: where *Marcellus*, to no purpose, and out of time, would nedes shew *Hannibal* a stra-

Hannibals oration to his souldiers.

Marcellus stratageame.

F tageame of warre, that turned him selfe to the worst. For *Marcellus* perceiuing the right wing of his army distressed, made one of his legyons that was set in ray in the rereward of his hoste, to marche to the fronte of his battell, to helpe those that needed ayde. But this remouing of the legyon, troubled them that fought, and gaue the enemies the victorie: who slue that day

Marcellus ouercome in battell by Hanniball.

Marcellus hard wordes vnto his ſouldiers.

two thouſand ſeuen hundred of the ROMAINES. So, when *Marcellus* was come againe into his campe, he ſtraight called his ſouldiers before him, to whome he ſpake in this maner: that he ſaw a great deale of armor, and bodies of men, but he coulde ſee no ROMAINES. The ROMAINES hearing him ſay ſo, beſought him to pardon the fault they had committed. *Marcellus* aunſwered, he woulde neuer pardon them, ſo long as they were ouercome: but when they ouercame againe, he was content to remit all. So the next morning he agreed to bringe them againe to fight with the enemy, that ſuch as were at ROME ſhould rather heare newes of their victorie, then of their running away. When he had ſayed, he appointed they ſhoulde geue thoſe bandes that firſt turned their backes to *Hanniball*, barley for wheate. So, as there were many of them in great daunger of their liues, for the ſore woundes they hadde geuen them in the battell: yet was there not a man of them, but *Marcellus* words did more greue them, then the greuous woundes they had. The next morning betimes was ſet out of the generalles tent, the coate armor died in skarlet, which is the ordinary ſigne of battell: and the bandes that had receiued diſhonor the day before, were placed at their owne requeſt in the fronte of the battell. The other Captaines beſides, that were not ouerthrowen: did leade their bandes alſo to the fielde, and did ſet them in battell raye. *Hanniball* hearing of that, cried out: O gods, what a man is this, that can not be quiet, neither with good nor ill fortune? for he is the only odde man, that neuer giueth reſt to his enemy, when he hath ouercommed him: nor taketh any for him ſelfe, when he is ouercome. We ſhal neuer haue done with him, for any thing that I ſee: ſith ſhame, whether he winne or looſe, doth ſtill prouoke him to be bolder and vallianter. After orations made of bothe ſides, bothe armies marched forwardes to ioyne battell. The ROMAINES being as ſtrong as the CARTHAGINIANS, *Hanniball* put his Elephants in the voward and fronte of his battell, and commaunded his men to driue them apon the ROMAINES: and ſo they did. Which in deede did ſomewhat trouble and diſorder the firſt ranckes of the ROMAINES: vntill ſuch time as *Flauius*, Tribune of the ſouldiers, tooke an enſigne in his hande, and marched before the beaſtes, and gaue the firſt of them ſuch a thruſt with the poynt of his enſigne, that he made her turne backe. The firſt beaſt being turned backe thus, ranne apon the ſeconde that followed her, and the ſecond made the third go backe alſo, and ſo from one to an other, vntill they all turned. *Marcellus* perceiuing that, commaunded his horſemen to ſet apon the enemies with all the fury they coulde, in that place where he ſawe them, ſomewhat troubled with theſe beaſtes, that turned backe againe vpon them: and that they ſhould driue them further in amongeſt them. Which they did, and gaue ſo hotte a charge apon the CARTHAGINIANS, that they made them turne their backes, & runne away, and they purſued them ſtill, killing them downe right, euen to their campe ſide: where was the greateſt ſlaughter of all, by reaſon their Elephants that were wounded, fell downe ſtarke deade within the gate of their campe. And they ſaye of the CARTHAGINIANS there were ſlaine at this battell, aboue eight thowſande, and of the ROMAINES, onely three thowſande: howbeit all the reſt of them for the moſt parte were very ſore hurt. Which fell out very well for *Hanniball*, that he might march away at his pleaſure, as he did that night, and got him away farre of from *Marcellus*, as knowing he was not in ſtate to follow him ouerſodainely, bicauſe of his great number of hurt men in his campe: and ſo by ſmall iorneys he went into CAMPANIA, where he lay in garriſon all the ſommer, in the city of SINVESSE, to heale the woundes of his ſore mangled ſouldiers. *Hanniball* hauing now gotten him ſelfe at the length out of *Marcellus* hands, & hauing his army free to ſerue him as he thought good: he burned & deſtroyed all ITALIE where he went & ſtoode no more in feare of any thing. This made *Marcellus* ill ſpoken of at ROME, and cauſed his enemies to take holde of ſuch a matter againſt him: for they ſtraight raiſed *Publius Bibulus* Tribune, to accuſe him, who was a hotte harebrained man, but very eloquent, and coulde deliuer his minde very well. So this *Bibulus* called the people oft to counſaill, and tolde them there, that they muſt nedes call home *Marcellus*, and appoint ſome other to take charge of the army: for as for him, ſayd he, bicauſe he hath fought a litle with *Hanniball* (and as a man might ſay, wreſtled a litle with him) he is now gotten to the bathes to ſolace him ſelfe. But *Marcellus* hearing this, left his Lieutenantes in the campe, and went him ſelfe to ROME, to aunſwer to the vntrue accuſations layd againſt him, and there he perceiued at his comming, how they

Hannibals wordes of Marcellus.

Battell betwixt Hanniball and Marcellus.

The worthy act of Flauius, Tribunus militum.

Maacellus victory of Hannibal.

Hanniball lay in garriſon in the city of Sinueſſe in Campania.

P. Bibulus Tribune of the people accuſeth Marcellus.

intended

A intended to proſecute the matter againſt him apon theſe informations. So a day of hearinge was appointed for his matter, & the parties came before the people aſſembled in counſaill, in the great liſtes or ſhow place, called *Circus Flaminius*, to giue iudgement. There *Publius Bibulus* the Tribune, ſitting in his chayer, layd open his accuſation with great circumſtance: and *Marcellus*, when *Bibulus* had tolde his tale, aunſwered him in few wordes, and very diſcretely, only touchinge his purgation. But the noble and chiefeſt men of the citie, roſe vppe, and ſpake on *Marcellus* behalfe, telling the people plainely, that they did *Marcellus* wrong, to recken worſe of his valliantnes, then their enemy did: and to iudge of him as a coward, conſidering *Hannibal* only fled from him, of all other Captaines, and would by no meanes fight with him, neuer refuſinge to fight with any other whatſoeuer. Theſe perſwaſions tooke ſuch effect, as where

Circus Flaminius.

B *Marcellus* accuſer looked for his condēnation: *Marcellus* to the contrary, was not only cleared of his accuſation, but furthermore they choſe him Conſull againe the fift time. So beinge entred into his office, he went firſt into THVSCAN: where viſiting the good cities one after an other, and quietinge them, he pacified a great ſedition in the contry, when they were all ready to riſe and rebell. Afterwards at his returne, he thought to conſecrate the temple of honor & vertue, which he had built with the ſpoyles he gotte in the warres of SICILE. But the Prieſtes were againſt it, ſaying, two goddes might not be in one church. Thereupon he built an other temple, and ioyned it to the firſt, being very angry the Prieſtes denied ſo his conſecration: and he did take it for an euill token, beſides diuerſe other ſignes in the element that afterwards appeared, and troubled him much. For there were many temples ſet a fire with lightening at one

Marcellus choſen Conſul the fift time.

The temple of honor and vertue built by Marcellus.

C time: and the rattes and miſe did knawe the golde, that was in the chappell of *Iupiter Capitoline*. And it is reported alſo, that an oxe did ſpeake: and a childe came out of the heade of an Elephant, and that the child was aliue. Furthermore, the Prieſtes and Soothſayers ſacrificing to the goddes, to withdraw this euill from them theſe ſiniſter tokens did threaten: they could neuer finde any fauorable ſignes in their ſacrifices. Whereuppon they ſought to keepe *Marcellus* ſtill at ROME, who had a maruelous earneſt deſire to be gone with ſpeede to the warres: for neuer man longed for any thing ſo much, as *Marcellus* did, to fight with *Hanniball*. Inſomuch he neuer dreamed other thing in the night, nor ſpake of any matter els in the day to his frendes and companions, nor prayed to the goddes for any other thinge, but that he might fight with *Hanniball* in the fielde: and I thincke he woulde willingliеſt haue fought a priuate

VVonderfull ſignes were ſeene in Rome vnfortunate to Marcellus.

D combat with him, in ſome walled city or incloſed lyſtes for the combat. And had it not bene that he had already wonne him ſelfe great fame, and ſhewed him ſelfe to the worlde, (by ſundry great proofes & experience of his doings) a graue, skilfull, and a valliant Captaine as any man of his time: I would haue ſaid it had bene a pange of youth, and a more ambitious deſire, then became a man of his age, who was three ſcore yere old at that time, whē they made him Conſul againe the fift time. Neuertheles, after he had ended all his propitiatory ſacrifices and purifications, ſuch as the Soothſayers had appointed: he departed from ROME with his fellow Conſul *Quintus Criſpinus* to the warres. He found *Hanniball* lying betwene the cities of BANCIA, and VENOVSA, and ſought all the meanes he could to procure him to fight, but he could neuer get him to it. Howbeit *Hanniball* being aduertiſed by ſpyalles, that the Conſulls ſent an

Marcellus three ſcore yeare olde beinge choſen Conſull the fift time.

Q. Criſpinus Conſull.

E army to beſiege the city of the LOCRIANS, ſurnamed EPIZEPHYRIANS: (as ye would ſay, the occidentals, bicauſe the GREECIANS, in reſpect of the ITALIANS, are called the orientals:) he layd an ambuſh for them that went, vnder the hill of PETELIVM, which was directly in their way, where he ſlew about two thouſand fiue hundred ROMAINES. That ouerthrow did ſette *Marcellus* on fire, and made him more deſirous of battell: whereupon he remoued his campe from the place he lay in, and marched neater to his enemy. Betwene their two campes, there was a prety litle hill, ſtrong of ſcituacion, a wilde thing ouergrowen with wod, and there were high hillocks. Frō whēce they might diſcerne a great way, both the one & the others campe, & at the foote of the ſame ranne prety ſprings: Inſomuch as the ROMAINES wondered, that *Hannibal* comminge thither firſt, did not take that place, but had left it to his enemies. How-

Hanniball lay betwixt the cities of Bancia and Venouſa.

Mons Petelium.

F beit *Hannibal* was crafty enough, leauing it of purpoſe: for as it was commodious to lodge his campe in, ſo it ſerued his turne better for an ambuſh. So he filled the wodde, the hollow places, and the valleys there about, with ſtore of ſhot and ſpearemen, aſſuringe him ſelfe that the

An ambuſh layd by Hanniball.

place woulde intyse the ROMAINES thither: and in deede he gesſed rightly, for so fell it out. Straight, there flew a rumor abroade in the ROMAINES campe, that there was a passing place to lodge in, and euery man tooke apon him like a skilfull souldier, to tell what vantage they should haue apon their enemies, by taking that place, and specially if they did lodge there, or otherwise built a fort vpon it. Whereupon *Marcellus* determined to goe see the place himselfe, taking a few horsemen with him. Notwithstanding, before he would take horse, he called for his Soothsayer to sacrifice to the goddes. The first beast that was sacrificed, the Soothsayer shewed *Marcellus* the liuer of it without a head. The second beast sacrificed, had a fayer great head of a liuer, and all the other partes were also sounde, and very newe: that by them it appeared al the feare of the first ill signes and tokens were taken away. Yet the Soothsayers on the other side sayd, it did make them worse afraid then before: for these so fauorable and lucky tokens of the sacrifice, followinge immediatly after the first fowle and nawghty signes, made them doubt them much by reason of so straunge and sodaine an alteracion. But as the Poet *Pindarus* sayth,

Ill signes to Marcellus.

Nor force of burning fire, nor vvall of steele nor stone,
nor vvhatsoeuer other thing, is here this earth vpon:
Can kepe abacke the course of fatall desteny,
nor yet resist the due decrees, vvhich come from heauen on high.

So *Marcellus* tooke his horse, with *Quintus Crispinus* his fellow Consull, and his sonne one of the Tribunes of the souldiers, hauing onely two hundred and twenty horsemen with him, of the which there was not one ROMAINE among them, but all were THVSCANS, sauing forty FREGELLANIANS, who from the beginning of these warres had alwayes shewed themselues very faithfull and louing to *Marcellus*. The hill we spake of before, being thicke couered with wodde and bushes, the enemies hadde set a skowte to watche on the toppe of it, to geue warning if they saw any comming towardes it. The ROMAINES coulde not see him, and he on the other side might see euen into their campe, and perceiue what was done, as he did aduertise those at that time that lay in ambushe for *Marcellus* comminge: and they suffered him to passe on, vntill he came directly against them. Then they shewed vpon the sodaine, and compassing in *Marcellus*, they both shot and strake at him, some following them that fled, and other fighting with the forty FREGELLANIANS which only stucke to it: who came roundly in together (notwithstanding the THVSCANS were fled) apon the first crie they heard, to defend the two Consulls, vntill such time as the Consull *Crispinus* hauinge two woundes on his body with a dart, did turne his horse to flie. And with that, one of the enemies gaue *Marcellus* such a sore blowe with a speare hauinge a broade iron head, that he ranne him quite through. The FREGELLANIANS that were left aliue, beinge but a few in number, seeinge *Marcellus* slaine, left him lyinge on the grounde, and tooke his sonne away with them that was very sore hurt, and by the swiftnes of their horses recouered their campe, and saued them selues. At this ouerthrowe, there were not slayne aboue fortie men, and fiue and twentie taken prisonners, of which, fiue of them were the Consulls sergeauntes, and their officers that caried axes before them, and the other were all horsemen. Within few dayes after, the other Consull *Crispinus* died also of his hurtes, which was such a misfortune, as neuer came before to the ROMAINES, that both their Consulls were slaine at one battell. Now *Hannibal* made no great reckeninge of all that were slaine, or taken at this fielde: but when he heard that *Marcellus* selfe was slaine at this ouerthrow, he went him selfe straight to the place to see him. So when he had viewed his body a great while, standing hard by it, and considering his strength, his stature, and countenance, hauing taken full view of all the partes of him, he spake no proude word against him, nor shewed any glad countenance, as some other would haue done, that had slaine so valliant and daungerous an enemy: but wondering how he came to be slaine so straungely there, he tooke of his ring from one of his fingers that sealed his letters, and geuing his body buriall according to his estate, made it to be honorably burnt, and then put all his bones and ashes into a siluer potte, on which he him selfe put a crowne of golde, and sent it vnto *Marcellus* sonne. It fortuned so, that certaine light horsemen of the NVMIDIANS mette with them that caried this siluer pot, and would haue taken it from them by force: but they stood to it, and woulde not

Quintus Crispinus fellowe Consull with Marcellus.

Marcellus slaine in an ambush at the hill of Petelie.

The Consull Crispinus slaine.

Marcellus funerall honored by Hannibal.

A not parte withall, and ſo fightinge and ſtriuing together for it, the bones and aſhes were ſcattered all about. *Hannibal* hearinge this, ſayed to them that were about him : ſee, howe nothinge can be, which the goddes will not. So he puniſhed the NVMIDIANS, and cared no more to gette *Marcellus* bones together, but perſwaded him ſelfe it was the will of the goddes he ſhoulde dye ſo ſtraungely, and that his body ſhoulde haue no buriall. *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Valerius Maximus* wryte it thus : but *Liuie*, and *Auguſtus Cæſar* ſay, that the pot was caried vnto his ſonne, and honorably buried. *Marcellus* did conſecrate many monumentes in diuerſe places, beſides thoſe at ROME. As at CATANA in SICILE : a place for young men to exerciſe them ſelues in. In the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, in the temples of the gods called Cabires: many images and tables he brought from SYRACVSA. And in the Ile of LINDOS, in the temple of B *Minerua*, where among other, there is a ſtatue of his, and this epigramme grauen vnder it, as *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher wryteth.

Marcellus monuments.

O thou my frend (I ſay) vvhich paſſeſt forth by me,
of Claudius Marcellus here, the image mayeſt thou ſee:
vvhoſe family at Rome, vvas of the nobleſt name.
Seuen times he Conſull choſen vvas, in vvhich he ouercame,
great numbers infinite, (in open fielde and fight)
of ſuch as ſought his contries ſpoyle, and put them all to flight.

The author of this epigramme reckeneth, the two times of his being viceconſull, for two whole Conſullſhippes : but his poſteritie continued alwayes in great honor, vnto *Marcellus*, C the ſonne of *Octauia*, (*Auguſtus Cæſars* ſiſter) and of *Caius Marcellus*. He dyed a young man, being Ædilis of ROME, & maried vnto *Iulia*, *Auguſtus* daughter, with whom he liued no lõg time. But to honor the memory of him, *Octauia* his mother built the library, and *Auguſtus Cæſar* the Theater, which are called to this day, *Marcellus* Theater and library.

Marcellus poſteritie.

THE COMPARISON OF *Marcellus with Pelopidas.*

THeſe are the greateſt thinges and beſt worthy of memory (in my opinion) of all *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus* doinges : and for their maners and naturall condicions otherwiſe, they were all one, bicauſe they were both valliant, painefull, and noble minded : ſauing that this difference onely was betwene them. That *Marcellus* in many cities he tooke by aſſault, did cruelly murder them, and ſpilt much bloode : where *Epamınondas* and *Pelopidas* contrarily did neuer put any to the ſword they ouercame, neither did they take away the libertie from any citie they tooke : and it is thought the THEBANS woulde not haue handeled the

Pelopidas & Marcellus actes in warr.

Marcellus actes preferred before Pelopidas.

ORCHOMENIANS ſo cruelly as they did, if one, or both of them had bene preſent. Nowe for their actes, it was a noble and wonderfull peece of ſeruice that *Marcellus* did, with ſo ſmall a company of horſemen as he tooke with him, to ouerthrow ſo great a number of horſemen & footemen both, of the GAVLES: a thinge that neuer Generall but him ſelfe did, and ſpecially that ſlewe with his owne handes in the fielde, the Generall of his enemies. Which *Pelopidas* could neuer attaine vnto: for he ſeeking to kill *Alexander* the tyran of PHERES, was ſlaine firſt him ſelfe, and ſuffered that, which he deſired to haue done to an other. And yet for that ſeruice may be obiected, the battells of LEVCTRES, and of TEGYRA, which were both famous and notable. But to encounter with thoſe, there was no notable ambuſhe or ſecrete practiſe done by *Marcellus*, that was any thing like comparable to that *Pelopidas* did at his returne from exile, when he ſlew the tyrans that kept THEBES in bondage. For that was as notable a policy and ſodaine an enterpriſe ſtolen apon, as none was euer greater, or more famous. It is true *Marcellus* was yoked with *Hanniball*, who was a dreadfull and a violent enemy: ſo were the THEBANS alſo at that very time with the LACEDÆMONIANS, who notwithſtanding were ouercome of *Pelopidas*, at the battells of TEGYRA, and of LEVCTRES. Wheras *Marcellus* did neuer ſo much as once ouercome *Hanniball*, as *Polybius* wryteth, but remained vnconquered alwayes, vntill that *Scipio* ouercame him in battell. Notwithſtandinge, we do geue beſt credit to the reportes of *Cæſar*, *Liuie*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and of king *Iuba* among the GREECIANS: who wryte, that *Marcellus* otherwhile did ouerthrow certaine of *Hanniballs* companies, howebeit they were neuer no great ouerthrowes to ſpeake of, & it ſeemeth rather, it was through ſome mockerie or deceite of that AFRICAN, then otherwiſe. Yet ſure it was a great matter, and worthy much cõmendacion, that the ROMAINES were brought to that corage, as they durſt abide to fight with the CARTHAGINIANS, hauing loſt ſo many great ouerthrowes, & hauing ſo many generalls of their armies ſlaine in battell, and hauing the whole Empire of ROME in ſo great daunger of vtter deſtruction. For it was *Marcellus* only of all other generalls, that put the ROMAINES in hart againe, after ſo great and longe a feare thorowly rooted in them: and incoraged the ſouldiers alſo to longe to fight with their enemy, and not onely to hope, but to aſſure them ſelues of victory. For, where by reaſon of their continuall loſſes and fearefull ouerthrowes they hadde, they thought them ſelues happy men to eſcape *Hannibals* handes by runninge away: he taught them to be aſhamed to flie like cowardes, to confeſſe they were in diſtreſſe, to retyre, & leaue the fielde, before they had ouercome their enemies. And where *Pelopidas* was neuer ouercome in battell beinge generall, and *Marcellus* did ouercome more then any generall in his time: it might ſeeme therefore that the great number of the victories of the one, ſhould compare with the good happe of the other that was neuer ouercome. It is true that *Marcellus* tooke the city of SYRACVSA, & *Pelopidas* failed of taking the city of SPARTA: but yet do I thinke, that it was more valliantly done of *Pelopidas*, to come ſo neere SPARTA as he did, and that he was the firſt that paſſed the riuer of EVROTAS with an army, which neuer enemy did before him, than it was of *Marcellus* to winne all SICILE. Vnles ſome paraduenture will ſay againe, this was *Epaminondas*, not *Pelopidas* acte, as alſo in the victorie of LEVCTRES: where no man liuing can pretend any parte of glory to the doinges of *Marcellus*. For he tooke SYRACVSA, being onely generall alone, and did ouerthrow the GAVLES without his fellow Conſull, and fought with *Hanniball*, without any mans helpe or incoragement (for all other were againſt it, and perſwaded the contrary) and he was the firſt that altered the maner of warres the ROMAINES vſed then, and that trained his ſouldiers, that they durſt fight with the enemy. For their death, I neither commend the one nor the other, and the ſtraungeneſſe of either of their deathes doth greue me maruelouſly: as I do greatly wonder alſo, how *Hanniball* in ſo many battells as he fought (which are innumerable) could alwayes ſcape vnhurt. I can not but greatly commende alſo the valliantnes of one *Chryſantas*, whom *Xenophon* ſpeaketh of in his booke of the inſtitucion of *Cyrus*, ſaying: that he hauing lift vp his ſword in his hand ready to kill one of his enemies, and hearing the trompet ſound the retreate, he ſoftly retyred, & would not ſtrike him. Howbeit it ſeemeth *Pelopidas* is more to be excuſed: for beſide that he was very hot and deſirous of battel, yet his anger was honorable and iuſt, and moued him to ſeeke reuenge. For as the Poet *Euripides* ſayth:

Marcellus made the Romaines coragious.

Raſhnes in a Captaine deſerueth blame.

The valliantnes and obedience of Chryſantas a ſouldier.

The

The best that may betyde, is vvhen a captaine liues,
and doth suruiue the victories, vvhich he vvith force achieues.
But if he needes must fall, then let him valliantly
euen thrust amid the thickest throng, and there vvith honor dye.

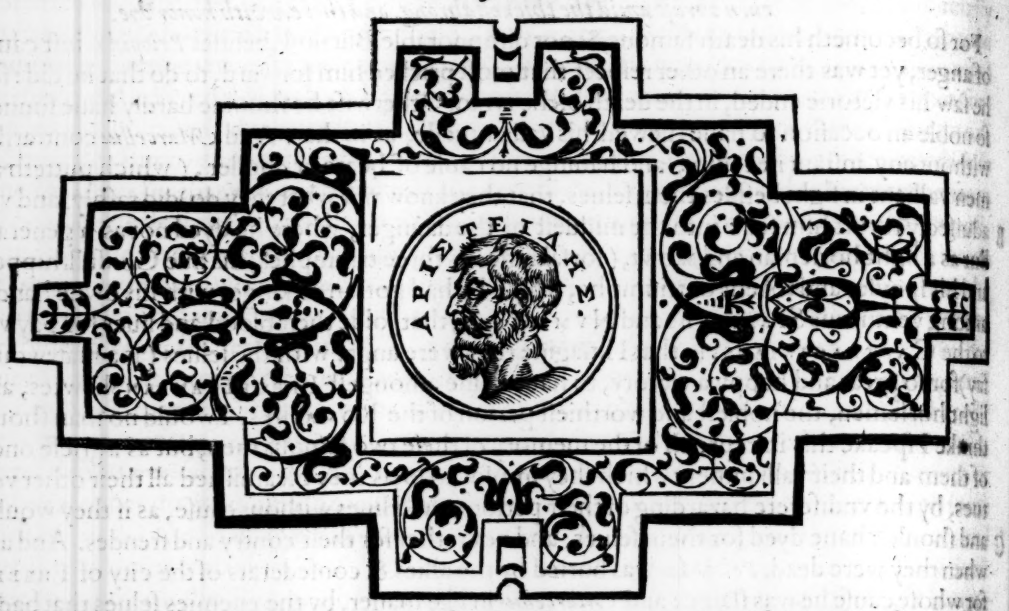
For so becometh his death famous, & not dishonorable. But now, besides *Pelopidas* iust cause of anger, yet was there an other respect that most pricked him forward, to do that he did: for he saw his victorie ended, in the death of the tyran. Otherwise he shoulde hardly haue founde so noble an occasion to haue shewed his valliantnesse, as in that. And *Marcellus* contrarily, without any instant necessity, and hauinge no cause of heate or choller, (which putteth all men valliant in fight besides them selues, that they know not what they do) did rashly, and vnaduisedly thrust him selfe into the middest of the daunger, where he dyed not as a generall, but as a light horseman and skowt, (forsakinge his three triumphes, his fiue Consullshippes, and his spoyles and tokens of triumphe, which he had gotten of kinges with his owne hands) among venturous SPANIARDS and NVMIDIANS, that solde their blood and liues for pay vnto the CARTHAGINIANS: so that I imagine they were angry with thē selues (as a man would say) for so great and happy a victory, to haue slaine amongest FREGELLANIAN skowtes, and light horsemen, the noblest and worthiest person of the ROMAINES. I would no man should thinke I speake this in reproch of the memory of these two famous men, but as a griefe onely of them and their valliantnes: which they imployed so, as they bleamished all their other vertues, by the vndiscrete hazarding of their persones and liues without cause, as if they woulde and shoulde haue dyed for them selues, and not rather for their contry and frendes. And also when they were dead, *Pelopidas* was buried by the allies & confederats of the city of THEBES, for whose cause he was slaine: and *Marcellus* in like maner, by the enemies selues that hadde slaine him. And sure the one is a happy thing, and to be wished for in such a case: but the other is farre aboue it, and more to be wondered at. That the enemy him selfe shoulde honor his valliantriesse and worthinesse that hurt him, more then the office of frendshippe performed by a thankefull frende. For nothing moueth the enemy more to honor his deade enemy, then the admiration of his worthines: and the frende sheweth frendeship many times, rather for respect of the benefit he hath receiued, then for the loue he beareth to his vertue.

Plutarch excuseth his free speech and Iudgement of these famous men.

Pelopidas & Marcellus funeralls vnlike.

The ende of Marcellus life.

THE LIFE OF *Aristides.*



Aristides wealth.

Aristides the sonne of *Lysimachus*, was certeinly of the tribe of *Antiochides*, and of the towne of ALOPECIA. But for his goodes and wealth, they diuersely write of him. For some say, he liued poorely all the daies of his life, and that he left two daughters, which by reason of their pouerty, liued vnmaried many yeres after their fathers death. And many of the oldest writers do cõfirme that for troth. Yet *Demetrius Phalerius*, in his booke intituled *Socrates*, wryteth the contrary: that he knew certeine landes *Aristides* had in the village of PHALERIA, which did yet beare the name of *Aristides* lands, in the which his body is buried. And furthermore, to shew that he was well to liue, and that his house was rich and wealthy, he bringeth foorth these proofes. First, that he was one yeare mayer or prouost of ATHENS, whom they called, *Archon Eponymos*, bicause the yeare tooke the name of him that hadde it yearely. And they say he came to it, by drawing of the beane, according to the auncient vse of the ATHENIANS, and their wonted manner of makinge their election of the said office: In which election none were admitted to drawe the beane, but such as were highest set in their subsidie bookes, according to the value & rate of their goodes, whom they called at ATHENS, *Pentacosiomedimnes*, as you would say, those that might dispend fiue hundred bushels of wheate by the yere, and vpwards. Secondly, he alleageth he was banished by the *Ostracismon*, which banisheth the nobilitie and great rich men onely, whom the common people enuie, bicause of their greatnesse, and neuer dealeth with poore men. The third and last reason he makes is, that he left of his gift, three footed stooles in the temple of *Bacchus*, which those do commonly offer vp, as haue won the victory in comedies, tragedies, or other such like pastimes, wherof they them selues had borne the charge. And those threefooted stooles remaine there yet, which they say were geuen by *Aristides*, and haue this inscription vppon them: The tribe of *Antiochides* wanne the victorie, *Aristides* defrayed the charges of the games, and *Archestratus* the Poet taught them to playe his comedies. This last reason, though it seeme likeliest of them all, yet is it the weakest of the rest. For *Epaminondas* (whome euery man knoweth was poore euen from his birth, and alwayes liued in great pouertie) and *Plato* the Philosopher, tooke apon him to defraye the charges of games that were of no small expence, the one hauing borne the charges of flute players at THEBES, and the other the dawnce of the children

which

A which dawnced in a rounde at ATHENS: towards the furnithing of which charges, *Dion* the SYRACVSAN gaue *Plato* money, and *Pelopidas* alſo gaue *Epaminondas* money. Now, this is not ſpoken that vertuous men ſhould alwayes refuſe the gifts of their frends, and that they might not in ſome ſorte accept their frendes curteſie offered them: but bicauſe they ſhould thinke it vncomely and diſhonorable for them, to take any thing to enrich them ſelues, or to ſpare and hourde vp. Howebeit where there is any honorable act to be done, or any publike ſhow to be made, not tending to their priuate benefit: in ſuch a caſe they ſhould not refuſe their frendes louing offer, and goodwill towardes them. And where *Demetrius* ſaith the three footed ſtoole was offered vp in the temple of *Bacchus*, *Panætius* declareth plainely, that *Demetrius* was deceaued by the ſemblance of the name. For ſince the time of the warres of the MEDES, vnto B the beginninge of the warre of PELOPONNESVS, in all the regiſters and recordes kept of the defrayers of the charges of common playes, there were founde but two men bearinge name of *Ariſtides*, that obteined victory: & neither of them both was ſonne vnto *Lyſimachus*, whom we wryte of at this preſent. For the one is expreſly named the ſonne of *Xenophilus*, and the other was long after the ſame *Ariſtides* we now ſpeake of: as appeareth eaſily by the wrytinge and orthographie, which is according to the grammer rules, we haue vſed in GREECE euer ſince *Euclides* time. Moreouer it is eaſie to be knowen, by the name of the Poet *Archeſtratus* that is adioyned to it. For there is no man that maketh mencion of a Poet of this name, in all the warres of the MEDES: but in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, many doe put him in for an author and maker of rymes and ſonges that were ſong in common daunces. Yet C for all *Panætius* obiections, the matter is to be better looked into, and conſidered of. But for the Oſtraciſinon baniſhment, it is true, that ſuch as were great men in eſtimacion aboue the common people, either in fame, nobility, or eloquence, they onely were ſubiect vnto this baniſhment. For *Damon* himſelfe, beinge *Pericles* ſchoolemaiſter, was baniſhed: onely bicauſe the common people thought him to wiſe. Moreouer, *Idomeneus* wryteth, that *Ariſtides* was their prouoſt for a yeare, not by lot of beanes, but by voyces of the ATHENIANS that choſe him. And if he were prouoſt ſince the iorney of PLATEES, as *Demetrius* wryteth: it is likely enough that they didde him this honor, for his great vertue and notable ſeruice, which other were wont to obteine for their riches. But this *Demetrius* doth not only defende *Ariſtides*, but alſo *Socrates* pouerty, as if it were a fowle vyce and reproche to be poore. For he wryteth, that D he had not only a houſe of his owne, but alſo three ſcore and ten Minas at vſery, which *Criton* gaue him intereſt for. But now to our ſtory againe. *Ariſtides* was *Cliſthenes* very frend, he that reſtored the gouernment at ATHENS after the expulſion of the thirty tyrannes, and did reuerence *Lycurgus* the Lawmaker of the LACEDÆMONIANS for his lawes, aboue all the men in his time: and therefore he euer fauored the ſtate of Ariſtocratia, that is, where the noble men rule, and haue the ſouerainty. Howbeit he euer had *Themiſtocles* (*Neocles* ſonne) his continuall aduerſary, as takinge parte with the contrary, and defending the popular ſtate of gouernment. Some ſay, that being ſchollers, and brought vp together, they were euer contrary one to an other in all their actions and doinges, were it in ſporte, or in matters of earneſt: and euer after, men beganne to ſee the naturall inclination of them both, by their contrary affections. E For *Themiſtocles* was quicke, nimble, aduenturous, and ſubtill, and would venter on any thing, apon light occaſion. *Ariſtides* contrariwiſe was very quiet, temperate, conſtant, and maruelous well ſtayed, who woulde for no reſpect be drawen away from equity and iuſtice, neither would lye, flatter, nor abuſe any body, though it were but in ſporte. Notwithſtanding, *Ariſtus* of CHIO wryteth, that their malice beganne firſt of light loue, and that it grewe to greatneſſe by proceſſe of time betwene them: for (ſayeth he) both the one and the other of them fell in loue with *Steſileus*, borne in the Ile of CEOS. This fond light loue of theirs, fell not eaſily from them, nor the enuy they conceiued one againſt an other, but continued againſt eche other in matters of ſtate: ſuch was their malice towardes one an other. In which calling, *Themiſtocles* ſought the way to winne frendes, by whoſe meanes he came to great preferment in ſhorte F time, and had made him ſelfe very ſtrong by them. Therefore, when a frende of his tolde him one day, he was worthy to gouerne the city of ATHENS, and were very fitte for it, if he were indifferent, and not partiall. The goddes forbid (quod he) I ſhould euer occupie the place of a

Good men may take giftes, but after a ſorte.

Damon baniſhed bicauſe he was to wiſe.

Socrates was not poore.

Ariſtocratia what it ſignifieth.

Ariſtides and Themiſtocles enemies in the common wealth.

Themiſtocles diſpoſition.

Ariſtides nature.

Themiſtocles ſaying ſuſpitiality.

gouernour, where my frendes ſhoulde not finde more fauor then ſtraungers, that doe me no pleaſure. But *Ariſtides* taking an other courſe by him ſelfe, would not ſtande apon his frendes in gouernment. Firſt, bicauſe he woulde do no man wrong, with pleaſuring his frendes: nor yet would anger them, by denying their requeſtes. Secondly, bicauſe he ſaw many rulers and men of authority bolde to do iniuſtice, and manifeſt wrong, bearinge them ſelues apon their frendes: but he caried this opinion, that no honeſt man, or good citizen, ſhoulde truſt to any bolſtring of frendes, but to his owne iuſt and vpright doings. Notwithſtanding, *Ariſtides* perceiuinge that *Themiſtocles* did raſhly alter many thinges, and euer encountered all his wayes, and hindered his doings: he was enforced ſomtime to croſſe *Themiſtocles* againe, & to ſpeake againſt that he preferred, partely to be euen with him, but moſt to hinder his credit and authority, which increaſed ſtill through the peoples fauor and goodwilles towardes him: thinking it better by contrarying him a litle to diſapoint ſometime a thing that might haue fallen out well for the common wealth, rather then by geuing him the head, to ſuffer him to grow to great. To conclude, it fortuned on a time that *Themiſtocles* hauing preferred a matter very profitable for the common wealth, *Ariſtides* was ſo much againſt it, as *Themiſtocles* purpoſe tooke no place. Moreouer *Ariſtides* was ſo earneſt againſt him, that when the counſaill brake vp after *Themiſtocles* motion was reiected, he ſpake it openly before them all: that the common wealth of ATHENS would neuer proſper, vntill they both were laid in Barathrum, which was a priſon or hole, wherein they put all theeues and condemned men. An other time, *Ariſtides* moued a matter to the people, which diuerſe were againſt, but yet it went with him. And when the iudge or preſident of the counſaill did put it to the people, to knowe their allowance of it: *Ariſtides* perceiuing by the argumentes made againſt it, that the matter he preferred was hurtfull to the common wealth, he gaue it ouer, and would not haue it paſſe. Many times alſo *Ariſtides* ſpake by other men, when he would haue a thing go forward, for feare leaſt *Themiſtocles* ſpight towardes him, woulde hinder the benefitte of the common wealth. They founde him very conſtant and reſolute in matters of ſtate, whatſoeuer happened: which wanne him great commẽdacion. For he was neuer the prouder for any honor they gaue him, nor thought him ſelfe diſgraced for any ouerthrow he receiued: being alwayes of this minde, that it was the duety of an honeſt citizen, to be euer ready to offer his body and life to doe his contry ſeruice, without reſpect and hope of reward of money, or for honor and glory. Therefore when certeine verſes were repeated in the Theater, of one of the tragedies of *AEſchilus*, made in commendacion of the auncient Soothſayer *Amphiaraus*, to this effect.

Ariſtides maner of dealing in the common wealth.

Barathrum a priſon or dungeon.

Ariſtides conſtancy.

He vvill not only ſeeme, a iuſt man by his face,
but iuſt in dede he vvill be founde, and vertue ſtill embrace:
VVith all his thought and ſoule, from vvhence there may procede,
graue counſells for to beavvtifie, his contries crovvne in dede.

All the people ſtraight caſt their eyes vpon *Ariſtides*, as vppon him, that in troth aboue all other moſt deſerued the praiſe of ſo great a vertue. For he was ſo ſtoute and reſolute, not only to reſiſt fauor and frendſhippe: but to reiect hate and anger alſo. For in caſe of iuſtice, neither coulde frendſhippe make him go away for his frendes ſake: nor enuy coulde moue him to do iniuſtice, to his very enemy. For proofe hereof it is wrytten, that he had an enemie of his in ſute of law, & did proſecute it to iudgement: inſomuch as after the plaint was red, the iudges were ſo angrie with the offendor, that without any more hearinge of him, they woulde haue geuen ſentence againſt him. But *Ariſtides* riſing from his place, went & kneeled at the iudges feete with the offendor his enemy, and beſought them to geue him leaue to ſpeake, to iuſtifie and defende his cauſe, according to the courſe of the law. An other time he being iudge betwene two priuate men that pleaded before him, one of them ſayd vnto him: *Ariſtides*, this fellow mine aduerſary here, hath done you great iniurie. My frende (quod *Ariſtides* againe) I pray thee tell me onely the iniury he hath done thee, for I am iudge here to do thee right, and not my ſelfe. Moreouer, he beinge choſen high treaſorer of all the reuenues of ATHENS, did declare that all the officers before him, and other his late predeceſſors, hadde greatly robbed and ſpoyled the common treaſure, but ſpecially *Themiſtocles*: who was a wiſe man, & of great iudgement, but yet ſomewhat light fingered. Therefore when *Ariſtides* was to geue vppe his accompt,

Ariſtides iuſtice.

Ariſtides wiſe ſaying.

Ariſtides choſen treaſorer. Themiſtocles couetouſly gemen.

accompt, *Themiſtocles*, and many other ſuborned by him, were againſt him, and accuſed him for abuſing his office, and followed him ſo hard, that through their practiſe they condemned him, as *Idomeneus* wryteth. Yet the nobleſt citizens ſeeing what iniury they offered *Ariſtides*, tooke his cauſe in hande, and founde meanes to procure the people not onely to releaſe the fine impoſed vpon him, but to reſtore him againe to his office of high treaſorer for the yeare following: in the which he ſeemed to repent his former ſtraightnes and gouernment the yere before, and ſo dealt more fauorably with thoſe he hadde to do, and would not examine euery thing ſo ſtraightly as he did before. Whereupon ſuch as were theeues and ſtealers of the treaſure of the common wealth, did maruelouſly praiſe and like him, and became ſuters for him to continew in the office. But when the day of election came, that the Athenians woulde chooſe him againe, *Ariſtides* ſelfe reproued them, and ſayd. When I faithfully diſcharged the duety of mine office committed to me by you, I then receiued ſhame and reproche at your handes: and now that I haue diſſembled, not ſeeminge to ſee the theftes and robberies done apon your treaſure, ye claw me, and ſay I am an honeſt man, and a good citizen. But I would you knew it, and I tell you plainely, I am more aſhamed of the honor you do me now, then I was of the fine you did ſet apon me, when you condemned me the laſt yeare: and I am ſorie to ſpeake it, that you ſhoulde thinke it more commendation to pleaſure the wicked, then to preſerue the common wealth. After he had ſpoken theſe words, and had bewrayed the common theftes the officers of the city did commit: he ſtopped the theeues mouthes that ſo highly praiſed and commended him for ſo honeſt a man, but yet of the noble and honeſt citizens he was much commended. Furthermore, on a time when *Dathis* Lieutenant to *Darius* king of Persia, was come with all his nauy to go a lande about Marathon, in the contrie of Attica, apon pretence (as he ſayd) to be reuenged onely of the Athenians that had burnt the city of Sardis, but in dede of minde to conquer all Greece, and to deſtroy the whole contrie before him: the Athenians choſe tenne Captaines to go to the warres, amonge whom *Miltiades* was the chiefeſt man of authority. But *Ariſtides* drew very neere him in reputacion and creditte, bicauſe he did very good ſeruice in obtaining the victorie, ſpecially when he agreed with *Miltiades* in counſaill, to geue battell apon the barbarous people: and alſo when he willingly gaue *Miltiades* the whole rule and order of the army. For euery one of the tenne Captaines did by turnes leade the whole army for one whole day: and when *Ariſtides* turne came about, he gaue his preferment thereof vnto *Miltiades*, teaching his other companions, that it was no ſhame, but honor for them, to be ruled by the wiſeſt. Thus by his example, he appeaſed all ſtrife that might haue growen amonge them, and perſwaded them all to be contented to follow his direction and counſaill, that had beſt experience in warre. And ſo he did much aduaunce *Miltiades* honor. For, after that *Ariſtides* had once yelded his authority vnto him, euery one of the reſt did the like when it came to their turne: and ſo they all ſubmitted them ſelues vnto his rule and leading. But on the day of the battel, the place where the Athenians were moſt combred, was in the middeſt of the battell, where they had ſet the tribes of the *Leontides*, and of *Antiochides*: for thither the barbarous people did bend all their force, and made their greateſt fight in that place. By which occaſion, *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides* fighting one hard by an other, for that the one was of the tribe *Leontides*, and the other of *Antiochides*, they valiantly fought it out with the enemies, enuying one an other: ſo as the barbarous people at the laſt being ouerthrowen, they made them flie, and draue them to their ſhippes. But when they were imbarked & gone, the Captaines of the Athenians perceiuing they made not towardes the Iles which was their direct courſe to returne into Asia, but that they were driuen backe by ſtorme of winde and pyrries of the ſea, towardes the coaſt of Attica, and the city of Athens, fearinge leaſt they might finde Athens vnfurniſhed for defence, and might ſet apon it: they thereupon ſent away preſently nine tribes that marched thither with ſuch ſpeede, as they came to Athens the very ſame day, and left *Ariſtides* in the campe at Marathon, with his tribe and contry men, to looke to the priſoners and ſpoyle they hadde wonne of the barbarous people. Who nothing deceiued the opinion they had of his wiſdom. For notwithſtanding there was great ſtore of golde and ſiluer, much apparell, moueables, and other infinite goodes and riches in all their tentes and pauillions, and in the ſhippes alſo they

Ariſtides accuſed & condemned, for abuſing his office.

Ariſtides fine releaſed, and he made treaſorer againe.

Ariſtides openly reproueth cloſe theeues in the cõmon wealth, and deteſteth their praiſe.

Miltiades chiefe of the ten Captaines that went againſt Dathis the king of Perſias Lieutenant.

Miltiades victory of the Perſians.

had taken of theirs: he was not ſo couetous as once to touch them, nor to ſuffer any other to medle with them, vnleſſe by ſtealth ſome prouided for them ſelues. As amongſt other, there was one *Callias*, one of *Ceres* Prieſtes, called *Dadouchos*, as you woulde ſaye the torche bearer: (for in the ſecret ſacrifices of *Ceres*, his office was to holde the torche) whom when one of the barbarous people ſaw, and how he ware a bande about his head, and long heare, he toke him for ſome king, and falling on his knees at his feete, kiſſed his hand, and ſhewed him great ſtore of golde he hadde hidden and buried in a ditche. But *Callias*, like a moſt cruell, and cowardly wretch of all other on the earth, tooke away the gold, and killed the poore ſoule that had ſhewed him the place, bicauſe he ſhoulde not tell it to others. Hereof it commeth, that the comicall Poets do call thoſe that came of him in mockery, Laccoplutes, as made rich by a ditch: bicauſe of the golde that *Callias* founde in it. Immediatly after this battell, *Ariſtides* was choſen prouoſt of Athens for the yeare: albeit *Demetrius Phalerius* writeth, that it was a litle before his death, after the iorney of Platees. For in their Chronicles, where they ſet in order their prouoſts of Athens for the yere, ſince *Xanthippides* time, there appeareth no one name of *Ariſtides* in that yeare, that *Mardonius* the kinge of Persiaes Lieutenant was ouerthrowen by Platees, which was many yeares after. But contrariwiſe they finde *Ariſtides* enrolled amonge the prouoſtes immediatly after *Phanippus*, in the yeare the battell was fought at Marathon. Now the people did moſt commende *Ariſtides* iuſtice, as of all other his vertues and qualities: bicauſe that vertue is moſt common and in vſe in our life, and deliuereth moſt benefitte to men. Hereof it came, that he beinge a meane man, obteined the worthieſt name that one coulde haue, to be called by the whole city, a iuſt man. This ſurname was neuer deſired of kinges, princes, nor of tyrannes, but they alwayes delited to be ſurnamed, ſome *Poliorcetes*, to ſay, conquerors of cities: other *Cerauni*, to ſay, lightening or terrible: other *Nicanores*, to ſay, ſubduers: and ſome other, *Aeti* and *Hieraces*, to ſay Eagles or Fawcons, or ſuch like birdes that praye: deſiringe rather (as it ſhould appeare by thoſe ſurnames) the praiſe and reputacion growinge by force and power, then the commendacion that riſeth by vertue and goodnes. And notwithſtanding, God whom men deſire moſt to be likened to, doth excell all humaine nature in three ſpeciall thinges: in immortality, in power, and in vertue, of which three, vertue is the moſt honorable and pretious thing. For as the naturall Philoſophers reaſon, all the foure elements and *Vacuum*, are immortall and vncorruptible, and ſo are force and power, earthquakes, lighteninge, terrible ſtormes, runninge riuers, and inundacions of waters: but as for iuſtice and equity, no man is partaker of them, ſaue onely God, by meanes of reaſon and vnderſtandinge. Therefore, bicauſe men commonly haue three ſundry honors to the gods: the firſt, that they thinke them bleſſed: the ſecond, that they feare them: the third, that they reuerence them: it appeareth then that they thinke them bleſſed, for the eternitie and immortality of their godhead: that they feare them, bicauſe of their omnipotency & power: and that they loue and worſhippe them, for their iuſtice and equitie. And yet notwithſtanding, of thoſe three, men do couet immortality, which no fleſh can attaine vnto: and alſo power, which dependeth moſt vppon fortune: and in the meane time they leaue vertue alone, whereof the goddes of their goodnes haue made vs capable. But here they ſhewe themſelues fooles. For iuſtice maketh the life of a noble man, and of one in great authority, ſeeme diuine and celeſtiall: where without iuſtice, and dealinge vniuſtly, his life is moſt beaſtly, and odious to the worlde. But now againe to *Ariſtides*. This ſurname of a iuſt man at the beginning, made him beloued of all the people: but afterwardes it turned him to great ill will, and ſpecially by *Themiſtocles* practiſe. Who gaue it out euery where, that *Ariſtides* had ouerthrowen all iuſtice, bicauſe by conſent of the parties he was euer choſen Arbitrator to ende all controuerſies: & how by this meanes he ſecretly had procured the abſolute power of a kinge, not needing any gard or ſouldiers about him. The people moreouer beinge growen very diſſolute and licentious, by reaſon of the victorie of Marathon, who ſought that all thinges ſhould paſſe by them, and their authoritie: beganne nowe to miſlike, and to be greatly offended, that any priuate man ſhould go before the reſt in good fame and reputacion. Whereupon, they came out of all ſhyeres of Attica into the city of Athens, and ſo baniſhed *Ariſtides* with the Oſtraciſmon: diſguiſing the enuy they bare to his glory, with the name of feare

The wicked parte of Callias the torche bearer.

Ariſtides choſen prouoſt of Athens.

Ariſtides called the Iuſt.

The praiſe of Iuſtice.

Authority would be without corruptiõ.

Themiſtocles enuieth Ariſtides iuſtice.

Ariſtides baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon.

of

of tyranny. For this maner of banishment called Ostracismon, or Exostracismon, was no ordinary punishment for any fault or offence committed: but to gene it an honest cloke, they sayd it was onely a pulling downe and tying shorte, of to much greatnesse and authority, exceeding farre the maner and countenance of a popular state. But to tell you truly, it was none otherwise, thē a gentle meane to qualify the peoples enuy against some priuate person: which enuy bred no malice to him whose greatnes did offende them, but onely tended to the banishing of him for tenne yeares. But afterwardes that by practise, this Ostracismon banishment was layed apon meane men, and malefactors, as vpon *Hyperbolus* that was the last man so banished: they neuer after vsed it any more at Athens. And by the way, it shall not be amisse to tell you here, why, & wherfore this *Hyperbolus* was banished. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were the chiefest men of Athens at that time, and they both were euer at square together, a common thing amongest great men. They perceiuing now by the peoples assembling, that they went about to execute the Ostracismon, were maruelously afrayed it was ment to banishe one of them: wherefore they spake together, and made both their followers frends with eche other, and ioyned them in one tribe together, insomuch, when the most voyces of the people were gathered to condemne him that should be banished, they founde it was *Hyperbolus*. The people therewith were much offended, to see the Ostracismon so embased and scorned, that they neuer after woulde vse it againe, and so left it of for euer. But briefely to let you vnderstande what the Ostracismon was, and after what sorte they vsed it, ye are to know: that at a certaine day appointed, euery citizen caried a great shell in his hande, whereupon he wrote the name of him he woulde haue banished, and brought it into a certeine place railed about with wodden barres in the market place. Then, when euery man hadde brought in his shell: the magistrates, and officers of the city, did count and tell the number of them. For if there were lesse then sixe thowsand citizens, that had thus brought these shels together: the Ostracismon was not full and perfect. That done, they layd a parte euery mans name written in these shels: and whose name they founde wrytten by most citizens, they proclaimed him by sounde of trompet, a banished man for tenne yeares, during which time notwithstanding, the party did enioy all his goodes. Now euery man wryting thus his name in a shell, whom they would haue banished: it is reported there was a plaine man of the contry (very simple) that coulde neither wryte, nor read, who came to *Aristides* (being the first man he met with) & gaue him his shell, praying him to wryte *Aristides* name vpon it. He beinge abashed withall, did aske the contrie man, if *Aristides* had euer done him any displeasure. No, sayed the contrie man, he neuer did me hurt, nor I know him not: but it greeues me to heare euery man call him a iust man. *Aristides* hearing him say so, gaue him no aunswere, but wrote his owne name vpon the shell, and deliuered it againe to the contrie man. But as he went his way out of the citie, he lift vppe his handes to heauen, and made a prayer contrary to that of *Achilles* in *Homer*, besechinge the goddes that the Athenians might neuer haue such troubles in hande, as they shoulde be compelled to call for *Aristides* againe. Notwithstandinge, within three yeares after, when *Xerxes* king of Persia came with his army through the contries of Thessalie and Boeotia, and entred into the heart of the contrie of Attica: the Athenians reuoking the law of their Ostracismon, called home againe all those they had banished, and specially, bicause they were afrayd *Aristides* would take parte with the barbarous people, and that his example should moue many other to do the like, wherin they were greatly deceiued in the nature of the man. For before that he was called home, he continually trauelled vp and downe, perswading and incoraginge the Greecians to mainteine and defende their liberty. After that lawe was repealed, and published, and that *Themistocles* was chosen the only Lieutenant generall of Athens, he did alwayes faithfully aide and assist him in all thinges, as well with his trauell, as also with his counsaill: and thereby wanne his enemy great honor, bicause it stoode apon the safetie and preseruation of his contrie. For when *Eurybiades*, generall of the armie of the Greecians, had determined to forsake the Ile of Salamina, & that the gallyes of the barbarous people were come into the middest of the seas, and had enuironned the Iles all about, & the mouth of the arme of the straight of Salamina, before any man knew they were thus inclosed in: *Aristides* departing out of the Ile of *AEgina* with a maruelous boldenes, ventred

The nature of the Ostracismon.

Hyperbolus the last man banished with the Ostracismon.

The cause of Hyperbolus banishment.

A description of the Ostracismon.

A tale of a plaine man that came to Aristides with his shell, to pray him to write Aristides name in it.

Aristides called from exile.

through the middeſt of all the barbarous ſhippes and fleete, and by good happe gotte in the night into *Themiſtocles* tent, and calling him out, ſpake with him there in this ſorte. *Themiſtocles*, if we be both wiſe, it is high time we ſhoulde nowe leaue of this vaine enuie and ſpite we haue longe time borne eche other, and that we ſhould enter into an other ſorte of enuy more honorable and profitable for vs both. I meane, which of vs two ſhould do his beſt indeuor to ſaue GREECE: you, by ruling and commaunding all like Lieutenant generall: and I, by counſelling you for the beſt, and executing your commaundement: conſideringe you are the man alone that will roundlieſt come vnto the point that is beſt: which is in my opinion, that we ſhoulde hazard battell by ſea within the ſtraight of SALAMINA, and that as ſoone as might be poſſible. But if our frendes and confederates do let this to be put in execution, I do aſſure you, your enemies do helpe it forward. For it is ſayd, that the ſea, both before and behinde vs, and rounde about vs, is couered all ouer with their ſhippes, ſo as they that would not before, ſhall be now compelled of force, and in ſpite of their heartes, to fight and beſturre them like men: bicauſe they are compaſſed in all about, and there is no paſſage left open for them to eſcape, nor to flie. Whereunto *Themiſtocles* aunſwered. I am ſory, *Ariſtides*, that herein your honeſty appeareth greater then mine: but ſince it is ſo, that you haue deſerued the honor in beginning, and procuring ſuch an honorable and commendable ſtrife betwene vs, I will henceforth indeuor my ſelfe to excede you in continuing this your deſire. After which aunſwere, he told *Ariſtides*, how he purpoſed to mocke the barbarous kinge, and prayed him to intreate *Eurybiades* to yelde to his deuiſe, & to perſwade him that there was no other way to ſaue GREECE, but to fight by ſea: for *Eurybiades* gaue more creditte to *Ariſtides* perſwaſions, then he did to *Themiſtocles* wordes. For when all the Captaines were called to counſell, to determine whether they ſhould geue battell or not: one *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN ſayd to *Themiſtocles*, that his counſell did not like *Ariſtides* at all, as it ſeemed, bicauſe he ſpake neuer a worde to it being preſent. *Ariſtides* anſwered him ſtraight, that he vtterly miſtooke him. For, quod he, if I did not thinke his counſell good, I would not hold my peace as I do: but now I am mute, not for any good will I beare him, but bicauſe I finde his counſell wiſe and ſounde. While the Captaines of the GREECIANS were reaſoning in this ſorte, *Ariſtides* ſeeing PSYTTALEA (a litle Ilande before SALAMINA within the ſtraight) full of men of warre of their enemies: imbarked immediatly the valliantеſt and luſtieſt ſouldiers he hadde of all his contry men, into the leaſt foyſtes or pynnaſies he had among all his gallyes: and went with them, and landed in that Ile, and ouerthrewe all the barbarous people he founde there, and put them to the ſworde euery man, taking the chiefeſt of them only priſoners, among which, were three ſonnes of *Sandauce*, the kinges ſiſter, whome he ſent vnto *Themiſtocles*. Theſe three Lordes were all ſlaine by the commaundement of *Euphrantidas* the Soothſayer, and ſacrificed to *Bacchus Omeſtes*, as to ſay, the cruell *Bacchus*, and eater of raw fleſh, and all vpon an oracle they had receiued. That done, *Ariſtides* diſperſed his ſouldiers about the Ile, to receiue all ſuch as were by fortune of warre, or of the ſea, caſt into the Ilande: to the end that no enemy of theirs ſhould ſcape their hands, nor any of his frendes ſhould periſh. For the greateſt fleete of all their ſhippes, and the ſharpeſt encounter of the whole battell, was about this litle Ilande: and therefore the tokens of triumphe were ſet there. After the battell was wonne, *Themiſtocles* to feele *Ariſtides* opinion, ſayed vnto him: we haue done a good peece of ſeruice, but yet there is an other behinde of greater importance, and that is this. We muſt bringe all ASIA into EVROPE, which we may eaſily do, if we ſaile with all ſpeede to the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and go breake the bridge the king hath made there. Then *Ariſtides* cried out, ſtay there, neuer ſpeake of that: but I pray you let vs rather ſeeke al the wayes we can, how to driue this barbarous king out of GREECE, leaſt if we kepe him in ſtill with ſo great an army (and he ſhall ſee no way before him to eſcape out) we driue him then to fight like a deſperate man, and perill our ſelues, we can not tell to what. When *Themiſtocles* had hearde his opinion, he ſecretely ſent the euenuke *Arnaces* his priſoner, vnto kinge *Xerxes*, to aduertiſe him from him, that he had altered the GREECIANS purpoſe, which was fully bent to haue broken vp the bridge he hadde made at the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, to paſſe ouer his army: and that he was the willinger to let him vnderſtande it, that he might the better prouide for the ſafety of his perſon. King *Xerxes* being netled with this

Ariſtides acts and councells againſt kinge Xerxes.

Ariſtides wordes of Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides victory at Pſyttalea.

Ariſtides wiſe counſell for Xerxes flying out of Greece.

A ſtratageame of Themiſtocles.

this aduertiſement, tooke ſtraight his iorney, and with all ſpeede went to recouer the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and left *Mardonius* his Lieutenant general in GREECE, with three hundred thowſand of the beſt ſouldiers of his army. This *Mardonius* was maruelouſly dreaded of all the GREECIANS, for the wonderfull great army he hadde by lande, and he did threaten them alſo by his letters he wrote vnto them. You haue, (ſayed he) with your ſhippes by ſea, ouercome men acquainted to fight by lande, and that neuer handeled ower: but now, the plaines of THESSALIE, or the fieldes of BOEOTIA, are very fayer and large for horſemen and footemen to make proofe of their valliantnes, if you will come to the battell in the field. He wrote letters to the ATHENIANS, by the kinge his maiſters commaundement, of other effect, and offered them from him, to builde vp their city againe, to geue them a great pencion, and furthermore to make them Lordes of all GREECE, ſo they woulde geue ouer, and leaue of theſe warres. The LACEDÆMONIANS beinge forthwith aduertiſed of his letters wrytten to the ATHENIANS, and fearing leaſt they would haue bene perſwaded by them: ſent their Ambaſſadors with al ſpeede to ATHENS, to pray them to ſend their wiues and children vnto SPARTA, and alſo to offer them vittailles, to relieue their poore olde people, bicauſe of the great ſcarcity that was at ATHENS, for that their city was burnt and raſed, and all their contry beſides deſtroyed by the barbarous people. The ATHENIANS hauing heard the offers of the Ambaſſadors of LACEDÆMON, made them a maruelous anſwer through *Ariſtides* counſell, and this it was. That they bare with the barbarous people, though they thought all thinges were to be ſold for gold & ſiluer, bicauſe they eſteemed nothing more pretious, nor better in this world, then to be riche and wealthy: but on the other ſide, they were greatly offended with the LACEDÆMONIANS, that they only regarded the preſent pouerty and neceſſity of the ATHENIANS, and did forget their vertue and noble corage, thinking to make them fight more valliantly for the preſeruacion of GREECE, by offering them vittells to liue withall. The people approuing this aunſwere, *Ariſtides* then cauſed the Ambaſſadors of SPARTA to come to the aſſembly, and commaunded them to tell the LACEDÆMONIANS by worde of mouth, that all the golde aboue, or vnder the grounde, coulde not corrupt the ATHENIANS, to make them take any ſumme of money or reward, to leaue the defence of the liberty of GREECE: & to the herauld that came from *Mardonius*, he ſhewed him the ſunne, and ſayd vnto him: ſo long as yonder ſunne keepeth his courſe about the worlde, ſo long will the ATHENIANS be mortall enemies vnto the PERSIANS, bicauſe they haue ſpoyled and deſtroyed all their contry, and haue defiled and burnt the temples of their goddes. Beſides, he willed that the Prieſtes, by commaundement of the people, ſhoulde excommunicate and curſe him that woulde procure them to ſende vnto the PERSIANS to make peace with them, and to breake their league and allyance with the other GREECIANS. Hereupon, when *Mardonius* came againe the ſeconde time to ouerrunne the contry of ATTICA: the ATHENIANS got thē againe into the Ile of SALAMINA, and then they ſent *Ariſtides* Ambaſſador vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. He ſharpely tooke them vp, and reproued their ſloth and negligence, bicauſe they had againe forſaken ATHENS, and left it to the ſpoyle of the barbarous people: and prayed them yet they woulde looke to ſaue the reſt of GREECE. The Ephori (which were certeine officers that ruled all things within the city of SPARTA) when they had hearde *Ariſtides* perſwaſions: ſtraight tooke order for ayde, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good cheere, keeping that day one of their ſolemne feaſtes they called Hyacinthia. Howebeit the next night following, they ſent out fiue thowſande citizens borne in SPARTA, into the fielde, all proper men and valliant ſouldiers, euery one of them carying with him, ſeuen Ilotes (which are the contry men and ſlaues in the contrie of LACEDÆMONIA) not making the Ambaſſadors of ATHENS priuy to it at all. Wherefore *Ariſtides* came againe an other time into their counſell, to complaine of their negligence. But they fell a laughinge, and ſayd he dreamed, or elſe he mocked them: for their army which they had ſent againſt the ſtraungers (for ſo they called the PERSIANS) was already at the city of ORESTION in ARCADIA. *Ariſtides* hearing their aunſwere, replyed, that they were to blame to mocke them in that ſorte, to ſende away their men ſo ſecretly, that they might not knowe of it: and that it was no time for them now to go about to deceiue their frendes, but their enemies rather. *Idomeneus* in his ſtory reporteth the matter

Xerxes left Mardonius his Lieutenant in Greece with 300000. men.

The noble minde of the Athenians.

thus in euery point. Notwithstanding, in the decree that was made to sende Ambassadors to SPARTA, *Aristides* is not named for Ambassador, but there are other appointed: as *Cimon*, *Xanthippus*, and *Myronides*. Afterwardes *Aristides* was chosen by voyces of the people, Lieutenant generall of the army of ATHENS, in this warre against the PERSIANS, and went vnto the campe of the GREECIANS by the citie of PLATÆES, with eight thousande footemen wel armed and appointed. There he found king *Pausanias* the only general of all the whole power and army of the GREECIANS, who brought with him the force of SPARTA: and there came daily into his campe one after an other, a maruelous great multitude of other GREECIANS. Now touching the army of the barbarous people, they incāped all alongest the riuer of ASOPVS: but bicause their campe stretched out a maruelous way in length, they were not intrenched at all, but had onely fortified a peece of grounde foure square with a walle about, which was ten furlonges on euery side, to place all their cariage and chiefest thinges in. And for the GREECIANS againe, the foothsayer *Tisamenus*, borne in the city of ELIDE, had told *Pausanias*, & all the GREECIANS together, that they should haue the victory, so they did not assault at all, but only defend. And *Aristides*, that had sent to the oracle of *Apollo* at DELPHES, in the name of the ATHENIANS, had aunswer: they should ouercome their enemies, so they did sacrifice and make speciall prayers, vnto *Iupiter* and *Iuno* of mount CITHÆRON, vnto *Pan*, and vnto the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, and also vnto the demy gods, *Androcrates*, *Leucon*, *Pisander*, *Damocrates*, *Hypsion*, *Actæon*, & *Polyidus*: and so that they did hazard battel also within their owne territories, and in the plaine of *Ceres Eleusinian*, and of *Proserpina*. This oracle troubled *Aristides* maruelously, bicause the demy goddes whome they had commaundement to do sacrifice vnto, were the fownders and auncesters of the PLATÆIANS: and the caue of the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, is one of the toppes of mount CITHÆRON, looking towards the west, where the sunne setteth in sommer. They say there was an oracle there in old time, whose spirit possessed many inhabitants thereabouts, and bestraught them of their wittes: whereupon, they called those so possessed, *Nympholepty*, as who would say, taken with the *Nymphes*. And againe to tel the ATHENIANS they shoulde haue the victory, so they did hazard battell in the plaine of *Ceres Eleusinian*, and within their owne territorie: it was euen to sende them backe againe into the contry of ATTICA. *Aristides* being thus perplexed, *Arimnestus* Captaine of the PLATÆIANS, hadde such a vision in the night in his sleepe. Him thought that *Iupiter* the sauior did appeare vntohim, and asked him what the GREECIANS intended to do? and that he answered: my Lord, we must to morrowe remoue our campe into the territories of ELEVSIN, and there we will fight with the barbarous people, accordinge to the commaundement the oracle *Apollo* hath geuen vs. Then that *Iupiter* replyed, that they were greatly deceaued: for all that *Apollo* had declared by his oracle was ment within the territorie of the PLATÆIANS, and that they shoulde finde it true, if they considered it well. *Arimnestus* hauinge plainely seene this vision in his sleepe, when he did awake in the morning, he straight sent for the oldest citizens, and consideringe with them where this place shoulde be, he founde at the length, that at the foote of mount CITHÆRON, by the city of NYSIA, there was an olde temple they called the temple of *Ceres Eleusinian*, and of her daughter *Proserpina*. When he hearde them say so, he went straight and tolde *Aristides* of it, and founde that it was an excellent place to set an army in battell raye, that hadde but fewe horsemen: for that the foote of mount CITHÆRON did lette the horsemen, they coulde not goe to the place where the temple stoode, and where the playne and valley did ende: besides also, that the chappell of *Androcrates* was euen in that place, which was all hidden with thicke wodde rounde about it. And bicause they shoulde lacke nothing to hinder the expresse commaundement of the oracle for hope of victory: the PLATÆIANS (through *Arimnestus* counsell and aduise) made a common decree, that the confines of the city of PLATÆES should be taken away towardes ATHENS side, and that the lande thereof shoulde be geuen clearely vnto the ATHENIANS, bicause they shoulde fight with the barbarous people in their owne lande, for the defence and preseruation of GREECE, accordinge to the commaundement of the oracle. This noble gift and present of the PLATÆIANS was so famous, as many yeares after, king *Alexander* the great hauing conquered the Empire of ASIA, built vp the walles againe of the city of PLATÆES, and when he had done, made a herauld

Aristides Lieutenant generall of the Atheniās against Mardonius.

Pausanias king of Lacedæmon, generall of all Greece.

Asopus flu.

Oracles of the victory of Platæes.

The Nymphes Sphragitides.

Arymnestus dreame.

The magnanimity of the Platæians.

Alexander the great doth honor the Platæians for their noble mindes.

A herauld openly proclaime it at the games Olympicall: that *Alexander* hadde done the PLATÆIANS that honor and dignitie, for a memoriall and honor of their magnanimity. Bicause in the warre againſt the PERSIANS, they had freely and liberally geuen away their lande vnto the ATHENIANS, for the ſafetie of the GREECIANS: and had ſhewed them ſelues of a noble corage alſo, and very willinge to defende the ſtate of GREECE. Now when the army of the GREECIANS came to be ſette in order of battell, there fell a ſtrife betwene the ATHENIANS and the TEGEATES, bicauſe the ATHENIANS would nedes (according to their old cuſtome) haue the left wing of the battell, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had the right winge: and the TEGEATES on the contrary parte, woulde haue the preheminence before the ATHENIANS, alleaging the famous acts and notable ſeruice of their auncеſters in former warres, whereupon

Strife betwene the Athenians & Tegeates.

B the ATHENIANS did mutine. But *Ariſtides* ſtept betwene them, and told them, that it was no time now to contende with the TEGEATES about their nobility and valliantneſſe: and as for you, my Lords of SPARTA, ſayed he, and you alſo my maiſters of GREECE: we tell you, that the place neither geueth nor taketh vertue away, and we doe aſſure you that whereſoeuer you place vs, we will ſo defend and kepe it, as we will not impayre nor blemiſh the honor we haue wonne in former foughten battells, and gotten victories. For we are not come hither to quarell and fall out with our frends, but to fight with our common enemies: nor to bragge of our anceſters doings, but to ſhow our ſelues valliant in defence of al GREECE. For this battail wil make good proofe to all the GREECIANS, how much eſtimacion euery city, euery Captaine, & particular perſon wil deſerue for his parte. When *Ariſtides* had ſpoken, the Captaines & all

Ariſtides wiſely pacifieth the mutinie.

C other of the counſel concluded in fauor of the ATHENIANS, that they ſhould haue one of the winges of the battell. But by this meanes, all GREECE ſtoode in maruelous garboyle at that time, and the ſtate of the ATHENIANS ſpecially in great daunger. For a number of the nobleſt citizens of ATHENS. And that brought great ſubſtance with them to the warres, being now at low ſtate, & in pouerty, their goods being ſpent & gone, & ſeeing thē ſelues diſcountenāced, not bearing that rule & authority in the common wealth they were wont to do, bicauſe other were called to authority, and preferred to the offices of the citie: they gathered together, and met at a houſe in the city of PLATÆES, & there conſpyred to ouerthrow the authority of the people at ATHENS: and if they could not obtaine their purpoſe, then that they would rather looſe all, and betray their contry vnto the barbarous people. While theſe thinges were pra-

The conſpiracy of the rich noble men of Athens.

D ctiſed in the campe, many beinge of the conſpiracy, *Ariſtides* came to an Incklinge of it, and was maruelouſly afrayed, bicauſe of the time: wherefore he beganne to be carefull of the matter, being of ſuch importance as it was, and yet would not be curious to vnderſtand the whole conſpiracy, litle knowing what a number might be drawen into this treaſon, if it were narrowly looked into, but rather reſpected that which was iuſt, then what was profitable for the time. So he cauſed eight perſones only of the great number to be apprehended, and of theſe eight, the two firſt whom they would haue indited as principalles, and were moſt to be burdened for the conſpiracy, *AEſchines* of the towne of LAMPRA, and *Egeſias* of the towne of ACHARNA, they founde meanes to flie out of the campe, and to ſaue themſelues. And for the other, *Ariſtides* ſet them at liberty, and gaue them occaſion that were not diſcouered, to be bold, and to

E repent them of their follies: ſaying, that the battell ſhould be their iudge, where they ſhould purge them ſelues of all accuſations layed againſt them, and ſhow the world alſo, that they neuer had any other intencion but honeſt, and good, towards their contry. *Mardonius*, to proue the corage of the GREECIANS, had ſent all his horſemen, (wherein he was farre ſtronger then the GREECIANS) to skirmiſh with thē. Who were lodged at the foote of mount CITHÆRON, in ſtrong places and full of ſtones, ſauing the three thouſande MEGARIANS, that camped in the plaine: by reaſon whereof, they were ſore troubled and hurt, by the horſemen of the barbarous people that ſette vppon them on euery ſide, for they might charge them where they woulde. Inſomuch, in the ende, perceiuinge they alone could no longer reſiſt the force of ſo great a multitude of the barbarous people: they ſent with all ſpeede poſſible to *Pauſanias*, to

Mount Citheron.

F pray him to ſend them preſent aide. *Pauſanias* hearing this newes, and ſeeing in his owne ſight the campe of the MEGARIANS almoſt all couered with ſhot and dartes which the barbarous people threw at them, & that they were compelled to ſtand cloſe together in a litle corner: he

wiſt not what to do. For, to go thither in perſon with the LACEDÆMONIANS that were foote men heauy armed, he thought that was no way to help them. So he proued to put ſome ambitious deſire and enuy of honor, among the priuate Captaines and generalls of the army of the other GREECIANS, which were then about him: to ſee if he coulde moue any mans courage and deſire, to offer him ſelfe willingly to goe aide the MEGARIANS. Howebeit they had all deafe eares, but *Ariſtides:* who promiſed to go in the name of the ATHENIANS, and brought *Olympiodorus* into the fielde, (one of the valliantest Captaines that ſerued vnder him) with his company of three hundred choſen men, and certaine ſhot mingled amongeſt them. Theſe ſouldiers were ready in a moment, and marched ſtraight in battell ray, a great pace towards the barbarous people. *Maſiſtius*, that was generall of the horſemen of the PERSIANS, a goodly tall man, perceiuing their comming towards him: turned his horſe, and gallopped to them. The ATHENIANS taried him, and kept their ground, and the encounter was very hotte, bicauſe both the one and the other ſide did the beſt they could at this firſt onſet to put the reſt of the battell in ieopardy: and they fought ſo long, that *Maſiſtius* horſe was ſhot through the body with an arrow, that put him to ſuch paine, as he neuer lin flinging, till he caſt his maiſter on the ground, armed as he was at all peces. So being on the ground, he could not riſe againe, as well for the waight of his armor, as for that the ATHENIANS came ſo ſodainely vpon him. And notwithſtanding there were many about him to hew him in peces, yet they could find no way how to kill him, he was ſo throughly armed and loden with gold, copper, & iron, not only vppon his body and his heade, but alſo on his legges and armes: vntill at the length there was one that thruſt the head of his dart through his beuer, and ſo killed him. The PERSIANS perceiuing that, fled immediatly, & forſooke the body of their generall. Shortly after it appeared to the GREECIANS that they had ſped well at this skirmiſhe, not bicauſe they had ſlaine many enemies, but for the great lamentacion the barbarous people made for the loſſe of *Maſiſtius*. For his death did ſo greue them, that they powled themſelues, they clipped of their horſe and moyles heares, & filled beſides all the field therabouts with pitiefull cries & ſhreekes, as thoſe that had loſt the valliantest and chiefeſt man of authority of all their campe, next vnto *Mardonius* the kings Lieutenant. After this firſt skirmiſh, both the one and the other ſide kept their campe, and would not come into the field many dayes after: for the Soothſayers did promiſe both ſides the victory, as much the PERSIANS, as the GREECIANS, ſo they did but onely defend: and contrarywiſe, they did threaten them to be ouerthrowen, that did aſſault. But *Mardonius* finding vittells waxed ſcant, and that they were ſtored but for few dayes, and moreouer how the GREECIANS daily grewe ſtronger by continuall repayre to their campe, the lenger he delayed: in the end he reſolued to tary no lenger, but to paſſe the riuer of ASOPVS the next morning by breake of the day, & ſodainly to ſet apon the GREECIANS. So he gaue the Captaines warning the night before what they ſhould do, bicauſe euery man ſhould be redy: but about midnight there came a horſeman without any noyſe at all, ſo neere to the GREECIANS campe, that he ſpake to the watche, and told them he would ſpeake with *Ariſtides*, generall of the ATHENIANS. *Ariſtides* was called for ſtraight, and when he came to him, the horſeman ſaid vnto *Ariſtides*. I am *Alexander* king of MACEDON, who for the loue and great good will I beare you, haue put my ſelf in the greateſt daũger that may be, to come at this preſent time to aduertiſe you, that to morrow morning *Mardonius* will giue you battel: bicauſe your enemies ſodaine comming apon you, ſhould not make you afrayd, being ſodainly charged, and ſhould not hinder alſo your valliant fightinge. For it is no new hope that is come to *Mardonius*, that makes him to fight: but only ſcarcety of vittells that forceth him to do it, conſidering that the prognoſticators are all againſt it that he ſhould geue you battel, both by reaſon of the il tokens of their ſacrifices, as alſo by the aunſwers of their oracles, which hath put all the armie in a maruelous feare, and ſtande in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to putte all at aduenture, or elſe if he will needes lye ſtill, to be ſtarued to death for very famine. After king *Alexander* hadde imparted this ſecrete to *Ariſtides*, he prayed him to keepe it to him ſelfe, and to remember it in time to come. *Ariſtides* aunſwered him then, that it was no reaſon he ſhoulde keepe a matter of ſo great importance as that, from *Pauſanias*, who was their Lieutenant generall of the whole armie: notwithſtandinge, he promiſed him he woulde tell it no

Maſiſtius generall of the horſemen of the Perſians.

Maſiſtius ſlaine by the Athenians.

Alexander kinge of Macedon, reuealeth the Perſians ſecrete counſell vnto Ariſtides.

A no man elſe before the battell, and that if the goddes gaue the GREECIANS the victorie, he did aſſure him, they ſhould all acknowledge his great fauor and good will ſhewed vnto them. After they hadde talked thus together, kinge *Alexander* left him, and returned backe againe: and *Ariſtides* alſo went immediatly to *Pauſanias* tent, and tolde him the talke kinge *Alexander* and he hadde together. Thereupon the priuate Captaines were ſent for ſtraight to counſaill, and there order was geuen, that euery manne ſhoulde haue his bandes ready, for they ſhoulde fight in the morninge. So *Pauſanias* at that time (as *Herodotus* wryteth) ſayed vnto *Ariſtides*, that he woulde remoue the ATHENIANS from the left to the right winge, bicauſe they ſhoulde haue the PERSIANS them ſelues right before them, and that they ſhoulde fight ſo much the luſtier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as alſo bicauſe they
B hadde ouercommed them before in the firſt encounter: and that him ſelfe would take the left winge of the battell, where he ſhoulde encounter with the GREECIANS that fought on the PERSIANS ſide. But when all the other priuate Captaines of the ATHENIANS vnderſtoode it, they were maruelous angrie with *Pauſanias*, and ſayed he did them wronge, and hadde no reaſon to lette all the other GRECIANS keepe their place where they were alwayes appointed, and onely to remoue them, as if they were ſlaues, to be appointed at his pleaſure, now of one ſide, then of the other, and to ſette them to fight with the valliantеſt ſouldiers they had of all their enemies. Then ſayed *Ariſtides* to them, that they knewe not what they ſayed, and how before they miſliked, and did ſtriue with the TEGEATES, onely for hauinge the left wing of the battell, and when it was graunted, they thought them ſelues greatly honored that they
C were preferred before them, by order of the Captaines: and nowe where the LACEDÆMONIANS were willing of them ſelues to geue them the place of the right winge, and did in maner offer them the preheminence of the whole armie: they do not thankefully take the honor offered them, nor yet doe recken of the vantage and benefitte geuen them to fight againſt the PERSIANS ſelues, their auncient enemies, and not againſt their natural contry men anciently diſcended of them. When *Ariſtides* had vſed all theſe perſwaſions vnto them, they were very well contented to chaunge place with the LACEDÆMONIANS: and then all the talke amonge them was to encorage one an other, and to tell them that the PERSIANS that came againſt them, had no better hartes nor weapons, then thoſe whom they before hadde ouercome, in the plaine of MARATHON. For ſayed they, they haue the ſame bowes, the ſame riche imbro-
D dered gownes, the ſame golden chaines and carcanettes of womaniſhe perſones, hanging on their cowardly bodies and faint hartes: where we haue alſo the ſame weapons and bodies we hadde, and our hartes more liuely and coragious then before, through the ſundrie victories we haue ſince gotten of them. Further, we haue this aduantage more. That we doe not fight as our other confederates the GREECIANS do, for our city and contry onely, but alſo to continewe the fame and renowme of our former noble ſeruice, which we wanne at the iorneys of MARATHON and of SALAMINA: to the ende the worlde ſhoulde not thinke that the glory of theſe triumphes and victories was due vnto *Miltiades* onely, or vnto fortune, but vnto the corage and worthineſſe of the ATHENIANS. Thus were the GREECIANS throughly occupied to chaunge the order of their battell in haſt. The THEBANS on the other ſide that tooke
E parte with *Mardonius*, receiuing intelligence of the alteringe of their battell, by traytors that ranne betwene both campes: they ſtraight tolde *Mardonius* of it. He thereupon did ſodainly alſo chaunge the order of his battell, and placed the PERSIANS from the right winge to the left winge of his enemies: either bicauſe he was afrayed of the ATHENIANS, or elſe for greater glorie that he hadde a deſire to fight with the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commaunded the GREECIANS that tooke his parte, that they ſhoulde fight againſt the ATHENIANS. This alteracion was ſo openly done, that euerie manne might ſee it: whereuppon *Pauſanias* remoued the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, and ſette them in the right winge. *Mardonius* ſeeinge that, remoued the PERSIANS againe from the left winge, and brought them to the right winge (where they were before) againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS: and thus they con-
F ſumed all that day in chaunginge their men to and fro. So the Captaines of the GREECIANS ſate in counſel at night, and there they agreed, that they muſt nedes remoue their campe, and lodge in ſome other place where they might haue water at cõmaundement: bicauſe their ene-

The treaſon of the Thebans.

mies did continually trouble and ſpoyle that water they had about them, with their horſes. Now when night came, the Captaines woulde haue marched away with their men, to go to the lodginge they had appointed: but the people went very ill willinge to it, and they hadde much a do to keepe them together. For they were no ſooner out of the trenches and fortification of their campe, but the moſt parte of them ranne to the citie of PLATÆES, and were maruelouſly out of order, diſperſing them ſelues here and there, and ſet vp their tents where they thought good, before the places were appointed for them: and there were none that taried behinde, but the LACEDÆMONIANS onely, and that was againſt their willes. For one of their Captaines called *Amompharetus*, a maruelous hardie man, that feared no daunger, and longed ſore for battell: he was in ſuch a rage with theſe triflinge delayes, that he cried it out in the campe, that this remouinge was a goodly runninge away, and ſware he woulde not from thence, but woulde there tary *Mardonius* comminge with his companie. *Pauſanias* went to him, and tolde him he muſt doe that the other GREECIANS hadde conſented to in counſell, by moſt voyces. But *Amompharetus* tooke a great ſtone in his handes, and threw it downe at *Pauſanias* feete, and told him there is the ſigne I geue to conclude battel, and I paſſe not for all your cowardly concluſions. *Amompharetus* ſtubbornneſſe did ſo amaze *Pauſanias*, that he was at his wittes ende. So he ſent vnto the ATHENIANS that were onwardes on their way, to pray them to tary for him, that they might goe together: and therewithall made the reſt of his menne to marche towardes the citie of PLATÆES, ſuppoſinge thereby to haue drawen *Amompharetus* to haue followed him, or elſe he ment to remaine alone behinde. But in triflinge thus, the day brake: and *Mardonius* vnderſtandinge that the GREECIANS did forſake their firſt lodging, he made his army preſently marche in battell ray to ſette apon the LACEDÆMONIANS. So the barbarous people made great ſhowtes and cries, not thinking to goe fight, but to goe ſacke and ſpoyle the GREECIANS flyinge away, as in deede they did litle better. For, *Pauſanias* ſeeinge the countenaunce of his enemies, made his enſignes to ſtay, and commaunded euery man to prepare to fight: but he forgate to geue the GREECIANS the ſignall of the battell, either for the anger he tooke againſt *Amompharetus*, or for the ſodayne onſet of the enemies, which made them that they came not in ſtraight, nor altogether to the battell after it was begonne, but ſtragglinge in ſmall companies, ſome here, and ſome there. In the meane time, *Pauſanias* was buſie in ſacrificinge to the goddes, and ſeeinge that the firſt ſacrifices were not acceptable vnto them, by the Soothſayers obſeruations they made: he commaunded the SPARTANS to throwe their targettes at their feete, and not to ſturre out of their places, but onely to doe as he bad them, without reſiſtinge their enemies. When he hadde geuen this ſtraight order, he went againe and did ſacrifice, when the horſemen of the enemies were at hande, and that their arrowes flewe amongeſt the thickeſt of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and did hurte diuerſe of them, and ſpecially poore *Callicrates* amonge the reſt, that was one of the goodlieſt menne in all the GREECIANS hoſte and armie. He hauing his deathes wounde with an arrow, before he gaue vppe the ghoſt, ſayed his death did not greue him, bicauſe he came out of his contrie to dye for the defence of GREECE: but it greued him to dye ſo cowardly, hauinge geuen the enemie neuer a blowe. His death was maruelous lamentable, and the conſtancy of the SPARTANS wonderfull: for they neuer ſtirred out of their places, nor made any countenaunce to defende them ſelues againſt their enemies that came apon them, but ſuffred them ſelues to be thruſt through with arrowes, and ſlaine in the field, lookinge for the houre the goddes would appoint them, and that their Captaine would commaunde them to fight. Some wryte alſo, that as *Pauſanias* was at his prayers, and doing ſacrifice vnto the goddes a litle behinde the battell, certeine of the LYDIANS came apon him, and ouerthrew and tooke away all his ſacrifice: and how *Pauſanias*, and thoſe that were about him, (hauinge no other weapons in their handes) draue them awaye with force of ſtaues and whippes. In memorie whereof, they ſaye there is a ſoleinne proceſſion kept at SPARTA on that daye, which they call the LYDIANS proceſſion, where they whippe and beate younge boyes about the aulter. Then was *Pauſanias* in great diſtreſſe, to ſee the Prieſtes offer ſacrifice vpon ſacrifice, and that not one of them pleaſed the goddes: at the laſt he turned his eyes to the temple of *Iuno*, and wept, and holdinge vp his handes, beſought *Iuno Cytheron*, and

The ſtubbornnes of Amompharetus Captaine of the Lacedæmonians.

The battell of the Greecias, with the Perſians, at the city of Platæes.

Callicrates ſlaine without fighting.

Note the obedience of the Spartan ſouldiers vnto death.

A and all the other goddes, (patrones and protectors of the contry of the PLATÆIANS) that if it were not the will of the goddes the GREECIANS ſhoulde haue the victorie, yet that the conquerors at the leaſt ſhould buie their deathes dearely, and that they ſhoulde finde they fought againſt valliant men and worthy ſouldiers. *Pauſanias* had no ſooner ended his prayer, but the ſacrifices fell out very fauorable, inſomuch the Prieſtes and Soothſayers came to promiſe him victory. Thereupon, he ſtraight gaue commaundement to march toward the enemy, which flew from man to man incontinently how they ſhoulde march. So as he that hadde ſeene the Squadrõ of the LACEDÆMONIANS, would haue ſaid it had bene like the body of a fierce beaſt raiſing vp his briſtels, preparing to fight. Then the barbarous people ſaw they ſhoulde haue a hotte battel, and that they ſhould mete with men that would fight it out to the death: where-
B fore they couered their bodies with great targets after the PERSIAN facion, & beſtowed their arrowes luſtely apon the LACEDÆMONIANS. But they keeping cloſe together, and coueringe them ſelues with their ſhieldes, marched on ſtil apon them, vntill they came to ioyne with the enemy ſo luſtely, that they made their targets flie out of their hands, with the terrible thruſtes and blowes of their pikes & ſpeares apon their breaſtes, and ouerthwart their faces, that they ſlew many of them, and layed them on the grounde. For all that, they dyed not cowardly, but tooke the LACEDÆMONIANS pikes and ſpeares in their bare hands, and brake them in two by ſtrength of their armes: and then they quickely pluckt out their cimeters and axes, and luſtely layed about them, and wrong the LACEDÆMONIANS ſhields out of their hands by force, and fought it out with thẽ a great while hand to hand. Now, whileſt the LACEDÆMONIANS were
C buſily fighting with the barbarous people, the ATHENIANS ſtoode ſtill imbattelled farre of, & kept their ground. But when they ſaw the LACEDÆMONIANS tary ſo long, & that they came not, and heard a maruelous noyſe of men as though they were fighting, and beſides that there came a ſpeedy meſſenger vnto them ſent from *Pauſanias*, to let thẽ vnderſtand they were fighting: then they marched with all ſpeede they could to help them. But as they were comming on a great pace ouer the playne, vnto that parte where they heard the noyſe: the GREECIANS that were on *Mardonius* ſide came againſt them. *Ariſtides* ſeeing them cõming towards them, went a good way before his company, & cried out as loude as he could for life, and coniured the GREECIANS in the name of the gods, the protectors of GREECE, to leaue of theſe warres, and not to trouble the ATHENIANS that were going to helpe thẽ that ventured their liues, to
D defend the common wealth & ſafety of all GREECE. But when he ſaw they would nedes fight for any requeſt and coniuration he could vſe, and that they came ſtill apon him, bending them ſelues to giue charge: then he ſtayed his going to relieue the LACEDÆMONIANS, & was compelled to make head againſt thoſe that ſet apon him and his company, they beinge about fifty thouſand men, of the which, the moſt parte notwithſtanding went their waies, and left the army, ſpecially when they vnderſtoode the PERSIANS were ouerthrowen and fled. The fury of the battell, and cruelleſt fight (as they ſay) was where the THEBANS were: bicauſe the nobility & chiefeſt men of the contry fought very earneſtly for the PERSIANS, but the people refuſed, being led by a ſmal nomber of the nobility that cõmaunded thẽ. So they fought that day in two places, the LACEDÆMONIANS being the firſt that ouerthrew the PERSIANS, & made thẽ flie:
E & they ſlue *Mardonius* the kings lieutenant, with a blow of a ſtone one *Arimneſtus* a SPARTAN gaue him apon his head, rightly as the oracle of *Amphiaraus* had prophecied before vnto him. For *Mardonius* before the battel had ſent thither a LYDIAN, & a CARIAN, vnto the oracle of *Trophonius*, of the which, the prophet made anſwere vnto the CARIAN, in the CARIAN tonge: & the man of LYDIA lay within the ſanctuary of *Amphiaraus*, where he thought in his dreame that one of the prieſtes of the tẽple willed him to go out of the place he was in, and he denying it, the Prieſt tooke vp a great ſtone and threw it at his head, and ſo thought he was ſlaine with the blow. And thus it is writtẽ. And furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS did chaſe the PERSIANS flying, into their fortificatiõ they had in a wodde: & the ATHENIANS alſo ſhortly after ouerthrew the THEBANS whereof they ſlue in the field, a three hũdred of the nobleſt & chiefeſt
F of them. For euen as the THEBANS began to turne tayle, newes came vnto the ATHENIANS, that the PERSIANS had intrenched them ſelues within their forte and ſtrength in the wodde, where the LACEDÆMONIANS did beſiege them. The ATHENIANS ſuffered the GREECIANS

Battaill betwixt the Greecians & Perſians.

The Greecians victorie of the Perſians at Platæa.

Mardonius ſlaine of Arimneſtus a Spartan, with a blow of a ſtone.

that fled to saue them selues, and they went to help the LACEDÆMONIANS, to take the spoile of the barbarous people: who went before but slenderly about it, bicause they had no experience to make an assault, nor force vpon a walle. But so soone as the ATHENIANS came into them, they straight tooke it by assault, and made great slaughter of the PERSIANS and barbarous people. For of three hundred thowsand fighting men that *Mardonius* had in his campe, there were saued only but forty thowsand led vnder *Artabazus*: and of the GREECIANS side, there were not slaine aboue thirtene hundred and three score in all, amongst which also there were two and fifty ATHENIANS, all of the tribe of *AEantides*, the which had done more valiantly that day, then any other tribe, as *Clidemus* writeth. And this is the cause why the *AEantides* made a solemne sacrifice vnto the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, at the common charge, according to the order geuen them by the oracle of *Apollo*, to geue them thankes for this victorie. Of the LACEDÆMONIANS there dyed foure score and eleuen: and of the TEGEATES, sixteene. But I maruell *Herodotus* sayth, that none but these people onely fought in that iorney against the barbarous nation, and no other GREECIANS besides: for the number of the dead bodies, and their graues also do shewe, that it was a generall victorie and exployte of all the GREECIANS together. And Moreouer, if there had beene but these three people onely that hadde fought against them, and that all the rest had stoode and looked on, and done nothinge: sure there had bene no such epigramme as this, engrauen apon the alter or tombe that was set vp in the place of the battell.

Two hundred and three score thousand Persians slain.

A thowsande three hundred & three score Greecians slaine.

VVhen the victorious Greekes, had driuen out of their lande,
the Persians by force of armes, vvhich long did them vvithstande,
they built to mighty Ioue, this holy aulter here,
and made it common for all Greece, as plainly may appeare.
in Guerdon of the good, vvhich he did them restore,
in Guerdon of their liberty, vvhich liked them euermore.

This battell was fought the fourth day of the moneth which the ATHENIANS call Boedromion, that is, about the moneth of Iuly, or after the BOEOTIANS accompt, the six & twenty of the moneth, they call Panemus, on which day there is yet kept a common assembly of the estates of GREECE, in the cities of PLATÆES, where the PLATÆIANS make a solemne sacrifice vnto *Iupiter*, protector of their libertie, to geue him thankes alwayes for this victorie. It is no maruaill that there was such difference then betwixt the monethes and dayes, considering that euen nowe when astronomie is more perfectly vnderstanded, then it was then: some do yet beginne and ende their monethes at one day, and some at an other. After this great battel and ouerthrow of the barbarous people, there rose great strife betwixt the ATHENIANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS, touching the reward and honor of the victorie. For the ATHENIANS would not geue place vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor suffer them to set vp any tokens or signes of triumphe. Whereupon the GREECIANS running to armes in mutinie together, by this occasion they had almost spoyled one an other: had not *Aristides* through his wisedom and wise perswasions, stayed, and quieted the other Captaines his companions, and specially one *Leocrates* and *Myronides*, whom he wanne with such discrete and gentle words, that they were contented to referre it wholly vnto the arbitrement and iudgement of the other people of GREECE. So the GREECIANS met in the same place together, purposely to decide their controuersie. In this counsell holden there, *Theogiton* a Captaine of the MEGARIANS, sayd for his opinion, that to auoide the ciuill warre might growe betwene the GREECIANS apon this quarrell: he thought it very requisite, to appoint ouer the reward and honor of this victorie, vnto some other city, then to any of the two that fell out about it. After him rose vp *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN, seeming to euery man there that he woulde haue requested this honor for the cittie of CORINTHE, beinge in deede the thirde cittie in estimacion of all GREECE, next vnto SPARTA and ATHENS: howbeit he made an oration in commendacion of the PLATÆIANS, which was maruelously liked, & well thought of of euery man. For his opinion went flatly with the PLATÆIANS, that to ende this strife, they should geue the honor of this victorie vnto the citie of PLATÆES, and so woulde neither of both parties be angrie that they shoulde be honored. Apon his wordes, *Aristides* first agreed on the ATHENIANS behalfe, and

Strife betwixt the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for honor of the victory.

Corinthe the third city of estimacion in Greece.
Sparta.
Athens.
Corinthe.
The Grecians graunt the honor of the victory vnto the Platæians.

A and then *Pauſanias* for the LACEDÆMONIANS, that the PLATÆIANS ſhould haue the reward. Now they both beinge agreed, before the ſpoyle was deuided betwene them, they ſette aſide foure ſcore talentes that were geuen to the PLATÆIANS, with the which they built a temple vnto *Minerua*, and gaue her an image, and ſett out all her temple with pictures that remaine whole vntill this day: and the LACEDÆMONIANS notwithſtanding, did ſet vp their tokens of victorie by them ſelues, and the ATHENIANS theirs alſo by them ſelues. So, they ſending vnto the oracle of *Apollo* in the city of DELPHES, to know vnto what gods, and how they ſhould do ſacrifice: *Apollo* aunſwered them that they ſhoulde builde vp an aulter vnto *Iupiter*, protector of their libertie, howbeit that they ſhoulde put no ſacrifice vpon it, vntill they had firſt put out all the fier through the whole contrie, bicauſe it had bene polluted and defiled by the B barbarous people: and then, that they ſhoulde fetche pure and cleane fyre at the common aulter, whereon they doe ſacrifice vnto *Apollo Pythias*, in the city of DELPHES. This aunſwer being deliuered, the great Lords and officers of GREECE went through all the contrie, to put out the fyre euery where. And there was a man of the ſame city of PLATÆES at that time called *Euchidas*, that came and offered him ſelfe, and promiſed he woulde bringe them fyre from the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, with all poſſible ſpeede that might be. So when he came to the city of DELPHES, after he hadde ſprinckled and purified his body with cleane water, he put a crowne of lawrell apon his heade, and went in that manner to take fyre from the aulter of *Apollo*. When he had done, he hyed him againe as faſt as he coulde ronne for life, vnto the citie of PLATÆES, and came thither before the ſunne was ſet, hauing commen and gone that day C a thowſande furlonges. But after he hadd ſaluted his citizens, and deliuered them the fyre he brought: he fell downe dead at their feete, and gaue vp the ghoſt. The PLATÆIANS lift him vp ſtarke deade, and buried him in the temple of *Diana Euclia*, to ſay, of good renowme: and cauſed afterwards this Epitaphe following to be grauen vpon his tombe.

The wonderfull ſpeede of Euchidas the Plateian, a foote.

Diana Euclia.

Euchidas death.

Engraued here doth lye, Euchidas ſpeedy man,
vvho in one day both to and fro, to Delphes lightly ranne.
Euen from this ſelfe ſame place, vvhich thou doeſt here behold,
ſuch haſt, poſt haſt, he ſvviftly made, thereof thou mayeſt be bolde.

Many thinke that this goddeſſe *Euclia* is *Diana*, and ſo they call her. But other holde opinion ſhe was the daughter of *Hercules*, and of *Myrto* the *Nymphe*, *Menetius* daughter, and *Pa*D *troclus* ſiſter, that dyed a virgine, and was honored afterwardes as a goddeſſe, of the BOEOTIANS, & of the LOCRIANS. For in all their cities and townes in open places, they finde an aulter and image dedicated vnto her: and all that are maried, doe ſacrifice to her apon that aulter. Afterwards there was a generall counſell holden by all the GREECIANS, in the which *Ariſtides* made a motion, that all the cities of GREECE ſhoulde yearely ſende their deputies at a certeine day appointed, vnto the city of PLATÆES, there to make their prayers & ſacrifices vnto the goddes: and that from fiue yeares, to fiue yeares, they ſhoulde celebrate common games, that ſhould be called the games of liberty: and that they ſhould alſo leauy through all the prouinces of GREECE, for maintenance of the warres againſt the PERSIANS and barbarous people, tenne thowſand footemen, a thowſand horſemen, and a flete of a hundred ſayle.

A generall counſell holden at the citie of Plateas.

E Item that the PLATÆIANS thencefoorth ſhould be taken alſo for deuoute and holy men, and that no man ſhould ſo hardy hurt or offende them, and that they ſhoulde onely tende the ſacrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and proſperitie of GREECE. All which articles were enacted in forme and maner aforeſayed, and the PLATÆIANS bounde them ſelues yearely to kepe ſolemne ſacrifices and anniuerſaries for the ſoules of the GREECIANS that were ſlaine in their territories, fightinge for defence of the libertie of the GREECIANS. And this they obſerue yet vnto this daye in this ſorte. The ſixteenth day of the moneth of Mæmacterion (which the BOEOTIANS call Alalcomenies, and is about the moneth of Ianuary) they goe a proceſſion, and before the proceſſion there goeth a trompetor that ſoundeth the alarom. Then there follow certeine charrettes loden with braunches of fyrre tree, and with noſegayes F and garlandes of triumphe: then a blacke bul, & certeine yong gentlemen noble men ſonnes, that cary great cawdrons with two eares full of wine and milke, ſuch as they vſe to powre apon the graues of deade men for propiciatory oblations, and other young boyes free borne,

Solemne ſacrifices and funeralls kept by the Plateians yerely for the Greecians that were ſlaine in the battaill of Plateas.

that cary oyles, perfumes, and other ſweete odours in vyoll glaſſes. For no ſeruaunt or bonde man may lawfully be admitted to haue any office about this miſtery, for that they whoſe memory they honor, dyed all fighting for defence of the liberty of GREECE. After all this ſhew, followeth the prouoſt of the PLATÆIANS for that time being, laſt of all: who may not all the reſt of the yeare beſides ſo much as touch any iron, nor weare any other coloured gowne but white. Howebeit then he weareth on a purple coloured coate, and holdeth a funerall potte in one of his handes, which he taketh in the towne houſe, and a naked ſworde in the other hande, and ſo goeth through the cittie in this ſorte after all the pompe aforeſayed, vnto the church yarde where all their graues be that were ſlaine at that battell. So when he commeth thither, he draweth water out of a well that is there, and with the ſame he waſheth the foure-ſquare pillers and images that ſtand apon thoſe tombes, and then annointeth them with oyles and ſweete ſauors: afterwardes, he ſacrificeth a bulle, and layeth him apon a heape of wodde hard by him, as they do when they burne the bodies of dead men, and making certaine praiers and peticions vnto *Iupiter*, and *Mercurie*, goddes of the earth, he doth ſolemnely inuite the ſoules of thoſe valliant men that dyed, fightinge for the liberty of GREECE, vnto the feaſt of this funerall ſacrifice. Then he taketh a cuppe full of wine in his hande, and ſpilling it all vpon their tombes, he ſpeaketh theſe wordes aloude: I drinke to the worthy and valliant men, that dyed ſometime in defence of the liberty of GREECE. This ſolemne ceremony and anniuerſarie, the PLATÆIANS doe duely obſerue vnto this preſent day. Nowe when the ATHENIANS were returned to ATHENS, *Ariſtides* perceiuing the people were bent to ſtabliſh a popular ſtate, where the people might beare the whole rule and authoritie, iudginge them well worthy to be conſidered of, in reſpect of their noble ſeruice and valiant courage they had ſhewed in this warre: & cõſidering alſo that they would hardly be brought to like of any other gouernment, being yet in armes, and very ſtowte, by reaſon of the famous victories they had obteyned: he cauſed a law to be made, that all authority of gouernment ſhould runne in equality among the citizens, and that thencefoorth all burgeſſes (as well poore as rich) ſhould be choſen by voyces of the people, and promoted to offices within the city. And moreouer, when *Themiſtocles* tolde in open aſſembly, that he had a thing in his heade woulde be greatly to the profit and commodity of the ſtate, but yet it was not to be ſpoken openly for diuerſe reſpects: the people willed him to tell it vnto *Ariſtides* onely, and to take his aduiſe in it, to knowe whether it was meete to be done or not. Then *Themiſtocles* tolde him ſecretly betwene them, that he thought to ſette the arcenall afyre, where all the GREECIANS ſhips lay: alleaging, that by this meanes the ATHENIANS ſhould be the greateſt men of power in all GREECE. *Ariſtides* hearinge that, without any more, came preſently to the people againe, and tolde the whole counſell openly: that nothinge coulde be more profitable in deede for the whole common wealth, and withal more wicked and vniuſt, then that *Themiſtocles* thought good to do. When the people heard *Ariſtides* aunſwere, they willed *Themiſtocles* to lette his deuiſe alone whatſoeuer it were: ſo great iuſticers were the ATHENIANS, and ſo much did they truſt *Ariſtides* wiſedom and equitie beſides. So they made *Ariſtides* afterwards generall of the army of the ATHENIANS together with *Cimon*, & ſent them to make warre againſt the barbarous people. *Ariſtides* at his comming thither, ſeeing *Pauſanias*, & the other Captaines that were generals ouer the whole army, dealinge hardly, and churliſhely with people their confederates: he on the contrary ſide, ſpake gently vnto them, and ſhewed him ſelfe as curteous and familiar to them as he coulde poſſible, making his companion alſo familiar to all, and iuſt to euery body, not oppreſſing ſome to eaſe other, in defraying the charges of the warres. *Ariſtides* takinge this courſe, it was not noted howe by litle and litle he cutte of the rule and authoritie of the LACEDÆMONIANS in GREECE, not by force of armes, nor by ſhippes, nor by numbers of horſes, but onely by his graue and wiſe gouernment. For if the iuſtice and vertue of *Ariſtides*, and the myldenes and curteſy of *Cimon* made the gouernment of the ATHENIANS to be liked of, and accepted of all the other people of GREECE: the couetouſnes, pride, and fiercenes of *Pauſanias*, made it much more to be deſired. For *Pauſanias* neuer ſpake vnto the other Captaynes of the people, allyes, and confederates, but it was euer in choller, and he was to ſharp with them: and for the poore priuate ſouldiers, he woulde cauſe them to be cruelly whipped for

Ariſtides preferreth the popular ſtate.

A wicked deuiſe of Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides ſentence apon Themiſtocles deuiſe.

The iuſtice of the Athenians.

Ariſtides and Cimon generalls of the Athenians againſt the barbarous people.

Ariſtides iuſtice and vertue tooke from the Lacedæmonians all their rule and authority in Greece.

Pauſanias proude and couetous.

A for euery ſmall offence, or elſe to make them ſtande a whole day together on their feete, laying a heauy iron ancker apon their ſhoulders. No man durſt goe forrage, neither for ſtrawe nor reedes to make them couches of, nor durſt water their horſe before the SPARTANS: for he had ſette skowtes for them to whippe them home, that went out before them. And one day when *Ariſtides* thought to haue ſpoken to him, and to haue tolde him ſome thinge: he frowned apon him, and ſayed he hadde no leaſure to ſpeake with him now, and ſo would not heare him. Whereupon the Captaines of the other GREECIANS, & ſpecially thoſe of CHIO, of SAMOS, and of LESBOS, did afterwardes follow *Ariſtides*, and perſwaded him to take apon him the charge and authority to commaunde the other people of GREECE, and to take into his protection the allyes and confederats of the ſame, who long ſithence wiſhed to reuolt B from the gouernment of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and onely to ſubmitte them ſelues vnto the ATHENIANS. *Ariſtides* aunſwered them thus: that they had not only reaſon to doe that they ſayd, but that they were alſo conſtrained to do it. Notwithſtanding, bicauſe the ATHENIANS might haue good grounde and aſſurance of their vndoubted fidelitie and good ſeruice, they ſhoulde deliuer them manifeſt teſtimony and aſſurance thereof, by ſome famous act attempted againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, whereby their people hereafter durſt neuer fall from the league of the ATHENIANS. *Vliades* SAMIAN, and *Antagoras* of CHIO hearing him ſay ſo, both Captaines of galleys confedered together: they went one day to ſet apon the admirall galley of *Pauſanias*, hard by BIZANTIVM, the one of the one ſide of her, and the other on the other ſide, as ſhe was rowing before all the fleete. *Pauſanias* ſeeinge them, ſtoode vppe ſtraight in a C maruelous rage againſt them, and threatned them that before it were longe he woulde make them knowe they had bene better to haue aſſaulted their owne naturall contrie, then to haue ſet vpon him as they had done. But they aunſwered him, and bad him get him away quickely and he were wiſe, and let him thanke fortune hardly, that graunted the GREECIANS victory at the battell of PLATÆES vnder his leading: and that it was nothing elſe but the onely reuerence and reſpect of the ſame, that had made the GREECIANS hold their hands till now, from geuing him that iuſt puniſhment his pride and arrogancy had deſerued. So the end was, they left the LACEDÆMONIANS, & ſtacke vnto the ATHENIANS: wherin was eaſily diſcerned the great corage, and wonderfull magnanimity of the LACEDÆMONIANS. For when they ſawe their Captaines were marred and corrupted, through the ouergreat authority, & liberty they D had, they willingly gaue vp their commaundement ouer the other GREECIANS, and did no more ſende their Captaines to be generalls of the whole army of GREECE: thinking it better for their citizens, that they ſhould be obedient, and in euery point obſerue the diſcipline and law of their contrie, then if they had bene otherwiſe the only rulers and Lords ouer the whole contrie. Now at what time the LACEDÆMONIANS did commaunde all GREECE, as Lordes: the cities and people of GREECE did pay a certeine ſumme of money, towardes defrayinge of the charges of the warres againſt the barbarous people. But after that their ſeigniorie and rule was taken from them, the GREECIANS were contented a taxe ſhould be leauied, and that euery city ſhould be reaſonably ſeſſed, accordinge to their wealth and abilitie: bicauſe euery citie might know what they ſhoulde pay. And for this purpoſe, they prayed the ATHENIANS E they would appoint *Ariſtides* to take order for it, vnto whom they gaue full power and authoritie to taxe and ſeſſe euery citie indifferently, conſidering the greatnes of the territory, and the reuenues of the ſame, as euery one was reaſonably able to beare it. But if *Ariſtides* were poore when he entred into that great charge and office of authoritie, wherein all GREECE in manner did referre them ſelues vnto his diſcretion: he came out of that office more poore, and had made this aſſeſſement and taxacion not only iuſtly and truely, but alſo ſo indifferently accordinge vnto euery mans abilitie, that there was no man coulde finde fault with his doinges. And like as the auncient men in olde time did celebrate, and ſing out the bleſſednes of thoſe that liued vnder the raigne of *Saturne*, which they called the golden age: euen ſo did the people and confederates of the ATHENIANS afterwardes honor the aſſeſſement made by F *Ariſtides*, calling it the fortunate & bleſſed time of GREECE, and ſpecially, when ſhortly after it did double, and treble on the ſodaine. For the taxe *Ariſtides* made, came to about foure hundred & three ſcore talents: and *Pericles* raiſed it almoſt vnto a third parte. For *Thucydides*

Pauſanias cruell puniſhing of his ſouldiers.

Ariſtides fine triall of traytors.

The rebellious act of Vliades and Antagoras againſt Pauſanias.

The temperance of the Lacedæmonians.

Ariſtides did ſeſſe the cities of Greece

Ariſtides a true ceſſer.

wryteth, that at the beginninge of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the ATHENIANS leauied A
sixe hundred talentes yearely vppon their confederates. And after the death of *Pericles*, the orators and counsellers for matters of state did raise it vp higher by litle and litle, vntil it mounted vnto the summe of thirteene hundred talentes. And this was not, bicause the warres did rise to so great a charge, by reason of the length of the same, and of the losses the ATHENIANS had receiued: but for that they did accustome the people to make distributions of money by hand vnto euery citizen, to make them set vp games, and make goodly images, and to builde sumptuous temples. Thus was *Aristides* therefore iustly honored, praised, and esteemed aboue all other, for this iust imposition of taxes, sauing onely of *Themistocles*: who went vp and downe flering at the matter, sayinge it was no mete praise for an honest man, but rather for a cofer well barred with iron, where a man might safely lay vp his gold and siluer. This he spake B
to be euen with *Aristides*, which was nothing like the sharpe girde *Aristides* gaue him openly, when *Themistocles* talking with him, tolde him it was an excellent thing for a Captaine to be able to know, and to preuent the counsells and doinges of the enemies: and so is it, sayed *Aristides* againe, not onely a needefull, but an honest thinge, and mete for a worthy generall of an army, to be cleane fingered, without bribery or corruption. So *Aristides* made all the other people of GREECE to sweare, that they woulde truely keepe the articles of the allyance, and he him selfe as generall of the ATHENIANS, did take their othes in the name of the ATHENIANS: and so pronouncing execrations & curses against them that should breake the league and othe taken, he threw iron wedges red hotte into the sea, and prayed the gods to destroy them euen so, that did violate their vowed faith. Notwithstandinge, afterwardes C
(in my opinion) when there fell out great alteracion in the state, and that the ATHENIANS were forced to rule more straightly then before: *Aristides* then willed the ATHENIANS to let him beare the daunger and burden of periury and execration, and that they should not let for feare thereof to do any thing whatsoeuer they thought mete or necessary. To conclude, *Theophrastus* wryteth, that *Aristides* was not only a perfect an honest, and iust man, in priuate matters betwixt party & party: but in matters of state, and concerning the common weale, he did many thinges oftentimes accordinge to the necessitie of the time, and troubles of the citie, wherein violence and iniustice was to be vsed. As when the question was asked in open counsell, to know whether they might take away the gold & siluer that was left in the Ile of DELOS safely layed vp in the temple of *Apollo*, to beare out the charges of the warres against the barD
barous people, and to bring it from thence vnto ATHENS, apon the motion of the SAMIANS, although it was directly against the articles of the allyance, made and sworne amonge all the GREECIANS. *Aristides* opinion beinge asked in the same, he aunswered: it was not iust, but yet profitable. Now, notwithstanding *Aristides* had brought his citie, to rule and commaund many thousandes of people: yet was he still poore for all that, and vntill his dying day he gloried rather to be praised for his pouertie, then for all the famous victories and battells he had wonne: and that plainely appeareth thus. *Callias Ceres* torche bearer, was his neere kinseman, who through enemies came to be accused, and stoode in hazard of life: so when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the Iudges, his accusers very faintly, and to litle purpose, vttered the offences whereof they accused him, and running into other byematters, E
left the chiefest matter, & spake thus to the Iudges. My Lords, you al know *Aristides* the sonne of *Lysimachus*, and you are not ignoraunt also that his vertue hath made him more esteemed, then any man else is, or can be, in all GREECE. Howe thinke ye doth he liue at home? when you see him abroade vppe and downe the city, in a threde bare gowne all to tattered? Is it not likely, trow ye, that he is ready to starue at home for lacke of meate and reliefe, whom we all see quake for very colde, beinge so ill arrayed and clothed? And yet M. *Callias* here his cosin germaine the richest citizen in all ATHENS, is so miserable: that notwithstandinge *Aristides* hath done much for him, by reason of his great credit and authoritie among you, he suffereth him, and his poore wife and children readie to begge, to starue for any helpe he geueth him. *Callias* perceiuing the Iudges more angryer with him for that, then for any matter else he was F
accused of: he prayed *Aristides* might be sent for, and willed him to tel truely whether he had not offered him good rounde summes of money, many a time and oft, and intreated him to take

Taunts betwixt Themistocles and Aristides.

Aristides preferred necessity of time, before law & reason.

Aristides gloried in his pouerty.

take it, which he euer refuſed, and aunſwered him alwayes, that he coulde better boaſt of his pouerty, then him ſelfe coulde of his riches: (which he ſayd many did vſe ill, and few coulde vſe them wel) and that it was a hard thing to finde one man of a noble minde, that could away with pouertie, and that ſuch onely might be aſhamed of pouerty, as were poore againſt their willes. So *Ariſtides* confirmed all he ſpake to be true: and euery man that was at the hearinge of this matter, went wholly away with this opinion, that he had rather be poore as *Ariſtides*, then rich as *Callias*. This tale is written thus by *AEſchines* the Socratian Philoſopher: and *Plato* reporteth of him alſo, that notwithſtandinge there were many other famous and notable men of ATHENS, yet he gaue *Ariſtides* praiſe aboue them all. For others, ſayd he, (as *Themiſtocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*) haue beautified the citie with ſtately porches, and ſumptuous buildinges of golde and ſiluer, and with ſtone of other fine ſuperfluous deuiſes: but *Ariſtides* was only he, that vertuouſly diſpoſed him ſelfe and all his doinges, to the furtherance of the ſtate and common weale. His iuſtice and good nature appeared plainely, in his doinges and behauiour towardes *Themiſtocles*. For though *Themiſtocles* was euer againſt *Ariſtides* in all things, and a continuall enemy of his, and that by his meanes and practiſe he was baniſhed from ATHENS: yet when *Themiſtocles* was accuſed of treaſon to the ſtate, hauing diuerſe ſharpe enemies againſt him: as *Cimon*, *Alcmaon*, with diuerſe other: *Ariſtides* ſought not reuenge, when he had him at his aduantage. For he neither ſpake nor did any thinge againſt him at that time to hurt him: neither did he reioyce to ſee his enemie in miſery, no more then if he had neuer enuied him in his proſperity. And touching *Ariſtides* death, ſome write he dyed in the realme of PONTVS, being ſent thither about matters of the ſtate: & other thinke he dyed an old man in the citie of ATHENS, greatly honored and beloued of all the citizens. But *Craterus* the MACEDONIAN wryteth of his death in this ſorte. After that *Themiſtocles* (ſayeth he) was fled, the people of ATHENS became very ſtubborne and inſolent: whereupon, many lewde men grew to be common appeachers and accuſers of the noble men and chiefeſt citizens, and to ſtirre vp the malice and ill will of the common people againſt them, who were waxen proude by reaſon of their proſperity, and dominion that was enlarged. Amonge the reſt, *Ariſtides* was condemned for extorcion and ill behauiour in the common wealth, apon one *Diophantes* accuſation, of the village of AMPHITROPE: who burdened him, that he tooke money of the IONIANS, to make the annuell tribute ceaſe which they payed vnto ATHENS: and ſo *Craterus* ſayth, that bicauſe *Ariſtides* was not able to pay the fine they ſet apon his heade (which was fiue Minas) he was driuen to forſake ATHENS, and to gette him into IONIA where he dyed. Yet doth not *Craterus* bring foorth any probable matter to proue this true he wryteth: as his pleadinge, his ſentence and condemnation, or any decree paſſed againſt him, although he vſed great diligence elſe in collectinge all ſuch matters, and vowchinge his authors. Furthermore, all other wryters that haue ſpecially noted the faultes and offences, committed by the people of ATHENS in former times againſt their Captaines and gouernors: they do declare *Themiſtocles* exile, *Miltiades* captiuity that dyed in priſon, *Pericles* fine wherein he was condemned, and *Paches* death that ſlue him ſelfe in the pulpit for orations, when he ſawe he was condemned: and tell diuerſe ſuch ſtories, addinge to alſo *Ariſtides* baniſhment: but yet they make no maner of mencion of the condemnation which *Craterus* ſpeaketh of. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* tombe is to be ſeene at this day apon the hauen of Phalerus, which was ſet vp for him at the charge of the common wealth, as it is reported, bicauſe he dyed ſo poore a manne, as they founde nothing in his houſe to bury him with. Other go further, and ſay that his daughters were maried by decree of the people, at the charge of the common wealth, and that the citie gaue euery one of them three thowſande Drachmas: and his ſonne *Lyſimachus*, a hundred Minas of ſiluer, and a hundred Iugera, and at *Alcibiades* requeſt, who was the author of the decree, they gaue him foure Drachmas a day beſides, of ordinarie allowance. Furthermore, when this *Lyſimachus* dyed, he left aliue one onely daughter called *Polycrite*, whom the people appointed, as *Calliſthenes* wryteth, as much prouiſino to liue withall, as they gaue to any that wanne the Olympian games. And ſithence, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, *Hieronymus* RHODIAN, *Ariſtoxenus* the muſitian, and *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher, at the leaſt if the booke intituled of Nobilitie be any of *Ariſtotles* workes: all theſe agree together, that one *Myrto*,

A hard thing to away with pouerty.

VVho may be aſhamed of pouerty.

Ariſtides cõmended of Plato.

Ariſtides tẽperance vnto Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides death.

Ariſtides cõdemned for extorcion.

Ariſtides tombe.

The Athenians thankefulnes vnto Ariſtides children.

Myrto, Ariſtides daughters daughter maried vnto Socrates.

Ariſtides daughters daughter, was maried to the wiſe *Socrates*, who tooke her to his wife (hauing a wife already) bicauſe ſhe was a poore widdow, & could not be maried for her pouerty, hauing much a do to liue. Yet *Panætius* doth wryte againſt them, in his booke of *Socrates* life. But *Demetrius* PHALERIAN wryteth in his booke he intituled *Socrates*, that he could remember very well he had ſeene one *Lyſimachus, Ariſtides* ſonnes ſonne, or his daughters ſonne, that was very poore, and liued of that he could get to interpret dreames, by certaine tables, wherin was wrytten the arte to interpret the ſignification of dreames: and that he kept commonly about the temple of *Bacchus* called *Iacchion*, vnto whom, together with his mother and his ſiſter, he ſayd he had cauſed the people to geue them a Triobolum a peece, euery day towards their liuinge. It is very true that the ſelfe ſame *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, when he reformed the ſtate of ATHENS, ordained that his mother and ſiſter ſhould haue eech of them a Drachma by the day to finde them withall, out of the common chamber of the city. And it is no new, nor ſtraunge thing, that the people of ATHENS were ſo carefull to helpe, and to relieue, the women that dwelt in the citie: conſidering that in times paſt, *Ariſtogiton* hauing a litle daughter in the Ile of LEMNOS, in very hard and poore ſtate, and that coulde not be beſtowed in matriage for her pouerty, they cauſed her to be brought to ATHENS, and maried her in one of the nobleſt houſes of the city, and made her a ioynter beſides in the village of POTAMOS. Which great curteſy & humanity of theirs, hath euer deſerued great fame and commendacion, & yet cõtinueth euen vntil this day, in that noble city of ATHENS, in the mouth of euery man there.

The Athenians commended for their liberality.

THE LIFE OF *Marcus Cato the Cenſor.*

Marcus Cato and his aunceſters, were (as they ſay) of the city of THVSCVLVM: but before he went vnto the warres, and delt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt & liued in the contry of the SABYNES, vpon certeine land his father left him. And though to many, his aunceſters were knowen to haue bene obſcure: yet he him ſelf did highly commende his father *Marcus*, by bearing his name, and ſaying he was a ſouldier, and had ſerued valliantly in the fielde. And he telleth alſo of an other *Cato* that was his great grandfather, who for his valliant ſeruice had bene oft rewarded of the generals, with ſuch honorable

A noble giftes, as the ROMAINES did vse to geue vnto them, that had done some famous act in any battell: and how that he hauinge lost fiue horses of seruice in the warres, the value of the same were restored to him againe in money of the common treasure, bicause he had shewed himselfe trusty and valliant for the common wealth. And where they had a common speeche at ROME to call them vpstartes, that were no gentlemen borne, but did rise by vertue: it fortuned *Cato* to be called one of them. And for his parte, he did confesse it, that he was of the first of the house that euer had honor, and office of state: but by reason of the noble actes and good seruice of his auncestors, he maintained he was very auncient. He was called at the beginning after his third name, *Priscus*: but afterwardes by reason of his great wisedom and experience, he was surnamed *Cato*, bicause the ROMAINES call a wise man, and him that hath seene much, *Cato*. He was somewhat geuen to be redde faced, and had a payer of staring eyes B in his heade, as this man telleth vs, that for ill will wrote these verses of him after his death.

Cato called an vpstart.

The definition of this worde Cato.

Pluto (the god) which rules the furies infernall,
will not receiue the damned ghost, of Porcius in his hall:
his sawcy coppered nose, and fiery staring eyes,
his common slanderous tales, which he did in this world deuise,
made Pluto stande in dread that he would brawle in hell,
although his bones were drie and dead, on earth he was so fell.

Furthermore, touchinge the disposition of his body, he was maruelous stronge and lusty, and all bicause he did vse to labor and toyle euen from his youth, and to liue sparingly, as one C that was euer brought vp in the warres from his youth: so that he was of a very good constitution, both for strength of body, as for health also. As for vtterance, he esteemed it as a seconde body, and most necessarie gift, not onely to make men honest, but also as a thinge very requisite for a man that should beare sway and authoritie in the common wealth. He practised to speake well in litle villages neere home, whether he went many times to plead mennes causes in courtes iudiciall, that would retaine him of counsell: so as in shorte time he became a perfect pleader, and had tongue at will, and in processe of time became an excellent orator. After he was thus well knowen, they that were familiar with him, began to perceiue a graue manner and behauiour in his life, and a certaine noble minde in him, worthie to be employed in matters of state and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For he D did not onely refuse to take fees for his pleading, and following the causes he mainteined: but furthermore made no reckening of the estimacion he wanne by that manner and practise, as though that was not the only marke he shot at. But his desire reached further, rather to winne him selfe fame by seruice in the warres, and by valliant fightinge with his enemie: then with such a quiet and pleasing manner of life. Insomuch as when he was but a younge striplinge in maner, he had many cuttes apon his brest, which he had receiued in diuerse battells and encounters against the enemies. For he him selfe wryteth, that he was but seuenteene yeare old, when he went first vnto the warres, which was about the time of *Hanniballs* chiefe prosperitie, when he spoyled and destroyed all ITALIE. So when he came to fight, he would strike lustely, and neuer sturre foote nor geue backe, and woulde looke cruelly vppon his enemie, and E threaten him with a fearefull and terrible voyce, which he vsed him selfe, and wisely taught other also to vse the like: for such countenaunces, sayed he, many times doe feare the enemies more, then the sworde ye offer them. When he went any iorney, he euer marched a foote, and caried his armour apon his backe, and had a man waytinge on him that caried his vittells with him, with whom he was neuer angry (as they say) for any thing he had prepared for his dinner or supper, but did helpe to dresse it him selfe for the most parte, if he had any leasure, when he had done the duety of a priuate souldier in fortifying the campe, or such other nedefull businesse. All the while he was abroade in seruice in the warres, he neuer drancke other then cleane water, vnlesse it were when he founde he was not well, and then he woulde take a litle vineger: but if he saw he were weake, he woulde then drinke a litle wine. Now it fortuF ned, that *Manius Curius* the ROMAINE, who had triumphed thrise, hadde a prety house and lande hard by *Cato*, where he kept in times past, which *Cato* for a walke would visite oft. And he considering how litle lande he had to his house, and what a litle house he had withall, and

Cato a souldier at 17. yeares of age.

A grimme looke, geueth terror to the enemy.

This Manius Curius ouerthrew kinge Pyrrus being generall of the Tarentines.

Cato the elder, wondered at the thriftines of Manius Curius.

how poorely it was built, wondered with him selfe what maner of man *Curius* had bene, that hauing bene the greatest man of ROME in his time, and hauing subdued the mightiest nations and people of all ITALIE, and driuen kinge *Pyrrus* also out of the same: yet him selfe with his owne handes did manure that litle patche of grounde, and dwel in so poore and small a farme. Whether notwithstãding, after his three triumphes, the SAMNYTES sent their Ambassadors to visite him, who founde him by the fyers side seething of perseneapes, and presented him a maruelous deale of golde from their state and communalty. But *Cursus* returned them againe with their gold, and told them, that such as were contented with that supper, had no nede of gold nor siluer: and that for his parte, he thought it greater honor to commaunde them that had gold, then to haue it him selfe.

The moderacion of Manius Curius.

Cato remembring these thinges to him selfe, went home againe, and beganne to thinke vpon his house, of his liuinge, of his family and seruauntes, and also of his expences: and to cut of all superfluous charges, and fell him selfe to labor with his owne handes, more then euer he hadde done before. Furthermore, when *Fabius Maximus* tooke the city of TARENTVM againe, *Cato* serued vnder him being very younge, where he fell into familiar acquaintãce with *Nearchus* the PYTHAGORIAN philosopher, in whom he tooke maruelous delight to heare him talke of Philosophy. Which *Nearchus* held the same opinion of pleasure, that *Plato* did, by callinge it the sweete poyson and chiefest bayte to allure men to ill: and saying that the body was the first plague vnto the soule, and that her onely health, remedy, and purgation stoode apon rules of reason, good examples and contemplations, that driue sinful thoughts and carnall pleasures of the body, farre of from her. *Cato* moreouer gaue him selfe much to sobriety and temperaunce, and framed him selfe to be contented with litle.

Nearchus the Pythagorian Philosopher, Catoes scholemaister.

Platoes opinion of pleasure.

They say he fell in his very olde age to the study of the Greeke tongue, and to reade Greeke bookes, and that he profited somwhat by *Thucydides*, but much more by *Demosthenes*, to frame his matter, and also to be eloquent. Which plainly appeareth, in all his bookes and writinges, full of authorities, examples, & stories taken out of Greeke authors: and many of his sentences and moralls, his adages & quicke answers, are translated out of the same word for word. Now there was a noble man of ROME at that time, one of great authoritie, and a deepe wise man besides, who coulde easily discerne buddes of vertue sprowtinge out of any towardly youth, who was of a good and honorable disposition to helpe forwarde, and to aduaunce such. His name was *Valerius Flaccus*, a neere neighboure vnto *Cato*, who was informed by his seruaunts of *Catoes* straunge life, how he would be doing in his ground with his owne hands: and how he would be gone euery day betimes in the morning to litle villages thereabout, to pleade mens causes that prayed his counsaill, & that when he had done, he would come home againe: and if it were in winter, that he would but cast a litle coate on his shoulders, and being sommer he would go out bare, naked to the wast, to worke in his ground among his seruaunts and other workemen: & would besides, sit and eate with them together at one borde, and drinke as they did. Moreouer, they told him also a world of such maners & facions which he vsed, that shewed to be a maruelous plaine man, without pride and of a good nature. Then they tolde him what notable wise sayinges and graue sentences they heard him speake. *Valerius Flaccus* hearing this reporte of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to supper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with *Cato*, and perceiuing he was of a very good nature, and wel giuen, & that he was a good griffe to be set in a better ground: he perswaded him to come to ROME, and to practise there in the assembly of the people, in the common causes and affayres of the common weale. *Cato* followed his counsail, who hauing bene no long practiser among them, did grow straight into great estimacion, and wanne him many frends, by reason of the causes he tooke in hand to defend: and was the better preferred and taken also, by meanes of the speciall fauour and countenaunce *Valerius Flaccus* gaue him. For first of all, by voyce of the people he was chosen Tribune of the souldiers, (to say, colonell of a thousand footemen) & afterwards was made treasorer: and so went forwards, and grew to so great credit & authority, as he became *Valerius Flaccus* cõpanion in the chiefest offices of state, being chosen Consul with him, & then Censor. But to begin with al, *Cato* made choise of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, aboue all the Senators of ROME, & gaue him selfe to follow him altogether: & not so much for the credit & estimacion *Fabius Maximus* was of, (who therein exceded all the ROMAINES of that time)

Cato learned the Greeke tongue in his olde age.

Cato profited most by Demosthenes eloquence.

Valerius Flaccus a graue wise man.

Catoes straũge life.

Cato goeth to Rome by Valerius Flaccus perswasion.

Cato chosen Tribunus militum.

Catoes offices in the Senate.

Cato followed Fabius Maximus.

A time) as for the modesty and discrete gouernment he sawe in him, whome he determined to followe, as a worthy myrror and example. At which time *Cato* passed not for the malice and euil will of *Scipio* the great, who did striue at that present being but a young man, with the authoritie and greatnesse of *Fabius Maximus*, as one that seemed to enuy his risinge and greatnesse. For *Cato* being sent treasorer with *Scipio*, when he vndertooke the iorney into AFRIKE, and perceiuing *Scipioes* bountifull nature and disposition to large giftes without meane to the souldiers: he tolde him plainly one day, that he did not so much hurt the common wealth in wasting their treasure, as he did great harme in chaūging the auncient maner of their auncesters: who vsed their souldiers to be contented with litle, but he taught them to spende their superfluous money (all necessaries prouided for) in vaine toyes and trifles, to serue their plea-

B sure. *Scipio* made him aunswere, he woulde haue no treasorer shoulde controll him in that sorte, nor that should looke so narrowly to his expences: for his intent was to go to the wars, with full sayles as it were, and that he woulde (and did also determine to) make the state priuie to all his doinges, but not to the money he spent. *Cato* hearing this aunswer, returned with spede out of SICILE vnto ROME, crying out with *Fabius Maximus* in open Senate, that *Scipio* spent infinitely, and that he tended playes, commedies, and wrestlinges, as if he had not bene sent to make warres, inuasions, and attemptes apon their enemies. Apon this complaint the Senate appointed certeine Tribunes of the people, to goe and see if their informations were true: and finding them so, that they should bring him backe againe to ROME. But *Scipio* shewed farre otherwise to the commissioners that came thither, and made them see apparaunt

C victorie, through the necessary preparacion and prouision he had made for the warres: and he confessed also, that when he had dispatched his great businesse, and was at any leasure, he would be priuately mery with his frends: and though he was liberall to his souldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his duety and charge in any matter of importance. So *Scipio* tooke shippinge, and sayled towards AFRIKE, whether he was sent to make warre. Now to returne to *Cato*. He daily increased still in authority and credit by meanes of his eloquence, so that diuerse called him the *Demosthenes* of ROME: howbeit the maner of his life was in more estimacion, then his eloquence. For all the youth of ROME did seeke to attaine to his eloquence and commendacion of wordes, and one enuied an other which of them should come neareste: but few of them woulde fyle their handes with any labor as their forefathers did, and make a light

D supper and dinner, without fire or prouision, or woulde be content with a meane gowne, and a poore lodging, & finally woulde thinke it more honorable to defye fansies & pleasures, then to haue and enioy them. Bicause the state was waxen now of such power & wealth, as it could no more retaine the auncient discipline, and former austeritie and straitnes of life it vsed: but by reason of the largenes of their dominion and seigniory, and the numbers of people and nations that were become their subiects, it was euen forced to receiue a medley of sundry contry facions, examples, and maners. This was a cause, why in reason men did so greatly wonder at *Catoes* vertue, when they sawe other straight wearyed with paines and labor, tenderly brought vp like pulers: and *Cato* on the other side neuer ouercommen, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he most coueted honor, nor in his age also when he

E was gray headed and balde, after his Consullship and triumphe, but like a conqueror that had gotten the maistery, he would neuer geue ouer labor euen vnto his dying day. For he writeth him selfe, that there neuer came gowne on his backe that cost him aboue a hundred pence, & that his hyndes and worke men alwayes dronke no worse wine, when he was Consull and generall of the armie, then he did him selfe: and that his cater neuer bestowed in meate for his supper, aboue thirty Asses of ROMAINE money, and yet he sayed it was, bicause he might be the stronger, and apter to do seruice in the warres for his contry and the common wealth. He sayd furthermore, that being heire to one of his frends that dyed, he had a peece of tapestry by him with a deepe border, which they called then the babilonian border, and he caused it straight to be solde: and that of all his houses he had abroade in the contry, he had not one

F wall plastered, nor rough cast. Moreouer he would say, he neuer bought bondeman or slaue dearer, then a thowsande fiue hundred pence, as one that sought not for fine made men, and goodly personages, but strong fellowes that could away with paynes, as carters, horsekepers,

Catoes emulacion with Scipio the great.

Cato beinge treasorer vnder Scipio Afrikan, reproued him for his wastfull expences.

Cato accuseth Scipio of riot.

Catoes eloquence, his continent life, and extreame paynes.

Catoes wonderfull thrift.

neatheardes, and ſuch like: and againe he woulde ſell them when they were olde, bicauſe he would not keepe them when they coulde do no ſeruice. To conclude, he was of opinion, that a manne bought any thinge deere, that was for litle purpoſe: yea, though he gaue but a farthing for it, he thought it to much to beſtow ſo litle, for that which needed not. He would haue men purchaſe houſes, that hadde more ſtore of errable lande and paſture, then of fine orteyardes or gardeins. Some ſaye, he didde thus, for very miſerie and couetouſneſſe: other thinke, and tooke it that he liued ſo ſparingely, to moue others by his example to cutte of all ſuperfluitie and waſt. Neuertheleſſe, to ſell ſlaues in that ſorte, or to turne them out of dores when you haue hadde the ſeruice of all their youth, and that they are growen olde, as you vſe brute beaſtes that haue ſerued whileſt they may for age: me thinkes that muſt needes proceede of to ſeueare and greedie nature, that hath no lenger regarde or conſideracion of humanitie, then whileſt one is able to doe an other good. For we ſee, gentleneſſe goeth further then iuſtice. For nature teacheth vs to vſe iuſtice onely vnto menne, but gentleneſſe ſometimes is ſhewed vnto brute beaſtes: and that commeth from the very fountaine and ſpringe of all curteſie and humanitie, which ſhoulde neuer drye vp in any manne liuinge. For to ſaye truely, to keepe caſt horſes ſpoyled in our ſeruice, and dogges alſo not onely when they are whelpes, but when they be olde: be euen tokens of loue and kindeneſſe. As the Athenians made a lawe, when they builded their temple called Hecatompedon: that they ſhoulde ſuffer the moyles and mulettes that did ſeruice in their cariages about the buildinge of the ſame, to graze euerie where, without lette or trouble of any manne. And they ſay, there was one of thoſe moyles thus turned at libertie, that came of her ſelfe to the place to labour, goinge before all the other draught beaſtes, that drewe vppe cartes loden towardes the caſtell, and kept them companie, as though ſhe ſeemed to encorage the reſt to drawe: which the people liked ſo well in the poore beaſt, that they appointed ſhe ſhoulde be kept whileſt ſhe liued, at the charge of the towne. And yet at this preſent are the graues of *Cimons* mares to be ſeene, that wanne him thriſe together the game of the horſe race at the games Olympian, and they are harde by the graue of *Cimon* him ſelfe. We heare of diuerſe alſo that hadde buried their dogges they brought vppe in their houſe, or that wayted on them: as amonge other olde *Xanthippus* buried his dogge on the toppe of a cliffe, which is called the dogges pit till this day. For when the people of Athens did forſake their citie at the comminge downe of *Xerxes* the kinge, this dogge followed his maſter, ſwimminge in the ſea by his gallies ſide, from the firme lande, vnto the Ile of Salamina. And there is no reaſon, to vſe liuinge and ſencible thinges, as we woulde vſe an olde ſhooe or a ragge: to caſt it out apon the donge-hill when we haue worne it, and can ſerue vs no longer. For if it were for no reſpect els, but to vſe vs alwayes to humanitie: we muſt euer ſhowe our ſelues kinde and gentle, euen in ſuch ſmall poyntes of pitie. And as for me, I coulde neuer finde in my hart to ſell my drawght Oxe that hadde plowed my lande a longe time, bicauſe he coulde plowe no longer for age: and much leſſe my ſlaue to ſell him for a litle money, out of the contrie where he had dwelt a long time, to plucke him from his olde trade of life wherewith he was beſt acquainted, and then ſpecially, when he ſhalbe as vnprofitable for the buyer, as alſo for the ſeller. But *Cato* on the other ſide gloried, that he left his horſe in Spayne he had ſerued on in the warres duringe his Conſulſhip, bicauſe he would not put the common wealth to the charge of bringing of him home by ſea into Italie. Now a queſtion might be made of this, and probable reaſon of either ſide, whether this was noblenes, or a niggardlines in him: but otherwiſe to ſay truely, he was a man of a wonderful abſtinence. For when he was general of the army, he neuer tooke allowance but after three buſhells wheat a moneth of the common wealth, for him ſelfe and his whole family: and but a buſhel and halfe of barley a day, to keepe his horſe and other beaſtes for his cariage. On a time when he was Prætor, the gouernment of the Ile of Sardinia fell to his lot. And where the other Prætors before him hadde put the contry to exceeding great charge, to furniſh them with tents, bedding, clothes, and ſuch like ſtuffe, and burdened them alſo with a maruelous traine of ſeruaunts and their frends that waited on them, putting them to great expence of feaſting and bancketing of them: *Cato* in contrary maner brought downe all that exceſſe and ſuperfluitie, vnto a maruelousneere and vncredible ſauinge. For when he

Catoes ſharpnes.

Gentleneſſe goeth further then iuſtice. Gentleneſſe to be vſed vnto brute beaſtes.

A gentle lawe made by the Athenians in fauor of their laboringe moyles.

Xanthippus buried his dogge, that ſwame by his gallyes ſide from Athens to Salamina, and dyed whē he landed.

Catoes ſtraight life. Cato, Prætor in Sardinia.

A he went to visite the cities, he came a foote to them, & did not put them to a penny charge for him selfe: and had onely one officer or bailife of the state, that waited on him, and caried his gowne and a cuppe with him, to offer vp wine to the goddes in his sacrifices. But though he came thus simply to the subiects, and eased them of their former charges, yet he shewed him selfe seuere and bitter to them in matters concerning iustice: and spared no man, in any commaundement or seruice for the state and common wealth. For he was therein so precise, that he woulde not beare with any litle fault. So by this meanes, he brought the SARDINIANS vnder his gouernment, both to loue and feare the Empire of ROME, more then euer they did before. For his grace both in speakinge and wrytinge did rightly shewe him selfe: bicause it was pleasaunt, and yet graue: sweete and fearfull: mery and seueare: sententious, and yet familiB ar: such as is meete to be spoken. And he was to be compared, as *Plato* sayed, vnto *Socrates*: who at the first sight seemed a plaine simple manne to them that knew him not outwardly, or else a pleasant tawnter or mocker: but when they did looke into him, and found him throughly, they sawe he was full of graue sentences, goodly examples, and wise perswasions, that he coulde make men water their plantes that hearde him, and leade them as he would by the eare. Therefore I can not see any reason that moues men to saye, *Cato* hadde *Lysias* grace and vtteraunce. Notwithstandinge, lette vs referre it to their iudgementes that make profession to discerne orators graces and styles: for my parte I shall content my selfe to write at this present, onely certaine of his notable sayinges and sentences, perswadinge my selfe that mennes manners are better discerned by their wordes, then by their lookes, and so doe many thinke.

C On a time he seeking to diswade the people of ROME, which woulde needes make a thankefull distribution of corne vnto euerie citizen, to no purpose: beganne to make an oration with this preface. It is a harde thinge (my Lordes of ROME) to bringe the bellie by perswasion to reason, that hath no eares. And an other time, reprouinge the ill gouernment of the citie of ROME, he sayed: it was a hard thinge to keepe vppe that state, where a litle fishe was solde dearer then an Oxe. He sayed also that the ROMAINES were like a flocke of sheepe. For sayeth he, as euery weather when he is alone, doth not obey the sheepeheard, but when they are all together they one followe an other for loue of the foremest: euen so are you, for when you are together, you are all contented to be ledde by the noses by such, whose counsell not a man alone of you woulde vse in any priuate cause of your owne. And talkinge an other time

D of the authoritie the women of ROME had ouer their husbandes. He sayed: other men commaunde their wiues, and we commaunde men, and our wiues commaund vs. But this last of all, he borowed of *Themistocles* pleasaunt sayings. For his sonne making him do many things by meanes of his mother, he told his wife one day. The ATHENIANS commaund al GREECE, I commaunde the ATHENIANS, you commaunde me, and your sonne ruleth you. I pray you therefore bid him vse the libertie he hath with some better discretion, foole and asse as he is, sithence he can doe more by that power and authority, then all the GREECIANS besides. He sayed also that the people of ROME did not onely delight in diuerse sortes of purple, but likewise in diuerse sortes of exercises. For sayd he, as diuerse commonly dye that cullour they see best esteemed, and is most pleasaunt to the eye: euen so the lusty youthes of ROME doe frame

E them selues to such exercise, as they see your selues most like, and best esteme. He continually aduised the ROMAINES, that if their power & greatnes came by their vertue and temperance, they should take hede they became no chaungelings, nor waxe worse: & if they came to that greatnes by vice and violence, that then they should chaunge to better, for by that meanes he knew very wel they had attained to great honor & dignity. Again he told the, that such as sued ambitiously to beare office in the common wealth, & were common suters for them: did seme to be afraid to lose their way, & therfore would be sure to haue vshers & sergeants before the, to show them the way, least they should lose them selues in the city. He did reprone them also, that often chose one man, to continew one office still: for it seemeth, saith he, either that you passe not much for your officers, or that you haue not many choise me you thinke worthy for

F the office. There was an enemy of his that ledde a maruelous wicked and an abominable life, of whome he was wont to say, that when his mother prayed vnto the goddes that she might leaue her sonne behinde her, she did not thinke to pray, but to curse: meaninge to haue him

Catoes neerenes in his circuite.

Catoes seuerity.

Catoes speech and writing.

The praise of Socrates.

Catoes sayinges.

Themistocles saying.

Honor nourisheth arte.

Cato, against offices of perpetuity.

liue for a plague to the world. And to an other also that had vnthriftely solde his lands which his father had left him, lying vpon the sea side: he pointed vnto them with his finger, & made as though he wondered how he came to be so great a man, that he was stronger then the sea. For that which the sea hardly consumeth, and eateth into, by litle and litle a long time: he had consumed it all at a clappe. An other time when kinge *Eumenes* was come to ROME, the Senate entertained him maruelous honorably, and the noblest citizens did striue, enuying one an other, who shoulde welcome him best. But *Cato* in contrary maner shewed plainely, that he did suspect all this feastinge and entertainement, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar frendes tolde him, I maruell why you flie from king *Eumenes* companie, that is so good a Prince, and loues the ROMAINES so well. Yea, sayed he, let it be so, but for all that, a king is no better then a rauening beast that liues of the pray: neither was there euer any kinge so happie, that deserued to be compared to *Epaminondas*, to *Pericles*, to *Themistocles*, nor to *Manius Curius*, or to *Hamylcar*, surnamed *Barca*. They say his enemies did malice him, bicause he vsed commonly to rise before day, & did forget his owne busines to folow matters of state. And he affirmed, that he had rather loose the rewarde of his well doing, then not to be punished for doing of euill: and that he would beare with all other offending ignorauntly, but not with him selfe. The ROMAINES hauing chosen on a time three Ambassadors to send into the realme of BITHYNIA, one of them hauing the gowte in his feete, the other his heade full of cuttes and great gashes, and the third being but a foole: *Cato* laughinge, sayd the ROMAINES sent an Ambassade that had neither feete, heade, nor hart. *Scipio* sued once to *Cato* at *Polybius* requeste, about those that were banished from ACHAIA. The matter was argued afterwardes in the Senate, and there fell out diuers opinions about it. Some would haue had them restored to their contrie and goodes againe: other were wholly against it. So *Cato* rising vp at the last, sayed vnto them. It seemes we haue litle else to do, when we stand beating of our braines all day, disputing about these olde GREECIANS, whether the ROMAINES, or the ACHAIANS, shall bury them. In the end, the Senate tooke order, they shoulde be restored vnto their contrie againe. Whereuppon *Polybius* thought to make petition againe vnto the Senate, that the banished men whom they hadde restored by their order, might enioy their former estates and honors in ACHAIA, they had at the time of their banishment: but before he would moue the sute vnto the Senate, he woulde feele *Catoes* opinion first, what he thought of it. Who answered him, smyling: me thinkes *Polybius* thou art like *Vlysses*, that when he had scaped out of *Cyclops* caue the gyant, he would nedes go thither againe, to fetch his hatte and girdell he had left behinde him there. He sayd also, that wise men did learne and profit more by fooles, then fooles did by wise men. For wise men sayd he, do see the faults fooles commit, and can wisely auoide them: but fooles neuer study to follow the example of wise mens doings. He sayed also that he euer liked young men better that blushed, then those that looked euer whitely: and that he woulde not haue him for a souldier, that wagges his hande as he goeth, remoues his feete when he fighteth, and rowteth and snorteth lowder in his sleepe, then when he crieth out to his enemy. An other time when he woulde taunt a maruelous fatte man: see, sayed he, what good can such a body do to the common wealth, that from his chinne to his coddepece is nothing but belly? And to an other man that was geuen to pleasure, and desired to be great with him: my frende, sayed *Cato*, as refusinge his acquaintance: I can not liue with him that hath better iudgement in the pallate of his mouth, then in his hart. This was also his sayinge, that the soule of a louer, liued in an others body: and that in all his life time he repented him of three thinges. The first was, if that he euer tolde secret to any woman: the seconde, that euer he went by water, when he might haue gone by lande: the thirde, that he had bene Idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Also when he saw a vicious olde man, he would say, to reproue him: O gray bearde, age bringeth many deformities with it, helpe it not besides with your vice. And to a seditious Tribune of the people that was suspected to be a poysoner, and would needes passe some wicked law by voyce of the people, he woulde say: o young man, I know not which of these two be worse, to drinke the drugges thou geuest, or to receiue the lawes thou offerest. An other time, being reuiled by one that ledde a lewde, and naughty life: go thy way, sayd he, I am no man to scolde with thee. For thou art so vsed to reuile, and to be reuiled,

Cato woulde punish him selfe for offending.

That is to say vnderstanding. For they iudged that the seate of reason was placed in the hart, following Aristotles opinion.

Blushinge in younge men is a better token then palenes.

A louer liueth in an other body.

A reuiled, that it is not daynty to thee: But for my ſelfe, I neuer vſe to heare ſcolding, and much leſſe delite to ſcolde. Theſe be his wiſe ſayinges we finde written of him, whereby we may the eaſilier coniecture his maners and nature. Now, when he was choſen Conſull with his frend *Valerius Flaccus*, the gouernment of SPAYNE fell to his lott, that is on this ſide of the riuer of BÆTIS. So, *Cato* hauinge ſubdued many people by force of armes, and wonne others alſo by frendly meanes: ſodainly there came a maruelous great army of the barbarous people againſt him, & had enuironned him ſo, as he was in maruelous daunger, either ſhamefully to be taken priſonner, or to be ſlaine in the fielde. Wherefore, he ſent preſently vnto the CELTIBERIANS, to pray aide of them, who were next neighbours vnto the marches where he was. Theſe CELTIBERIANS did aske him two hundred talentes to come & help him: but the ROMAINES

B that were about him, coulde not abide to hyer the barbarous people to defende them. Then *Cato* tolde them ſtraight, there was no hurt in it, nor any diſhonor vnto them. For ſayed he, if the fielde be ours, then we ſhall pay their wages we promiſed, with the ſpoyle and money of our enemies: and if we looſe it, then our ſelues and they lye by it, beinge left neither man to pay, nor yet any to aske it. In the ende he wanne the battel, after a ſore conflict, and after that time he hadde maruelous good fortune. For *Polybius* wryteth, that all the walles of the cities that were on this ſide the riuer of BÆTIS, were by his commaundement raſed all in one day, which were many, and full of good ſouldiers. Him ſelfe wryteth, that he tooke moe cities in SPAYNE, then he remained there dayes: and it is no vaine boaſt, if it be true that is written, that there were foure hundred cities of thē. Now, though the ſouldiers vnder him had gotten

C well in this iorney, and were riche, yet he cauſed a pounde weight of ſiluer to be geuen to euery ſouldier beſides: ſayinge, he liked it better that many ſhould returne home with ſiluer in their purſes, then a few of them with golde only. But for him ſelfe, he affirmed: that of all the ſpoyle gotten of the enemies, he neuer had any thinge, ſauinge that which he tooke in meate and drinke. And yet, ſayth he, I ſpeake it not to reproue them that grow riche by ſuch ſpoiles: but bicauſe I woulde contende in vertue rather with the beſt, then in money with the richeſt, or in couetouſnes with the moſt vertuous. For, not only he him ſelfe was cleare from bribes and extorcion, but his officers alſo vnder him kept the ſame courſe. In this Spaniſh iorney, he had fiue of his ſeruauntes with him, whereof one of them called *Pauus*, bought three younge boyes that were taken in the warres, when the ſpoile was ſolde to them that would geue moſt.

D So *Cato* knew it. But *Pauus* being afrayed to come neere his maiſter, hong him ſelfe: and then *Cato* ſolde the boyes againe, and put the money made of them into the treaſory cheſtes of ſauing at ROME. Now while *Cato* was in SPAYNE, *Scipio* the great that was his enemy, & ſought to hinder the courſe of his proſperitie, and to haue the honor of conqueringe all the reſt of SPAYNE: he made all the frendes he could to the people, to be choſen in *Catoes* place. He was no ſooner entred into his charge, but he made all the poſſible ſpede he could to be gone, that he might make *Catoes* authority ceaſſe the ſooner. *Cato* hearing of his haſty comminge, tooke only fiue enſignes of footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen to attende vpon him home: with the which, in his iorney homeward, he ouercame a people in SPAYNE called the LACETANIANS, and tooke ſixe hundred traytors alſo that were fled from the ROMAINES campe to their

E enemies, and did put to death euery mothers childe of them. *Scipio* ſtorming at that, ſayd *Cato* did him wrong. But *Cato* to mocke him finely, ſayed: it was the right way to bringe ROME to floriſh, when noble borne citizens would not ſuffer meane borne men, and vpſtarts as him ſelfe was, to go before them in honor: and on the other ſide when meane borne men woulde contende in vertue, with thoſe that were of nobleſt race, and farre aboue them in calling. For all that, when *Cato* came to ROME, the Senate commaunded that nothing ſhoulde be chaunged nor altered otherwiſe, then *Cato* had appointed it, whileſt he was in his office. So that the gouernment for which *Scipio* made ſuch earneſt ſute in SPAYNE, was a greater diſgrace vnto him, then it was vnto *Cato*: bicauſe he paſſed al his time & office in peace, hauing no occaſion offered him to doe any notable ſeruice worthy memory. Further note, *Cato* after he had bene

F Conſul, and hadde graunted to him the honor to triumphe: did not as many others doe, that ſeeke not after vertue, but onely for worldly honor and dignity. Who, when they haue bene called to the higheſt offices of ſtate, as to be Conſulls, and haue alſo graunted them the honor

Cato, and Valerius Flaccus Conſuls. Catoes doinge in Spayne.

Catoes abſtinence, from ſpoyle and bribery.

Diſcorde betwext Cato & Scipio.

Cato ouercame the Lacetanians.

to triumphe: do then leaue to deale any more in matters of ſtate,& diſpoſe them ſelues to liue merely and quietely at home, and not to trouble them ſelues any more. Now *Cato*, farre otherwiſe behaued him ſelfe. For he would neuer leaue to exerciſe vertue, but beganne a freſhe, as if he had bene but a young noueſſe in the world, and as one greedy of honor and reputacion, and to take as much paines and more then he did before. For, to pleaſure his frends or any other citizen, he would come to the market place, and pleade their cauſes for them that required his counſell, and go with his frendes alſo into the warres. As he went with *Tiberius Sempronius* the Conſul, and was one of his Lieutenants at the conqueſt of the contry of THRACE, and vnto the prouinces adioyning to the riuer of DANVBYE apon thoſe marches. After that, he was in GREECE alſo, Collonell of a thowſande footemen, vnder *Manius Aquilius*, againſt king *Antiochus* ſurnamed the great, who made the ROMAINES as much afrayed of him, as euer they were of enemy but *Hannibal*. For, when he had conquered all the regions and prouinces of ASIA, which *Seleucus Nicanor* enioyed before, & had ſubdued many barbarous and warlike nations: he was ſo proude harted, as he would nedes haue wars with the ROMAINES, whom he knew to be the only worthy men, and beſt able to fight with him. So he made ſome honeſt ſhow and pretence of warres, ſaying: it was to ſet the GREECIANS at liberty, who had no cauſe thereof, conſidering they liued after their owne lawes, and were but lately deliuered from the bondage of kinge *Philip*, and of the MACEDONIANS, through the goodneſſe of the ROMAINES. Notwithſtandinge, he came out of ASIA into GREECE with a maruelous great army, and all GREECE was ſtraight in armes and in wonderfull daunger, bicauſe of the great promiſes and large hopes the gouernours of diuerſe cities (whome the kinge had wonne and corrupted with money) did make vnto them. Whereupon *Manius* diſpatched Ambaſſadors vnto the cities, and ſent *Titus Quintius Flaminius* amonge others, who kept the greateſt parte of the people from rebellinge (that were eaſily drawen to geue eare to this innouation) as we haue expreſſed more amply in his life: and *Cato* beinge ſent Ambaſſador alſo, perſwaded the CORINTHIANS, thoſe of PATRAS, and the ÆGIANS, and made them ſticke ſtill to the ROMAINES, and continued a long time at ATHENS. Some ſay they finde an oration of his wrytten in the Greeke tongue, which he made before the ATHENIANS, in commendacion of their aunceſters: wherein he ſayd, he tooke great pleaſure to ſee ATHENS, for the beauty and ſtatelineſſe of the city. But this is falſe. For he ſpake vnto the ATHENIANS by an interpreter, though he coulde haue vttered his oration in the Greeke tongue if he had bene diſpoſed: but he did like the lawes and cuſtomes of his owne contrie, and the ROMAINE tongue ſo well, that he laughed at them that would praiſe and commend the Greeke tongue. As he did once mocke *Poſthumius Albinus*, who wrote an hiſtory in the Greeke tongue, praying the readers in his preface to beare with him, if they founde any imperfection in the tongue: mary, ſayd *Cato*, he had deſerued pardon in deede, if he hadde bene forced to haue wrytten his ſtory in the Greeke tonge, by order of the ſtates of GREECE, called the counſel of the Amphictyōs. They ſay the ATHENIANS wondered to heare his redy tongue. For what he had vttered quickely in few words vnto the interpreter: the interpreter was driuen to deliuer them againe with great circūſtances, & many words. So that he left them of this opinion, that the GREECIANS words lay all in their lippes, and the ROMAINES wordes in their heades. Now kinge *Antiochus* kept all the ſtraightes and narrow paſſages of the mountaines called THERMOPYLES, (beinge the ordinary way and entry into GREECE) and had fortified them as well with his army that camped at the foote of the mountaine, as alſo with walles and trenches he had made by hande, beſides the naturall ſtrength & fortification of the mount it ſelfe in ſundry places: and ſo he determined to remaine there, truſting to his owne ſtrength and fortifications aforeſayed, and to turne the force of the warres ſome other way. The ROMAINES alſo, they diſpayred vtterly they ſhould be able any way to charge him before. But *Cato* remembringe with him ſelfe the compaſſe the PERSIANS hadde fetched about before time likewiſe to enter into GREECE: he departed one night from the campe with parte of the army: to proue if he could finde the very compaſſe about, the barbarous people had made before. But as they climed vp the mountaine, their guide that was one of the priſoners taken in the contrie, loſt his way, and made them wander vp and downe in maruelous ſteepe rockes and crooked wayes, that the poore ſouldiers

Catoes actes after his Conſullſhippe and triumphe.

The power of Antiochus the great.

Cato mocked Poſthumius Albinus a Romaine, for writing a ſtory in the Greeke tongue.

Kinge Antiochus army.

Catoes doings againſt king Antiochus.

A ſouldiers were in maruelous ill taking. *Cato* ſeeing the daunger they were brought into by this lewde guide, commaunded all his ſouldiers not to ſturre a foote from thence, and to tary him there: and in the meane time he went him ſelfe alone, and *Lucius Manlius* with him (a luſtie man, and nimble to climbe apon the rockes) and ſo went forwarde at aduenture, takinge extreame and vncredible paine, & in as much daunger of his life; grubbing all night in the darke without moone light, through wilde Olyue trees, and high rockes (that let them they coulde not ſee before them, neither could tell whether they went) vntill they ſtumbled at the length vppon a litle pathe way, which went as they thought directly to the foote of the mountaine, where the campe of the enemies lay. So they ſet vppe certeine markes and tokens, vppon the higheſt toppes of the rockes they coulde chooſe, by view of eye to be diſcerned furtheſt of v-

B pon the mountaine called Callidromus. And when they had done that, they returned backe againe to fetche the ſouldiers, whom they led towardes their markes they had ſet vp: vntill at the length they founde their pathe waye againe, where they putte their ſouldiers in order to marche. Now they went not farre in this pathe they founde, but the way failed them ſtraight, and brought them to a bogge: but then they were in worſe caſe then before, and in greater feare, not knowinge they were ſo neere their enemies, as in deede they were. The day began to breake a litle, and one of them that marched formeſt, thought he hearde a noyſe, and that he ſaw the GREEKES campe at the foote of the rockes, and certeine ſouldiers that kept watch there. Whereupon *Cato* made them ſtay, & willed only the FIRMANIANS to come vnto him, and none but them, bicauſe he had founde them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his

C commaundement. They were with him at a triſe to know his pleaſure: ſo *Cato* ſaid vnto them. My fellowes, I muſt haue ſome of our enemies taken priſoners, that I may know of them who they be that keepe that paſſage, what number they be, what order they keepe, howe they are camped and armed, and after what ſorte they determine to fight with vs. The waye to worke this feate, ſtandeth apon ſwiftnes, and hardines to runne apon them ſodainely, as Lyons doe, which beinge naked feare not to runne into the middeſt of any hearde of fearfull beaſtes. He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe wordes, but the FIRMANIAN ſouldiers beganne to runne downe the mountaine, as they were, apon thoſe that kept the watch: and ſo ſetting apon them, they beinge out of order, made them flie, and tooke an armed man priſoner. When they had him, they ſtraight brought him vnto *Cato*, who by othe of the priſoner was aduertiſed, howe that

D the ſtrength of their enemies armie was lodged about the perſone of the kinge, within the ſtraight and valley of the ſaid mountaine: and that the ſouldiers they ſaw, were ſixe hundred ÆTOLIANS, all braue ſouldiers, whome they had choſen and appointed to keepe the toppe of the rockes ouer king *Antiochus* campe. When *Cato* had heard him, making ſmall accompt of the matter, as well for their ſinall number, as alſo for the ill order they kept: he made the trompets ſounde ſtraight, and his ſouldiers to marche in battell with great cries, him ſelfe being the formeſt man of all his troupe, with a ſworde drawen in his hand. But when the ÆTOLIANS ſaw them comming downe the rockes towardes them, they beganne to flie for life vnto their great campe, which they filled full of feare, trouble, and all diſorder. Now *Manlius* at the ſame preſent alſo, gaue an aſſault vnto the walles and fortifications the king had made,

E ouerthwart the vallies and ſtraightes of the mountaines: at which aſſault, king *Antiochus* ſelfe had a blow on the face with a ſtone, that ſtrake ſome of his teeth out of his mouth, ſo that for very paine & anguiſh he felt, he turned his horſe backe, and got him behinde the preaſe. And then there were none of his armie that made any more reſiſtaunce, or that coulde abide the fierceneſſe of the ROMAINES. But notwithſtanding that the places were very ill for flying, bicauſe it was vnpoſſible for them to ſcatter and ſtraggle, beinge holden in with high rockes on the one ſide of them, and with bogges and deepe mariſſes on the other ſide, which they muſt needes fall into if their feete ſlipped, or were thruſt forwarde by any: yet they fell one apon an other in the ſtraightes, and ranne ſo in heapes together, that they caſt them ſelues away, for

F feare of the ROMAINES ſwordes that lighted vppon them in euery corner. And there *Marcus Cato*, that neuer made ceremony or niſenes to praiſe him ſelfe openly, nor reckened it any ſhame to do it: did take a preſent occaſion for it, as falleth out apon all victory and famous exploytes. And ſo did ſet it out with all the oſtentacion and braue wordes he could geue. For he

Mount Callidromus.

Catoes oration to his ſouldiers.

The boldenes and valliant attempt of Catoes ſouldiers.

Cato aduertiſed of the ſtrēgth of king Antiochus campe.

Cato tooke the ſtraights of Thermopyles.

Kinge Antiochus hurt in the face with a ſtone.

Catoes victory of kinge Antiochus.

Cato woulde praise his owne doings.

wrote with his owne handes, that such as saw him chase and lay vpon his flying enemies that day, were driuen to say, that *Cato* was not bound to the ROMAINES, but the ROMAINES bound vnto *Cato*. And then *Manius* the Consull selfe, being in a great heate with the furie of the battell, embraced *Cato* a great while, that was also hotte with chasinge of the enemy: and spake alowde with great ioy before them all, that neither he, nor the people of ROME could recompence *Cato* for his valliant seruice that day. After this battell, the Consul *Manius* sent *Cato* to ROME, to be the messenger him selfe to reporte the newes of the victory. So he imbarked incontinently, and had such a fayer winde, that he passed ouer the sea to BRINDES without any daunger, and went from thence vnto TARENTVM in one day, and from TARENTVM in foure dayes more to ROME. And so he came to ROME in fiue dayes after his landing in ITALIE, and made such speede, that him selfe was in deede the first messenger that brought newes of the victorie. Whereupon he filled all ROME with ioy and sacrifices, and made the ROMAINES so proude, that euer after they thought them selues able men to conquer the worlde both by sea and lande. And these be all the martiall deedes and noble actes *Cato* did. But for his doings in ciuill policie and state, he semed to be of this opinion. That to accuse and pursue the wicked, he thought it was the best thinge an honest man and good gouernour of the common wealth coulde employ him selfe vnto: for he accused many, and subscribed many other accusations which they preferred. And to be shorte, he did alwayes stirre vp some accuser, as he did *Petilius* against *Scipio*. But *Scipio*, by reason of his nobility, the greatnes of his house, and the magnanimity of his minde, passed not for any accusation they could lay against him: being out of all feare, they shoulde be able to condemne him. And so he let fall the accusation he had against him. Notwithstanding, he ioyned with other that accused *Lucius Scipio*, his owne brother, and followed the matter so sore against him, that he caused him to be condemned in a great summe of money to the cõmon wealth: who being vnable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the people reuoked his condemnation. It is sayd that *Cato* comming through the market place one day, and meeting with a younge manne by the way that had ouerthrowen his aduersary in sute, and put one of his late fathers greatest enemies to open shame and foyle before the people: he imbraced him with a good countenaunce, and sayd vnto him. Oh my sonne, sacrifices that good children should offer to their fathers soule, be not lammes nor kiddes, but the teares and condemnations of their enemies. But as he vexed other, so he scaped not free him selfe from daunger, in administration of the cõmon wealth. For if they could katch the least vantage in the world of him, his enemies straight accused him: so as they say he was accused almost a fifty times, and at the last time of his accusation, he was about the age of foure score yeares. And then he spake a thing openly that was noted: that it was a harder thinge to geue vp an accompt of his life before men in any other world, then in this among whom he liued. And yet was not this the last sute he followed: for foure yeares after, when he was foure score and tenne yeares of age, he accused *Seruius Galba*. And thus he liued as *Nestor*, in maner three ages of man, alwayes in continuall sute and action. For when he wrestled with the first *Scipio* the AFRICAN about matters of state and common wealth: he went on vnto the time of the seconde, that was adopted by the first *Scipioes* sonne, the naturall sonne of *Paulus AEmylius*, who ouercame *Perseus*, king of MACEDON. Furthermore, *Marcus Cato*, tenne yeares after his Consulship, sued to be Censor, which was in ROME the greatest office of dignity that any citizen of ROME could attaine vnto: and as a man may say, the roome of all glory and honor of their common wealth. For among other authorities the Censor had power to examine mens liues & maners, and to punish euery offendor. For the ROMAINES were of that minde, that they woulde not haue men marry, gette children, liue priuately by them selues, and make feastes and banckettes at their pleasure, but that they should stande in feare to be reproued and inquiered of by the magistrate: and that it was not good to geue euery body liberty, to doe what they would, following his owne lust and fansie. And they iudging that mens naturall dispositions do appeare more in such things, then in all other thinges that are openly done at none dayes, and in the sight of the worlde: vsed to choose two Censors, that were two Surueyors of maners, to see that euery man behaued him selfe vertuously, and gaue not them selues to pleasure, nor to breake the lawes and customes of

Manius sendeth Cato to Rome to cary newes of the victory.

Cato an accuser of men.

Cato fifty times accused.

The dignity and office of the Censor.

A of the common wealth. Theſe officers were called in their tongue, *Cenſores*, and alwayes of cuſtome one of them was a PATRICIAN, and the other a commoner. Theſe two had power and authority to diſgrade a knight by taking away his horſe, & to put any of the Senate, whom they ſaw liue diſſolutely and diſorderly. It was their office alſo, to ceaſſe and rate euery citizen accordinge to the eſtimacion of their goodes, to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of euery man, and to kepe bookes of them, beſides many other prerogatiues they had belonging to their office. Therefore when *Cato* came to ſue for this office among other, the chiefeſt Senators were all bent againſt him. Some of them for very enuy, thinkinge it ſhame and diſhonor to the nobility, to ſuffer menne that were meanely borne, and vpſtartes (the firſt of their houſe and name, that euer came to beare office in the ſtate) to be called & preferred vnto the B higheſt offices of ſtate in all their common wealth. Other alſo that were ill liuers, & knowing that they had offended the lawes of their contry: they feared his cruelty to much, imagining he would ſpare no man, nor pardon any offence, hauing the law in his owne hands. So when they had conſulted together about it, they did ſet vp ſeuen competitors againſt him, who flattered the people with many fayer wordes and promiſes, as though they had neede of magiſtrates to vſe them gently, and to doe thinges for to pleaſe them. But *Cato* contrariwiſe, ſhewinge no countenaunce that he would vſe them gently in the office, but openly in the pulpit for orations, threatning thoſe that had liued naughtily and wickedly, he cried out: that they muſt reforme their citie, and perſwaded the people not to chooſe the gentleſt, but the ſharpeſt phiſitions: and that him ſelfe was ſuch a one as they needed, & among the PATRICIANS C *Valerius Flaccus* an other, in whoſe company he hoped (they two beinge choſen Cenſors) to do great good vnto the common wealth, by burninge and cutting of (like *Hydras* heades) all vanity and voluptuous pleaſures, that were crept in amongeſt them: and that he ſawe well enough, how all the other ſuters ſought the office by diſhoneſt meanes, fearing ſuch officers as they knew would deale iuſtly & vprightly. Then did the people of ROME ſhew them ſelues nobly minded, and worthy of noble gouernours. For they refuſed not the ſowerneſſe or ſeuerity of *Cato*, but reiected theſe meale mouthed men, that ſeemed ready to pleaſe the people in all thinges: and thereupon choſe *Marcus Cato* Cenſor, and *Valerius Flaccus* to be his fellow, and they did obey him, as if he hadde bene preſent officer, and no ſuter for the office, being in themſelues to giue it to whom they thought good. The firſt thing he did after he was D ſtalled in his Cenſorſhip, was: that he named *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, his frend and fellow Cenſor with him, prince of the Senate: & among many other alſo whom he thruſt out of the Senate, he put *Lucius Quintius Flaminius* of the Senate, that had bene Conſull ſeuen yeares before, and was brother alſo vnto *Titus Quintius Flaminius* that ouercame *Philip* king of MACEDON in battell, which was greater glory to him, then that he had bene Conſull. But the cauſe why he put him of the Senate, was this. This *Lucius Quintius* caried euer with him a younge boy to the warres, whom he gaue as good countenaunce and credit vnto, as to any of his beſt familiar frendes he had about him. It fortuned on a time whileſt *Lucius Quintius* was Conſull and gouernour of a prouince, that he made a feaſt, and this boy being ſet at his table hard by him, as his maner was, he beganne to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he was E pretily mery: & ſoothing him, told him he loued him ſo dearely, that vpon his departing from ROME, when the Swordeplaiers were ready to fight for life and death with vnrebated ſwords to ſhew the people paſtime, he came his way, and left the ſight of that he neuer ſaw, that was very deſirous to haue ſeene a man killed. Then this *Lucius Quintius*, to make him ſee the like, ſayed: care not for the ſight thou haſt loſt, boy, for I will let thee ſee as much. And when he had ſpoken theſe wordes, he commaunded a priſoner condemned to dye, to be fetched and brought into his hall before him, and the hangman with his axe. Which was forthwith done according to his commaundement. Then asked he the boy, if he would ſtraight ſee the man killed: yea, ſir, ſayd the boy: and with that he bad the hangman ſtrike of his head. Moſt wryters reporte this matter thus. And *Cicero* to confirme it alſo, wrote in his booke de Senectute F that the ſame was wrytten in an oration *Cato* made before the people of ROME. Now *Lucius Quintius* beinge thus ſhamefully put of the Senate by *Cato*, his brother *Titus* beinge offended withall, coulde not tell what to doe, but beſought the people they woulde commaunde *Cato*

How the Cenſors were choſen.

The Senate and nobility bent all againſt Catoes ſute.

Cato choſen Cenſor.

Catoes acts in his cenſorſhip.

Cato put Lucius Quintius Flaminius of the Senate.

The cauſe why Cato put Quintius of the Senate.

Lucius Quintius Flaminius wickednes & cruelty.

to declare the cause, why he brought such shame vnto his house. Whereuppon *Cato* openly before the people, made recitall of all this feast. And when *Lucius* denied it, affirminge it was not so: *Cato* would haue had him sworne before them all, that it was not true they had burdened him withall. But *Lucius* prayed them to pardon him, who sayed he woulde not sweare. Whereupon the people iudged straight that he deserued well that shame. So not longe after, certaine games beinge shewed in the Theater, *Lucius* came thither, and passinge beyonde the ordinary place that was appointed for those that had bene Consuls, he went to sit aloofe amongest the multitude. The people tooke pity on him, and made such a do about him, as they forced him to rise, and to go sit among the other Senators that had bene Consuls: saluing the best they could, the shame and dishonor happened vnto so noble a house. *Cato* put out of the Senate also, one *Manilius*, who was in great towardnes to haue bene made Consull the next yere following, only bicause he kissed his wife to louingly in the day time, & before his daughter: and reprouing him for it, he tolde him, his wife neuer kissed him, but when it thundered. So when he was disposed to be mery, he would say it was happy with him when *Iupiter* thundered. He tooke away *Lucius Scipioes* horse from him, that had triumphed for the victories he had won against the great king *Antiochus*: which wan him much ill wil, bicause it appeared to the world he did it of purpose, for the malice he did beare *Scipio* the AFRICAN, that was dead. But the most thing that greeued the people of all other extreamities he vsed, was his putting downe of all feastes and vaine expences. For a man to take it cleane away, and to be openly seene in it, it was vnpossible, bicause it was so common a thinge, and euery man was giuen to to it. Therefore *Cato* to fetche it about indirectly, did praise euery citizens goodes, and rated their apparell, their coches, their litters, their wiues chaines and iuells, and all other moueables and household stuffe, that had cost aboue a thousand fiue hundred Drachmes a peece, at tenne times as much as they were worth: to the end that such as had bestowed their money in those curious trifles, should pay so much more subsidie to the maintenance of the common wealth, as their goods were ouer valued at. Moreouer he ordained for euery thousand Asses that those trifling things were praised at, the owners of them should pay three thousand Asses to the common treasory: to the ende that they who were greeued with this taxe, and sawe other pay lesse subsidy (that were as much worth as them selues, by liuing without such toyes) might call home them selues againe, and lay a side such foolishe brauery and fineneſſe. Notwithstandinge, *Cato* was enuied euery way. First, of them that were contented to pay the taxe imposed, rather then they would leaue their vanity: and next, of them also, that would rather reforme them selues, then pay the taxe. And some thinke that this law was deuised rather to take away their goodes, then to let them to make shew of them: and they haue a fonde opinion besides, that their riches is better seene in superfluous things, then in necessary. Whereat they say *Aristotle* the Philosopher did wonder more, then at any other thing: how men could thinke them more rich and happy, that had many curious and superfluous things, then those that had necessary and profitable things. And *Scopas* the THESSALIAN, when one of his familiar frends asked him, I know not what trifling thing, & to make him graunt it the sooner, told him it was a thinge he might well spare, and did him no good: mary sayeth he, all the goodes I haue, are in such toyes as do me no good. So this couetous desire we haue to be rich, commeth of no necessary desire in nature, but is bred in vs by a false opinion from the common sorte. Now, *Cato* caringe least of all for the exclamations they made against him, grewe to be more straight and seuere. For he cut of the pipes and quilles priuate men had made to conuey water into their houses & gardens, robbing the city of the water that came from their cõmon conduite heades, and did plucke downe also mens porches that were made before their dores into the strete, & brought downe the prises of cõmon workes in the city, and moreouer raised the common farmes and customes of the city, as high as he could: all which things together made him greatly hated and enuied of most men. Wherefore, *Titus Flaminius*, and certaine other beinge bent against him in open Senate, caused all *Catoes* couenauntes and bargaines made, with the master worke man for repayring & mending of the common buildings & holy places, to be made voide, as things greatly preiudiciall to the common wealth. And they did also stirre vp the boldest and rashest of the Tribunes of the people against him, bicause they shoulde

Manilius put of the Senate for kissing his wife before his daughter.

Mery with maried men when Iupiter thundereth.

Banketing & feastes put downe by Cato.

Catoes counsel for reforminge excesse at Rome.

Superfluous things reckened for riches.

Scopas goodes were all in toyes, that did him no good.

A should accuse him vnto the people, and make requeſt he might be condemned in the ſumme of two talentes. They did marueloufly hinder alſo the buildinge of the pallace he built at the charge of the common wealth, looking into the market place vnder the Senate houſe: which pallace was finiſhed notwithſtanding, & called after his name, Baſilica Porcia: as who would ſay, the pallace *Porcius* the Cenſor built. Howebeit it ſeemed the people of ROME did greatly like and commend his gouernment in the Cenſorſhippe. For they ſet vp a ſtatue of him in the temple of the goddeſſe of health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nor triumphe, but only ingraued this inſcription word for worde, to this effect by tranſlation: For the honor of *Marcus Cato* the Cenſor: bicauſe he reformed the diſcipline of the common wealth of ROME (that was farre out of order, and giuen to licentious life) by his wiſe preceptes, good maners, B and holy inſtitutions. In deede, before this image was ſet vp for him, he was wont to mocke at them that delighted, and were deſirous of ſuch thinges: ſaying, they did not conſider how they bragged in founders, painters, and image makers, but nothing of their vertues: and that for him ſelfe, the people did alwayes eary liuely images of him in their hartes, meaninge the memory of his life & doings. When ſome wondered why diuerſe meane men and vnknowen perſones had images ſet vp of them, and there were none of him: he gaue them this aunſwer. I had rather men ſhould aske why *Cato* had no Image ſet vp for him, then why he had any. In the ende, he would haue no honeſt man abide to be praiſed, onles his praiſe turned to the be- nefit of the common wealth: and yet was he one of them that would moſt praiſe him ſelfe. So that if any had done a fault, or ſtept awry, and that men had gone about to reproue them: he C woulde ſay they were not to be blamed, for they were no *Catoes* that did offende. And ſuch as counterfeated to follow any of his doinges, and came ſhorte of his maner, he called them left handed *Catoes*. He would ſay, that in moſt daungerous times the Senate vſed to caſt their eyes vpon him, as paſſengers on the ſea do looke vpon the maſter of the ſhippe in a ſtorme: & that many times when he was abſent, the Senate would put ouer matters of importance, vntill he might come amonge them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by other, as by him ſelfe. His authority was great in matters of ſtate, for his wiſedome, his eloquence, and great expe- rience. Beſides this commendacion, they praiſed him for a good father to his children, a good husband to his wife, & a good ſauer for his profit: for he was neuer careles of them, as things to be lightly paſſed on. And therfore me thinkes I muſt nedes tell you by the way, ſome parte D of his well doinge, to followe our declaration of him. Firſt of all, he maried a gentlewoman more noble then rich, knowing that either of both ſhould make her proude & ſtoute enough: but yet he euer thought the nobler borne, would be the more aſhamed of diſhoneſty, then the meaner borne: and therefore that they would be more obedient to their husbandes, in all ho- neſt maner and reaſonable things. Furthermore, he ſayd: that he that bet his wife or his child, did commit as great a ſacriledge, as if he polluted or ſpoiled the holyeſt thinges of the world: and he thought it a greater praiſe for a man to be a good husband, then a good Senator. And therefore he thought nothinge more commendable in the life of olde *Socrates*, then his paci- ence, in vſing his wife well, that was ſuch a ſhrewe, and his children that were ſo harebrainde. After *Catoes* wife had brought him a ſonne, he could not haue ſo earneſt buſines in hande, if it E had not touched the common wealth, but he would let all alone, to go home to his houſe, a- bout the time his wife did vnſwadell the younge boy to waſhe and ſhift him: for ſhe gaue it ſucke with her owne breſtes, and many times woulde let the ſlaues children ſucke of her alſo, bicauſe they might haue a naturall loue towardes her ſonne, hauinge ſucked one milke, and bene brought vp together. When his ſonne was come to age of diſcretion, and that he was able to learne any thinge, *Cato* him ſelfe did teache him, notwithſtanding he had a ſlaue in his houſe called *Chilo* (a very honeſt man, & a good grammarian) who did alſo teach many other: but as he ſayed him ſelfe, he did not like, a ſlaue ſhould rebuke his ſonne, nor pull him by the eares, when paraduenture he was not apt to take very ſodainely that was taught him: neither would he haue his ſonne bounde to a ſlaue for ſo great a matter as that, as to haue his learning F of him. Wherefore he him ſelfe taught him his grammer, the law, and to exerciſe his body, not only to throw a dart, to play at the ſword, to vawt, to ride a horſe, and to handle all ſortes of weapons, but alſo to fight with fiſtes, to abide colde and heate, and to ſwimme ouer a ſwift

Baſilica Por- cia built by Cato.

Catoes image ſet vp in the temple of the goddeſſe of health.

Honor chaun- geth condi- tions.

No mã ſhould abide to be praiſed but for the com- mon wealth.

What Cato was at home in his houſe, and towardes his wife and children.

Cato iudgeth the noble borne gentle- women the beſt wiues.

Socrates paci- ence commen- ded bearinge with the ſhrewdnes of his wife.

Catoes wife was nource to her owne childe.

Cato taught his ſonne.

Chilo a gram- marian.

What exer- ciſes Cato brought vp his ſonne in.

runninge riuer. He ſayed moreouer, that he wrote goodly hiſtories in great letters with his owne hande, bicauſe his ſonne might learne in his fathers houſe the vertues of good men in times paſt, that he taking example by their doinges, ſhould frame his life to excell them. He ſayed alſo, that he tooke as great heede of ſpeaking any fowle or vncomely wordes before his ſonne, as he would haue done if he had bene before the Veſtall Nunnes. He neuer was in the whotte houſe with his ſonne: for it was a common vſe with the ROMAINES at that time, that the ſonnes in law did not bathe them ſelues with their fathers in law, but were aſhamed to ſee one an other naked. But afterwardes they hauinge learned of the GREEKES to waſh them ſelues naked with men, it taught them alſo to be naked in the bathe euen with their wiues. There lacked no towardlines, nor good diſpoſition in *Catoes* ſonne, to frame him ſelfe vertuous: for he was of ſo good a nature, that he ſhewed him ſelfe willing to followe whatſoeuer his father had taught him. Howebeit he was ſuch a weake pulinge, that he coulde not away with much hardneſſe, and therefore his father was contented not to binde him to that ſtraight and painfull life, which him ſelfe had kept. Yet he became valliant in the warres. For he fought maruelous ſtowtely in the battell, in which *Perſeus* the kinge of MACEDON was ouerthrowen by *Paulus AEmylius*: where his ſword being ſtriken out of his hand with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reaſon his hand was ſomwhat ſweaty beſides, he fell into a great fury, and prayed of his frendes about him to recouer it. So they all together ranne vppon the enemies in that place where his ſword fell out of his hande, and came in ſo fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them, and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much a do, being vnder ſuch a heape of dead bodies and other weapons, as well ROMAINES as MACEDONIANS, one lying on an other. *Paulus AEmylius* the Generall hearing of this act of his, did highly cõmende the younge man. And at this day there is a letter extant from *Cato* to his ſonne, in the which he praiſeth this worthy fact and toile of his, for the recoueringe of his ſworde againe. Afterwardes, this *Cato* the younger maried *Tertia*, one of *Paulus AEmylius* daughters, and ſiſter vnto *Scipio* the ſeconde, and ſo was matched in this noble houſe, not onely for his owne vertues ſake, but for reſpect of his fathers dignity & authority: wherby the great care, paines, and ſtudy that *Cato* the father tooke in bringing vp his ſonne in vertue and learninge, was honorably rewarded in the happy beſtowing of his ſonne. He euer had a great number of young litle ſlaues which he bought, when any would ſell their priſoners in the warres. He did chooſe them thus young, bicauſe they were apt yet to learne any thinge he would traine them vnto, and that a man might breake them, like young coltes, or litle whelpes. But none of them all, how many ſoeuer he had, did euer goe to any mans houſe, but when him ſelfe or his wife did ſende them. If any man asked them what *Cato* did: they aunſwered, they coulde not tell. And when they were within, either they muſt needes be occupied about ſomewhat, or elſe they muſt ſleepe: for he loued them well that were ſleepy, holdinge opinion that ſlaues that loued ſleepe were more tractable, and willing to do any thing a man would ſet them to, then thoſe that were waking. And bicauſe he thought that nothing more did prouoke ſlaues to miſchiefe and naughtines, then luſt and deſire of women: he was contented his ſlaues might company with his bondewomen in his houſe, for a peece of money he appointed them to pay, but with ſtraight commaundement beſides, that none of them ſhould deale with any other woman abroade. At the firſt when he gaue him ſelfe to follow the warres, and was not greatly rich, he neuer was angry for any fault his ſeruauntes did about his perſone: ſaying it was a fowle thing for a gentleman or noble man, to fall out with his ſeruauntes for his belly. Afterwardes, as he roſe to better ſtate, and grew to be wealthier, if he had made a dinner or ſupper for any of his frendes and familiars, they were no ſooner gone, but he woulde ſcourge them with whippes and leather thonges, that had not waited as they ſhould haue done at the borde, or had forgotten any thing he would haue had done. He would euer craftily make one of them fall out with an other: for he could not abide they ſhould be frendes, beinge euer iealous of that. If any of them had done a fault that deſerued death, he would declare his offence before them all: and then if they condemned him to dye, he would put him to death before them all. Howebeit in his latter time he grewe greedy, and gaue vp his tillage, ſayinge it was rather pleaſaunt, then profitable. Therfore bicauſe he would lay out his money ſurely, and bring a certaine renenue

Catoes ſonne was valiant.

Cato the younger maried Tertia Paulus AEmylius daughter.

Scipio the ſecond was AEmylius naturall ſonne.

Catoes diſcipline to his ſlaues.

Catoes opinion for ſleepy mẽ.

Note how Cato altered his maner and opinion by wealth.

Catoes good husbandry for increaſing his wealth.

A to his purſe, he beſtowed it vppon pondes, naturall hotte bathes, places fit for fullers craft, vpon meadowes and paſtures, vpon copiſes and young wodde: and of all theſe he made a great and a more quiet reuenue yearely, which he would ſay, *Iupiter* him ſelfe could not diminiſhe. Furthermore, he was a great vſerer, both by land and by ſea: and the vſery he tooke by ſea was moſt extreame of all other, for he vſed it in this ſorte. He would haue them to whome he lent his money vnto, that traffiked by ſea, to haue many parteners, and to the number of fifty: and that they ſhould haue ſo many ſhippes. Then he would venter among them for a parte onely, whereof *Quintius* his ſlaue whom he had manumiſed, was made his factor, and vſed to ſayle, and traffiked with the marchaunts, to whom he had lent his money out to vſery. And thus he did not venter all the money he lent, but a litle peece only for his parte, and gotte maruelous
B riches by his vſery. Moreouer he lent money to any of his ſlaues, that would therwith buy other young ſlaues, whom they taught and brought vp to do ſeruice, at *Catoes* charge and coſt: and then they ſolde them againe at the yeares ende, and ſome of them *Cato* kept for his owne ſeruice, and gaue his ſlaues as much for them, as any other offered. Therfore to allure his ſonne in like manner to make profitte of his money: he tolde him it was no wiſe mans parte to diminiſhe his ſubſtance, but rather the parte of a widowe. Yet this was a token of a moſt greedy couetous minde, that he durſt affirme him to be diuine, and worthy immortall praiſe, that increaſed his wealth and patrimony more, then his father left him. Furthermore, when *Cato* was growen very olde, *Carneades* the ACADEMICKE, and *Diogenes* the STOICKE, were ſent from ATHENS as Ambaſſadors to ROME, to ſue for a releaſe of a fyne of fiue hundred talentes
C which they had impoſed on the ATHENIANS apon a condemnation paſſed againſt them, for a contempt of appearaunce, by the ſentence of the SICYONIANS, at the ſute of the OROPIANS. Immediatly when theſe two Philoſophers were arriued in the citie of ROME, the younge gentlemen that were geuen to their bookes, did viſite and welcome them, and gaue great reuerence to them after they had heard them ſpeake, and ſpecially to *Carneades*: whoſe grace in ſpeaking, and force of perſwading was no leſſe, then the fame ranne vppon him, and ſpecially when he was to ſpeake in ſo great an audience, and before ſuch a ſtate, as would not ſuppreſſe his praiſe. ROME ſtraight was full, as if a winde had blowen this rumor into euery mans eare: that there was a GREECIAN arriued, a famous learned man, who with his eloquence woulde leade a man as he luſt. There was no other talke a while through the whole city, he had ſo in-
D flamed the younge gentlemens mindes with loue and deſire to be learned: that all other pleaſures and delightes were ſet a ſide, and they diſpoſed them ſelues to no other exerciſe, but to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, as if ſome ſecrete and diuine inſpiration from aboue had procured them to it. Whereof the Lordes and Senators of ROME were glad, and reioyced much to ſee their youth ſo well geuen to knowledge, and to the ſtudy of the Greeke tongue, and to delite in the company of theſe two great and excellent learned men. But *Marcus Cato*, euen from the beginning that young men beganne to ſtudy the Greeke tongue, and that it grewe in eſtimacion in ROME, did diſlike of it: fearing leaſt the youth of ROME that were deſirous of learninge and eloquence, woulde vtterly giue ouer the honor and glory of armes. Furthermore, when he ſawe the eſtimacion and fame of theſe two perſonages did increaſe more and more,
E and in ſuch ſorte that *Caius Aquilius*, one of the chiefeſt of the Senate, made ſute to be their interpreter: he determined then to conuey them out of the citie by ſome honeſt meane and colour. So he openly found fault one day in the Senate, that the Ambaſſadors were long there, and had no diſpatche: conſidering alſo they were cunninge men, and coulde eaſily perſwade what they would. And if there were no other reſpect, this onely might perſwade them to determine ſome aunſwere for them, and ſo to ſend them home againe to their ſchooles, to teach their children of GREECE, and to let alone the children of ROME, that they might learne to obey the lawes and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he ſpake this to the Senate, not of any priuate ill will or malice he bare to *Carneades*, as ſome men thought: but bicauſe he generally hated Philoſophy, and of an ambition deſpiſed the muſes, & knowledge of the Greeke
F tongue. Which was the more ſuſpected, bicauſe he had ſayd, the auncient *Socrates* was but a buſie man, and a ſturrer vp of ſedition, and ſought by all meanes poſſible to vſurpe tyranny, and rule in his contrie: by peruerting and chaunging the maniers and cuſtomes of the ſame, and

Cato a great vſerer.
He tooke extreame vſery by ſea.

Carneades. & Diogenes Philoſophers ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome.

Cato miſliked the Greeke tongue.

alluringe the ſubiectes thereof to a diſlikinge of their lawes and auncient cuſtomes. And he laughed at *Socrates* ſchoole, that taught the arte of eloquence: ſaying, his ſchollers waxed old, and were ſtill ſo long a learning, that they ment to vſe their eloquence and pleade cauſes in another worlde, before *Minos*, when they were dead. Therefore, to plucke his ſonne from the ſtudy of the Greeke tongue, he ſayd to him with a ſtrayned voyce, and in a bigger ſound then he was wont to doe: (as if he had ſpoken to him by way of prophecy or inſpiration) that ſo longe as the ROMAINES diſpoſed them ſelues to ſtudy the Greeke tongue, ſo longe woulde they marre and bring all to nought. And yet time hath proued his vaine wordes falſe and vntrue. For the citie of ROME did neuer floriſhe ſo much, nor the ROMAINE Empire was euer ſo great, as at that time, when learninge and the Greeke tongue moſt floriſhed. Howebeit *Cato* did not onely hate the Philoſophers of GREECE, but did diſlike them alſo, that profeſſed phiſicke in ROME. For he had either hearde or red the aunſwere *Hippocrates* made, when the king of PERSIA ſent for him, and offered him a great ſumme of golde and ſiluer, if he woulde come and ſerue him: who ſware he would neuer ſerue the barbarous people, that were naturall enemies to the GREECIANS. So *Cato* affirmed, it was an othe that al other phiſitions ſware euer after: wherefore he commaunded his ſonne to flie from them all alike, and ſayed he hadde wrytten a litle booke of phiſicke, with the which he did heale thoſe of his houſe when they were ſicke, and did keepe them in health when they were whole. He neuer forbad them to eate, but did alwayes bringe them vppe with erbes, and certaine light meates, as mallard, ringedoues, and hares: for ſuch meates, ſayd he, are good for the ſicke, and light of diſgeſtion, ſauing that they make them dreame and ſnorte that eate them. He boaſted alſo how with this maner of phiſicke, he did alwayes keepe him ſelfe in health, and his family from ſickenes. Yet for all that, I take it, he did not all that he bragged of: for he buried both his wife, and his ſonne alſo. But he him ſelfe was of a ſtronge nature, and a luſty body, full of ſtrength, and health, and liued long without ſickeneſſe: ſo that when he was a very olde man and paſt mariage, he loued women well, and maried a younge maiden for that cauſe onely. After his firſt wife was dead, he maried his ſonne vnto *Paulus AEmylius* daughter, the ſiſter of *Scipio*, the ſeconde AFRICAN. *Cato* him ſelfe beinge a widower, tooke paines with a prety younge maide that waited in his houſe, and came by ſtelth to his chamber: howebeit this haunt coulde not long continue ſecret in his houſe, and ſpecially where there was a younge gentlewoman maried, but needes muſt be ſpied. So, one day when this young maide went ſomewhat boldly by the chamber of young *Cato*, to go into his father, the young man ſayd neuer a word at it: yet his father perceiued that he was ſomewhat aſhamed, and gaue the maide no good countenaunce. Wherefore findinge that his ſonne and daughter in lawe were angry with the matter, ſayinge nothinge to them of it, nor ſhewinge them any ill countenaunce: he went one morninge to the market place (as his maner was) with a traine that followed him, amongeſt whome was one *Salonius*, that had bene his clearke, and wayted vpon him as the reſt did. *Cato* calling him out alowde by his name, asked him if he hadde not yet beſtowed his daughter. *Salonius* aunſwered him, he had not yet beſtowed her, nor woulde not, before he made him priuie to it. Then *Cato* tolde him againe: I haue founde out a husbande for her, and a ſonne in lawe for thee, and it will be no ill matche for her, vnleſſe ſhe miſlike the age of the man, for in deede he is very olde, but otherwiſe there is no faulte in him. *Salonius* tolde him againe, that for that matter, he referred all to him, and his daughter alſo, prayinge him euen to make what matche he thought good for her: for ſhe was his humble ſeruaunt, and relyed wholly vppon him, ſtandinge in neede of his fauor and furtheraunce. Then *Cato* beganne to diſcouer, and tolde him plainely he woulde willingely mary her him ſelfe. *Salonius* therewith was abaſhed, bicauſe he thought *Cato* was too olde to mary then, and him ſelfe was no fitte manne to matche in any honorable houſe, ſpeciallie with a Conſull and one that hadde triumphed: howebeit in the ende, when he ſawe *Cato* ment good earneſt, he was very glad of the matche, and ſo with this talke they went on together to the markette place, and agreed then vpon the mariage. Now while they went about this matter, *Cato* the ſonne taking ſome of his kinne and frendes with him, went vnto his father, to aske him if he had offended him in any thinge, that for ſpight he ſhoulde bringe him a ſteppe mother into his houſe.

Catoes Phiſicall booke.

Cato talketh with Salonius his clarke, about the mariage of his daughter.

Then

A Then his father cried out,& sayd:O my sonne, I pray thee say not so,I like well all thou doest, and I finde no cause to complaine of thee: but I do it,bicause I desire to haue many children, and to leaue many such like citizens as thou art, in the common wealth. Some say that *Pisistratus* the tyran of ATHENS, made such a like aunswere vnto the children of his first wife, which were men growen, when he maried his seconde wife *Timonassa*, of the towne of ARGOS, of whom he had (as it is reported) *Iophon*, and *Thessalus*. But to returne againe to *Cato*, he had a sonne by his second wife, whom he named after her name, *Cato* SALONIAN: and his eldest sonne died in his office beinge Prætor, of whome he often speaketh in diuerse of his bookes, commendinge him for a very honest man. And they say, he tooke the death of him very paciently, and like a graue wise man, not leauing therefore to do any seruice or businesse B for the state, otherwise then he did before. And therein he did not,as *Lucius Lucullus*, & *Metellus* surnamed *Pius*,did afterwards: who gaue vp medling any more with matters of gouernment and state, after they were waxen olde. For he thought it a charge and duety,wherevnto euery honest man whilest he liued, was bounde in all piety. Nor as *Scipio* AFRICAN hadde done before him, who perceiuing that the glory & fame of his doings did purchase him the ill will of the citizens, he chaunged the rest of his life into quietnes,and forsooke the citie and all dealings in common wealth,and went & dwelt in the contry.But as there was one that told *Dionysius*, the tyran of SYRACVSA, as it is wrytten,that he could not die more honorably,then to be buried in the tyranny: euen so did *Cato* thinke, that he could not waxe more honestlie, olde,then in seruing of the common wealth,vnto his dying day.So at vacant times,when *Ca-* C *to* was desirous a litle to recreate and refresh him selfe, he passed his time away in makinge of bookes, and lookinge vppon his husbandry in the contry. This is the cause why he wrote so many kindes of bookes and stories. But his tillage and husbandry in the contry, he did tende and followe all in his youth, for his profit. For he sayed he had but two sortes of reuenue, tillage, and sparinge: but in age, whatsoeuer he did in the contry, it was all for pleasure, and to learne some thinge euer of nature. For he hath wrytten a booke of the contry life, and of tillage, in the which he sheweth howe to make tartes and cakes, and how to keepe frutes. He woulde needes shew such singularity and skill in all thinges: when he was in his house in the contry, he fared a litle better then he did in other places,and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and such as had lande lying about him,to come and suppe with him, and he would be D merry with them: so that his company was not onely pleasaunt, and likinge to olde folkes as him selfe, but also to the younger sorte. For he had seene much, and had experience in many thinges, and vsed much pleasaunt talke, profitable for the hearers. He thought the bord one of the chiefest meanes to breede loue amongest men, and at his owne table woulde alwayes praise good men and vertuous citizens, but would suffer no talke of euill men, neither in their praise nor dispraise. Now it is thought the last notable acte and seruice he did in the common wealth, was the ouerthrow of CARTHAGE: for in deede he that wanne it, and rased it vtterly, was *Scipio* the seconde, but it was chiefely through *Catoes* counsell and aduise, that the last warre was taken in hand against the CARTHAGINIANS, and it chaunced apon this occasion. *Cato* was sent into AFRICKE to vnderstande the cause and controuersie that was betwene the E CARTHAGINIANS and *Massinissa*, kinge of NVMIDIA, which were at great warres together. And he was sent thither, bicause king *Massinissa* had euer bene a frend vnto the ROMAINES, and for that the CARTHAGINIANS were become their confederates since the last warres, in the which they were ouerthrowen by *Scipio* the first, who tooke for a fyne of them, a great parte of their Empire, and imposed apon them besides, a great yearely tribute. Now when he was come into that contrie, he founde not the citie of CARTHAGE in miserie, beggerie, and out of harte, as the ROMAINES supposed: but full of lusty youthes very riche and wealthie, and great store of armour and munition in it for the warres, so that by reason of the wealth thereof, CARTHAGE caried a high sayle, and stowped not for a litle. Wherefore he thought that it was more then time for the ROMAINES to leaue to vnderstande the contro- F uersies betwext the CARTHAGINIANS and *Massinissa*, and rather to prouide betimes to destroye CARTHAGE, that hadde beene euer an auncient ennemie to the ROMAINES, and euer sought to be reuenged of that they hadde suffered at their handes before, and that they

Catoes aunswere to his sonne, of his seconde mariage.

Cato maried Salonius daughter, being a very old man, and had a sonne by her.

How Cato passed his age.

Catoes wrytinges and monnments.

Catoes reuenue.

Catoes company pleasant both to old & young.

The table a good meane to procure loue, and how table talke should be vsed.

Cato author of the last warres against the Carthaginians.

were now growen to that greatnes and corage in ſo ſhorte time, as in manner it was incredible: ſo as it was likely they would fall into as great enmity with the ROMAINES, as they euer did before. Therefore ſo ſoone as he returned to ROME, he plainly tolde the Senate, that the loſſes and harmes the CARTHAGINIANS had receiued by the laſt warres they had with them, had not ſo much diminiſhed their power & ſtrength, as the ſame had ſhewed their owne folly & lacke of wiſdom: for it was to be feared much, leaſt their late troubles had made them more skilfull, then weakened them for the warres. And that they made warres nowe with the NVMIDIANS, to exerciſe them onely, meaninge afterwardes to warre with them ſelues: and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermiſſion & ſtay of warres, only expecting time and opportunity to breake with them againe. They ſay moreouer, that beſides the perſwaſions he vſed, he brought with him of purpoſe, AFRICKE figges in his long ſleeues, which he ſhooke out amongeſt them in the Senate. When the Senators maruailed to ſee ſo goodly fayer greene figges, he ſayed: the contry that beareth them, is not aboue three dayes ſailinge from ROME. But yet this is more ſtraunge which they reporte of him beſides: that he neuer declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this was euer the one ende of his tale: me thinketh ſtill CARTHAGE would be vtterly deſtroyed. *Publius Scipio Naſica*, vſed euer in like manner the contrary ſpeech: that he thought it meete CARTHAGE ſhould ſtand. This *Publius Scipio* ſaw, in my opinion, that the ROMAINES through their pride and inſolency were full of abſurdities, and caried them ſelues very high, by reaſon of their happy ſucceſſe and victories, and were ſo lofty minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them: and that by reaſon of their great authoritie, they imagined they might bringe their citie to what height they would. Therefore he ſpake it, that the feare of CARTHAGE might alwayes continue as a bridle, to raigne in the inſolency of the people of ROME, who knew well enough, that the CARTHAGINIANS were of no ſufficient power to make warres with the ROMAINES, nor yet to ouercome them: and euen ſo were they not wholly to be deſpiſed, and not to be feared at all. *Cato* ſtill replied to the contrary, that therein conſiſted the greateſt daunger of all: that a citie which was euer of great force and power, and had bene puniſhed by former warres and miſery, would alwayes haue an eye of reuenge to their enemies, and be much like a horſe that had broken his halter, that being vnbridled, would runne vpon his rider. And therfore he thought it not good, nor ſounde aduiſe, ſo to ſuffer the CARTHAGINIANS to recouer their ſtrength, but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward daunger, and the feare they ſtoode in to looſe their conqueſt: and ſpecially, when they left meanes within the city ſelfe to fall ſhill againe to their former rebellion. And this is the cauſe why they ſuppoſe *Cato* was the occaſion, of the thirde and laſt warre the ROMAINES had againſt the CARTHAGINIANS. But now when the warre was begonne, *Cato* died, and before his death he prophecied, as a man would ſay, who it ſhould be that ſhould ende thoſe warres. And it was *Scipio* the ſecond, who being a young man at that time, had charge only as a Colonell ouer a thouſand footemen: but in all battells, and whereſoeuer there was warres, he ſhewed him ſelfe euer valliant and wiſe. Inſomuch as newes being brought thereof continually vnto ROME, and *Cato* hearinge them, ſpake as they ſay, theſe two verſes of *Homer:*

Scipio Naſica, againſt Cato, for the deſtroying of Carthage.

Catoes death.

This only man right vviſe, reputed is to be,
all other ſeeme but shadovves ſet, by ſuch vviſe men as he.

Which prophecy, *Scipio* ſoone after confirmed true by his doinges. Moreouer, the iſſue *Cato* left behinde him, was a ſonne he had by his ſeconde wife: who was called (as we ſayd before) *Cato* SALONIAN, by reaſon of his mother, and a litle boy of his eldeſt ſonne that died before him. This *Cato* SALONIAN died being Prætor, but he left a ſonne behinde him that came to be Conſull, and was grandfather vnto *Cato* the Philoſopher, one of the moſt vertuous men of his time.

Catoes poſterity.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Aristides with Marcus Cato.*

A NOw that we haue sette downe in wrytinge, these notable and worthie things of memory: if we will conferre the life of the one, with the life of the other, perhappes the difference betwene the one and the other will not easily be discerned, seeinge there be so many similitudes and resemblances one of an other. But if we come to compare them in euery particularity, as we would doe Poets workes, or pictures drawen in tables: first, in this we shall finde them much a like, that hauing had nothing else to preferre and commende them, but their onely vertue & wisdom, they haue bene both gouernors in their common wealth, and haue thereby atchieued to great honor and estimacion. But me thinkes when *Aristides* B came to deale in matters of state, the common wealth and seigniory of Athens was then of no great power, and therefore it was easie for him to set him selfe in preasse. Besides, the other gouernors and captaines that were of his time, & competitors with him, were not very rich, nor of great authority. For the taxe of the richest persones then at Athens in reuenue, was but at fiue hundred bushells of corne, and vpwards, and therefore were such called Pentacosiomedimni. The second taxe was but at three hundred bushels, and they were called knights. The third and last was at two hundred bushells, and they called them Zeugitæ. Where *Marcus Cato* comminge out of a litle village, from a rude contry life, went at the first dashe (as it were) to plunge him selfe into a bottomles sea of gouernment in the cõmon wealth of Rome: which was not ruled then by such gouernors and captaines, as *Curius*, *Fabricius*, and *Ostilius* C were in old time. For the people of Rome did no more bestow their offices vpon such meane laboring men, as came but lately from the plough and the mattocke: but they woulde looke now apon the nobility of their houses, and vpon their riches, that gaue them most money, or sued earnestly to them for the offices. And by reason of their great power and authority, they woulde be waited vpon, and sued vnto, by those that sought to beare the honorable offices of the state and common wealth. And it was no like match nor comparison, to haue *Themistocles* an aduersary and competitor, being neither of noble house, nor greatly rich (for they say, that all the goodes his father left him, were not worth aboue foure or fiue hundred talentes, when he beganne to deale in state) in respect as to contende for the chiefest place of honor and authority against *Scipio* African, *Seruilius Galba*, or *Quintius Flaminius*, hauing no other main- E tenance, nor helpe to trust vnto, but a tongue speaking boldly with reason and all vprightnes. Moreouer, *Aristides* at the battells of Marathon, and of Platæes, was but one of the tenne captaines of the Athenians: where *Cato* was chosen one of the two Consuls among many other noble and great competitors, and one of the two Censors, before seuen other that made sute for it, which were all men of great reputacion in the citie, and yet was *Cato* preferred be-

Aristides and Catoes accesse to the common wealth.

fore them all. Furthermore, *Aristides* was neuer the chiefest in any victory. For at the battell of MARATHON, *Miltiades* was the generall: and at the battell of SALAMINA, *Themistocles*: and at the iorney of PLATÆES, king *Pausanias*, as *Herodotus* sayeth, who wryteth that he had a maruelous victory there. And there were that striued with *Aristides* for the second place, as *Sophanes*, *Amynias*, *Callimachus*, and *Cynegirus*, euery one of the which did notable valliant seruice at those battells. Now *Cato* was generall him selfe, and chiefe of all his army in worthines and counsell, during the warre he made in SPAYNE, while he was Consull. Afterwards also in the iorney where king *Antiochus* was ouerthrowen in the contry of THERMOPYLES, *Cato* being but a Colonell of a thousande footemen, and seruinge vnder an other that was Consull, wanne the honor of the victory, when he did sodainely set vpon *Antiochus* behinde, whereas he looked only to defend him selfe before. And that victory, without all doubt was one of the chiefest actes that euer *Cato* did, who draue ASIA out of GREECE, and opened the way vnto *Lucius Scipio* to passe afterwardes into ASIA. So then for the warres, neither the one nor the other of them was euer ouercome in battell: but in peace and ciuill gouernment, *Aristides* was supplanted by *Themistocles*, who by practise got him to be banished ATHENS for a time. Whereas *Cato* had in manner all the greatest and noblest men of ROME that were in his time, sworne enemies vnto him: and hauing alwayes contended with them euen to his last hower, he euer kept him selfe on sounde grounde, like a stoute champion, and neuer tooke fall nor foyle. For he hauing accused many before the people, and many also accusing him: him selfe was neuer once condemned, but alwayes his tongue was the buckeler and defence of his life and innocency. Which was to him so necessary a weapon, and with it he could help himselfe so in great matters, that (in my opinion) it was only cause why he neuer receiued dishonor, nor was vniustly condemned: rather then for any thing else he was beholding to fortune, or to any other that did protect him. And truely, eloquence is a singular gift, as *Antipater* witnesseth, in that he wrote of *Aristotle* the Philosopher after his death: saying, that amongest many other singular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he coulde perswade what he listed. Now there is a rule confessed of all the world, that no man can attaine any greater vertue or knowledge, then to know how to gouerne a multitude of men, or a city: a parte whereof is Oeconomia, cõmonly called houserule, considering that a city is no other, then an assembly of many households and houses together, & then is the city commonly strong & of power, when as the townes men and citizens are wise and wealthy. Therefore *Lycurgus* that banished golde and siluer from LACEDÆMON, and coyned them money of iron, that woulde be marred with fyre & vinegre when it was hot, did not forbid his citizens to be good husbands: but like a good lawmaker, exceeding all other that euer went before him, he did not onely cut of all superfluous expences that commonly wayte vppon riches, but did also prouide that his people should lacke nothing necessary to liue withall, fearing more to see a begger and nedy persone dwellinge in his citie, and enioy the priuiledges of the same, then a proude man by reason of his riches. So me thinkes, *Cato* was as good a father to his household, as he was a good gouernor to the common wealth: for he did honestly increase his goods, and did teach other also to do the same, by sauing, and knowledge of good husbandry, whereof, in his booke he wrote sundry good rules and precepts. *Aristides* contrariwise, made iustice odious & slanderous by his pouerty, and as a thing that made men poore, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans selfe that vsed iustice. And yet *Hesiodus* the Poet, that commendeth iustice so much, doth wishe vs withall to be good husbandes, reprouing sloth and idlenes, as the roote and originall of all iniustice. And therefore me thinkes *Homer* spake wisely when he sayed.

Cato in marshall affaires excelled Aristides.

Aristides and Catoes displeasures in the common wealth.

The power of innocency & eloquence.

Oeconomia, houserule.

In times past, neither did I labor, carcke nor care
for busines, for family, for foode, nor yet for fare:
but rather did delight, vvith shippes the seaes to saile,
to drvvv a bovv, to fling a dart in vvarres, and to preuaile.

As giuing vs to vnderstand, that iustice & husbandry are two relatiues, & necessarily lincked one to the other: and that a man who hath no care of his owne thinges, nor house, doth liue vniustly, and taketh from other men. For iustice is not like oyle, which Phisitions say is very holsome for mannes body, if it be applied outwardly: and in contrary maner very ill, if a man drinke

The nature of oyle.

A drinke it: neither ought a iuſt man to profitte ſtraungers, and in the ende not to care for him ſelfe nor his. Therefore, me thinkes this gouerninge vertue of *Ariſtides* had a fault in this reſpect, if it be true that moſt authors wryte of him: that he had no care nor forecaſt with him to leaue ſo much, as to mary his daughters withall, nor therewith to bury him ſelfe. Where thoſe of the houſe of *Cato*, continued Prætors and Conſulls of ROME, euen vnto the fourte diſcent. For his ſonnes ſonnes, and yet lower, his ſonnes ſonnes ſonnes came to the greateſt offices of dignity in all ROME. And *Ariſtides*, who was in his time the chiefeſt mã of GREECE, left his poſterity in ſo great pouerty, that ſome were compelled to become Soothſayers (that interprete dreames, and tell mens fortune) to get their liuing, and other to aske almes: and left no meane to any of them, to do any great thing worthy of him. But to contrary this, it might

No man wiſe, that is not wiſe to him ſelfe.

B be ſayd, pouerty of it ſelfe is neither ill nor diſhoneſt: but where it groweth by idlenes, careleſſe life, vanity, and folly, it is to be reproued. For when it lighteth apon any man that is honeſt, and liueth well, that taketh paines, is very diligent, iuſt, valliant, wiſe, and gouerneth a common wealth well: then it is a great ſigne of a noble minde. For it is vnpoſſible that man ſhould doe any great thinges, that had ſuch a baſe minde, as to thinke alwayes vppon trifles: and that he ſhoulde relieue the poore greatly, that lacketh him ſelfe reliefe in many thinges. And ſure, riches is not ſo neceſſary for an honeſt man that will deale truely in the common wealth, and gouernment, as is ſufficiency: which beinge a contentacion in it ſelfe, and deſirous of no ſuperfluous thing, it neuer withdraweth a man from following his buſineſſe in the common wealth, that enioyeth the ſame. For God is he alone, who ſimply and abſolutely

Whether pouerty be an ill thing.

C hath no neede of any thinge at all: wherefore the chiefeſt vertue that can be in man, and that commeth neareſt vnto God, ought to be eſteemed that, which maketh man to haue neede of leaſt thinges. For like as a luſty body, and well complexioned, hath no neede of ſuperfluous fare and curious apparell: euen ſo a cleane life, and ſounde houſe, is kept with a litle charge, and ſo ſhoulde the goodes alſo be proportioned, accordinge to vſe and neceſſity. For he that gathereth much, and ſpendeth litle, hath neuer enough. But admit he hath no deſire to ſpend much, then he is a foole to trauell to get more then he needeth: and if he do deſire it, and dare not for niggardlines ſpende parte of that he laboreth for, then is he miſerable. Now woulde I aske *Cato* with a goodwill, if riches be made but to vſe them, why do you boaſt then you haue gotten much together, when a litle doth ſuffice you? and if it be a commendable thing (as in

D troth it is) to be contented with the breade you finde, to drinke of the ſame tappe workemen and laborers do, not to care for purple dyed gownes, nor for houſes with plaſtered walles: it followeth then that neither *Ariſtides*, nor *Epaminondas*, nor *Manius Curius*, nor *Caius Fabricius*, haue forgotten any parte of their dueties, when they cared not for gettinge of that which they would not vſe nor occupy. For it was to no purpoſe for a man that eſteemed rootes and parſenippes to be one of the beſt diſhes in the worlde, and that did ſeeth them him ſelfe in his chimney, whileſt his wife did bake his bread, to talke ſo much of an Aſſe, and to take paines to wryte by what arte and induſtry a man might quickely enrich him ſelfe. For it is true, that ſufficiency, and to be contented with a litle, is a good and commendable thinge: but it is bicauſe it taketh from vs all deſire of vnneceſſary thinges, and maketh vs not to paſſe for them.

E And therefore we finde that *Ariſtides* ſayd, when riche *Callias* caſe was pleaded, that ſuch as were poore againſt their willes, might wel be aſhamed of their pouerty: but ſuch as were willingly poore, had good cauſe, and might iuſtly reioyce at it. For it were a mad parte to thinke that *Ariſtides* pouerty proceeded of a baſe minde & ſlothfulnes, ſince he might quickely haue made him ſelfe rich without any diſhoneſty at all, by taking only the ſpoyle of ſome one of the barbarous people whome he had ouercome, or any one of their tentes. But enough for this matter. Furthermore, touching the victories and battells *Cato* had wonne, they did in maner

Whether Ariſtides faſhion or Catoes did moſt benefit their country.

F litle helpe to increaſe the Empire of ROME: for it was already ſo great, as it could almoſt be no greater. But *Ariſtides* victories are the greateſt conqueſtes and nobleſt actes that the GREECIANS euer did in any warres: as the iorney of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, and the battell of PLATEES. And yet there is no reaſon to compare king *Antiochus* with king *Xerxes*, nor the walles of the citie of SPAYNE which *Cato* ouerthrewe and raſed, vnto ſo many thouſands of barbarous people, which were then ouerthrowen and put to the ſword by the GREE-

CIANS, as well by lande, as by ſea. In all which ſeruices, *Ariſtides* was the chiefeſt before all other, as touching his valliantnes in fighting: notwithſtanding, he gaue other the glory of it, that deſired it more then him ſelfe, as he did eaſily alſo leaue the gold & ſiluer vnto thoſe, that had more neede of it then him ſelfe. Wherein he ſhewed him ſelfe of a nobler minde, then all they did. Furthermore, for my parte, I will not reproue *Catoes* manner, to commende and extoll him ſelfe ſo highly aboue all other, ſince he him ſelfe ſayth in an oration he made, that to praiſe himſelf is as much folly, as alſo to diſpraiſe himſelfe: but this I thinke, his vertue is more perfect, that deſireth other ſhould not praiſe him, then he that commonly doth vſe to praiſe him ſelfe. For, not to be ambitious, is a great ſhew of humanity, & neceſſary for him that will liue amongeſt men of gouernment: and euen ſo, ambition is hatefull, and procureth great enuy vnto him, that is infected withall. Of the which *Ariſtides* was cleare, and *Cato* farre gone in it. For *Ariſtides* did help *Themiſtocles* his chiefeſt enemie, in all his nobleſt actes, and did ſerue him (as a man would ſay) like a priuate ſouldier that garded his perſone, when *Themiſtocles* was generall, beinge the onely inſtrument and meane of his glory: which was in deede the onely cauſe that the city of ATHENS was ſaued, and reſtored againe to her former good ſtate. *Cato* contrariwiſe, croſſing *Scipio* in all his enterpriſes, thought to hinder his voyage and iorney vnto CARTHAGE, in the which he ouercame *Hanniball*, who vntill that time was euer inuincible: and ſo in the ende, continuing him ſtill in iealouzy with the ſtate, and euer accuſinge of him, he neuer left him, till he had driuen him out of the city, and cauſed his brother *Lucius Scipio* to be ſhamefully condemned for theft, and ill behauiour in his charge. Furthermore, for temperaunce and modeſty, which *Cato* did euer commende ſo highly: *Ariſtides* truely kept them moſt ſincerely. But *Catoes* ſeconde wife, who maried a maide, (that was neither fit for his dignity and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a lecherous man, and not without manifeſt cauſe. For he can not be excuſed with honeſty, that beinge a man paſt mariage, brought his ſonne that was maried, and his fayer daughter in lawe, a ſteppe mother into his houſe, and but a clearkes daughter, whoſe father did wryte for money, for any man that woulde hyer him. Take it *Cato* maried her to ſatisfie his luſt, or elſe for ſpite to be reuenged of his ſonne, bicauſe his ſonne coulde not abide his younge filth he had before: either of theſe turneth ſtill to his ſhame, as wel the effect, as alſo the cauſe. Againe, the excuſe he made to his ſonne why he maried, was alſo a lye. For if he had grounded his deſire in deede, to haue gotten other children, as he ſayd, that might be as honeſt men as his eldeſt ſonne: then ſurely he had done well after the death of his firſt wife, if he had ſought him an other wife ſoone after, that had bene of an honeſt houſe, and not to haue lien with a young harlatry filth, til his ſonne had ſpied him, and then when he ſaw it was knowen, to goe and mary her, and to make alliance with him, not bicauſe it was honorable for him to do it, but was eaſieſt to be obtained.

Ambition, a hatefull thing in the commō wealth.

Cato reproued for his ſecond wife.

The ende of Marcus Catoes life the Cenſor.

THE LIFE OF *Philopœmen.*

IN the city of MANTINEA, there was a citizen in old time called *Caſſander*, one that was as nobly borne and of as great authoritie in gouernmẽt there, as any man of his time whatſoeuer. Notwithſtanding, fortune frowned on him in the ende, inſomuch as he was driuen out of his contry, and went to lye in the city of MEGALOPOLIS, only for the loue he bare vnto *Crauſis*, *Philopœmenes* father, a rare man, and nobly geuen in all thinges, and one that loued him alſo very well. Now ſo longe as *Crauſis* liued, *Caſſander* was ſo well vſed at his handes, that he could lacke nothing: and when he was departed this worlde, *Caſſander*, to requite the loue *Crauſis* bare him in his life time, tooke his ſonne into his charge, being an orphane, and taught him, as *Homer* ſayd *Achilles* was brought vp by the olde Phœnix. So this childe *Philopœmen* grewe to haue noble conditions, and increaſed alwayes from good to better. Afterwardes, when he came to grow to mans ſtate, *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes*, both MEGALIPOLITANS, tooke him into their gouernment. They were two Philoſophers that had bene hearers of *Arceſilaus*, in the ſchoole of Academia, and afterwardes employed all the Philoſophy they had learned, apon the gouerning of the common wealth, and dealing in matters of ſtate, as much or more, then any other men of their time. For they deliuered their city from the tyranny of *Ariſtodemus*, who kept it in ſubiection, by corrupting thoſe that killed him. And they did helpe *Aratus* alſo to driue the tyran *Nicocles*, out of SICYONE. At the requeſt of the CYRENIANS, that were troubled with ciuil diſſention & factions among them, they went vnto CYRENA, where they did reforme the ſtate of the common wealth, and ſtabliſhed good lawes for them. But for them ſelues, they reckened the education and bringing vp of *Philopœmen*, the chiefeſt acte that euer they did: iudging that they had procured an vniuerſall good vnto all GREECE, to bring vp a man of ſo noble a nature, in the rules and precepts of Philoſophy. And to ſay truely, GREECE did loue him paſſingly well, as the laſt valliant man ſhe brought foorth in her age, after ſo many great and famous auncient Captaines: and did alwayes increaſe his power and authority, as his glory did alſo riſe. Whereupon there was a ROMAINE, who to praiſe him the more, called him the laſt of the GREEKIANS: meaninge, that after him, GREECE neuer brought foorth any worthy perſone, deſeruinge the name of a GREECIAN. And now concerninge his perſone, he had no ill face, as many ſuppoſe he had

Cranſis, Philopœmenes father.

Caſſander Philopœmenes ſchoolemaiſter.

Ecdemus and Demophanes red Philoſophy to Philopœmen.

Philopœmen the laſt famous mã of Greece.

for his whole image is yet to be ſeene in the city of DELPHES, excellently well done, as if he were aliue. And for that they reporte of his hoſteſſe in the city of MEGARA, who tooke him for a ſeruing man: that was by reaſon of his curteſie, not ſtanding vppon his reputacion, and bicauſe he went plainely beſides. For ſhe vnderſtanding that the Generall of the ACHAIANS came to Inne there all night, ſhe beſturred her, and was very buſie preparinge for his ſupper, her husband paraduenture being from home at that time: and in the meane ſeaſon came *Philopœmen* into the Inne, with a poore cloke on his backe. The ſimple woman ſeeinge him no better apparelled, tooke him for one of his men that came before to prouide his lodging, and ſo prayed him to lende her his hande in the kitchin. He ſtraight caſt of his cloke, and beganne to fall to hewe wodde. So, as *Philopœmen* was buſie about it, in commeth her husbande, and findinge him riuinge of wodde: ha ha ha, ſayd he, my Lorde *Philopœmen*, why what meaneth this? Truely nothing elſe, ſayd he in his DORICAN tongue, but that I am puniſhed, bicauſe I am neither fayer boy, nor goodly man. It is true that *Titus Quintius Flaminius* ſayed one day vnto him, ſeeminge to mocke him for his perſonage: O *Philopœmen*, thou haſt fayer handes, and good legges, but thou haſt no belly, for he was fine in the waſte, and ſmall bodied. Notwithſtandinge, I take it this ieaſtinge tended rather to the proportion of his army, then of his body: bicauſe he had both good horſemen, and footemen, but he was often without money to pay them. Theſe geaſtes, ſchollers haue taken vppe in ſchooles, of *Philopœmen*. But now to diſcend to his nature and conditions: it ſeemeth that the ambition and deſire he had to winne honor in his doinges, was not without ſome heate and wilfullnes. For, bicauſe he would altogether follow *Epaminondas* ſteppes, he ſhewed his hardines to enterpriſe any thing, his wiſedome to execute all great matters, and his integrity alſo, in that no money could corrupt him: but in ciuill matters and controuerſies, he coulde hardly otherwhiles keepe him ſelfe within the bondes of modeſty, pacience, and curteſie, but woulde often burſt out into choller, and wilfulnes. Wherfore it ſeemeth, that he was a better Captaine for warres, then a wiſe gouernor for peace. And in deede, euen from his youth he euer loued ſouldiers, and armes, and delited marueloufly in all martiall exerciſes: as in handling of his weapon well, riding of horſes gallantly, and in vawting nimbly. And bicauſe he ſeemed to haue a naturall gift in wreſtling, certaine of his frendes, and ſuch as were carefull of him, did wiſhe him to geue himſelfe moſt vnto that exerciſe. Then he asked them, if their life that made ſuch profeſſion, would be no hinderaunce to their martiall exerciſes. Aunſwere was made him againe, that the diſpoſition of the perſone, and manner of life that wreſtlers vſed, and ſuch as followed like exerciſes, was altogether contrary to the life and diſcipline of a ſouldier, and ſpecially touching life and limme. For wreſtlers ſtudied altogethet to keepe them ſelues in good plight, by much ſleeping, eating, and drinking, by laboring, and taking their eaſe at certaine howers, by not miſſinge a iotte of their exerciſes: and beſides, were in hazard to looſe the force and ſtrength of their body, if they did ſurfit neuer ſo litle, or paſſed their ordinary courſe & rule of diet. Where ſouldiers contrariwiſe are vſed to all chaunge, and diuerſitie of life, and ſpecially be taught from their youth, to away with all hardneſſe, and ſcarſity, and to watche in the night without ſleepe. *Philopœmen* hearing this, did not onely forſake thoſe exerciſes, and ſcorned them, but afterwardes beinge Generall of an army, he ſought by all infamous meanes he coulde to put downe all wreſtling, and ſuch kinde of exerciſe, which made mennes bodies vnmeete to take paines, and to become ſouldiers for to fight in defence of their contry, that otherwiſe would haue bene very able and handſome for the ſame. When he firſt left his booke and ſchoolemaſters, and beganne to weare armor in inuaſions the MANTINEIANS vſed to make vppon the LACEDÆMONIANS, to get ſome ſpoyle on a ſodaine, or to deſtroy a parte of their contry. *Philopœmen* then would euer be the formoſt to go out, and the hindermoſt to come in. When he had leaſure, he vſed much hunting in time of peace, all to acquainte his body with toyle and trauell, or elſe he would be digging of his groundes. For he had a fayre mannor, not paſſinge twenty furlonges out of the city, whether he would walke commonly after dinner or ſupper: and then when night came that it was bed time, he would lye vpon ſome ill fauored mattreſſe, as the meaneſt laborer he had, and in the morninge by breake of the day, he went out either with his vine men to labor in his vineyard, or elſe with his plough men to follow the plough, and

Philopœmen taken for a ſeruinge man.

Philopœmen, haſty and wilfull.

Philopœmen delighted in warre & martiall exerciſes.

Philopœmen did reproue wreſtling.

A and ſomtimes returned againe to the city, and followed matters of the common wealth, with his frendes and other officers of the ſame. Whatſoeuer he could ſpare and get in the warres, he ſpent it in buying of goodly horſes, in makinge of fayer armors, or payinge his poore contry mens ranſome, that were taken priſoners in the warres: but for his goodes & reuenue, he ſought onely to increaſe them, by the profit of tillage, which he eſteemed the ieſteſt and beſt way of getting of goodes. For he did not trifle therein, but employed his whole care and ſtudy apon it, as one that thought it fit for euery noble man & gentleman ſo to trauaill, gouerne, and increaſe his owne, that he ſhould haue no occaſion to couet or vſurpe an other mannes. He tooke no pleaſure to heare all kinde of matters, nor to read all ſortes of bookes of Philoſophy: but thoſe onely that would teache him moſt to become vertuous. Neither did he much B care to read *Homers* workes, ſauinge thoſe places onely that ſtirred vp mens hartes moſt vnto valliantnes. But of all other ſtories, he ſpecially delited to read *Euangelus* bookes, which treated of the diſcipline of warres, how to ſet battells, and declared the actes and geaſtes of *Alexander* the great, ſayinge: that men ſhoulde euer bringe his wordes vnto deedes, onleſſe men would take them for vaine ſtories, and thinges ſpoken, but not to profit by. For in his bookes of the feates of warre, and how battells ſhoulde be ordered, he was not onely contented to ſee them drawen and ſet out, in cartes and mappes: but would alſo put them in execution, in the places them ſelues as they were ſet out. And therefore, when the army marched in order of battell in the fielde, he woulde conſider and ſtudy with him ſelfe, the ſodaine euentes and approches of the enemies, that might light vpon them, when they comming downe to the val- C ley, or going out of a plaine, were to paſſe a riuer or a ditche, or through ſome ſtraight: alſo when he ſhould ſpread out his army, or elſe gather it narrow: and this he did not only fore caſt by him ſelfe, but woulde alſo argue the ſame with the Captaines that were about him. For *Philopœmen* doubtleſſe was one of the odde men of the worlde, that moſt eſteemed the diſcipline of warre, (and ſometime peraduenture more then he needed) as the moſt large field and moſt frutefull ground that valliantnes could be exerciſed in: ſo that he deſpiſed & contemned all that were no ſouldiers, as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty yeares of age, *Cleomenes* kinge of LACEDÆMON, came one night vpon the ſodaine, and gaue an aſſault to the city of MEGALIPOLIS, ſo luſtely, that he draue backe the watche and got into the market place, and wanne it. *Philopœmen* hearinge of it, ranne immediatly to the reſcue. Ne- D uertheleſſe, though he fought very valliantly, and did like a noble ſouldier, yet he coulde not repulſe the enemies, nor driue them out of the city. But by this meanes he got his citizens leaſure, and ſome time to get them out of the towne to ſaue them ſelues, ſtaying thoſe that followed them: and made *Cleomenes* ſtill waite vpon him, ſo that in the end he had much a do to ſaue him ſelfe being the laſt man, and very ſore hurt, & his horſe alſo ſlaine vnder him. Shortely after, *Cleomenes* being aduertiſed that the MEGALOPOLITANS were gotten into the city of MESSINA, ſent vnto them to let them vnderſtād, that he was ready to deliuer them their city, lands, & goods againe. But *Philopœmen* ſeeing his contrymen very glad of theſe newes, & that euery man prepared to returne againe in haſt: he ſtayd them with theſe perſwaſions, ſhewing them that *Cleomenes* deuiſe was not to redeliuer thē their city, but rather to take thē together E with their city: foreſeeing well enough, that he could not continue long there, to keepe naked walles and empty houſes, and that him ſelfe in the ende ſhould be compelled to goe his way. This perſwaſion ſtayed the MEGALOPOLITANS, but withall it gaue *Cleomenes* occaſion to burne and plucke downe a great parte of the city, and to cary away a great ſumme of money, and a great ſpoyle. Afterwardes, when kinge *Antigonus* was come to aide the ACHAIANS againſt *Cleomenes*, and that *Cleomenes* kept on the toppe of the mountaines of Sellaſia, and kepe all the paſſages and wayes vnto them out of all thoſe quarters: king *Antigonus* ſet his army in battel hard by him, determining to ſet vpon him, and to driue him thence if he could poſſibly. *Philopœmen* was at that time amongeſt the horſemen with his citizens, who had the LEFT HAND on the ſide of them, being a great number of footemen & excellent good ſouldiers, which F did ſhut in the taile of all the army. So they were commaunded to ſtand ſtil, and to keepe their place, vntill ſuch time as they did ſhew them a redde coate of armes on the toppe of a pyke, from the other wing of the battell, where the king him ſelfe ſtoode in perſone. Notwithſtan-

Philopœmenes gaines how they were employed.

Philopœmenes ſtudy and care in tillage.

Philopœmenes delite to read Euangelus bookes of the diſcipline of warres.

Philopœmen ſaued the Megalopolitans from Cleomenes king of Sparta.

Philopœmen very ſore hurt.

King Antigonus came to aide the Achaiās againſt Cleomenes king of Sparta.

Philopœmen ſerued in the battell againſt kinge Cleomenes.

ding this straight cõmaundement, the Captaines of the ILLYRIANS would abide no lenger, but went to see if they could force the LACEDÆMONIANS that kept on the top of the mountaines. The ACHAIANS contrariwise, kept their place and order, as they were commaunded. *Euclidas*, *Cleomenes* brother, perceiuing thus their enemies footemen were seuered from their horsemen, sodainly sent the lightest armed souldiers & lustiest fellowes he had in his bands, to geue a charge vpon the ILLYRIANS behinde, to proue if they coulde make them turne their faces on them, bicause they had no horsemen for their garde. This was done, and these light armed men did maruelously trouble and disorder the ILLYRIANS. *Philopœmen* perceiuinge that, and considering howe these light armed men would be easily broken and driuen backe, since occasion selfe inforced them to it: he went to tell the kings Captaines of it, that led his men of armes. But when he saw he could not make them vnderstand it, and that they made no reckening of his reasons, but tooke him of no skill, bicause he had not yet attained any credit or estimacion to be iudged a man, that could inuent or execute any stratageame of warre: he went thither him selfe, and tooke his citizens with him. And at his first comming, he so troubled these light armed men, that he made them flie, and slue a number of them. Moreouer, to encorage the better king *Antigonus* men, and to make them geue a lusty charge vppon the enemies, whilest they were thus troubled and out of order: he left his horse, and marched a foote vp hill and downe hill, in rough and stony wayes, full of springs and quauemyres, being heauely armed at all peeces as a man at armes, and fightinge in this sorte very painefully and vneasily, he had both his thighes past through with a dart, hauinge a leather thonge on the middest of it. And though the blow did not take much holde of the flesh, yet was it a stronge blow, for it pearced both thighes through & through, that the iron was seene on thother side. Then was he so combered with this blow, as if he had bene shackled with irons on his feete, and knew not what to doe: for the leather fastened in the middest of the darte, did greue him maruelously, when they thought to haue pulled the darte out of the place where it entred in, so as neuer a man about him durst set his handes to it. *Philopœmen* on the other side, seeing the fight terrible on either side, and would soone be ended: it spited him to the guttes, he would so faine haue bene among them. So at the length he made such struggling, putting backe one thigh, and setting forward an other, that he knapped the staffe of the darte a funder, and made them pull out the two troncheons, the one on this side, and the other on the other side. Then when he saw he was at liberty againe, he tooke his sword in his hande, and ranne through the middest of them that fought, vnto the foremost ranckes, to meete with the enemy: so that he gaue his men a newe corage, and did set them on fyre with enuy, to followe his valliantnesse. After the battell was wonne, *Antigonus* asked the MACEDONIAN Captaines, to proue them: who moued the horsemen to deuide them selues, and giue the charge, before the signe that was commaunded. They aunswered him, that they were forced to doe it against their willes, bicause a young MEGALOPOLITAN gentleman gaue a charge with his company, before the signe was giuen. Then *Antigonus* laughing, told them: the young gentleman played the parte of a wise and valliant Captaine. This exployte, together with *Antigonus* testimony, gaue great reputacion vnto *Philopœmen*, as we may easily imagine. So king *Antigonus* maruelously intreated him he would serue with him, and offered him a bande of men at armes, and great entertainement, if he would go with him. But *Philopœmen* refused his offer, and chiefly, bicause he knew his owne nature, that he could hardly abide to be commaunded by any. Nothwithstandinge, bicause he could not be idle, he tooke sea, and went into CRETA, where he knewe there were warres, onely to continue him selfe in exercise thereof. So when he had serued a longe time with the CRETANS, which were valliant souldiers, and very expert in all policies and feates of warre, and moreouer were men of a moderate and spare dyet: he returned home againe to ACHAIA, with so great credit and reputacion of euery one, that he was presently chosen Generall of all the horsemen. So when he entred into his charge, he foun de many horsemen very ill horsed, vpon litle Iades, such as might be gotten cheapest, & how they vsed not to goe them selues in persone to the warres, but did sende other in their steade: and to be shorte, how they neither had hartes, nor experience of the warres, and all bicause the Generalls and Captaines of the people of the ACHAIANS that serued before him, did take no heede

Philopœmen hurt in fight.

Antigonus saying of Philopœmenes skill of a souldier.

Philopœmen chosen Generall of the horsemen of the Achaians.

to

A to thoſe matters, as fearinge to offende any, bicauſe they had the greateſt authority in their handes, to puniſh or reward whom they thought good. *Philopœmen* fearinge none of all theſe thinges, would leaue no parte of his charge and duety vndone, but went him ſelfe in perſone to all the cities, to perſwade and encorage the young gentlemen, to be well horſed, and well armed, that they might winne honor in the fielde, be able to defende them ſelues, and ouerthrow their enemies. And where perſwaſion could doe no good, there he would ſet fynes vpon their heades that ſo refuſed, and did vſe to muſter them oft, and did acquainte them with tilting, turning, and barriers, and one to fight with an other, and at ſuch times and places ſpecially, as he knew there would be multitudes of people to giue them the lookinge on: that in ſhorte ſpace he made them very forwarde, proper, and ready horſemen, whoſe chiefeſt pro-
B perty is, to keepe their order and ranckes in the battell. So as when neceſſitie ſerued for the whole company of horſemen to turne together, halfe turne, or whole turne, or elſe euery man by him ſelfe: they were ſo throughly trained in it, that all the whole troupe ſet in battell ray, did ſeeme as it were to be but one body, they remoued ſo together, and withall ſo eaſily, and at all times, and ſo oft, as turne they woulde on the one ſide, or on the other. Now in a great battell the ACHAIANS had with the ÆTOLIANS and the ELIANS, by the riuer of Lariſſus: *Demophantus*, Generall of the horſemen of the ÆTOLIANS, came from his company to fight with *Philopœmen*, who alſo made towardes him, and gaue him firſt ſuch a blow with his ſpeare, that he ſtrake him ſtarke deade. When *Demophantus* fell to the grounde, his ſouldiers fled by and by vpon it. This wanne *Philopœmen* great honor, who gaue no place to the youngeſt men
C in fighting moſt valliantly with his owne handes: nor to the oldeſt men in wiſedome, for the wiſe leading of his army. In deede the firſt man that made the people of ACHAIA grow in power and greatnes, was *Aratus*: for before his time ACHAIA was of ſmall reckeninge, bicauſe the cities of the ſame ſtoode deuided betwene them ſelues, and *Aratus* was the firſt manne that made them ioyne together, and ſtabliſhed amonge them an honeſt ciuill gouernment. Whereby it happened, that as we ſee in brookes and riuers where any litle thinge ſtoppeth and falleth to the bottome, which the courſe of the water bringeth downe the ſtreame, there the reſt that followeth doth vſe to ſtay, and goe no further: euen ſo in the cities of GREECE that were in harde ſtate, and ſore weakened, by faction one againſt an other, the ACHAIANS were the firſt that ſtayed themſelues, and grewe in amity one with the other, and afterwardes
D drewe on the reſt of the cities into league with them, as good neighbours and confederats. Some by helpinge and deliueringe them from the oppreſſion of tyrans, and winninge other alſo by their peaceable gouernment and good concorde: they had a meaninge in this wiſe, to bringe all the contrie of PELOPONNESVS into one body and league. Neuertheleſſe, while *Aratus* liued, they depended moſt apon the ſtrength and power of the MACEDONIANS: firſt with ſtickinge vnto kinge *Ptolomie*, and then vnto *Antigonus*, and laſt to *Philip*, who ruled in manner all the ſtate of GREECE. But when *Philopœmen* came to gouerne, and to be the chiefeſt man, the ACHAIANS beinge ſtronge enough to reſiſt the ſtrongeſt, woulde marche then no more vnder any other bodies enſigne, nor woulde ſuffer any more ſtraunge gouernors or Captaines ouer them. For *Aratus* (as it ſeemed) was ſomewhat to ſofte and colde for the
E warres, and therefore the moſt thinges he did, were by gentle intreaties, by intelligences, and by the kinges frendſhippes with whome he was great, as we haue at large declared in his life. But *Philopœmen* beinge a manne of execution, hardy and valliant of perſone, and of very good fortune, in the firſt battell that he euer made, did maruelouſly encreaſe the corage and hartes of the ACHAIANS: bicauſe vnder his charge they euer foiled their enemies, and alwayes hadde the vpper hande ouer them. The firſt thinge *Philopœmen* beganne withall at his comming, he chaunged the manner of ſettinge of their tables, and their facion of arminge them ſelues. For before they caried litle light targettes, which bicauſe they were thinne and narrowe, did not couer halfe their bodies, and vſed ſpeares farre ſhorter then pykes, by reaſon whereof they were very light, and good to skirmiſhe and fight a farre of:
F but when they came to ioyne battell, their enemies then hadde great vantage of them. As for the order of their battelles, they knewe not what it ment, nor to caſt them ſelues into a ſnaill or ringe, but onely vſed the ſquare battell, nor yet gaue it any ſuch fronte where the

Philopœmen ſiue Demophantus, Generall of the horſemen of the AEtolians.
The praiſe of Philopœmen.
Aratus raiſed Achaia to greatnes.

Philopœmen and Aratus compared.
Aratus a ſofte man in warres.

Philopœmen chaungeth the Achaians order and diſcipline of wars.

pykes of many ranckes might puſhe together, and where the ſouldiers might ſtande ſo cloſe A
that their targettes ſhould touch one an other, as they do in the ſquadron of the battell of the
MACEDONIANS: by reaſon whereof, they were ſoone broken, and ouerthrowen. *Philopœmen*
reformed all this, perſwading them to vſe the pyke and ſhielde, in ſteade of their litle target,
ſpeare, or boreſtaffe, and to put good morryans or burganettes on their heades, corſelettes
on their bodies, and good taſſes and greaues to couer their thighes and legges, that they
might fight it out manfully, not geuinge a foote of grounde, as light armed men that runne
to and fro in a skirmiſhe. And thus hauinge perſwaded and taught the younge men to arme
them ſelues throughlie, firſt he made them the bolder and more coragious to fight, as if they
had bene menne that coulde not haue bene ouercome: then he turned all their vaine ſuper-
fluous charge, into neceſſarie and honeſt expences. But he could not poſſibly bring them al- B
togither from their vaine and riche apparell, they had of long time taken vp, the one to ex-
ceede an other: nor from their ſumptuous furniture of houſes, as in beddes, hanginges, cu-
rious ſeruice at the table, and delicate kinde of diſhes. But to beginne to withdrawe this de-
ſire in them which they hadde, to be fine and delicate, in all ſuperfluous and vnneceſſarie
things, and to like of thinges neceſſarie, and profitable: he wiſhed them to looke more nere-
ly to their ordinarie charge about them ſelues, takinge order as well for their apparell, as alſo
Philopœmen turned all curioſity and dainty fare, into braue & riche armors.
for their diet, and to ſpare in them, to come honorablie armed to the fielde, for defence of
their contrie. Thereuppon, if you had looked into the goldeſmithes ſhoppes, ye ſhould haue
ſeene nothinge elſe in their handes, but breakinge and batteringe of pottes of golde and ſil- C
uer, to be caſt and molton downe againe, and then gildinge of armors and targettes, and ſil-
uering of bittes. In the ſhowe places for the runninge of horſes, there was mannedging and
breakinge of younge horſes, and younge men exerciſinge armes. Womens handes alſo were
full of morryans and heade peeces, whereto they tyed goodly braue plumes of feathers of
ſundry colours, and were alſo full of imbrodered arminge coates and caſſockes, with curious
and very riche workes. The ſight of which brauerie did heaue vppe their hartes, and made
them gallant and liuely: ſo as enuy bred ſtraight in them who ſhoulde doe beſt ſeruice, and
no way ſpare for the warres. In deede, ſumptuouſneſſe and brauerie in other ſightes, doth ſe-
cretely cary mens mindes away, and allure them to ſeeke after vanities, which makes them
tender bodied, and womaniſhe perſones: bicauſe this ſweete ticklinge, and intiſinge of the
outwarde ſence that is delighted therewith, doth ſtraight melt and ſoften the ſtrength and D
corage of the minde. But againe, the ſumptuous coſt beſtowed apon warlike furniture, doth
Braue armor incorageth mens mindes to ſerue nobly.
incorage and make great a noble harte. Euen as *Homer* ſayeth it did *Achilles*, when his mo-
ther brought him newe armor and weapons, ſhe hadde cauſed *Vulcan* to make for him, and
layed them at his feete: who ſeeinge them, coulde not tarie, but was ſtraight ſette on fyre
with deſire to occupie them. So when *Philopœmen* hadde brought the youth of ACHAIA to
this good paſſe, to come thus brauely armed and furniſhed into the fielde, he beganne then
to exerciſe them continuallie in armes: wherein they did not onely ſhewe them ſelues obe-
dient to him, but did moreouer ſtriue one to excell an other, and to doe better then their
fellowes. For they liked maruelous well the orderinge of the battell he hadde taught them,
bicauſe that ſtandinge ſo cloſe together as they did, they thought ſurely they coulde hard- E
ly be ouerthrowen. Thus by continuaunce of time, beinge muche vſed to weare their ar-
mor, they founde them a great deale eaſier and lighter then before, beſides the pleaſure they
tooke to ſee their armor ſo braue, and ſo riche: inſomuch as they longed for ſome occaſion
Philopœmen made warres with Machanidas tyran of Lacedæmon.
to trye them ſtraight vppon their enemies. Now the ACHAIANS at that time were at warres
with *Machanidas*, the tyranne of LACEDÆMON, who ſought by all deuiſe he coulde with
a great armie, to become chiefe Lorde of all the PELOPONNESIANS. When newes was
brought that *Machanidas* was come into the contrie of the MANTINIANS, *Philopœmen*
ſtraight marched towardes him with his army: ſo they mett bothe not farre from the citie
of MANTINEA, where by and by they put them ſelues in order of battell. They both hadde
entertayned in paye a great number of ſtraungers to ſerue them, beſides the whole force F
of their contrie: and when they came to ioyne battell, *Machanidas* with his ſtraungers
gaue ſuch a luſtie charge vppon certaine ſlinges and archers being the forlorne hope whome

Philopœmen

A *Philopœmen* had cast of before the battell of the ACHAIANS to beginne the skirmishe, that he ouerthrew them,& made them flie withal. But where he should haue gone on directly against the ACHAIANS that were ranged in battell ray, to haue proued if he could haue broken them: he was very busie, and earnest still, to follow the chase of them that first fled, and so came hard by the ACHAIANS that stoode still in their battel, and kept their ranckes. This great ouerthrow fortuning at the beginning, many men thought the ACHAIANS were but cast away. But *Philopœmen* made as though it had bene nothinge, and that he set light by it, and spying the great fault his enemies made, following the forlorne hope on the spurre, whom they had ouerthrowen, and straying so farre from the battell of their footemen, whome they had left naked, and the field open apon them: he did not make towardes them to stay them, nor did striue to stop B thē that they should not follow those that fled, but suffered thē to take their course. And when he saw that they were gone a good way from their footemen, he made his men marche apon the LACEDÆMONIANS, whose sides were naked, hauing no horsemen to gard them: and so did set vpon them on the one side, and ranne so hastely on them to winne one of their flancks, that he made them flie, and slue withall a great number of them. For it is said, there were foure thousand LACEDÆMONIANS slaine in the field, bicause they had no man to leade them: and moreouer, they say they did not looke to fight, but supposed rather they had wonne the fielde, whē they saw *Machanidas* chasing stil those vpon the spurre, whom he had ouerthrowē. After this, *Philopœmen* retyred to mete *Machanidas*, who came backe from the chase with his straungers. But by chaunce there was a great broade ditch betwene them, so as both of them rode v- C pon the banckes sides of the same, a great while together, one against an other of them: thone side seking some conuenient place to get ouer and flie, & the other side seking meanes to kepe them from starting away. So, to see the one before the other in this sorte, it appeared as they had bene wild beastes brought to an extreamity, to defend them selues by force, from so fierce a hunter as *Philopœmen* was. But whilest they were striuing thus, the tyrans horse that was lusty and coragious, and felt the force of his masters spurres pricking in his sides, that the blood followed after, did venter to leape the ditche, comminge to the banckes side, stoode apon his hindemost legges, and aduaunced forward with his foremost feete, to reach to the other side. Then *Simmias* and *Polyænus*, who were about *Philopœmen* when he fought, ran thither straight to kepe him in with their bore staues that he should not leape the ditche. But *Philopœmen* who D was there before thē, perceiuing that the tyrans horse by lifting vp his head so high, did couer all his maisters body: forsooke by and by his horse, and tooke his speare in both his hands, and thrust at the tyran with so good a will, that he slue him in the ditch. In memory whereof, the ACHAIANS that did highly esteeme this valliant acte of his, and his wisedome also in leadinge of the battell: did set vp his image in brasse, in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, in the forme he slue the tyran. They say, that at the assembly of the common games called Nemea, (which they solemnise in honor of *Hercules*, not farre from the citie of ARGOS) and not long after he had wonne this battell of MANTINEA, being made Generall the seconde time of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, and beinge at good leasure also by reason of the feast: he first shewed all the GREECIANS that were come thither to see the games and pastimes, his army raunging in or- E der of battell, and made them see how easily they remoued their places euery way, as necessity and occasion of fight required, without troublinge or confoundinge their ranckes, and that with a maruelous force & redines. When he had done this, he went into the Theater to heare the musitians play, and sing to their instrumentes, who should winne the best game, being accompanied with lusty young gentlemen apparrelled in purple clokes, and in skarlet coates & cassockes they ware apon their armor, being all in the flower of their youth, and well giuen & disposed: who did greatly honor & reuerence their Captaine, & besides that, shewed thē selues inwardly of noble hartes, being incoraged by many notable battells they had fought, in which they had euer attained the victory, & gotten the vpper hand of their enemies. And by chaūce, as they were entred into the Theater, *Pylades* the musitian, singinge certaine poemes of *Timotheus*, called the *Perses*, fell into these verses. F

O Greekes, it is euen he, vvhich your prosperity
Hath giuen to you: and therevvithall a noble liberty.

Battell fought betwene Philopœmen and Machanidas.

Philopœmen ouercame Machanidas army, tyran of the Lacedæmonians.

Philopœmen slue Machanidas.

When he had ſweetely ſong out alowde theſe noble verſes, paſſingly well made: the whole A aſſembly of the GREECIANS in the Theater, that were gathered thither to ſee the games, caſt all their eyes ſtraight vpon *Philopœmen*, and clapped their handes one to an other for ioy, bicauſe of the great hope they had in him, that through him they ſhoulde ſoone recouer their auncient reputacion, and ſo imagined they poſſeſſed already the noble and worthy mindes of their aunceſters. And as younge horſe that doe alwayes looke to be ridden by their ordinarie riders, if any ſtraunger get vp on their backes, do ſtraight waxe ſtraunge to be handeled, and make great a do: euen ſo, when the ACHAIANS came to any daungerous battell, their hartes were euen done, if they had any other Generall or leader then *Philopœmen*, on whom ſtill they depended and looked. And when they ſawe him euer, the whole army reioyced, and deſired ſtraight to be at it, they had ſuch confidence in his valliantneſſe and good fortune: and truely B not without cauſe. For of all men, their enemies did feare him moſt, and durſt not ſtande before him: bicauſe they were afrayed to heare his name only, as it ſeemed by their doings. For *Philip* kinge of MACEDON, imagining that if he could finde meanes to diſpatche *Philopœmen* out of the way, howſoeuer it were, the ACHAIANS would ſtraight take parte againe with him: ſent men ſecretly into the city of ARGOS, to kill him by treaſon. Howbeit the practiſe was diſcouered, and the king euer after was mortally hated of all the GREECIANS generally, and taken for a cowardly and wicked Prince. It fortuned one day when the BOEOTIANS layed ſiege to the city of MEGARA, and thought certainly to haue wonne it at the firſt aſſault: there roſe a rumor ſodainely amongeſt them, that *Philopœmen* came to aide the city, and was not farre from it with his army. But it was a falſe reporte. Notwithſtandinge, the BOEOTIANS were ſo C ſcared, that for feare they left their ſcaling ladders behinde them, which they had ſet againſt the walls to haue ſcaled the towne, and fled ſtraight to ſaue them ſelues. An other time, when *Nabis* the tyran of LACEDÆMON, that ſucceeded *Machanidas*, had taken the city of MESSINA vppon the ſodaine: *Philopœmen* being then a priuate man, and hauinge no charge of ſouldiers, went vnto *Lyſippus*, General of the ACHAIANS that yere, to perſwade him that he would ſend preſent aide vnto them of MESSINA. *Lyſippus* told him, it was to late now to goe thither, and that it was but a loſt towne, not to be holpen: conſidering the enemies were in it already. *Philopœmen* perceiuing he could not procure him to go, went thither him ſelfe with the force of MESSINA only, not ſtaying for the aſſembly of the MEGALOPOLITANS, that were in coũſell about it, to giue him commiſſion by voyces of the people to take them with him: but they D all willingly followed him, as if he had bene their continuall Generall, and the man that by nature was worthieſt of all other to commaunde them. Now when he came neere vnto MESSINA, *Nabis* hearinge of his comminge, durſt not tary him, though he had his army within the city, but ſtale out at an other gate, and marched away in all the haſt he could, thinking him ſelfe a happy man and he could ſo eſcape his handes, and retyre with ſafety, as in dede he did. And thus was MESSINA, by his meanes, deliuered frõ captiuity. All that we haue written hitherto concerning *Philopœmen*, falleth out doutleſſe to his great honor and glory: but afterwardes he was greatly diſpraiſed for a iorney he made into CRETA, at the requeſt of the GORTYNIANS, who ſent to pray him to be their Captaine, being ſore troubled with warres at that time. Bicauſe *Philopœmen* went then to ſerue the GORTYNIANS, when the tyranne *Nabis* had B greateſt warres with the MEGALOPOLITANS, in their owne contry: they laid it to his charge, either that he did it to flie the warres, or elſe that he ſought honor out of ſeaſon with foreine nations, when his poore citizens the MEGALOPOLITANS were in ſuch diſtreſſe, that their contry being loſt and deſtroyed, they were driuen to keepe them within their city, and to ſow all their voide grounds and ſtreetes in the ſame with corne, to ſuſteine them withall, when their enemies were encamped almoſt hard at their towne gates. And the rather, bicauſe him ſelfe making warres with the CRETANS, and ſeruing ſtraungers beyonde the ſea in the meane time, gaue his enemyes occaſion to ſlaunder him that he fled, that he would not tary to fight for defence of his contry. Againe, there were that ſayd, bicauſe the ACHAIANS did chooſe other for their Generall, that he being a priuate man and without charge, was the rather con- F tented to be Generall of the GORTYNIANS, who had maruelouſly intreated him to take the charge: for he was a man that coulde not abide to liue idlely, and that deſired ſpecially aboue all

The onely name of Philopœmen made the Bœotians flee for feare.

Nabis tyran of Lacedæmon, wanne the city of Meſſina.

Nabis fleeth Philopœmen. Philopœmen deliuered the city of Meſſina from Nabis the tyran of Lacedæmon.

Philopœmenes ſeconde iorney into Creta diſcommended.

A all things to ſerue continually in the warres, and to put in practiſe his skil and diſcipline in the leading of an army. The wordes he ſpake one day of king *Ptolomie* doth witneſſe as much. For when there were ſome that praiſed king *Ptolomie* highly, ſaying that he trained his army well, and that he ſtill continued his perſone in exerciſe of armes: It is not commendable for a king (ſayd he) of his yeares, to delite in traininge his men to exerciſe armes, but to doe ſome acte him ſelfe in perſone. Well, in the ende, the MEGALOPOLITANS tooke his abſcence in ſuch euill parte, that they thought it a peece of treaſon, and would needes haue baniſhed him, and put him from the freedome of the citie: had not the ACHAIANS ſent their Generall *Ariſtænetus* vnto them, who would not ſuffer the ſentence of baniſhment to paſſe againſt him, although otherwiſe there was euer contention betwene them about matters of the common

B wealth. Afterwards, *Philopœmen* perceiuing his contrymen made no more accompt of him, to ſpight them withall, he made diuerſe ſmall villages and cities rebell againſt them, & taught them to ſay, & to giue it out, that they were not their ſubiects, neither payed them tribute from the beginning: and he made them ſtande to it openly, and maintaine their ſedition againſt the city of MEGALIPOLIS, before the councell of the ACHAIANS. Theſe things happened ſhortly after. But whileſt he made warres in CRETA for the GORTYNIANS, he ſhewed not himſelf a PELOPONNESIAN, nor like a man borne in ARCADIA, to make plaine & open warres: but he had learned the maner of the CRETANS, to vſe their owne policies, fine deuiſes, & ambuſhes againſt them ſelues. And made them know alſo, that all their crafts, were but childiſh ſportes as it were: in reſpect of thoſe that were deuiſed, and put in execution, by a wiſe experienced

C Captaine, and skilfull to fight a battell. So, *Philopœmen* hauing wonne great fame by his actes done in CRETA, returned againe to PELOPONNESVS, where he founde, that *Philip* kinge of MACEDON had bene ouercome in battell, by *Titus Quintius Flaminius*: and that the ACHAIANS ioyning with the ROMAINES, did make warre againſt the tyran *Nabis*, againſt whome he was made Generall immediatly vpon his returne, and gaue him battell by ſea. In the which it ſeemed he fell into like misfortune, as *Epaminondas* did: the euent of this battell ſallinge out much worſe with him, then was looked for, in reſpect of his former corage and valliantneſſe. But as for *Epaminondas*, ſome ſay he returned willingly out of ASIA, and the Iles, without any exployte done, bicauſe he would not haue his contrymen fleſhed with ſpoyle by ſea, as fearing leaſt of valliant ſouldiers by lande, they would by litle and litle (as *Plato* ſayd) become diſſolute

D mariners by ſea. But *Philopœmen* contrariwiſe, preſuming vpon the skill he had to ſet the battell in good order by lande, woulde needes take vppon him to do the ſame by ſea. But he was taught to his coſt to knowe what exerciſe and experience ment, and howe ſtronge it maketh them that are practiſed in thinges. For he loſt not onely the battell by ſea, beinge vnskilfull of that ſeruice: but he committed beſides a fowler errour. For that he cauſed an old ſhippe to be rigged, which had bene very good of ſeruice before, but not occupied in forty yeares together, and imbarked his contrymen into the ſame, which were all likely to periſh, bicauſe the ſhippe had diuerſe leakes, by fault of good calking. This ouerthrow made his enemies deſpiſe him vterly, who perſwaded them ſelues he was fled for altogether, and had giuen them ſea roome: whereupon they layed ſiege to the citie of GYTHIVM. *Philopœmen* beinge aduertiſed thereof,

E imbarked his men ſodainely, and ſet vpon his enemies ere they wiſt it, or had any thought of his comming: and founde them ſtraggling vp and downe, without watch or garde, by reaſon of the victory they had lately wonne. So he landed his men cloſely by night, and went and ſet fyre vppon his enemies campe, and burnt it euery whitte: and in this feare and hurly burly, ſlue a great number of them. Shortely after this ſtealing apon them, the tyran *Nabis* alſo ſtole apon him againe vnwares, as he was to goe through a maruelous ill and daungerous way. Which made the ACHAIANS amazed at the firſt, thinkinge it vnpoſſible for them that they could euer ſcape that daunger, conſidering their enemies kept all the wayes thereabouts. But *Philopœmen* bethinking him ſelfe, and conſidering the nature & ſcituacion of the place: after he had viewed it well, he ſhewed them plainly then, that the chiefeſt point of a good ſouldier,

F and man of warre, was to know how to put an army in battell, accordinge to the time and ſcituacion of the place. For he did but alter the forme of his battell a litle, and ſorted it according to the ſcituacion of the place, wherein he was compaſſed: and by doinge this without

Philopœmen made diuerſe cities to rebell againſt the Achaians.

The Cretans, politicke men of warre.

Philopœmen made Generall of the Achaians againſt Nabis.

Philopœmen ouercome by ſea.

Nabis beſiegeth the city of Gythium.

Philopæmen ouercame Nabis, tyran of Lacedæmon, in battell.

trouble or busines, he tooke away all feare of daunger, and gaue a charge vpon his enemies in such fierce wise, that in a shorte time he put thē all to flight. And when he perceiued that they did not flie all in troupes together towardes the city, but scatteringwise, abroade in the fieldes in euery place: he caused the trompet to sound the retreate. Then he commaunded the chase to be followed no further, for that all the contry thereabout was full of thicke woddes and groues, very ill for horsemen: and also bicause there were many brookes, vallies, and quauemyres which they should passe ouer, he encamped him selfe presently, being yet broade day. And so, fearinge least his enemies would in the night time draw vnto the city, one after an other, and by couples: he sent a great number of ACHAIANS, & laid them in ambush amongest the brookes and hilles neere about it, which made great slaughter of *Nabis* souldiers, bicause they came not altogether in troupes, but scatteringly one after an other as they fled, one here, an other there, and so fell into their enemies handes, as birdes into the fowlers net. These acts made *Philopæmen* singularly beloued of the GREECIANS, and they did him great honor in all their Theaters and common assemblies. Whereat *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, of nature very ambitious, and couetous of honor: did much repine, and was enuious at the matter, thinking that a Consul of ROME should haue place & honor amongest the ACHAIANS, before a meane gentleman of ARCADIA. And he imagined he had deserued better of all GREECE, then *Philopæmen* had: considering, howe by the onely proclamation of an heraulde, he had restored GREECE againe to her auncient liberty, which before his comminge was subiect vnto kinge *Philip*, and vnto the MACEDONIANS. Afterwardes, *Titus Quintius* made peace with the tyran *Nabis*. *Nabis* was shortely after very traiterously slaine by the ÆTOLIANS. Whereuppon the citie of SPARTA grew to a tumult, and *Philopæmen* straight taking the occasion, went thither with his army, and handeled the matter so wisely: that partely for loue, and partely by force, he wanne the city, & ioyned it vnto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. So was he maruelously commended and esteemed of the ACHAIANS for this notable victory, to haue wonne their tribe and communalty so famous a city, and of so great estimacion. For the city of SPARTA was no smale encrease of their power, and being ioyned as a member of ACHAIA. Moreouer he wan by this meanes, the loue and good will of all the honest men of LACEDÆMON, of the hope they had to finde him a protector and defender of their liberty. Wherefore, when the tyran *Nabis* house and goodes were solde, as forfitted to the state: they resolued in their counsell to make him a present of the money therof, which amounted to the summe of sixe score talents, and sent Ambassadors purposely vnto him, to offer it him. Then *Philopæmen* shewed himselfe plainely to be no counterfeate honest man, but a good man in deede. For first of all, there was not one of all the LACEDÆMONIANS that durst presume to offer him this money, but euery man was afrayed to tell him of it: and euery body that was appointed to do it, made some excuse or other for them selues. Notwithstandinge, in the ende they made one *Timolaus* to take the matter vpon him, who was his familiar frend, and also his hoste. And yet the same *Timolaus* when he came vnto MEGALIPOLIS, & was lodged & entertained in *Philopæmenes* house, did so much reuerence him for his wise talke and conuersation, for his moderate diet, and iust dealing with all men: that he sawe there was no likely possibility to corrupt him with money, so as he durst not once open his mouth to speake to him of the present he had brought him, but founde some other occasion to excuse the cause of his comminge vnto him. And beinge sent vnto him againe the second time, he did euen as much as at the first time. And making a third proofe, he ventured at the last to open the matter vnto him, and told him the good will the city of SPARTA did beare him. *Philopæmen* became a glad man to heare it: and when he had heard all he had to say to him, he went him selfe vnto the citie of SPARTA. There he declared vnto the counsell, that it was not honest men, and their good frends, they should seeke to winne and corrupt with money, considering they might commaund their vertue vpon any occasion, without cost vnto them: but that they should seeke to bribe naughty men with money, and such as by seditious orations in counsell did mutine, and put a whole citie in vprore: to the ende that hauing their mouthes stopped with giftes, they should trouble them the lesse in the common wealth. For, said he, it is more necessarie to stoppe your enemies mouthes, and to sowe vp their lippes from libertie of speaking: then it is to keepe your frendes from it.

Titus Quintius enuieth Philopæmen.

Nabis slaine by the AEtolians.

Philopæmen free from couetousnes.

Philopæmenes wise counsell to the Lacedæmonians, howe they should bestowe their giftes.

So

A So noble a man was *Philopœmen* against all couetousnesse of money. Shortely after, the LACEDÆMONIANS beginning to stirre againe, *Diophanes* (who was then General of the ACHAIANS) beinge aduertised of it, beganne to prepare to punish them. The LACEDÆMONIANS on the other side preparinge for the warres, did set all the contry of PELOPONNESVS in armes. Hereupon *Philopœmen* sought to pacifie *Diophanes* anger, declaring vnto him, that king *Antiochus*, and the ROMAINES, being at warres together at that present time, and they both hauing puisant armies one against an other in the middest of GREECE: it was meete for a good Generall and wise gouernor, to haue an eye to their doings, to be carefull of the same, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thinge within his contry at that instant, but then rather to dissemble it, and not to seeme to heare any fault whatsoeuer they did. *Diophanes* would

Diophanes & T. Quintius Flaminius do inuade Lacedæmonia.

B not be perswaded, but entred the territories of LACEDÆMON with a great army, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* with him: and they together marched directly towardes the city of SPARTA. *Philopœmen* was so madde with their doings, that he tooke apon him an enterprise not very lawfull, nor altogether iust: neuertheless, his attempt proceeded of a noble minde, and great corage. For he got into the citie of SPARTA, and beinge but a priuate persone, kept out the General of the ACHAIANS, & the Consull of the ROMAINES for entring the city: & when he had pacified all troubles and seditions in the same, he deliuered it vp againe as it was before, into the handes of the communaltie of the ACHAIANS. Neuertheless, him selfe being afterwardes Generall of the ACHAIANS, did compell the LACEDÆMONIANS to receiue those home againe whom they had banished for certaine faultes, and did put foure score naturall

Philopœmenes noble act.

Philopœmenes cruelty to the Spartans.

C borne citizens of SPARTA vnto death, as *Polybius* wryteth. Or three hundred and fifty, as *Aristocrates* an other historiographer reciteth. Then he pulled downe the walles of the city, and rased them to the grounde, and tooke away the most parte of their territories, and gaue them to the MEGALOPOLITANS. All those whome the tyrannes had made free denizens of SPARTA, he compelled them to departe the contry of LACEDÆMON, and forced them to dwell in ACHAIA, three thousand only excepted, who would not obey his commaundement: all those he solde for slaues, and with the money he made of them (to spight them the more) he built a goodly fayer walke within the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. Yet furthermore, to do the LACEDÆMONIANS all the mischiefe he coulde, and as it were, to treade them vnder the feete in their most grieuous misery: he did a most cruell and vniust acte towarde them. For he compelled

Philopœmen made the Spartans forsake Lycurgus law.

D them to leaue the discipline and maner of education of their children, which *Lycurgus* had of olde time instituted: and made them to follow the maner the ACHAIANS vsed, in liew of their olde grounded contry custome, bicause he sawe they would neuer be humble minded, so long as they kept *Lycurgus* order and institucion. Thus were they driuen to put the heades in the choller, by the miserable mishappe that befell them: and in all despight, to suffer *Philopœmen* in this maner to cut a sunder (as it were) the sinewes of their common wealth. But afterwardes they made sute to the ROMAINES, that they might be suffered to enioy their auncient discipline againe, which being graunted them, they straight left the maner of the ACHAIANS, and did set vp againe as much as was possible (after so great miserie and corruption of their maners) their olde auncient customes and orders of their contry. Now about the time the warres

Antiochus solace and mariage at Chalcis.

E beganne in GREECE, betwene the ROMAINES and king *Antiochus*, *Philopœmen* was then a priuate man, and without any authority. He seeinge that kinge *Antiochus* lay still in the citie of CHALCIS, and did nothing but feast and loue, and had maried a younge maide farre vnmeete for his yeres: and perceiuing that his SYRIAN souldiers wandered vp and downe the townes in great disorder, playing many lewde partes without guide of Captaines: he was very sory he was not at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, and tolde the ROMAINES, that he enuied their victory, hauing warres with enemies that were so easily to be ouercome. For (sayd he) if fortune fauored me that I were Generall of the ACHAIANS at this present, I woulde haue killed them euery man in the cellers and tippling houses. Now when the ROMAINES had ouercome *Antiochus*, they beganne to haue surer footing in GREECE: and to compasse in the A-

Philopœmenes counsell against the Romaines.

F CHAIANS of all sides, and specially, by reason the heades and gouernors of the cities about them did yeelde to the ROMAINES, to winne their fauor. And now their greatnesse grewe in hast, by the fauor of the goddes, so as they were become the monarche of the whole worlde,

who brought them nowe to the ende that fortune had determined. *Philopæmen* in the meane A
time did like a good pylot, bare hard againſt the billowes and roughneſſe of their waues: and
though for the time he was forced to giue place, and to let things paſſe, yet for all that he was
againſt the ROMAINES, and did withſtande them in the moſt parte of their proceedinges, by
ſeeking euer to defend the liberty of thoſe, who by their eloquence & well doing caried great
authority among the ACHAIANS. And when *Ariſtænetus* MEGALOPOLITAN, (a man of great
authority among the ACHAIANS, and one that euer bare great deuotion to the ROMAINES)
ſayd in open Senate among the ACHAIANS, that they ſhould deny the ROMAINES nothinge,
nor ſhew them ſelues vnthankefull to them: *Philopæmen* hearing what he ſayd, held his peace
a while, and ſuffered him to ſpeake (though it boyled in his hart, he was ſo angry with him)
and in the ende, breaking all pacience, and as one ouercome with choller, he ſayd. O *Ariſte-* B
netus, why haue you ſuch haſt to ſee the vnfortunate ende of GREECE? An other time, when
Manius, Conſull of ROME (after he had conquered king *Antiochus*) did make requeſt to the
counſell of the ACHAIANS, that ſuch as were baniſhed from LACEDÆMON, might returne
home into their contry againe, and that *Titus Quintius Flaminius* alſo did earneſtly intreate
them: *Philopæmen* was againſt it, not for any hatred he bare vnto the baniſhed men, but bicauſe
he would haue done it by his owne meane, and the only grace of the ACHAIANS, to the ende
they ſhuld not be beholding for ſo good a turne, neither vnto *Titus*, nor yet to the ROMAINES.
Afterwardes he him ſelfe, being Generall of the ACHAIANS, did reſtore them wholly to their
owne againe. Thus was *Philopæmen* ſomtime, a litle to bolde and quarrellous, by reaſon of his
great ſtomake: and ſpecially when any man of authority ſought for to haue thinges. Laſtely, C
beinge three ſcore and tenne yeares of age, he was the eight time choſen Generall of the A-
CHAIANS, and hoped well, not only to paſſe the yeare of his chrage in peace and quietnes, but
alſo all the reſt of his life without any ſturre of new warres, he ſaw the affaires of GREECE take
ſo good ſucceſſe. For like as the force & ſtrength of ſickenes declineth, as the natural ſtrength
of the ſickely body empaireth: ſo through all the cities and people of GREECE, enuy of quar-
rell and warres ſurceaſed, as their power diminiſhed. Neuertheleſſe, in the end of his yeares
gouernment, the goddes diuine (who iuſtly puniſh all inſolent wordes and deedes) threw him
to the grounde, as they ſuffer a ryder vnfortunately to take a fall of his horſe, beinge come al-
moſt to the ende of his cariere. For they wryte, thar he beinge in a place on a time amongeſt
good companie, where one was maruelouſly praiſed for a good Captaine, ſayed vnto them: D
why, maſters, can ye commende him that was contented to be taken priſoner aliue of his ene-
mies? Shortely after came newes that *Dinocrates* MESSENIAN (a priuate enemy of *Philopæ-*
menes for certaine controuerſies paſt betwene them, and a man generally hated beſides, of all
honorable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawen the city of MES-
SINA from the deuotion of the ACHAIANS: and moreouer that he came with an army to take
a towne called COLONIDE. *Philopæmen* was at that time in the city of ARGOS, ſicke of an a-
gew, and yet hearing theſe newes, tooke his iorney toward MEGALIPOLIS, making al the haſt
he could poſſible, ſo that he came aboue foure hundred furlongs that day. Straight he depar-
ted thence toward MESSINA, and taried not, but tooke with him a company of men at armes
of the luſtieſt and wealthieſt MEGALOPOLITANS: who were all young noble men of the ci- E
ty, and willingly offered them ſelues to goe with him for the goodwill they bare him, and for
the deſire they had to follow his valliantnes. Thus went they on their way towards the city of
MESSINA, and marched ſo longe, that they came nere vnto the hill of Euander, where they
met with *Dinocrates* & his cõpany, & gaue ſo fierce an onſet on them, that they made them all
turne taile: howbeit in the meane while, there came a reliefe of fiue hũdred men to *Dinocrates*,
which he had left to keepe the contry of MESSINA. The flying men that were ſcattered here
& there, ſeeing this ſupply, gathered them ſelues againe together, and ſhewed vpon the hills.
Philopæmen fearinge to be enuironned, and being deſirous to bring his men ſafe home againe,
who moſt of loue had followed him: beganne to marche away through narrow buſhy places,
him ſelfe being in the rereward, and turned oftentimes vpon his enemies, & skirmiſhed with F
them, onely to driue them away from followinge of the reſt of his company, and not a man
that durſt once ſet apon him: for they did but cry out aloofe, and wheele as it were about him.

Philopæmen choſen the eight time Generall of the Achaians being 70. yere olde.

Philopæmenes iorney againſt Dinocrates.

Mons Euander.

How-

A Howebeit *Philopœmen* ſundry times venturinge farre from his company, to geue theſe young noble men leaſure to ſaue them ſelues one after an other: tooke no heede to him ſelfe that he was alone, enuironned on euery ſide with a great number of ennemies. Notwithſtandinge, of all his enemies there was not a man that durſt come to hande ſtrokes with him, but ſtill ſlinging and ſhooting at him a farre of, they draue him in the end amongeſt ſtony places betwene hewen rockes, where he had much a doe to guide his horſe, although he had ſpurred him that he was all of a gore blood. And as for his age, that did not lette him but he might haue ſaued him ſelfe, for he was ſtrong and luſty by the continuall exerciſe he tooke: but by curſed happe, his body being weake with ſickenes, and weary with the long iorney he had made that day, he founde him ſelfe very heauy and ill diſpoſed, that his horſe ſtumbling with him, threwe
B him to the grounde. His fall was very great, and bruſed all his head, that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and neuer ſturred nor ſpake: ſo that his enemies thinkinge he had bene dead, came to turne his body to ſtrippe him. But when they ſaw him lift vp his head and open his eyes, then many of them fell all at once apon him, and tooke him, and bounde both his hands behinde him, and did all the villany and miſchiefe they could vnto him, and ſuch, as one would litle haue thought *Dinocrates* would haue vſed in that ſorte, or that he could haue had ſuch an ill thought towardes him. So, they that taried behinde in the city of MESSINA, were maruelous glad when they heard theſe newes, and ranne all to the gates of the city to ſee him brought in. When they ſaw him thus ſhamefully bounde, and pinnioned, againſt the dignity of ſo many honors as he had receiued, and of ſo many triumphes and victories as he had paſ-
C ſed: the moſt parte of them wept for pitie, to conſider the mishappe and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is ſo litle certainety, as in maner it is nothing. Then beganne there ſome curteous ſpeeche to runne in the mouthes of the people by litle and litle, that they ſhould remember the great good he had done vnto them in times paſt, and the liberty he had reſtored them vnto, when he expulſed the tyran *Nabis* out of MESSINA. But there were other againe (howbeit very few) that to pleaſe *Dinocrates*, ſayed they ſhould hang him on a gibbet, and put him to death as a daungerous enemy, and that would neuer forgiue man that had once offended him: and the rather, bicauſe he would be more terrible to *Dinocrates*, then euer he was before, if he eſcaped his hands, receiuing ſuch open ſhame by him. Neuertheles, in the end they caried him into a certen dungeon vnder the ground, called the treaſury, (which had neither
D light nor ayer at all into it, nor dore, nor half dore, but a great ſtone rolled on the mouth of the dungeon) and ſo they did let him downe the ſame, and ſtopped the hole againe with the ſtone, and watched it with armed men for to keepe him. Now when theſe younge noble ACHAIAN horſemen had fled vppon the ſpurre a great way from the enemy, they remembred them ſelues, & looked round about for *Philopœmen*: & finding him not in fight, they ſuppoſed ſtraight he had bene ſlaine. Thereuppon they ſtayed a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiuing he aunſwered not, they beganne to ſay among them ſelues, they were beaſtes and cowardes to flie in that ſorte: and how they were diſhonored for euer ſo to haue forſaken their Captaine, to ſaue themſelues, who had not ſpared his owne life, to deliuer them from daunger. Hereupon ryding on their way, and enquiring ſtill for him: they were in the end aduerti-
E ſed how he was taken. And then they went & caried thoſe newes through all the townes and cities of ACHAIA, which were very ſory for him, and tooke it as a ſigne of great ill fortune toward them. Wherupon they agreed to ſend Ambaſſadors forthwith to the MESSENIANS, to demaunde him: and in the meane time euery man ſhould prepare to arme them ſelues, to go thither, and get him either by force or loue. When the ACHAIANS had thus ſent, *Dinocrates* feared nothing ſo much, as that delay of time might ſaue *Philopœmenes* life: wherefore to preuent it, as ſoone as night came, and that the people were at reſt, he ſtraight cauſed the ſtone to be rolled from the mouth of the dungeon, and willed the hangman to be let downe to *Philopœmen* with a cuppe of poiſon to offer him, who was commaunded alſo not to goe from him,
F vntill he had dronke it. When the hangman was come downe, he found *Philopœmen* layed on the grounde apon a litle cloke, hauinge no liſt to ſleepe, he was ſo grieuouſly troubled in his minde. Who when he ſawe light, and the man ſtanding by him, holding a cuppe in his hande with this poiſon, he ſate vpright vpon his cowch, howbeit with great paine he was ſo weake:

Philopœmenes misfortune.

Philopœmen taken.

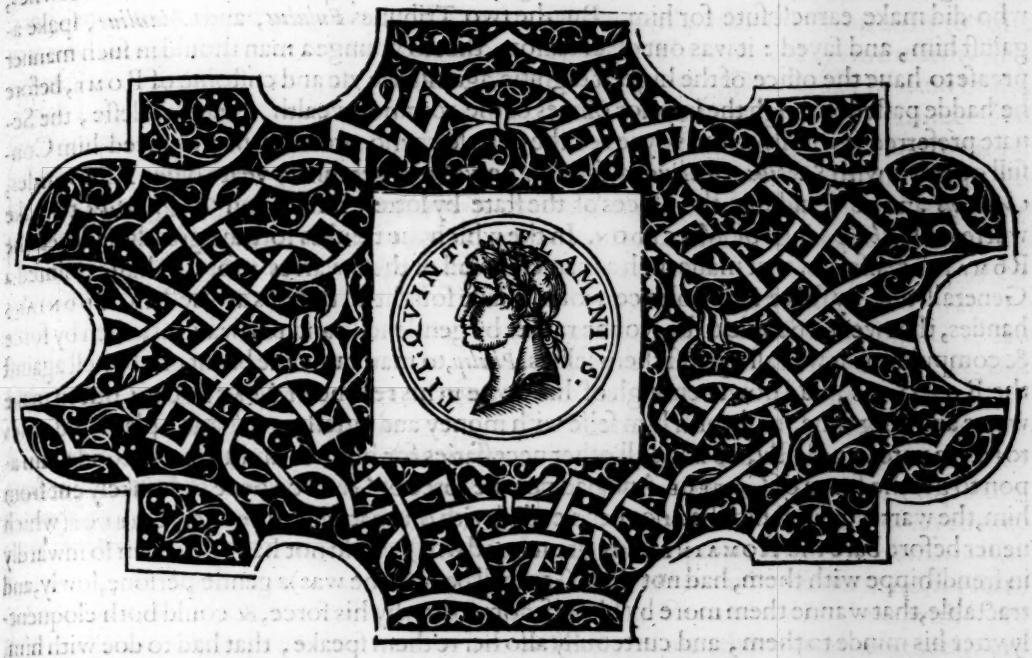
Philopœmen poyſoned by Dinocrates.

and taking the cuppe in his hande, asked the hangman if he heard any newes of the horsemen A
that came with him, and specially of *Lycortas*. The hangman made him answer, that the most
of them were saued. Then he cast his handes a litle ouer his head, and looking merely on him
Philopœmenes last words. he sayd: it is well, seeing we are not all vnfortunate. Therewith speaking no moe wordes, nor
makinge other a doe, he droncke vp all the poison, and layed him downe as before. So nature
straue not much withall, his body being brought so lowe, and thereupon the poison wrought
Philopœmenes death. his effect, and rid him straight out of his paine. The newes of his death ran presently through
all ACHAIA, which generally from high to low was lamented. Whereupon all the ACHAIAN
The Achaiãs did renenge Philopœmenes death. youth and counsellors of their cities and townes, assembled them selues in the city of MEGA-
LIPOLIS, where they all agreed without delay to reuenge his death. They made *Lycortas* their
Generall, vnder whose conduct they inuaded the MESSENIANS, with force and violence, B
puttinge all to the fire and sword: so as the MESSENIANS were so feared with this mercilesse
fury, that they yelded them selues, and wholly consented to receiue the ACHAIANS into their
Dinocrates slue him selfe. city. But *Dinocrates* would not giue them leasure to execute him by iustice, for he killed him
selfe: and so did all the rest make themselues away, who gaue aduise that *Philopœmen* should be
put to death. But those that would haue had *Philopœmen* hanged on a gibbet, *Lycortas* caused
thẽ to be taken, which afterwards were put to death with all kind of tormẽts. That done, they
Philopœmenes funerall. burnt *Philopœmenes* body, and did put his ashes into a pot. Then they straight departed from
MESSINA, not in disorder, one apon an others necke as euery man listed: but in such an order
and ray, that in the middest of these funeralles they did make a triumphe of victorie. For the
souldiers were all crowned with garlandes of lawrell in token of victory, notwithstanding, the C
teares ranne downe their cheekes in token of sorowe, and they led their enemies prisoners,
shackled and chained. The funerall pot in the which were *Philopœmenes* ashes, was so couered
with garlandes of flowers, nosegaies, and laces, that it could scant be seene or discerned, and
was caried by one *Polybius* a young man, the sonne of *Lycortas*, that was Generall at that time
to the ACHAIANS: about whom there marched all the noblest and chiefest of the ACHAIANS,
and after them also followed all the souldiers armed, and their horses very well furnished. The
rest, they were not so sorowfull in their countenance, as they are commonly which haue great
cause of sorow; nor yet so ioyful, as those that came conquerers from so great a victory. Those
of the cities, townes, and villages in their way as they past, came and presented them selues
vnto them, to touche the funerall pot of his ashes, euen as they were wont to take him by the D
hande, and to make much of him when he was returned from the warres: and did accompany
his conuoy vnto the city of MEGALIPOLIS. At the gates whereof, were olde men, women,
and children, which thrustinge them selues amongest the souldiers, did renewe the teares, sorowes, and lamentacions of all the miserable and vnfortunate city: who tooke it that they had
lost with their citizen, the first and chiefest place of honor among the ACHAIANS. So he was
buried very honorably as appertained vnto him: and the other prisoners of MESSINA, were
all stoned to death, about his sepulchre. All the other cities of ACHAIA, besides many other
honors they did vnto him, did set vp statues, and as like to him, as could be counterfeated. Afterwards in the vnfortunate time of GREECE, when the city of CORINTHE was burnt and de-
stroied by the ROMAINES, there was a malicious ROMAINE that did what he could to haue the E
same pulled downe againe, by burdening & accusing *Philopœmen* (as if he had bene aliue) that
he was alwaies enemy to the ROMAINES, and enuied much their prosperity and victories. But
after *Polybius* had aunswered him: neither the Consul *Mummius*, nor his counsellers, nor lieu-
Note the humanity of the Romaines, keepinge their enemies monuments from defacing. tenaunts, would suffer them to deface & take away the honors done in memory of so famous
& worthy a mã, although he had many waies done much hurt vnto *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, & C
vnto *Manius*. So, these good men then made a differẽce betwene duety & profit: & did thinke
honesty & profit two distinct things, and so separated one from the other, according to reason
and iustice. Moreouer they were perswaded, that like as men receiue curtesie and goodnes of
any, so are they bound to requite them againe, with kindenes and duety. And as men vse to ac-
knowledge the same: euen so ought men to honor and reuerence vertue. And thus much for F
the life of *Philopœmen*.

The ende of Philopœmenes life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Titus Quintius Flaminius.



IT is easie to see *Titus Quintius Flaminius* forme, and ſtature, by *Philopœmenes* ſtatue of braſſe, to whome we compare him: the which is now ſet vppe at Rome, neere to great *Apollo* that was brought from Carthage, and is placed right againſt the comming in to the ſhow place, vnder which there is an inſcription in Greeke letters. But for his nature and conditions, they ſay of him thus: he would quickely be angry, and yet very ready to pleaſure men againe. For, if he did puniſh any man that had angered him, he would do it gently, but his anger did not long continew with him. He did good alſo to many, and euer loued them whom he had once pleaſured, as if they had done him ſome pleaſure: & was ready to do for them ſtill whom he founde thankefull, bicauſe he would euer make them beholding to him, and thought that as honorable a thinge, as he could purchaſe to him ſelfe. Bicauſe he greatly ſought honor aboue all thinges, when any notable ſeruice was to be done, he would do it him ſelfe, and no man ſhould take it out of his hand. He would euer be rather with them that needed his helpe, then with thoſe that could helpe him, or do him good. For, the firſt he eſteemed as a meane to exerciſe his vertue with: the other, he tooke them as his fellowes and followers of honor with him. He came to mans ſtate, when the citie of Rome had greateſt warres and trouble. At that time all the youth of Rome, which were of age to cary weapon, were ſent to the warres to learne to traile the pyke, and how to become good Captaines. Thus was he entred into marſhall affaires, and the firſt charge he tooke, was in the warre againſt *Hannibal* of Carthage, where he was made Colonell of a thouſande footemen, vnder *Marcellus* the conſull: who being ſlaine by an ambuſh *Hannibal* had layed for him betwene the cities of Bantia, and Venuſia, then they did chooſe *Titus Quintius Flaminius* gouernor of the prouince and city of Tarentum, which was now taken againe the ſeconde time. In this gouernment of his, he warine the reputacion as much of a good and iuſt man, as he did of an expert and skilfull Captaine. By reaſon whereof, when the Romaines were requeſted to ſend men to inhabite the cities of Narnia & Coſſa, he was appointed the chiefe leader of them, which chiefely gaue him hart and corage to aſpire at the firſt to the Conſulſhippe, paſſinge

Titus Quintius firſt charge in warre.

Degrees of offices before one came to be Consull.

ouer all other meane offices, as to be Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, by which (as by degrees) other younge men were wont to attaine the Consulshippe. Therefore when the time came that the Consulls should be elected, he did present him selfe amonge other, accompanied with a great number of those he hadde brought with him, to inhabite the two newe townes, who did make earnest sute for him. But the two Tribunes *Fuluius*, and *Manlius*, spake against him, and sayed: it was out of all reason, that so younge a man should in such manner prease to haue the office of the highest dignitie, against the vse and custome of Rome, before he hadde passed through the inferior offices of the common wealth. Neuertheless, the Senate preferred it wholly to the voyces of the people: who presently pronounced him Consull openly, with *Sextius AElius*, although he was not yet thirtie yeare olde. Afterwardes,

T. Q. Flaminius, Sextius AElius Consulls.

AElius and he deuidinge the offices of the state by lotte: it fell apon *T. Quintius* to make warre with *Philip* kinge of Macedon. In the which me thinkes fortune greatly fauored the Romaines affaires, that made such a man Generall of these warres: for, to haue pointed a Generall that by force and violence woulde haue sought all thinges at the Macedonians handes, that were a people to be wonne rather by gentleneesse and perswasions, then by force & compulsion: it was all against them selues. *Philip*, to maintaine the bront of a battell against the Romaines, had power enough of his owne in his realme of Macedon: but to make warre any long time, to furnish him selfe with money and vittailes, to haue a place and cities to retyre vnto, and lastly, to haue all other necessaries for his men and army: it stoode him apon to get the force of Greece. And had not the force of Greece bene politickely cut from him, the warres against him had not bene ended with one battell. Moreouer, Greece (which neuer before bare the Romaines any great good will) would not haue delt then so inwardly in frendshippe with them, had not their Generall bene (as he was) a gentle persone, lowly, and tractable, that wanne them more by his wisedome, then by his force, & could both eloquently vtter his minde to them, and curteously also heare them speake, that had to doe with him, and chiefely, ministred iustice and equity to euery man a like. For it is not to be thought that Greece would otherwise so soone haue withdrawen them selues from the rule of those, with whome they were acquainted, and gouerned: and haue put them selues vnder the rule of straungers, but that they saw great iustice and lenity in them. Howbeit that may more plainly appeare, by declaring of his actes. *Titus* was informed, that the Generalls before him sent to the warre in Macedon (as *Sulpitius*, and *Publius Iulius*) vsed to come thither about the later end of the yeare, and made but cold warres, and certaine light skirmishes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in an other against *Philip*, and all to take some straite, or to cut of vittells: which he thought was not his way to follow their example. For they tarying at home, consumed the most of their Consulshippe at Rome, in matters of gouernment, and so enioyed the honor of their office. Afterwardes in the end of their yeare, they would set out to the warres, of intent to get an other yeare ouer their heades in their office, that spending one yere in their Consulship at home, they might employ the other in the warres abroade. But *Titus* not minding to trifle out the halfe of his Consulshippe at Rome, and the other abroade in the warres: did willingly leaue all his honors and dignities he might haue enioyed by his office at Rome, and besought the Senate that they would appoint his brother *Lucius Quintius* Lieutenant of their army by sea. Furthermore, he tooke with him selfe about three thousande olde souldiers of those that had first ouerthrowen *Asdrubal* in Spayne, & *Hannibal* afterwardes in Africke, vnder the conduct of *Scipio*, which yet were able to serue, and were very willinge to goe with him in this iorney, to be the strength of his army. With this companie he passed the seaes without daunger, and landed in Epirvs, where he found *Publius Iulius* encamped with his army before kinge *Philip*, who of longe time had lien in campe about the mouth of the riuer of Apsus, to kepe the straight and passage which is the entry into Epirvs. So that *Publius Iulius* had lien still there, and done nothing, by reason of the naturall force and hardnes of the place. Then *Titus* tooke the army of him, and sent him to Rome. Afterwards, him selfe went in persone to view and consider the nature of the contry, which was in this sorte. It is a longe valley walled on either side with great high mountaines, as those which shut in the valley of Tempe in Thessalie. Howbeit it had no such goodly woods, nor grene forrests, nor fayer medowes,

Titus curtesie wanne the Greecians more then his force.

T. Q. landed in Epirus. Apsus flu.

The descripsiō of the contry of Epirus.

A nor other like places of pleasure, as the other side had : but it was a great deepe marrishe or quauemyre, through the middest whereof the riuer called Apsus did runne, being in greatnes and swiftnes of streame, very like to the riuer of Peneus. The riuer did occupie all the ground at the feete of the mountaines, sauing a litle way that was cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand, and a narrow straight pathe by the waters side, very vnhandesome for an army to passe that way, though they foūd not a man to keepe the passage. There were some in the army that counselled *Titus* to fetche a great compasse about by the contry of DASSARETIDE, and by the city of LYNCVS, where the contry is very plaine, and the way maruelous easie. Howebeit he stoode in great feare he should lacke vittells, if he stayed farre from the sea, and happely if he fell into any barren or leane contry, (*Philip* refusing the battel, and purposing to flie) he should B be constrained in the end to returne againe towardes the sea, without doing any thing, as his predecessor had done before. Wherefore he determined to crosse the mountaines to set vpon his enemy, and to proue if he could winne the passage by force. Now *Philip* kept the top of the mountaines with his army, and when the ROMAINES forced to get vp the hilles, they were receiued with dartes, slings, and shot, that lighted amongest them here & there: insomuch as the skirmish was very hot for the time it lasted, and many were slayne and hurt on either side. But this was not the ende of the warre. For in the meane time there came certaine neateherdes of the contry vnto *Titus* (who did vse to keepe beastes on these mountaines) and tolde him they could bring him a way which they knew the enemies kept not: by the which they promised to guide his army so, that in three dayes at the furtheest, they would bringe them on the top of the C mountaine. And bicause they might be assured that their wordes were true, they sayed they were sent to him by *Charopus*, the sonne of *Machatas*. This *Charopus* was the chiefest man of the EPIROTS, who loued the ROMAINES very well, yet he fauored them but vnder hand, for feare of *Philip*. *Titus* gaue credit vnto them, and so sent one of his Captaines with them, with foure thousand footemen, and three hundred horsemen. The heard men that were their guides, went before still, fast bounde: and the ROMAINES followed after. All the day time the army rested in thicke woddes, and marched all night by moone light, which was then by good happe at the ful. *Titus* hauing sent these men away, rested all the rest of his campe: sauing that some daies he entertayned them with some light skirmishes to occupy the enemy withall. But the same day, when his men that fetched a compasse about, shoulde come vnto the top of the mountaine a- D boue the campe of his enemies, he brought all his army out of the campe by breake of day, & deuided them into three troupes, with the one of them he himselfe went on that side of the riuer where the way is straightest, making his bands to march directly against the side of the hil. The MACEDONIANS againe, they shot lustely at them from the height of the hill, and in certen places amongest the rockes they came to the sworde. At the selfe same time, the two other troupes on either hande of him did their endeuor likewise to get vp the hill, and as it were enuying one an other, they climed vp with great corage against the sharpe and steepe hanginge of the mountaine. When the sunne was vp, they might see a farre of as it were, a certen smoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the mistes we see cōmonly rise from the tops of the mountaines. The enemies could see nothing, bicause it was behinde them, & that the top E of the mountaine was possessed with the same. The ROMAINES, though they were not assured of it, did hope being in the middest of the fight, that it was their fellowes they looked for. But when they saw it increased stil more, & more, & in such sorte, that it darkened all the ayer: then they did assure them selues it was certainely the token their men did giue them that they were come. Then they beganne to crie out, clyminge vp the hills with such a lusty corage, that they draue their enemies vp the hill still, euen vnto the very rough and hardest places of the mountaine. Their fellowes also that were behind the enemies, did aunswer thē with like lowde cries from the top of the moūtaine: wherwith the enemies were so astonied, that they fled presently apō it. Nothwithstāding, there were not slaine aboue two thousand of thē, bicause the hardnes & straightnes of the place did so gard them, that they could not be chased. But the ROMAINES F spoiled their campe, tooke all that they found in their tents, tooke also their slaues, & wan the passage into the moūtaines, by the which they entred the cōtry of EPIRVS: & did passe through it so quietly, & with so great abstinēce, that though they were farre from their ships & the sea,

Charopus (Machatas sonne) the chiefe man of the Epirots.

T. Q. possessed the straighter of the mountaine.

The Macedonians flee.

& lacked their ordinary portion of corne which they were wont to haue monthely, & that victells were very ſcant with thē at that time, yet they neuer tooke any thing of the cōtry, though they founde great ſtore & plenty of all riches in it. For *Titus* was aduertiſed, that *Philip* paſſing by THESSALIE, and flying for feare, had cauſed the inhabitants of the cities to get them to the mountaines, & then to ſet fire on their houſes, & to leaue thoſe goodes they could not cary away, by reaſon of the weight & vnhandſome cariage therof, to the ſpoyle of his ſouldiers: & ſo (as it ſeemed) he left the whole contry to the conqueſt of the ROMAINES. Whereuppon *Titus* looking cōſideratly to his doings, gaue his men great charge to paſſe through the contry without doing any hurt or miſchief, as the ſame which their enemies had now left to them as their owne. So they taried not long to enioy the benefit of their orderly and wiſe forbearing of the contry. For, ſo ſoone as they were entred THESSALIE, the cities willingly yeelded them ſelues vnto them: & the GREECIANS inhabiting beyond the contry of THERMOPYLES, did maruelouſly deſire to ſee *Titus*, asking no other thing, but to put them ſelues into his hands. The ACHAIANS alſo on the other ſide, did renoūce the league & alliance they had made with *Philip* and furthermore did determine in their counſell, to make warre with him on the ROMAINES ſide. And although the ÆTOLIANS were at that time frendes and confederates with the ROMAINES, & that they did ſhew thē ſelues very louing to take their parte in theſe warres: neuertheles when they deſired the OPVNTIANS that they would put their city into their hands, and were offred that it ſhould be kept & defended frō *Philip*: they would not harkē therto, but ſent for *Titus*, & put thē ſelues & their goods wholly into his protection. They ſay, that when king *Pyrrus* firſt ſaw the ROMAINES army range in order of battel from the top of a hill, he ſaid: this order of the barbarous people, ſetting of their men in battell ray, was not done in a barbarous maner. And thoſe alſo that neuer had ſeene *Titus* before, & came for to ſpeake with him: were compelled in a manner to ſay as much. For where they had hearde the MACEDONIANS ſay, that there came a Captaine of the barbarous people that deſtroyed all before him by force of armes, & ſubdued whole contries by violence: they ſayd to the contrary, that they found him a man, in dede young of yeres, howbeit gentle, & curteous to looke on, & that ſpake the Greeke tongue excellētly wel, & was a louer only of true glory. By reaſon wherof they returned home maruelous glad, & filled all the cities & townes of GREECE with goodwill towardes him, and ſayd: they had ſeene *Titus* the Captaine, that would reſtore them to their auncient libertie againe. Then it much more appeared, when *Philip* ſhewed him ſelfe willing to haue peace, and that *Titus* alſo did offer it him, and the frendſhippe of the people of ROME, with theſe conditions: that he would leaue the GREECIANS their whole liberties, & remoue his garriſons out of their cities and ſtrong holdes: which *Philip* refuſed to do. And thereupon all GREECE, and euen thoſe which fauored *Philip*, ſayed with one voyce: that the ROMAINES were not come to make warres with them, but rather with the MACEDONIANS in fauor of the GREECIANS. Wherupon all GREECE came in, & offred them ſelues vnto *Titus* without cōpulſion. And as he paſſed through the contry of BOEOTIA, without any ſhew at al of warres, the chiefeſt mē of the city of THEBES wēt to mete him: who though they tooke part with the king of MACEDON, bicauſe of a priuate mā called *Brachylelis*, yet they would honor *Titus*, as thoſe which were cōtented to keepe league & frendſhip with either ſide. *Titus* embraced them, & ſpake very curteouſly vnto thē, going on his way ſtil fayer & ſoftly, entertaining thē ſomtime with one matter, & ſomtime with an other, & kept them talke of purpoſe, to the end his ſouldiers being wearied with iornying, might in the meane time take good breath: & ſo marching on, by litle & litle, he entred into the city with thē. Wherewith the Lords of THEBES were not greatly pleaſed, but yet they durſt not refuſe him, thogh he had not at that time any nūber of ſouldiers about him. Whē he was within THEBES, he praied audiēce, & began to perſwade the people (as carefully as if he had not had the city already) that they woulde rather take parte with the ROMAINES, then with the king of MACEDON. And to further *Titus* purpoſe, king *Attalus* being by chaūce at that time in the aſſembly, did help to exhort the THEBANS very earneſtly, that they would doe as *Titus* perſwaded them. But *Attalus* was more earneſt then became a man of his yeares, for the deſire he had (as was imagined) to ſhewe *Titus* his eloquence: who did ſo ſtraine and moue him ſelfe withall, that he ſounded ſodaynely in the middeſt of his oration, whereby the

Philips flying king of Macedon.

T. Q. Flaminius modeſty, forbearing ſpoyle: wanne him many frendes.

Pyrrus ſaying of the Romaines army.

King Attalus death.

rewme

A rewme fell downe ſo faſt vppon him, that it tooke away his ſences, ſo as he fell in a traunſe before them all, and few dayes after was conueyed againe by ſea into ASIA, where he liued not lõg after. In the meane time, the BOEOTIANS came into the ROMAINES, & tooke their parte. And *Philip* hauing ſent Ambaſſadors to ROME, *Titus* alſo ſent thither of his men to ſolicite for him, in two reſpects. The one, if the warres continued againſt *Philip*, that then they would prolong his time there. The other, if the Senate did graunt him peace: that they would do him the honor, as to make and conclude it with *Philip*. For *Titus* of his owne nature being very ambitious, did feare leaſt they would ſend a ſucceſſor to continew thoſe warres, who ſhould take the glory from him, and make an end of them. But his frends made ſuch earneſt ſute for him, that neither king *Philip* attained that he prayed: neither was there ſent any other generall in *Titus*

B place, but he ſtill continued his charge in theſe warres. Wherfore, ſo ſoone as he had receiued his cõmiſſion & authority from the Senate, he went ſtraight towards THESSALIE, with great hope to ouercome *Philip*. For he had in his army aboue ſix & twenty thouſand fighting men, whereof the ÆTOLIANS made ſix thouſand footemen, and three thouſande horſemen. King *Philips* army on thother ſide was no leſſe in number, & they began to march one towards the other, vntill at the length they both drew neere the city of SCOTVSA, where they determined to try the battell. So, neither they nor their men were afraid, to ſee them ſelues one ſo neere an other: but rather to the contrary, the ROMAINES on the one ſide tooke greater hart & corage vnto them, deſiring to fight, as thinking with themſelues what great honor they ſhould win to

C ouercome the MACEDONIANS, who were ſo highly eſteemed for their valliantnes, by reaſon of the famous acts that *Alexander* the great did by them. And the MACEDONIANS on the other ſide alſo, taking the ROMAINES for other maner of ſouldiers then the PERSIANS, began to haue good hope if they might winne the field, to make king *Philip* more famous in the world, then euer was *Alexander* his father. *Titus* thẽ calling his men together, ſpake, & exhorted thẽ to ſtand to it like men, & to ſhow thẽſelues valliant ſouldiers in this battel, as thoſe which were to ſhew the proofe of their valliantneſſe in the hart of GREECE, the goodlieſt Theater of the world, & againſt their enemies of moſt noble fame. *Philip* then by chaunce, or forced to it by the ſpede he made, bicauſe they were both ready to ioyne: did get vp vnwares vpon a charnell houſe, (where they had buried many bodies, being a litle hill raiſed vp aboue the reſt, & neere

D the trenches of his campe) and there began to encorage his ſouldiers, as all generals do before they giue battel. Who when he ſaw them all diſcoraged, for they tooke it for an il ſigne that he was gotten vp on the top of a graue to ſpeake vnto them: he of a conceite at the matter, did of himſelfe deferre to giue battell that day. The next morning, bicauſe the night was very wet by reaſon the ſowthewindes had blowen, the clowds were turned to a miſte, & filled all the valley with a darke groſſe thicke ayer, cõming from the mountaines thereabouts, which couered the field betwene both campes with a miſt all the morning: by reaſon wherof the skowtes on both ſides that were ſent to diſcouer what the enemies did, in very ſhorte time met together, & one gaue charge vpon an other in a place they call the dogges heads, which are pointes of rockes placed vpon litle hills one before an other, and very nere one vnto an other: which haue bene called ſo, bicauſe they haue had ſome likenes of it. In this skirmiſh there were many chaũges,

E as cõmonly falleth out when they fight in ſuch ill fauored ſtony places. For ſometime the ROMAINES fled, and the MACEDONIANS chaſed them: an other time the MACEDONIANS that followed the chaſe, were glad to fly themſelues, & the ROMAINES who fled before, nowe had thẽ in chaſe. This chaunge & alteracion came by ſending new ſupplies ſtil from both campes, to relieue them that were diſtreſſed & driuen to flie. Now began the miſte to breake vp, & the ayer to clere: ſo that both generals might ſee about thẽ what was done in either campe: by reaſon wherof both of thẽ drew on their army to the field & battel. So *Philip* had the vantage on the right wing of his army, which was placed on the height of an hanging hill frõ which they came for a maine to ſet vpon the ROMAINES, & with ſuch a fury, that the ſtrõgeſt & valliantest that could be, had neuer bene able to abide the front of their battel, ſo cloſely were they ioined

F together, & their wall of pykes was ſo ſtrõg. But on his left wing it was not ſo, bicauſe the rãcks of his battel could not ioyne ſo nere nor cloſe target to targer, the place being betwixt the hills & the rockes where the battel was cõming ſo as they were cõpelled by reaſõ of the ſtraightnes

The Bœotians yeld vnto the Romaines.

Quintius army.

King Philip and Quintius met with their armies neere Scotuſa.

Battell betwene Quintius and Philip kinge of Macedon.

& vneuennes of the ground, to leaue it open, & vnfurnished in many places. *Titus* finding that A
disaduãtage, went frõ the left wing of his battel which he saw ouerlaid by the right wing of his
enemies, & going sodainly toward the left wing of king *Philips* battell, he set vpon the MACEDONIANS on that side, where he saw they could not close their ranckes in the front, nor ioyne
them together in the middest of the battel (which is the whole strength & order of the MACEDONIAN fight) bicause the field was vp hill & downe hill: & to fight hand to hand they were so
pestered behind, that one thronged & ouerlaid an other. For the battel of the MACEDONIANS
hath this property, that so lõg as the order is kept close & ioyned together, it semeth as it were
but the body of a beast of a force inuincible. But also after that it is once open, & that they are
sundered & not ioyned together, it doth not only loose the force & power of the whole body,
but also of euery priuate souldier that fighteth: partly by reason of the diuersity of the weapons B
wherewith they fight, & partely for that their whole strength consisteth most, in the disposing
& ioyning together of their ranckes & orders which doth stay vp one an other, more thẽ doth
euery priuate souldiers strength. So when this left wing of the MACEDONIANS was broken, &
that they ran their way: one parte of the ROMAINES followed the chase, & the other ranne to
giue a charge vppon the flanckes of the right winge which fought yet, and they made great
slaughter of them. Whereupon they now which before had the vantage, beganne to stagger
and breake, & in the ende ranne away as fast as the other did, throwing downe their weapons:
insomuch as there were slaine of them eight thousande in the fielde, and fiue thousande taken
prisoners in the chase. And had not the fault bene in the ÆTOLIANS, *Philip* had not saued him
selfe by flyinge as he did. For whileste the ROMAINES had their enemies in chase, the ÆTOLI- C
ANS taried, and rifled all kinge *Philips* campe, so as they had left the ROMAINES nothinge to
spoyle at their returne. Whereupon there grew great quarrell, & hot words betwene them, &
one with an other. But afterwardes they angered *Titus* worse, chalenginge the honor of this
victory to thẽ selues, bicause they gaue it out through GREECE, that they alone had ouerthro-
wen king *Philip* in the battell. So that in the songs and ballets the Poets made in praise of this
victory, which euery cõtry & townes man had in his mouth: they alwaies put the ÆTOLIANS
before the ROMAINES, as in this that followeth, which was currantly song in euery place.

Quintius ouercame Philippes army.

Mutinie betwixt the AEtolians & the Romaines.

Oh frend, vvhich passest by: here lye vve vvretched pheares,
VVithouten honor of the graue, vvithout lamenting teares.
VVe thirty thousand vvere, vvhich ended haue our dayes: D
In cruell coasts of Thessalie, vvhich caused our decayes.
VVe haue bene ouerthrovven by th'AEtolians men of vvarre:
And by the Latine crevves like vvrise, vvhom Titus led from farre.
Euen out of Italie, to Macedonie lande,
Vs to destroy, he (captaine like) did come vvith mighty bande.
And Philip stovvte, therevvhiles for all his provvde fierce face:
Is fled more svviftly, then hartes doe runne, vvhich are pursued in chace.

Alcæus verses in disgrace of kinge Philip.

The Poet was *Alcæus* that made these verses for to singe, who did them in disgrace of kinge *Philip*, falsely increasinge the number of his men which died in the battell, only to shame and spite him the more: howbeit he spited *Titus* thereby, more then *Philip*, bicause it was song in E
euery place. For *Philip* laughed at it, & to encounter him againe with the like mocke, he made a song to counterfeate his, as followeth.

Philips verses against Alcæus.

This gibbet on this hill, vvhich passers by may marke:
VVas set to hang Alcæus vp, vvithouten leaues or barke.

Privy grudge betwixt Quintius and the AEtolians.

But *Titus* tooke it greuously, who chiefly desired to be honored amongest the GREECIANS, by reason whereof from that time forwards he dealt in the rest of his matters alone, without ma-
king accompt of the ÆTOLIANS: wherwith they were maruelous angry, & specially when he
receiued an Ambassador from *Philip*, and gaue eare vnto a treaty of peace which he offred. For
then they were so netled against him, that they gaue it out through all GREECE, that *Titus* F
had solde peace vnto *Philip*, when he might altogether haue ended the warre, and vtterly haue
destroyed *Philips* whole power and Empire, who had first brought GREECE into bondage.
These slaunderous reports & false tales which the ÆTOLIANS spred thus abroade, did much

trouble

A trouble the Romaines frendes and confederates: but *Philip* ſelfe pulled this ſuſpicion out of their heades, when he came in perſon to require peace, and did ſubmit him ſelfe wholly to the diſcretion of *Titus* and the Romaines. *Titus* then graunted him peace, and deliuered to him his realme of Macedon, and commaunded him he ſhoulde giue ouer all that he helde in Greece, and beſides, that he ſhould pay one thouſande talents for tribute, taking from him all his army by ſea, ſauing only tenne ſhippes: and for aſſurance of this peace, he tooke one of his ſonnes for hoſtage, whome he ſent to Rome. Wherein *Titus* certainely did very well, and wiſely did foreſee the time to come. For then *Hanniball* of Carthage, (the great enemy of the Romaines) was baniſhed out of his contry, and commen to kinge *Antiochus*, whome he put in the head, and earneſtly moued, to follow his good fortune, and the increaſe of his Em-

B pire. Whom *Hanniball* ſo followed with theſe perſwaſions, that kinge *Antiochus* at length was come to it. And truſting to his former good ſucceſſe, and notable acts, whereby in the warres before he had attained the ſurname of great: he began now to aſpire to the monarchy of the whole world, & ſought how to finde occaſion to make warres with the Romaines. So that if *Titus* (foreſeeing that a far of) had not wiſely inclined to peace, but that the wars of *Antiochus* had fallen out together with the warres of king *Philip*, and that theſe two the mightieſt Princes of the worlde had ioyned together againſt the city of Rome: then it had bene in as great trouble and daunger, as euer it was before, in the time of their warres againſt *Hannibal*. Howbeit *Titus* hauinge happely thruſt in this peace betwene both warres, he cut of the warre that was preſent, before the other that was comminge: by which meanes he tooke from one

C of the kinges his laſt, and from the other his firſt hope. In the meane time, the tenne commiſſioners that were ſent by the Senate from Rome to *Titus*, to aide and aſſiſt him in the order of the affaiers of Greece: did counſell him to ſet all the reſt of Greece at liberty, and onely to kepe in their handes with good garriſon, the cities of Chalcide, of Corinthe, and of Demetriade, to make ſure that by practiſe they ſhould not enter into league and alliance with *Antiochus*. Then the Ætolians (that were the common ſlaunderers of *Titus* proceedinges) beganne openly to make theſe cities to rebell, and did ſummone *Titus* to looſe the chaines of Greece: for ſo did kinge *Philip* call theſe three cities. Then they asked the Greecians in mockery, whether they were willing now to haue heauier fetters on their legges, then before, being ſomwhat brighter and fayrer then thoſe they had bene ſhackled with: and alſo whether

D they were not greatly beholding to *Titus* for taking of the fetters from the Greecians legs, and tyinge them about their neckes. *Titus* beinge maruelouſly troubled and vexed with this, moued the tenne counſellers ſo earneſtly, that he made them graunt his requeſt in the ende, that thoſe three cities alſo ſhould be deliuered frō garriſon: bicauſe the Greecians thenceforth might no more complaine, that his grace and liberality was not throughly performed, and accompliſhed in euery reſpect on them all. Wherefore, when the feaſt called Iſthmia was come, there were gathered together an infinite multitude of people come to ſee the ſporte of the games played there: for Greece hauing bene long time troubled with warres, they ſeeing them ſelues now in ſure peace, & in very good hope of ful liberty, looked after no other thing, but delited only to ſee games, and to make mery. Proclamation was then made by ſounde of

E trompet in the aſſembly, that euery man ſhoulde keepe ſilence. That done, the herauld went forward, and thruſt into the middeſt of the multitude, and proclaimed out alowde: that the Senate of Rome, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, Conſul of the people of Rome (now that they had ouerthrowen kinge *Philip* and the Macedonians in battell) did thenceforth diſcharge from all garriſons, and ſet at liberty from all taxes, ſubſidies, and impoſitions for euer, to liue after their olde auncient lawes, and in full liberty: the Corinthians, the Locrians, thoſe of Phocide, thoſe of the Ile of Euboea, the Achaians, the Pythiotes, the Magneſians, the Theſſalians, and the Perrhoebeians. At the firſt time of the proclamation, all the people could not heare the voice of the herauld, and the moſt parte of thoſe that hearde him, coulde not tell diſtinctly what he ſayed: for there ranne vp and downe the ſhewe place

F where the games were played, a confuſed brute and tumult of the people that wondered, and asked what the matter ment, ſo as the herauld was driuen againe to make the proclamation. Whereupon after ſilence made, the herauld puttinge out his voice farre lowder then before,

T. Quintius graunted Philip peace.

Hannibal was with kinge Antiochus.

Chalcide, Corinthe, Demetriade, called by Philip of Macedon, the Chaines of Greece.

Iſthmia.

did proclaime it in ſuch audible wiſe, that the whole aſſembly heard him: and then roſe there A
ſuch a lowde ſhowte and crie of ioy through the whole people, that the ſound of it was heard
to the ſea. Then all the people that had taken their places, & were ſet to ſee the Swordplayers
play, roſe vp all on their feete, lettinge the games alone, and went together with great ioy to
ſalute, to embrace, and to thanke *Titus* the recouerer, protector, and patrone of all their li-
berties of GREECE. Then was ſeene (which is much ſpoken of) the power of mens voyces:
Crowes flying, fell downe by the ſounde of mens voices. for crowes fel downe at that preſent time among the people, which by chaunce flew ouer the
ſhow place at that time that they made the ſame out ſhowte. This came to paſſe, by reaſon the
ayer was broken and cut a ſunder, with the vehemency and ſtrength of the voyces, ſo as it had
not his naturall power in it, to keepe vp the flying of the birdes: which were driuen of neceſſi-
ty to fall to the grounde, as flyinge through a voide place where they lacked ayer. Vnleſſe we B
will rather ſay, that it was the violence of the crie, which ſtrooke the birdes paſſinge through
the ayer, as they had bene hit with arrowes, and ſo made them fall downe dead to the earth.
It may be alſo, that there was ſome hurlinge winde in the ayer, as we doe ſee ſometime in the
ſea, when it riſeth high, and many times turneth about the waues, by violence of the ſtorme.
So it is, that if *Titus* hadde not preuented the whole multitude of people which came to ſee
him, and that he had not got him away betimes, before the games were ended: he had hard-
ly ſcaped from being ſtifled amongeſt them, the people came ſo thicke about him from euery
place. But after that they were weary of crying, and ſinging about his pauillion vntill night, in
the ende they went their way: and as they went, if they met any of their kinne, frendes or citi-
zens, they did kiſſe and embrace one an other for ioy, and ſo ſupped, and made mery together. C
In their more reioycinge yet, as we may thinke full well, they had no other talke at the table,
but of the warres of GREECE, diſcourſing amongeſt them what ſundry great warres they had
made, what they had endured heretofore, and all to defend and recouer their liberty. And yet
for all that, they coulde neuer ſo ioyfully nor more aſſuredly obtaine it, then they did euen at
that preſent, receiuing the honorableſt reward, & that which deſerued greateſt fame through
the worlde: that by the valliantneſſe of ſtraungers who fought for the ſame (without any ſpil-
blood of their owne in compariſon, or that they loſt the life of any one man, whoſe death they
had cauſe to lament) they were ſo reſtored to their auncient freedome and liberty. It is a very
rare thinge amongeſt men, to finde a man very valliant, and wiſe withall: but yet of all ſortes
of valliant men, it is harder to finde a iuſt man. For *Ageſilaus*, *Lyſander*, *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, D
and all other the famous Captaines of former times, had very good skill to lead an army, and
to winne the battell, as well by ſea as by lande: but to turne their victories to any honorable
benefit, or true honor among men, they could neuer skill of it. And if you doe except the bat-
tell againſt the barbarous people, in the plaine of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, the
iorney of PLATEES, the battell of THERMOPYLES, the battell *Cimon* fought about CIPRVS,
and vpon the riuer of Eurymedon: all the other warres & battels of GREECE that were made,
fell out againſt them ſelues, and did euer bringe them into bondage: and all the tokens of tri-
umphe which euer were ſet vp for the ſame, was to their ſhame and loſſe. So that in the end,
GREECE was vtterly deſtroyed and ouerthrowen, and that chiefly through the wickednes and
ſelfe will of her gouernors and captaines of the cities, one enuying an others doing. Where a E
ſtraunge nation, the which (as it ſhould ſeeme) had very ſmall occaſion to moue them to do it
(for that they haue had no great familiarity with auncient GREECE, & through the counſel &
good wiſedome of the which it ſhould ſeeme very ſtraunge that GREECE coulde receiue any
benefit) haue notwithſtanding with daungerous battels and infinite troubles, deliuered it from
oppreſſion, and ſeruitude, of violent Lordes and tyrans. This, and ſuch like talke, did at that
time occupy the GREECIANS heades: and moreouer, the deedes following did aunſwer and
performe the words of the proclamatiõ. For at one ſelfe time, *Titus* ſent *Lentulus* into ASIA, to
ſet the BARGYLIANS at liberty, and *Titillius* into THRACIA, to remoue the garriſons out of the
Iles & cities which *Philip* had kept there: and *Publius Iulius* was ſent alſo into ASIA, vnto king
Quintiuscare to ſtabliſh the liberty of the Greecians. *Antiochus*, to ſpeake vnto him to ſet the GREECIANS at liberty which he kept in ſubiection. F
And as for *Titus*, he went him ſelfe vnto the city of CHALCIDE, where he tooke ſea, and went
into the prouince of MAGNESIA, out of the which he tooke all the garriſons of the cities, and

redeliuered

A redeliuered the gouernment of the common wealth vnto the citizes of the same. Afterwards when time came, that the feast of Nemea was celebrated in the citie of ARGOS in the honor of *Hercules*, *Titus* was chosen iudge, & rector of the games that were plaied there: where, after he had set all thinges in very good order, pertaining vnto the solemnity of the feast, he caused againe solemne proclamation to be made openly, for the generall liberty of all GREECE. Furthermore, visiting the cities, he did stablish very good lawes, reformed iustice, and did set the inhabitants and citizens of euery one of them in good peace, amity, and concord one with an other: and did call home also all those that were outlawes and banished men, and pacified all olde quarrells and dissentions amonge them. The which did no lesse please and content him, that by perswasions he could bring the GREECIANS to be reconciled one with the other: then B if he had by force of armes ouercome the MACEDONIANS. Insomuch, as the recouery of the libertie which *Titus* had restored vnto the GREECIANS, seemed vnto them the least parte of the goodnesse they had receiued at his handes. They say, that *Lycurgus* the orator seeinge the collectors of taxes, cary *Zenocrates* the Philosopher one day to prison, for lacke of payment of a certaine imposition, which the straungers inhabiting within the citie of ATHENS were to pay: he rescued him from them by force, and moreouer prosecuted law so hard against them, that he made them pay a fyne for the iniury they had done vnto so worthy a person. And they tell, how the same Philosopher afterwardes meeting *Lycurgus* children in the city, sayed vnto them. I doe wel requite your fathers good turne he did me: for I am the cause that he is praised and commended of euery man, for the kindenesse he shewed on my behalfe. So the good C deedes of the ROMAINES, and of *Titus Quintius Flaminius* vnto the GREECIANS, did not only reape this benefit vnto them, in recompence that they were praised and honored of all the worlde: but they were cause also of increasinge their dominions and Empire ouer all nations, and that the worlde afterwardes had great affiance and trust in them, and that most iustly. So that the people and cities did not onely receiue the Captaines and gouernors the ROMAINES sent them: but they also went to ROME vnto them, and procured them to come, and did put them selues into their handes. And not only the cities and communalties, but kings & princes also (which were oppressed by other more mighty than them selues) had no other refuge, but to put them selues vnder their protection: by reason whereof in a very shorte time (with the fauor and helpe of the goddes as I am perswaded) all the world came to submit them selues to D their obedience, and vnder the protection of their Empire. *Titus* also did glory more, that he had restored GREECE againe vnto liberty, then in any other seruice or exployte he had euer done. For when he offered vp vnto the temple of *Apollo* in the citie of DELPHES, the targets of siluer with his owne shielde, he made these verses to be grauen vpon them, in effect as followeth.

The feast Nemea kept at Argos.

Lycurgus the orator, rescued Zenocrates the Philosopher, & saued him from prison.

O noble twynnes Tyndarides, Dan Ioue his children deare:
Throwe out lowde shoutes of ioy, and mirth, reioyce and make good cheare.
O noble kinges of Spartan soyle, which take delight to ryde,
Your trampling steedes, with fumy byt, and trappings by their side:
Reioyce you nowe, for Titus he, the valliant Romaine knight,
E *These giftes so great to you hath got, euen by his force and might:*
That hauing taken cleane awaye, from of the Greekishe neckes,
The heauy yoke of seruitude, which held them thrall to checkes,
Vnto their former liberty, he hath restorde them free,
Which altogether perisht was, as men might plainely see.

He gaue a crowne of massie gold vnto *Apollo*, vppon the which he made this inscription to be wrytten.

A valliant Romaine knight, euen Titus by his name,
A captaine worthy by desert, of high renowne and fame:
To thee (Apollo god) this crowne of pure fine golde,
F *Hath geuen thy godhead to adorne, with mells manifolde,*
Therefore let it thee please (Apollo god of grace)
With fauor to requite this lone, to him and to his race:

That his renovvmed fame, and vertue may be ſpred,
And blaſed through the vvorlde ſo vvide, to shevv vvhat life he led.

So hath the city of CORINTHE enioyed this good happe, that the GREECIANS haue bene twiſe proclaimed to be ſet at liberty: the firſt time by *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and the ſecond time, by *Nero* in our time, and at the ſelfe ſame inſtant when they ſolemnly kept the feaſt called Iſthmia. Howebeit the firſt proclamation of their liberty (as we haue tolde ye before) was done by the voyce of a herauld: and the ſeconde time it was done by *Nero* him ſelfe, who proclaimed it in an oration he made vnto the people in open aſſembly, in the market place of the city of CORINTHE. But it was a longe time after. Furthermore, *Titus* beganne then a goodly and iuſt warre againſt *Nabis*, the curſed and wicked tyran of LACEDÆMON. Howebeit in the ende he deceaued the expectation of GREECE. For when he might haue taken him, he would not doe it, but made peace with him, forſakinge poore SPARTA vnworthily oppreſſed vnder the yoke of bondage: either bicauſe he was afrayed that if the warre helde on, there ſhoulde come a ſucceſſor vnto him from ROME, that ſhould cary the glory away to ende the ſame, or elſe he ſtoode Iealous and enuious of the honor they did vnto *Philopœmen*. Who hauing ſhewed him ſelfe in euery place as excellent a Captaine as euer came in GREECE, and hauinge done notable actes and famous ſeruice, both of great wiſedome, and alſo of valliantneſſe, and ſpecially in the ACHAIANS warre: he was as much honored & reuerenced of the ACHAIANS, in the Theaters and common aſſemblies, euen as *Titus* was. Whereat *Titus* was maruelouſly offended, for he thought it vnreaſonable, that an ARCADIAN who had neuer bene generall of an army, but in ſmall litle warres againſt his neighbours, ſhould be as much eſteemed and honored, as a Conſull of ROME, that was come to make warres for the recouery of the libertie of GREECE. But *Titus* alleaged reaſonable excuſe for his doinges, ſaying that he ſaw very well he coulde not deſtroy this tyran *Nabis*, without the great loſſe and miſery of the other SPARTANS. Furthermore, of all the honors the ACHAIANS euer did him (which were very great) me thinkes there was none that came neere any recompence of his honorable and well deſeruing, but one onely preſent they offered him, and which he aboue all the reſt moſt eſteemed: and this it was. Duringe the ſeconde warres of AFRICKE, which the ROMAINES had againſt *Hannibal*, many ROMAINES were taken priſoners in the ſundry battells they loſt, and beinge ſolde here and there, remained ſlaues in many contries: and amongeſt other, there were diſperſed in GREECE to the number of twelue hundred, which from time to time did moue men with pitie and compaſſion towardes them, that ſaw them in ſo miſerable chaunge and ſtate of fortune. But then much more was their miſerie to be pitied, when theſe captiues found in the ROMAINES army, ſome of them their ſonnes, other their brethren, and the reſt their fellowes and frendes, free, and conquerours, and them ſelues ſlaues and bondemen. It grieued *Titus* much to ſee theſe poore men in ſuch miſerable captiuity, notwithſtanding he would not take them by force from thoſe that had them. Whereupon the ACHAIANS redeemed and bought them for fiue hundred pence a man, and hauinge gathered them together into a troupe, they preſented all the ROMAINE captiues vnto *Titus*, euen as he was ready to take ſhip to returne into ITALIE: which preſent made him returne home with greater ioy and contentacion, hauing receiued for his noble deedes ſo honorable a recompence, and worthy of him ſelfe, that was ſo louing a man to his citizens and contry. And ſurely, that onely was the ornament (in my opinion) that did moſt beautifie his triumphe. For theſe poore redeemed captiues did that, which the ſlaues are wont to doe on that day when they be ſet at liberty: to witte, they ſhaue their heades, and doe weare litle hattes apon them. The ROMAINES that were thus redeemed, did in like maner: and ſo followed *Titus* charret, on the day of his triumphe and entrie made into ROME in the triumphing manner. It was a goodly ſight alſo, to ſee the ſpoyles of the enemies, which were caried in the ſhow of this triumphe: as, ſtore of helmets after the GREECIANS facion, heapes of targets, ſhieldes, and pykes after the MACEDONIAN manner, with a wonderfull ſumme of gold and ſiluer. For *Itanus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that there was brought a maruelous great maſſe of treaſure in niggots of golde, of three thouſand ſeuen hundred and thirteene pounde weight, and of ſiluer, of forty three thouſande, two hundred, three ſcore and tenne pound weight, and of gold ready coyned in peeces called *Philips* foure-

Nero did ſet Greece at liberty.

VVhy Quintius made peace with Nabis the tyran of Lacedæmon.

The honor of Philopœmen.

Twelue hundred Romaines ſolde for ſlaues.

The Achaians redeemed the Romaines that were ſolde for ſlaues in Greece.

The ceremony of ſlaues manomiſed.

T. Quintius triumphe.

teene

A teene thousand, fiue hundred, and foureteene, besides the thousand talents king *Philip* should pay for a raunsome. The which summe, the ROMAINES afterwardes forgaue him, chiefly at *Titus* sute and intercession, who procured that grace for him, and caused him to be called a frend and confederate of the people of ROME, and his sonne *Demetrius* to be sent vnto him againe, who remained before as an hostage at ROME. Shortely after, king *Antiochus* went out of ASIA into GREECE with a great fleete of shippes, and a very puisant army, to stirre vp the cities to forsake their league and allyance with the ROMAINES, and to make a dissention amongest them. To further this his desire and enterprise, the ÆTOLIANS did aide and backe him, which of long time had borne great and secrete malice against the ROMAINES, and desired much to haue had warres with them. So they taught king *Antiochus* to say, that the warre
B which he tooke in hande, was to set the GREECIANS at liberty, whereof they had no neede, bicause they did already enioy their liberty: but for that they had no iust cause to make warre, they taught him to cloke it the honestest way he coulde. Wherefore the ROMAINES fearinge greatly the rising of the people, & the rumor of the power of this great king, they sent thither *Manius Acilius* their generall, and *Titus*, one of his Lieutenaunts for the GREECIANS sakes. Which arriuall did the more assure them that already bare good will to the ROMAINES, after they had once seene *Manius* and *Titus*: and the rest that beganne to flie out, and to shrinke from them, those *Titus* kept in obedience from starting, remembringe them of the frendship and good will they had borne him, euen like a good skilfull phisitian that coulde geue his pa-
C cient phisicke to preserue him from a contageous disease. In deede there were some (but fewe of them) that left him, which were won and corrupted before by the ÆTOLIANS: and though he had iust cause of offence towardes them, yet he saued them after the battell. For king *Antiochus* being ouercome in the contry of THERMOPYLES, fled his way, and in great hast tooke the sea to returne into ASIA. And the Consull *Manius* following his victory, entred into the contry of the ÆTOLIANS, where he tooke certaine townes by force, and left the other for a pray vnto kinge *Philip*. So *Philip* kinge of MACEDON on the one side, spoyled and sacked the DOLOPIANS, the MAGNESIANS, the ATHAMANIANS, and the APERANTINES: and the Consull *Manius* on the other side, destroyed the city of HERACLEA, and layed siege to the citie
D of NAVPACTVM, which the ÆTOLIANS kept. But *Titus* takinge compassion of them, to see the poore people of GREECE thus spoiled and turned out of all: went out of PELOPONNESVS (where he was then) vnto *Manius Acilius* campe, and there reproued him for suffering king *Philip* to vsurpe the benefit and reward of his honorable victory, still conqueringe many people, kings, and contries, whilest he continued siege before a city, and only to wreake his anger vpon them. Afterwardes, when they that were besieged saw *Titus* from their walles, they called him by his name, and helde vp their handes vnto him, prayinge him he would take pitie vpon them: but he gaue them neuer a word at that time, and turning his backe vnto them, he
E fell a weeping. Afterwards he spake with *Manius*, and appeasing his anger, got him to graunt the ÆTOLIANS truce for certaine dayes, in which time they might sende Ambassadors to ROME, to see if they could obtaine grace and pardon of the Senate. But the most trouble and difficulty he had, was to intreate for the CHALCIDIANS, with whome the Consull *Manius* was more grieuously offended, then with all the rest: bicause that kinge *Antiochus* after the warres was begonne, had maried his wife in their citie, when he was past yeares of mariage, and out of all due time. For he was now very olde, and beinge in his extreame age, and in the middest of his warres, he fell in dotage with a yoūg gentlewoman, the daughter of *Cleoptolemus*, the fayrest woman that was at that time in all GREECE. Therefore the CHALCIDIANS were
F much affected vnto king *Antiochus*, and did put their city into his handes, to serue him in this warre, for a strong & safe retyring place. Whervpō, whē *Antiochus* had lost the battell, he came thither with all possible speede, and takinge from thence with him his passinge fayer younge Queene which he had maried, and his golde, his siluer, and frendes, he tooke the seas incontinently, and returned into ASIA. For this cause the Consull *Manius* hauing wonne the battell, did marche straight with his army towardes the citie of CHALCIS in great rage and fury. But *Titus* that followed him, did alwayes lye vpon him to pacifie his anger, and did so much intreate him, together with the other ROMAINES of state and authoritie in counsell:

Manius Acilius Consul, & T. Quintius Lieutenaunt sent into Greece.

Antiochus ouerthrowen in Thermopyles, by Manius the Consull.

Quintius intreateth for the AEtoliās.

King Antiochus maried Cleoptolemus daughter in the city of Chalcide.

that in the ende, he gotte him to pardone them of CHALCIDE alſo. Who, bicauſe they were preſerued from perill by his meanes, they, to recompence this fact of his, did conſecrate vnto him, all their moſt ſtately and ſumptuous buildinges and common workes in their citie, as appeareth yet by the ſuperſcriptions remaininge to be ſeene at this day. As in the ſhow place of exerciſes: The people of CHALCIDE did dedicate this ſhow place of exerciſes, vnto *Titus* & *Hercules*. And in the temple called Delphinium: The people of CHALCIDE did conſecrate this temple, vnto *Titus*, and vnto *Apollo*. And furthermore, vnto this preſent time, there is a prieſt choſen by the voyce of the people, purpoſely to do ſacrifice vnto *Titus*: in which ſacrifice, after that the thing ſacrificed is offered vp, and wine powred apon it, the people ſtanding by, do ſing a ſong of triumphe made in praiſe of him. But bicauſe it were to long to wryte it all out, we haue only drawen in briefe the latter end of the ſame: and this it is.

Honors done vnto T. Quintius for ſauing the Chalcidians and the Greecians.

The cleare vnſpotted faith, of Romaines vve adore,
And vovv to be their faithfull frendes, both novv and euer more.
Sing out you Muſes nyne, to Ioues eternall fame,
Sing out the honor due to Rome, and Titus vvorthy name.
Sing out (I ſay) the praiſe, of Titus and his faith:
By vvhom you haue preſerued bene, from ruine, dole, and death.

Now the CHALCIDIANS did not alone only honor & reuerence *Titus*, but he was generally honored alſo by the GREECIANS as he deſerued, & was marueloufly beloued for his curteſie and good nature: which argueth plainely that they did not fainedly honor him, or through compulſion, but euen from the hart. For though there was ſome iarre betwixt him and *Philopœmen* at the firſt about ſeruice, for emulation of honor, and after betwixt him and *Diophanes* alſo, both generalls of the ACHAIANS: yet he neuer bare them any malice in his hart, neither did his anger moue him at any time to hurt them any way, but he euer ended the heate of his wordes, in counſell and aſſemblies, where he vttered his minde franckely to them both. Therefore none thought him euer a cruell man, or eger of reuenge: but many haue thought him raſhe, and haſty of nature. Otherwiſe, he was as good a companion in company as poſſibly could be, and would vſe as pleaſaunt wiſe mirthe as any man. As when he ſayed to the ACHAIANS, on a time, who would needes vniuſtly vſurpe the Ile of the ZACYNTHIANS, to diſſwade them from it: my Lordes of ACHAIA, if ye once goe out of PELOPONNESVS, you put your ſelues in daunger, as the torteyſes doe, when they thruſt their heades out of their ſhell. And the firſt time he parled with *Philip* to treate of peace: when *Philip* ſaid vnto him, you haue brought many men with you, and I am come alone. In deede it is true you are alone, ſayd he, bicauſe you made all your frendes and kinne to be ſlaine. An other time, *Dinocrates* MESSENIAN being in ROME, after he had taken in his cuppes in a feaſt where he was, he diſguiſed him ſelfe in womans apparell, and daunced in that manner: and the next day followinge he went vnto *Titus*, to pray him to helpe him through with his ſute, which was, to make the citie of MESSENA to rebell, and leaue the tribe of the ACHAIANS. *Titus* made him aunſwer, that he would thinke vpon it: but I can but wonder at you (ſayd he) howe you can daunce in womans apparell, and ſinge at a feaſt, hauinge ſuch matters of weight in your head. In the counſell of the ACHAIANS, king *Antiochus* ambaſſadors beinge come thither, to moue them to breake their league with the ROMAINES, and to make alliance with the king their maſter, they made a marueloous large diſcourſe of the great multitude of ſouldiers that were in their maſters armys, and did number them by many diuerſe names. Whereunto *Titus* aunſwered, and tolde how a frend of his hauing bidden him one night to ſupper, and hauing ſerued ſo many diſhes of meate to his bord, as he was angry with him for beſtowing ſo great coſt apon him, as wonderinge howe he could ſo ſodainely get ſo much ſtore of meate, and of ſo diuerſe kindes. My frende ſayed to me againe, that all was but porke dreſſed ſo many wayes, and with ſo ſundry ſawces. And euen ſo (quod *Titus*) my Lords of ACHAIA, eſteeme not king *Antiochus* army the more, to heare of ſo many men of armes, nunbred with their launces, and of ſuch a number of footemen with their pykes: for they are all but SYRIANS, diuerſely armed, only with ill fauored little weapons. Furthermore, after *Titus* had done theſe thinges, and that the warre with *Antiochus* was ended, he was choſen Cenſor at ROME, with the ſonne of that ſame *Marcellus*, who

Quintius curteſie and good nature. Emulation betwixt T. Quintius and Philopœmen.

T. Quintius ſayinges.

Antiochus Ambaſſadors doe boaſt of their kinges great army. Titus Quintius witty anſwere to the Ambaſſadors bragges.

T. Quintius choſen Cenſor with Marcellus.

A who had bene fiue times Consull. This office is of great dignitie, and as a man may say, the crowne of all the honors that a citizen of ROME can haue in their common wealth. They put of the Senate, foure men only: but they were not famous. They did receiue all into the number of citizens of ROME, that would present them selues to be enrolled in their common regester: with a prouiso, that they were borne free by father and mother. They were compelled to doe it, by *Terentius Culeo*, Tribune of the people, who to despight the nobility, perswaded the people of ROME to commaunde it so. Nowe at that time, two of the noblest and most famous men of ROME were great enemies one against an other: *Publius Scipio* AFRICAN, and *Marcus Porcius Cato*. Of these two, *Titus* named *Publius Scipio* AFRICAN, to be prince of the Senate, as the chiefest and worthiest persone in the citie: and got the displeasure of the other, B which was *Cato*, by this mishappe. *Titus* had a brother called *Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, nothing like vnto him in condition at all: for he was so dissolutely and licentiously giuen ouer to his pleasure, that he forgatte all comlinesse and honesty. This *Lucius* loued well a younge boy, and caried him alwayes with him when he went to the warres, or to the charge and gouernment of any prouince. This boy flattering him, one day sayd vnto *Lucius Quintius*, that he loued him so well, that he did leaue the sight of the Swordplayers at the sharpe, which were making ready to the fight, although he had neuer seene man killed before: to waite vpon him. *Lucius* being very glad of the boyes wordes, aunswered him straight, thou shalt loose nothing for that my boy, for I will by & by please thee as well. So he commaunded a condemned man to be fetched out of prison, and withall called for the hangman, whome he willed to strike of C his head in the middest of his supper, that the boy might see him killed. *Valerius Antias* the historiographer wryteth, that it was not for the loue of the boy, but of a woman which he loued. But *Titus Liuius* declareth, that in an oration which *Cato* him selfe made, it was wrytten, that it was one of the GAVLES: who beinge a traitor to his contry men, was come to *Flaminius* gate with his wife and children, and that *Flaminius* making him come into his halle, killed him with his owne handes, to please a boy he loued, that was desirous to see a man killed. Howebeit it is very likely that *Cato* wrote in this sorte, to aggrauate the offence, and to make it more cruell. For, many haue wrytten it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an offendor condemned to dye: and amonge other, *Cicero* the orator doth recite it in a booke he made of age, where he made it to be tolde vnto *Catoes* owne persone. Howesoeuer it was, *Marcus Ca-*
D *to* being chosen Censor, and clensing the Senate of all vnworthy persones, he put of the same *Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, although he had bene Consull: which disgrace did seeme to redowne to his brother *Titus Quintius Flaminius* also. Whereupon both the brethren came weping with all humility before the people, and made a petition that seemed very reasonable & ciuill: which was that they would commaunde *Cato* to come before them, to declare the cause openly why he had with such open shame defaced so noble a house as theirs was. *Cato* then without delay, or shrinking backe, came with his companion into the market place, where he asked *Titus* out alowde, if he knew nothing of the supper where such a fact was committed. *Titus* aunswered, he knewe not of it. Then *Cato* opened all the whole matter as it was, and in the ende of his tale, he bad *Lucius Quintius* sweare openly, if he would deny that he had sayed
E was true. *Lucius* aunswered not a worde. Whereuppon the people iudged the shame was iustly layed vpon him: and so to honor *Cato*, they did accompany him from the pulpit for orations, home vnto his owne house. But *Titus* beinge much offended at the disgrace of his brother, became enemy to *Cato*, and fell in with those that of long time had hated him. And so by practise he procured of the Senate, that all bargaines of leases, and all deedes of sales made by *Cato* during his office, were called in, and made voyde: and caused many sutes also to be commenced against him. Wherein, I can not say he did wisely or ciuilly, to become mortall enemy to an honest man, a good citizen, and duetifull in his office, for his yeare, but vnworthy kinseman, who had iustly deserued the shame layed vpon him. Notwithstanding, shortely after when the people were assembled in the Theater to see games played, & the Senators were
F set according to their custome, in the most honorable places: *Lucius Flaminius* came in also, who in lowly and humble maner went to sit downe in the furthest seates of the Theater, without regard of his former honor: which when the people saw, they tooke pity of him, & could

P. Scipio, and M. P. Cato great enemies. Secret grudge betwixt Titus and Cato.

A cruell deede of Lucius Quintius.

Cato beinge Censor did put Lucius Quintius Flaminius of the Senate.

T. Quintius vnworthy acte against Cato.

Lucius Quintius restored to his place by the people.

not abide to see him thus dishonored. So they cried out to haue him come and sit among the other Senators the Consulls, who made him place, and receiued him accordingly. But to returne againe to *Titus*. The naturall ambition & couetous greedy minde he had of honor, was very well taken and esteemed, so long as he had any occasion offered him to exercise it in the warres, which we haue spoken of before. For, after he had bene Consull, of his owne seeking he became a Colonell of a thousand footemen, not being called to it by any man. So when he beganne to stoupe for age, and that he had giuen ouer as a man at the last cast, to beare office any longer in the state: they saw plainely he was ambitious beyond measure, to suffer himselfe in olde age to be ouercome with such youthfull violence, beinge farre vnmeete for any of his yeares. For me thinkes his ambition was the only cause that moued him to procure *Hannibals* death, which bred him much disliking and ill opinion with many. For, after *Hannibal* had fled out of his owne contry, he went first vnto king *Antiochus*: who, after he lost the battel in PHRYGIA, was glad the ROMAINES graũted him peace with such conditions as them selues would. Wherefore *Hannibal* fled againe from him, and after he had long wandered vp and downe, at the length he came to the realme of BITHYNIA, and remained there about king *Prusias*, the ROMAINES knowinge it well enough: and bicause *Hannibal* was then an olde broken man, of no force nor power, and one whome fortune had spurned at her feete, they made no more reckening of him. But *Titus* being sent Ambassador by the Senate, vnto *Prusias* kinge of BITHYNIA, and finding *Hannibal* there, it grieued him to see him aliue. So that notwithstanding *Prusias* marueilously intreated him, to take pitie apon *Hannibal* a poore olde man, & his frend who came to him for succor: yet he coulde not perswade *Titus* to be content he should liue. *Hannibal* long before had receiued aunswer of his death from an oracle, to this effect.

T. Quintius cause of Hanniballs death.

Titus sent Ambassador vnto Prusias king of Bithynia.

Hannibal deceiued by an oracle concerning his death.

The lande of Lybia, shall couer vnder mould,
The valliant corps of Hanniball, when he is dead and colde.

So *Hannibal* vnderstoode that of LYBIA, as if he should haue dyed in AFRICKE, and bene buried in CARTHAGE. There is a certaine sandy contry in BITHYNIA neere to the seaes side, where there is a litle village called LIBYSSA, and where *Hannibal* remained continually. He mistrusting king *Prusias* fayntе harte, and fearing the ROMAINES malice also, had made seuen priuy caues and vaultes vnder grounde longe before, that he might secretly go out at either of them which way he woulde, and euery one of them came to the maine vault where him selfe did lye, and coulde not be discerned outwardly. When it was tolde him that *Titus* had willed *Prusias* to deliuer him into his handes, he sought then to saue him selfe by those mynes: but he found that all the ventes out, had watch and ward apon them by the kinges commaundement. So then he determined to kill him selfe. Now some say, that he wounde a linnen towell harde about his necke, and commaunded one of his men he should set his knee vpon his buttocke, and waying hard vpon him, holding the towell fast he should pull his necke backeward with all the power and strength he could, and neuer linne pressing on him, till he had strangled him. Other say that he drancke bulles blood, as *Midas* and *Themistocles* had done before him. But *Titus Liuius* wryteth, that he had poyson which he kept for such a purpose, and tempered it in a cuppe he helde in his handes, and before he dranke, he spake these wordes. Come on, let vs deliuer the ROMAINES of this great care, sith my life is so grieuous to them, that they thinke it to long to tary the naturall death of a poore old man, whom they hate so much: and yet *Titus* by this shall winne no honorable victorie, nor worthie the memorie of the auncient ROMAINES, who aduertised king *Pyrrus* their enemy, euen when he made warres with them, and had wonne battels of them, that he should beware of poysoning which was intended towards him. And this was *Hannibalis* ende, as we finde it wrytten. The newes whereof being come to ROME vnto the Senate, many of them thought *Titus* to violent and cruell, to haue made *Hannibal* kill him selfe in that sorte, when extreamity of age had ouercome him already, and was as a birde left naked, her feathers fallinge from her for age: and so much the more, bicause there was no instant occasion offered him to vrge him to doe it, but a couetous minde of honor, for that he would be chronicled to be the cause and author of *Hannibalis* death. And then in contrariwise they did much honor and commend the clemency and noble minde of *Scipio* AFRICAN. Who hauing ouercomen *Hannibal* in battell, in AFRICKE selfe, and being then in

Hannibalis death.

Midas and Themistocles poysoned them selues.

Hannibalis last wordes.

Looke in Pyrrus life for the story at large.

Scipio Africans clemency commended.

A in deede to be feared, and had bene neuer ouercome before: yet he did not cause him to be driuen out of his contry, neither did aske him of the CARTHAGINIANS, but both then, & before the battel, when he parled with him of peace, he tooke *Hannibal* curteously by the hand, and after the battell, in the condicions of peace he gaue them, he neuer spake word of hurt to *Hanniballs* person, neither did he shew any cruelty to him in his misery. And they tell how afterwardes they met againe together in the city of EPHESVS, and as they were walkinge, that *Hannibal* tooke the vpper hand of *Scipio*: and that *Scipio* bare it paciently, and left not of walking for that, neither shewed any countenaunce of misliking. And in entring into discourse of many matters, they discended in the ende to talke of auncient Captaines: and *Hannibal* gaue iudgement, that *Alexander* the great was the famousest Captaine, *Pyrrus* the second, and him B selfe the thirde. Then *Scipio* smilinge, gently asked him: what wouldest thou say then, if I had not ouercome thee? Truely, quod *Hannibal*, I would not then put my selfe the third man, but the first, and aboue all the Captaines that euer were. So diuers greatly cõmending the goodly sayinges and deedes of *Scipio*, did maruelously mislike *Titus*, for that he had (as a man may say) layed his handes vpon the death of an other man. Other to the contray againe sayd, it was well done of him, sayinge, that *Hannibal* so longe as he liued, was a fire to the Empire of the ROMAINES, which lacked but one to blow it: and that when he was in his best force and lusty age, it was not his hande nor body that troubled the ROMAINES, so much, but his great wisedome and skill he had in the warres, and the mortall hate he bare in his hart towardes the ROMAINES, which neither yeares, neither age would diminish he or take away. For mens naturall C condicions do remaine still, but fortune doth not alwayes keepe in a state, but chaungeth still, and then quickeneth vp our desires to set willingly vppon those that warre against vs, bicause they hate vs in their hartes. The thinges which fell out afterwards, did greatly proue the reasons brought out for this purpose, in discharge of *Titus*. For one *Aristonicus*, sonne of a daughter of a player vpon the citherne, vnder the fame and glory of *Eumenes*, whose bastard he was, filled all ASIA with warre & rebellion, by reason the people rose in his fauor. Againe *Mithridates*, after so many losses he had receiued against *Sylla* and *Fimbria*, and after so many armies ouerthrowen by battell and warres, and after so many famous Captaines lost and killed: did yet recouer againe, and came to be of great power both by sea and land against *Lucullus*. Truely *Hannibal* was no lower brought then *Caius Marius* had bene. For he had a king to his frend, D that gaue him entertainment for him and his family, and made him Admirall of his shippes, and Generall of his horsemen and footemen in the field. *Marius* also went vp and downe AFRICKE a begging for his liuing, insomuch as his enemies at ROME mocked him to scorne: & soone after notwithstanding they fell downe at his feete before him, when they saw they were whipped, murthered, and slaine within ROME by his commaundement. Thus we see no man can say certainely he is meane or great, by reason of the vncertainty of thinges to come: considering there is but one death, and chaunge of better life. Some say also, that *Titus* did not this act alone, and of his owne authority: but that he was sent Ambassador with *Lucius Scipio* to no other end, but to put *Hannibal* to death, by what meanes soeuer they could. Furthermore after this Ambassade, we do not finde any notaE ble thing written of *Titus* worthy of memory, neither in peace, nor in warres. For he died quietely of naturall death at home in his contrie.

Talke betwixt Scipio African & Hannibal.

Hannibals iudgement of Captaines.

Aristonicus.

Mithridates.

Marius.

To be meane or great in this life is nothing: but death bringeth the estimacion.

THE COMPARISON OF *Titus Quintius Flaminius with Philopœmen.*

T. Quintius benefits vnto Greece.

IT is time nowe we come to compare them together. Therefore as touchinge the great benefits that came to the GREECIANS, neither *Philopœmen*, nor all the other former Captaines are to be compared with *Titus*. For all the auncient Captaines almost being GREECIANS, made warres with other GREECIANS: but *Titus* beinge a ROMAINE, and no GREECIAN, made warres for the liberty of GREECE. When *Philopœmen* was not able to helpe his poore citizens distressed sore, & vexed with warres, he sayled away into CRETA. *Titus* hauing ouercome *Philip* kinge of MACEDON in battell, did restore againe to liberty all the people and cities of the same, which were kept before in bondage. And if any wil narrowly examine the battells of either partie: they shall finde, that *Philopœmen* being Generall of the ACHAIANS, made more GREECIANS to be slaine, then *Titus* did of the MACEDONIANS, fightinge with them for the liberty of the GREECIANS. And for their imperfections, the one of them was ambitious, the other was as obstinate: the one was quicke and sodainly angered, the other was very hard to be pacified. *Titus* left kinge *Philip* his realme and crowne after he had ouercome him, and vsed great clemency towardes the ÆTOLIANS: where *Philopœmen* for spite, & malice, tooke townes and villages from his owne natiue contry, and city, wherein he was borne, that had alwayes payed them tribute. Furthermore, *Titus* continued a sounde frend to them, to whome he had once professed frendshippe, and done pleasure vnto: and *Philopœmen*, in a geare and anger, was ready to take away that he had giuen, and to ouerthrow the pleasure and good turne he had shewed. For *Philopœmen* when he had done the LACEDÆMONIANS great pleasure, did afterwards rase the walls of their city, and spoyled and destroyed all their contry: and lastly, ouerthrew their whole gouernment. It seemeth also by reason of his immoderate choller, he was him selfe cause of his owne death, for that he made more hast then good speede, to go out of time to set vpon those of MESSINA: and not as *Titus*, who did all his affaires with wisedome, and euer considered what was best to be done. But if we looke into the number of battells, and victories: the warre which *Titus* made against *Philip* was ended with two battells. Whereas *Philopœmen* in infinite battells in which he had the better, neuer left it doutfull, but that his skill did euer helpe him the more to victory, then the good fortune he had. Moreouer, *Titus* wanne honor by meanes of the power of ROME, when it florished most, and was in best prosperitie: *Philopœmen* made him selfe famous by his deedes, when GREECE beganne to stoupe and fall all together. So that the deedes of the one, were common to all the ROMAINES: & the dedes of the other, were priuate to himselfe alone. For *Titus* was General ouer good and valliant souldiers, that were already trained to his hand: and *Philopœmen* being chosen Generall, did traine his men him selfe, & made them afterwards very

Philopœmenes malice.

Titus Quintius wiser thē Philopœmen.

Quintius cōmanded good souldiers: Philopœmen made good souldiers.

A very expert and valliant, that were but meane and greene ſouldiers before. And whereas *Philopœmen* had continuall warres with the GREECIANS, it was not for any good fortune he had, but that it made a certaine proofe of his valliantneſſe. For where all other thinges are aunſwerable to his, there we muſt iudge that ſuch as ouercome, haue the moſt corage. Now *Philopœmen* making warres with the moſt warlike nations of all GREECE, (as the CRETANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS) did ouercome the ſubtilleſt of them, by fineneſſe and policy: and the moſt valliant, by prowes and hardineſſe. But *Titus* ouercame, by putting that only in practiſe, which was already found and ſtabliſhed: as the diſcipline of the warres, and order of battell, in the which his ſouldiers had longe before bene trained. Whereas *Philopœmen* brought into his contry, both the one and the other, and altered all the order which before they were
B accuſtomed vnto. So that the chiefeſt point how to winne a battell, was found out a new, and brought in by the one, into a place where it was neuer before: and onely employed by the other, which could very good skill to vſe it, and had founde it out already before. Againe, touching the valliant actes done in the perſon of them ſelues, many notable actes may be told of *Philopœmen*, but none of *Titus*: but rather to the contrary. For there was one *Archedamus* an ÆTOLIAN, who flowtinge *Titus* one day, ſayd in his reproche: that at a day of battell, when *Philopœmen* ranne with his ſword in his hande, to that ſide where he ſaw the MACEDONIANS fighting, & making hed againſt the enemy, *Titus* held vp his hands vnto heauen, and was buſie at his prayers to the gods, not ſtirring one foote, when it was more time to handle the ſword, & to fight of all handes. All the goodly deedes *Titus* euer did, were done alwaies as a Conſul,
C or Lieutenant, or a Magiſtrate: whereas *Philopœmen* ſhewed him ſelfe vnto the ACHAIANS, a man no leſſe valliant, and of execution, being out of office, then when he was a Generall. For when he was a Generall, he did driue *Nabis* the tyran of the LACEDÆMONIANS out of MESSINA, and deliuered the MESSENIANS out of bondage: and being a priuate man, he ſhut the gates of the city of SPARTA, in the face of *Diophanes* (Generall of the ACHAIANS) and of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and kept them both from comminge in, and thereby ſaued the city from ſacking. Thus being borne to commaunde, he knew not only how to commaunde accordinge to the law, but could commaund the law it ſelfe apon neceſſity, & when the common wealth required it. For at ſuch a time he would not tary, while the Magiſtrates which ſhould gouerne him, did geue him authority to commaund, but he tooke it of him ſelfe, and vſed them when
D the time ſerued: eſteeming him in deede their Generall, that knew better then they what was to be done, then him whom they choſe of them ſelues. And therefore they doe well, that doe commende *Titus* actes, for his clemency, and curteſie, vſed to the GREECIANS: but much more the noble and valliant actes of *Philopœmen* vnto the ROMAINES. For it is much eaſier to pleaſure and gratifie the weake, then it is to hurt and reſiſt the ſtrong. Therfore, ſithence we haue throughly examined, and compared the one with the other: it is very harde to iudge altogether the difference that is betwene them. Peraduenture therefore the iudgement woulde not ſeeme very ill, if we doe geue the GREECIAN, for diſcipline of warre, the preheminence and praiſe of a good Captaine: and to the
E ROMAINE, for iuſtice and clemency, the name and dignity of a moſt iuſt and curteous gentleman.

A Generall muſt not be at his prayers, whe he ſhould occupy his ſword.

Quintius clemency to the Greecians: Philopœmenes loue to the Romaines.

The ende of Titus Quintius Flaminius life.

THE LIFE OF *Pyrrus.*

Pyrrus kinred, and beginning of the kingdome of Epirus.

IT is writtē, that since *Noes* floud, the first king of the THESPROTIANS, and of the MOLOSSIANS, was *Phaëton*, one of those who came with *Pelasgus*, into the realme of EPIRVS. But some say otherwise, that *Deucalion*, and his wife *Pyrra* remained there, after they had built and founded the temple of Dodone, in the contry of the MOLOSSIANS. But howsoeuer it was, a great while after that, *Neoptolemus* the sonne of *Achilles*, bringing thither a great number of people with him, conquered the contry, and after him left a succession of kinges, which were called after his name, the *Pyrrides:* bicause that from his infancy he was surnamed *Pyrrus*, as much to say, as redde: and one of his legittimate sonnes whom he had by *Lanassa*, the daughter of *Cleodes*, the sonne of *Hillus*, was also named by him *Pyrrus*. And this is the cause why *Achilles* is honored as a god in EPIRVS, beinge called in their language, *Aspetos*, that is to say, mighty, or very great. But from the first kinges of that race vntill the time of *Tharrytas*, there is no memory nor mencion made of them, nor of their power that raigned in the meane time, bicause they all became very barbarous, and vtterly voyde of ciuility. *Tharrytas* was in deede the first that beautified the cities of his contry with the GRECIAN tongue, brought in ciuill lawes and customes, and made his name famous to the posterity that followed. This *Tharrytas* left a sonne called *Alcetas*, of *Alcetas* came *Arymbas*, of *Arymbas* and *Troiade* his wife, came *AEacides*, who maried *Phthia*, the daughter of *Menon* THESSALIAN: A famous man in the time of the warres surnamed *Lamiacus*, and one that had farre greater authority then any other of the confederates, after *Leosthenes*. This *AEacides* had two daughters by his wife *Phthia*, to say, *Deidamia* and *Troiade*, and one sonne called *Pyrrus*. In his time the MOLOSSIANS rebelled, draue him out of his kingdome, & put the crowne into the hands of the sonnes of *Neoptolemus*. Whereupon all the frends of *AEacides* that could be taken, were generally murdered, and slaine outright. *Androclides*, & *Angelus* in the meane time stale away *Pyrrus*, being yet but a suckling babe (whome his enemies neuertheless egerly sought for to haue destroyed) and fled away with him as fast as possibly they might, with few seruauntes, his nurses and necessary women only to looke to the childe, and giue it sucke: by reason whereof their flight was much hindered, so as they could go no great iorneys, but that they might easily be ouertaken by them that followed. For which cause they put the childe into the handes of

Pyrrus, redd.

How Pyrrus being an infant was saued.

Androcli-

A *Androclion, Hippias,* and *Neander,* three lusty young men, whome they trusted with him, and commaunded them to runne for life to a certaine citie of MACEDON, called MEGARES: and they them selues in the meane time, partely by intreaty, & partely by force, made stay of those that followed them till night. So as with much a doe hauinge driuen them backe, they ranne after them that caried the childe *Pyrrus,* whom they ouertooke at sunne set. And now, wening they had bene safe, and out of all daunger: they found it cleane contrary. For when they came to the riuer vnder the towne walles of MEGARES, they saw it so rough and swift, that it made them afrayed to beholde it: and when they gaged the forde, they found it vnpossible to wade through, it was so sore risen and troubled with the fall of the raine, besides that the darkenesse of the night made euery thing seeme feareful vnto them. So as they now that caried the child, B thought it not good to venter the passage ouer of them selues alone, with the women that tended the childe: but hearing certaine contrymen on the other side, they prayed and besought them in the name of the goddes, that they would helpe them to passe ouer the child, showing *Pyrrus* vnto them a farre of. But the contrymen by reason of the roaringe of the riuer vnderstoode them not. Thus they continued a longe space, the one cryinge, the other lystning, yet could they not vnderstand one an other, til at the last one of the company bethought him selfe to pill of a peece of the barke of an oke, & vpon that he wrote with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and necessity of the childe. Which he tyed to a stone to geue it weight, and so threw it ouer to the other side of the riuer: other say that he did pricke the barke through with the point of a dart which he cast ouer. The contrymen on the other side of the riuer, hauinge C red what was wrytten, and vnderstanding thereby the present daunger the childe was in: felled downe trees in all the hast they could possibly, bounde them together, and so passed ouer the riuer. And it fortuned that the first man of them that passed ouer, and tooke the child, was called *Achilles:* the residue of the contrymen passed ouer also, and tooke the other that came with the childe, and conueyed them ouer as they came first to hand. And thus hauing escaped their hāds, by easie iorneys they came at the length vnto *Glaucias* king of ILLYRIA, whom they found in his house sitting by his wife: and layed downe the childe in the middest of the flower before him. The king hereuppon stayed a long time without vttering any one word, waying with him selfe what was best to be done: bicause of the feare he had of *Cassander,* a mortall enemy of *AEacides.* In the meane time, the childe *Pyrrus* creeping of all foure, tooke hold of D the kinges gowne, and scrawled vp by that, and so got vp on his feete against the kings knees. At the first, the king laughed to see the childe: but after it pitied him againe, bicause the child seemed like an humble suter that came to seeke sanctuary in his armes. Other say that *Pyrrus* came not to *Glaucias,* but vnto the alter of the familiar gods, alongest the which he got vp on his feete, and embraced it with both his hands. Which *Glaucias* imagining to be done by gods prouidence, presently deliuered the childe to his wife, gaue her the charge of him, and willed her to see him brought vp with his owne. Shortely after, his enemies sent to demaunde the childe of him: and moreouer, *Cassander* caused two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliuer the childe *Pyrrus* into his handes. Howebeit *Glaucias* would neuer graunt thereunto, but contrarily, when *Pyrrus* was comen to twelue yeares olde, brought him into his contry of E E PIRVS with an army, and stablished him king of the realme againe. *Pyrrus* had a great maiesty in his countenaunce, but yet in deede more fearefull then frendly. He had also no teeth in his vpper iawe that stoode distinctly one from an other, but one whole bone through out his gomme, marked a litle at the top only, with certaine riftes in the place where the teeth should be deuided. Men helde opinion also, that he did heale them that were sicke of the splene, by sacrificinge a white cocke, and touchinge the place of the splene on the left side of them that were sicke, softely with his right foote, they lying on their backes: and there was not so poore nor simple a man that craued this remedy of him, but he gaue it him, and tooke the cocke he sacrificed, for reward of the remedy, which pleased him very well. They say also that the great toe of his right foote had some secrete vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they had F burnt all partes of his body, and consumed it to ashes: his great toe was whole, and had no hurt at all. But of that, we will wryte more hereafter. Now, when he was seuenteene yeares of age, thinking him selfe sure enough of his kingdome, it chaunced him to make a iorney into ILLY-

Megares a city of Macedon.

Glaucias king of Illyria.

Pyrrus countenaunce and teeth.

Pyrrus healed them that were sicke of the splene.

The fier could not burne Pyrrus great toe.

RIA, where he maried one of *Glaucias* daughters, with whom he had bene brought vp. But his backe was no ſooner turned, but the MOLOSSIANS rebelled againe againſt him, & draue out his frends, & ſeruaunts, and deſtroyed all his goods, and yelded themſelues vnto his aduerſary *Neoptolemus*. King *Pyrrus* hauing thus loſt his kingdom, & ſeeing himſelf forſaken on all ſides, went to *Demetrius* (*Antigonus* ſonne) that had maried his ſiſter *Deidamia*, who in her young age was aſſured to *Alexander*, the ſonne of *Alexander* the great, and of *Roxane*, and was called his wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked ende, *Demetrius* then maried her, being come to full and able age. And in that great battell which was ſtriken neere to the citie of HIPSVS, where all the kinges fought together, *Pyrrus* being then but a young man, and with *Demetrius*, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthely reputed for the valianteſt prince amongeſt them all. Furthermore, when *Demetrius* was ouercome, and had loſt the battell: *Pyrrus* neuer forſooke him, but faithfully did keepe for him the cities of GREECE, which he put into his hands. And afterwards when peace was concluded betwixt *Demetrius* and *Ptolomie*, *Pyrrus* was ſent an oſtage for *Demetrius* into the realme of ÆGIPTE: where he made *Ptolomie* know (both in huntinge, and in other exerciſes of his perſone) that he was very ſtrong, harde, and able to endure any labor. Furthermore perceiuing that *Berenice* amongeſt all king *Ptolomies* wiues, was beſt beloued and eſteemed of her husbande, both for her vertue and wiſedome: he beganne to entertaine and honor her aboue all the reſt. For he was a man that could tell how to humble him ſelfe towardes the great (by whom he might winne benefit) and knewe alſo how to creepe into their credit: and in like manner was he a great ſcorner and deſpiſer of ſuch as were his inferiors. Moreouer, for that he was found maruelous honorable and of fayer condicion, he was preferred before all other young princes, to be the huſbande of *Antigona*, the daughter of Queene *Berenice*, whom ſhe had by *Philip*, before ſhe was maried vnto *Ptolomie*. From thenceforth growing through the allyance of that mariage, more and more into eſtimacion and fauor by meanes of his wife *Antigona*, who ſhewed her ſelfe very vertuous and louing towardes him: he found meanes in the ende, to get both men and money to returne againe into the realme of EPIRVS, and to conquer it: ſo was he then very well receiued of the people, and the better, for the malice they bare to *Neoptolemus*, bicauſe he dealt both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithſtandinge, *Pyrrus* fearinge leaſt *Neoptolemus* would repaire vnto ſome of the other kings, to ſeeke ayde againſt him, thought good to make peace with him. Whereupon it was agreed betwene them, that they ſhould both together be kinges of EPIRVS. But in proceſſe of time, ſome of their men ſecretly made ſtrife againe betwene them, and ſet them at defyance one with an other: and the chiefeſt cauſe as it is ſayed, that angered *Pyrrus* moſt, grew apon this. The kinges of EPIRVS had an auncient cuſtome of great antiquity, after they had made ſolemne ſacrifice vnto *Iupiter Martiall*, (in a certaine place in the prouince of MOLOSSIDE, called PASSARON) to take their othe, and to be ſworne to the EPIROTES, that they would raigne well and iuſtly, accordinge to the lawes and ordinaunces of the contry: and to receiue the ſubiectes othes interchaungeably alſo, that they would defend and maintaine them in their kingdome, according to the lawes in like maner. This ceremony was done in the preſence of both the kinges, and they with their frendes did both geue and receiue preſentes eche of other. At this meetinge and ſolemnity, amonge other, one *Gelon* a moſt faithfull ſeruaunt and aſſured frend vnto *Neoptolemus*, who beſides great ſhowes of frendſhippe and honor he did vnto *Pyrrus*, gaue him two payer of draught oxen, which one *Myrtilus* a cuppebearer of *Pyrrus* beinge preſent, and ſeeinge, did craue of his maſter. But *Pyrrus* denyed to geue them vnto him whereat *Myrtilus* was very angry. *Gelon* perceiuinge that *Mytilus* was angry, prayed him to ſuppe with him that night. Now ſome ſay, he ſought to abuſe *Myrtilus*, bicauſe he was fayer and younge: and beganne to perſwade him after ſupper to take parte with *Neoptolemus*, and to poyſon *Pyrrus*. *Myrtilus* made as though he was willing to geue eare to this perſwaſion, and to be well pleaſed withall. But in the meane time, he went and tolde his maſter of it, by whoſe commaundement he made *Alexicrates*, *Pyrrus* chiefe cuppebearer, to talke with *Gelon* about this practiſe, as though he had alſo geuen his conſent to it, and was willinge to be partaker of the enterpriſe. This did *Pyrrus* to haue two witneſſes, to proue the pretended poyſoninge of him. Thus *Gelon* beinge finely deceiued, and

Pyrrus realme taken frō him in his abſence.

Pyrrus valliantnes at the battell of Hipſus.

Pyrrus behauior.

Pyrrus maried to Antigona the daughter of Philip king of Macedon, and of his wife Berenice.

Pyrrus reſtored to his kingdome againe.

Pyrrus deuideth the realme of Epirus with Neoptolemus.

Neop-

A *Neoptolemus* alſo with him, both imagininge they had cunningly ſponne the threde of their treaſon: *Neoptolemus* was ſo glad of it, that he could not kepe it to him ſelfe, but told it to certaine of his frendes. And on a time going to be mery with his ſiſter, he could not keepe it in, but muſt be pratling of it to her, ſuppoſing no body had heard him but her ſelfe, bicauſe there was no liuing creature neere them, ſauing *Phœnareta Samons* wife, the kinges chiefe heardman of all his beaſtes, and yet ſhe was layed apon a litle bed by, and turned towards the wall: ſo that ſhe ſeemed as though ſhe had ſlept. But hauing heard all their talke, and no body miſtruſting her: the next morning ſhe went to *Antigona* king *Pyrrus* wife, and told her euery worde what ſhe had heard *Neoptolemus* ſay to his ſiſter. *Pyrrus* hearing this, made no countenaunce of any thing at that time. But hauinge made ſacrifice vnto the goddes, he bad *Neoptolemus* to ſupper
B to his houſe, where he ſlue him, being well informed before of the good will the chiefeſt men of the realme did beare him, who wiſhed him to diſpatch *Neoptolemus*, & not to content him ſelfe with a peece of EPIRVS only, but to follow his naturall inclination, being borne to great thinges: and for this cauſe therefore, this ſuſpition fallinge out in the meane while, he preuented *Neoptolemus*, and ſlue him firſt. And furthermore, remembringe the pleaſures he had receiued of *Ptolomie* and *Berenice*, he named his firſt ſonne by his wife *Antigona*, *Ptolomie*, and hauing built a city in the PRESCQVE, an Ile of EPIRVS, did name it BERENICIDA. When he had done that, imagining great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he firſt determined with him ſelfe howe to winne that which lay neereſt vnto him: and ſo tooke occaſion by this
C meanes, firſt to ſet foote into the Empire of MACEDON. The eldeſt ſonne of *Caſſander*, called *Antipater*, put his owne mother *Theſſalonica* to death, and draue his brother *Alexander* out of his owne contry, who ſent to *Demetrius* for helpe, and called in *Pyrrus* alſo to his ayde. *Demetrius* being troubled with other matters, could not ſo quickely go thither. And *Pyrrus* being arriued there, demaunded for his charge ſuſteined, the citie of NYMPHÆA, with all the ſea coaſtes of MACEDON: and beſides all that, certaine landes alſo that were not belonginge to the auncient crowne and reuenues of the kinges of MACEDON, but were added vnto it by force of armes, as *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. All theſe, the young king *Alexander* leauinge vnto him, he tooke poſſeſſion thereof, and put good garriſons into the ſame in his owne name: and conquering the reſt of MACEDON in the name of *Alexander*, put his brother
Antipater to great diſtreſſe. In the meane time kinge *Lyſimachus* lacked no good will to helpe
D *Antipater* with his force, but being buſied in other matters, had not the meane to doe it. Howbeit knowinge very well that *Pyrrus* in acknowledginge the great pleaſures he had receiued of *Ptolomie*, woulde deny him nothinge: he determined to wryte counterfeate letters to him in *Ptolomies* name, and thereby inſtantly to pray and require him to leaue of the warres begonne againſt *Antipater*, and to take of him towardes the defrayinge of his charges, the ſumme of three hundred talentes. *Pyrrus* opening the letters, knew ſtraight that this was but a fetch and deuiſe of *Lyſimachus*. For king *Ptolomies* common manner of greeting of him, which he vſed at the beginning of his letters, was not in them obſerued: To my ſonne *Pyrrus*, health. But in thoſe counterfeate was, king *Ptolomie*, vnto king *Pyrrus*, health. Whereupon he preſently pronounced *Lyſimachus* for a naughty man: neuertheleſſe, afterwardes he made peace with *An-*
E *tipater*, and they met together at a day appointed, to be ſworne vpon the ſacrifices vnto the articles of peace. There were three beaſtes brought to be ſacrificed, a goate, a bul, and a ramme: of the which, the ramme fell downe dead of him ſelfe before he was touched, whereat all the ſtanders by fell a laughinge. But there was a Soothſayer, one *Theodotus*, that perſwaded *Pyrrus* not to ſweare: ſaying, that this ſigne and token of the gods did threaten one of the three kings with ſodaine death. For which cauſe *Pyrrus* concluded no peace. Now *Alexanders* warres beinge ended, *Demetrius* notwithſtanding came to him, knowing well enough at his comming that *Alexander* had no more neede of his aide, and that he did it only but to feare him. They had not bene many dayes together, but thone beganne to miſtruſt thother, and to ſpie all the wayes they could to intrappe eche other: but *Demetrius* embracing the firſt occaſion offered,
F preuented *Alexander*, and ſlue him, being a young man, and proclaimed him ſelfe king of MACEDON in his roome. Now *Demetrius* had certaine quarrells before againſt *Pyrrus*, bicauſe he had ouerrunne the contry of THESSALIE: and furthermore, greedy couetouſnes to haue the

Pyrrus ſlue Neoptolemus.

Berenicida, a city of Epirus in the Ile of Preſcque.

Pyrrus firſt iorney into Macedon.

King Lyſimachus craft to deceiue Pyrrus.

Theodotus iudgement, a Soothſayer.

Pyrrus quarrell and warre with Demetrius.

more(which is a common vice with princes and noble men)made, that being ſo neere neighbours, the one ſtoode in feare and miſtruſt of the other, and yet much more after the death of *Deidamia*. But now that they both occupied all MACEDON betwene them, and were to make diuiſion of one ſelfe kingdome. Now I ſay began the matter and occaſion of quarrell, to grow the greater betwene them. Whereupon *Demetrius* went with his army to ſet apon the AETOLIANS, and hauinge conquered the contry, left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenaunt there with a great army: and him ſelfe in perſon in the meane time, marched againſt *Pyrrus*, and *Pyrrus* on thother ſide againſt him. They both miſſed of meetinge, and *Demetrius* goinge on further on the one ſide, entred into the realme of EPIRVS, and brought a great ſpoyle away with him: *Pyrrus* on the other ſide marched on, till he came to the place where *Pantauchus* was. To whome he gaue battell, and it was valliantly fought out betwene the ſouldiers of either party, but ſpecially betwene the two Generalls. For doutleſſe, *Pantauchus* was the valliantеſt Captaine, the ſtowteſt man, and of the greateſt experience in armes, of all the Captaines and ſouldiers *Demetrius* had. Whereupon, *Pantauchus* truſting in his ſtrength and corage, aduaunced him ſelfe forwardes, and luſtely chalenged the combat of *Pyrrus*. *Pyrrus* on the other ſide being inferior to no king in valliantnes, nor in deſire to winne honor, as he that would aſcribe vnto himſelfe the glory of *Achilles*, more for the imitacion of his valliancy, then for that he was diſcended of his blood: paſſed through the middeſt of the battell vnto the firſt rancke, to buckle with *Pantauchus*. Thus they beganne to charge one an other, firſt with their dartes, and then comming nearer, fought with their ſwordes, not only artificially, but alſo with great force and fury: vntill ſuch time as *Pyrrus* was hurte in one place, and he hurte *Pantauchus* in two. The one neere vnto his throte and the other in his legge: ſo as in the ende *Pyrrus* made him turne his backe, and threw him to the ground, but neuertheleſſe killed him not. For, ſo ſoone as he was downe, his men tooke him, and caried him away. But the EPIROTES encoraged by the victory of their kinge, and the admiration of his valliantneſſe, ſtucke to it ſo luſtely, that in the end they brake the battell of the MACEDONIAN footemen: & hauing put them to flight, followed them ſo liuely, that they ſlewe a great number of them, and tooke fiue thouſande priſoners. This ouerthrowe did not ſo much fill the hartes of the MACEDONIANS with anger, for the loſſe they had receiued, nor with the hate conceiued againſt *Pyrrus*: as it wanne *Pyrrus* great fame & honor, making his corage and valliantnes to be wondred at of all uch as were preſent at the battell that ſaw him fight, and how he layed about him. For they thought that they ſaw in his face the very life and agility of *Alexander* the great, and the right ſhadow as it were, ſhowinge the force and fury of *Alexander* him ſelfe in that fight. And where other kinges did but only counterfeate *Alexander* the great in his purple garments, and in numbers of ſouldiers and gardes about their perſones, and in a certaine facion and bowing of their neckes a litle, and in vttering his ſpeech with an high voyce: *Pyrrus* only was like vnto him, and followed him in his marſhall deedes and valliant actes. Furthermore, for his experience and skill in warlike diſcipline, the bookes he wrote him ſelfe thereof, do amply proue and make manifeſt. Furthermore, they reporte, that kinge *Antigonus* being asked, whome he thought to be the greateſt Captaine: made aunſwer, *Pyrrus*, ſo farre foorth as he might liue to be olde, ſpeaking only of the Captaines of his time. But *Hanniball* generally ſayd, *Pyrrus* was the greateſt Captaine of experience and skil in warres of all other, *Scipio* the ſecond, and him ſelfe the third: as we haue wrytten in the life of *Scipio*. So it ſeemeth that *Pyrrus* gaue his whole life and ſtudy to the diſcipline of warres, as that which in dede was princely and meete for a king, making no reckening of all other knowledge. And furthermore touching this matter, they reporte that he being at a feaſt one day, a queſtion was asked him, whom he thought to be the beſt player of the flute, *Python* or *Cepheſias*: whereunto he aunſwered, that *Polyperchon* in his opinion was the beſt Captaine, as if he would haue ſayd, that was the only thing a prince ſhould ſeeke for, and which he ought chiefly to learne and know. He was very gentle and familiar with his frendes, eaſie to forgeue when any had offended him, and maruelous deſirous to requite and acknowledge any curteſie or pleaſure by him receiued. And that was the cauſe why he did very vnpaciently take the death of *AEropus*, not ſo much for his death (which he knewe was a common thing to euery liuing creature) as for that he was angry with himſelfe he had deferred the time

Pantauchus, Demetrius Lieutenant in AEtolia.

Pyrrus fight, with Pantauchus.

Pyrrus victory of Pantauchus.

Pyrrus likened to Alexander the great.

Pyrrus skil in warlike diſcipline.

Hanniballs iudgement of Captaines.

Pyrrus wiſe aunſwer.

Pyrrus goodnes and curteſie.

ſo

A so long, that time it selfe had cut him of from all occasion and meanes to requite the curtesies he had receiued of him. True it is that money lent, may be repayed againe vnto the heires of the lender: but yet it greueth an honest nature, when he can not recompence the good will of the lender, of whom he hath receiued the good turne. An other time *Pyrrus* being in the city of AMBRACIA, there were certaine of his frends that gaue him counsel to put a naughty man out of the city that did nothing but speake ill of him. But he aunswered, it is better (quod he) to keepe him here still, speakinge ill of vs but to a fewe: then driuing him away, to make him speake ill of vs euery where. Certaine youthes were brought before him on a time, who making mery together, drinking freely, were bolde with the king to speake their pleasure of him in very vnduetifull sorte. So, *Pyrrus* askinge them whether it was true they sayed so or no: it

B is true, and it please your grace, sayed one of them, we sayed it in deede, and had not our wine failed vs, we had spoken a great deale more. The king laughed at it, and pardoned them. After the death of *Antigona*, he maried many wiues to increase his power withall, and to gette moe frendes. For he maried the daughter of *Autoleon* kinge of PÆONIA, and *Bircenna* the daughter of *Bardillis*, king of ILLYRIA, and *Lanassa*, the daughter of *Agathocles*, tyran of SYRACVSA, that brought him for her dower the Ile of CORPHVE, which her father had taken. By *Antigona* his first wife, he had a sonne called *Ptolomie*: By *Lanassa*, an other called *Alexander*: and by *Bircenna*, an other (the youngest of all) called *Helenus*: all which though they were marshall men by race and naturall inclination, yet were they brought vp by him in warres, and therein trained as it were euen from their cradell. They wryte, that one of his sonnes beinge

C but a boy, asked him one day to which of them he would leaue his kingdome: *Pyrrus* aunswered the boy, to him that hath the sharpest sworde. That was much like the tragicall curse wherewith *Oedipus* cursed his children.

Let them (for me) deuide, both goodes, yea rentes and lande:
VVith trenchaunt swword, and bloody blowes, by force of mighty hande.

So cruell, hatefull, and beastly is the nature of ambition and desire of rule. But after this battell, *Pyrrus* returned home againe to his contry, full of honor and glory, his hart highly exalted, and his minde throughly contented. And as at his returne the EPIROTES his subiectes called him an Eagle, he aunswered them: if I be an Eagle, it is through you that I am so, for your weapons are the winges that haue raised me vp. Shortely after, beinge aduertised that

D *Demetrius* was fallen sicke, and in great daunger of death, he sodainely went into MACEDON, only to inuade it, and to make pray thereof: howbeit he had in deede almost taken the whole realme, and made him selfe Lord of all without stroke striken. For he came as farre as the city of EDESSA, and found no resistance: but rather to the contrary, many of the contry willingly came to his campe, and submitted them selues. The daunger *Demetrius* was in to loose his realme, did moue him more: then the disease and sickenes of his body. And on the other side, his frendes, seruauntes, and Captaines, hauing gathered a great number of men of warre together in maruelous shorte time, marched with great speede towardes *Pyrrus*, being earnestly bent to do some exploite against him: who being come into MACEDON but to make a roade only apon them, would not tary them, but fled, and flying, lost parte of his men, bicause the

E MACEDONIANS followed him hard, and set apon him by the way. But now, though they had driuen *Pyrrus* thus easily out of MACEDON, *Demetrius* for all that did not make light accompt of him: but pretending greater thinges, (as to recouer the landes and dominions of his father, with an army of an hundred thousand fighting men, and of fiue hundred sayle which he put to the sea) would not stande to make warres against *Pyrrus*, neither yet leaue the MACEDONIANS (whilest he was absent) so daungerous a neighbour, and so ill to deale withall. But lacking leasure to make warres with *Pyrrus*, concluded a peace with him, to the ende he might with the more liberty set apon the other kinges. Thus now, the peace concluded betwixt *Demetrius* & *Pyrrus*, the other kinges and princes beganne to finde out *Demetrius* intent, and why he had made so great preparation and being afrayed therof, wrote vnto *Pyrrus* by their Ambassadors,

F that they wondred how he could let go such oportunity and occasion, and to tary till *Demetrius* might with better leasure make warres vpon him. And why he chose rather to tary & fight with him for the aulters, temples, and sepulchers of the MOLOSSIANS, when he shoulde be

Certaine witty sayinges of Pyrrus.

Pyrrus wiues and children.

Pyrrus called an Eagle.

Pyrrus inuadeth Macedon.

Demetrius army both by land and sea.

of greater power, and haue no warres elſewhere to trouble him: then now that he might eaſily A
driue him out of MACEDON, hauing ſo many things in hand, & being troubled as he was in o-
ther places. And cõſidering alſo that very lately he had taken one of his wiues from him, with
the city of CORPHVE. For *Lanaſſa* miſlikinge, that *Pyrrus* loued his other wiues better then
her, (they being of a barbarous natiõ) got her vnto CORPHVE: & deſiring to mary ſome other
king, ſent for *Demetrius*, knowinge that he of all other kinges would ſooneſt be wonne there-
unto. Whereuppon *Demetrius* went thither, and maried her, and left a garriſon in his citie of
Demetrius maried Lanaſſa Pyrrus wife. CORPHVE. Nowe theſe other kinges that did aduertiſe *Pyrrus* in this ſorte, them ſelues did
trouble *Demetrius* in the meane while: who tracted time, & yet went on with his preparacion
notwithſtãding, For on the one ſide, *Ptolomie* entred GREECE with a great army by ſea, where
he cauſed the cities to reuolt againſt him. And *Lyſimachus* on the other ſide alſo, entring into B
high MACEDON by the contry of THRACIA, burnt and ſpoyled all as he went. *Pyrrus* alſo ar-
minge him ſelfe with them, went vnto the city of BERROEA, imagining (as afterwardes it fell
out) that *Demetrius* goinge againſt *Lyſimachus*, would leaue all the lowe contry of MACEDON
naked, without garriſon or defence. And the ſelfe ſame night that *Pyrrus* departed, he imagi-
ned that king *Alexander* the great did call him, and that alſo he went vnto him, & found him
Pyrrus dreame. ſicke in his bed, of whom he had very good wordes and entertainment: inſomuch as he pro-
miſed to helpe him throughly. And *Pyrrus* imagined alſo that he was ſo bolde to demaund of
him againe: how (my Lord) can you helpe me, that lye ſicke in your bed? and that *Alexander*
made aunſwer: with my name only. And that moreouer he ſodainely therewithall got vp on
his horſe Niſea, & rode before *Pyrrus* to guide him the way. This viſion he had in his dreame, C
which made him bolde, and furthermore encouraged him to goe on with his enterpriſe. By
which occaſion, marching forward with all ſpeede, in few dayes he ended his intended iorney
Pyrrus ſecõde iorney into Macedon. to the city of BERROEA, which ſodainely he tooke at his firſt comming to it: the moſt parte of
his army he layed in garriſon there, the reſidue he ſent away vnder the conduct of his Cap-
taines, here and there, to conquer the cities thereabouts. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence here-
of, and hearing alſo an ill rumor that ranne in his campe amongeſt the MACEDONIANS, durſt
not leade them any further, for feare leaſt (when he ſhould come nere to *Lyſimachus* beinge a
MACEDONIAN king by nation, & a prince eſtemed for a famous captaine) they would ſhrinke
from him, & take *Lyſimachus* parte: for this cauſe therefore he turned againe vpon the ſodaine
againſt *Pyrrus*, as againſt a ſtraunge prince, & ill beloued of the MACEDONIANS. But when he D
came to incampe nere him, many cõminge from BERROEA into his campe, blew abroade the
Pyrrus praiſes. praiſes of *Pyrrus*, ſaying, that he was a noble prince, inuincible in warres, & one that curteouſly
intreated all thoſe he tooke to his party: & amongeſt thoſe, there were other that were no na-
tural MACEDONIANS borne, but ſet on by *Pyrrus*, & fained them ſelues to be MACEDONIANS,
who gaue out, that nowe occaſion was offered to ſet them at liberty, from *Demetrius* prowde
and ſtately rule, and to take kinge *Pyrrus* parte, that was a curteous prince, and one that loued
ſouldiers and men of warre. Theſe wordes made the moſt parte of *Demetrius* army very dout-
full, inſomuch as the MACEDONIANS looked about, to ſee if they could finde out *Pyrrus* to
yelde them ſelues vnto him. He had at that preſent left of his head peece: by meane whereof,
How Pyrrus ware his head peece. perceiuing he was not knowen, he put it on againe, and then they knew him a farre of, by the E
ſight of his goodly fayer plume, and the goates hornes which he caried on the toppe of his
creaſt. Whereupon there came a great number of MACEDONIANS to his parte, as vnto their
ſoueraine Lord and king, and required the watche word of him. Other put garlandes of oken
bowes about their heades, bicauſe they ſaw his men crowned after that ſorte. And ſome were
ſo bolde alſo, as to go to *Demetrius* him ſelfe, and tell him, that in their opinions he ſhould do
very well and wiſely to geue place to fortune, and referre all vnto *Pyrrus*. *Demetrius* hereupon,
ſeeing his campe in ſuch vprore, was ſo amaſed, that he knewe not what way to take, but ſtale
away ſecretly, diſguiſed in a threde bare cloke, & a hoode on his head to kepe him from know-
ledge. *Pyrrus* foorthwith ſeaſed vppon his campe, tooke all that he founde, and was preſently
Pyrrus proclaimed kinge of Macedon. proclaimed in the fielde, king of MACEDON. *Lyſimachus* on thother ſide, came ſtraight thither F
after him, and ſayed that he had holpen to chaſe *Demetrius* out of his realme, and therefore
claimed halfe the kingdome with him. Wherefore, *Pyrrus* not truſtinge the MACEDONIANS

too

A to farre as yet, but rather ſtanding in doubt of their faith: graunted *Lyſimachus* his deſire, and thereupon deuided all the cities and prouinces of the realme of MACEDON betwene them. This partition was profitable for them both at that preſent, and ſtoode then to good purpoſe to pacifie the warre, that otherwiſe might ſodainely haue riſen betwene them. But ſhortly after, they found that this partition was no end of their enmity, but rather a beginning of quarrell and diſſention betwene them. For they whoſe auarice and inſatiable greedy appetite, neither the ſea, the mountaines, nor the vnhabitable deſertes coulde containe, nor yet the confynes that ſeparate ASIA from EVROPE determine: howe ſhould they be content with their owne, without vſurping others, when their fronters ioyne ſo neere together, that nothing deuides them? Sure it is not poſſible. For to ſay truely, they are willingly together by the eares,

Macedon deuided betwene Pyrrus and Lyſimachus.

Couetouſnes hath no ende.

B hauing theſe two curſed thinges rooted in them: that they continually ſeeke occaſion how to ſurpriſe eche other, and either of them enuies his neighbours well doing. Howbeit in apparaunce they vſe theſe two tearmes, of peace and warres, as they doe money: vſinge it as they thinke good, not accordinge to right and iuſtice, but for their priuate profit. And truely they are men of farre greater honeſty, that make open warre, and auow it: then thoſe that diſguiſe and colour the delay of their wicked purpoſe, by the holy name of inſtice or frendſhip. Which *Pyrrus* did truely then verifie. For deſiring to kepe *Demetrius* downe from riſing an other time, and that he ſhould not reuiue againe as eſcaped from a long daungerous diſeaſe: he went to aide the GREECIANS againſt him, and was at ATHENS, where they ſuffered him to come in-

Peace, and warre, vſed lyke money.

Pyrrus ayded the Grecians againſt Demetrius.

C ſtle againe the ſame day, he tolde the ATHENIANS he was greatly beholdinge vnto them for their curteſie, and the great truſt they had repoſed in him: wherefore to requite them againe, he gaue them counſell, neuer to ſuffer prince nor king from thenceforth to enter into their city, if they were wiſe, nor once open their gates vnto them. So, after that he made peace with *Demetrius*, who within ſhorte time beinge gone to make warres in ASIA, *Pyrrus* yet once againe (perſwaded thereunto by *Lyſimachus*) cauſed all THESSALIE to riſe againſt him, & went him ſelfe to ſet vpon thoſe garriſons which *Demetrius* had left in the cities of GREECE, liking better to continue the MACEDONIANS in warre, then to leaue them in peace: beſides that him ſelfe alſo was of ſuch a nature, as could not long continue in peace. *Demetrius* thus in the ende being vtterly ouerthrowen in SYRIA, *Lyſimachus* ſeeing him ſelfe free from feare on that

D ſide, and being at good leaſure, as hauing nothing to trouble him otherwayes: went ſtraight to make warre apon *Pyrrus*, who then remained neere vnto the city of EDESSA, & meeting by the way with the conuoy of vittells comming towards him, ſet vpon the conducters, and rifled them wholly. By this meanes, firſt he diſtreſſed *Pyrrus* for want of vittels: then he corrupted the princes of MACEDON with letters & meſſengers, declaring vnto thē, what ſhame they ſuſteined to haue made a ſtraunger their king (whoſe aunceſters had euer bene their vaſſalls & ſubiectes) and to haue turned all thoſe out of MACEDON, that had bene familiar frendes of king *Alexander* the great. Many of the MACEDONIANS were wonne by theſe perſwaſions, which fact ſo feared *Pyrrus*, that he departed out of MACEDON with his men of warre, the EPIROTES, and other his confederates: and ſo loſt MACEDON by the ſelfe ſame meanes he wanne

Lyſimachus maketh warre with Pyrrus.

E it. Kinges and princes therefore muſt not blame priuate men, though they chaunge and alter ſometime for their profit: for therein they do but follow the example of princes, who teache them all diſloyalty, treaſon, and infidelity, iudging him moſt worthy of gaine, that leaſt obſerueth iuſtice and equity. So *Pyrrus* being come home againe to his kingdome of EPIRVS, forſakinge MACEDON altogether, fortune made him happy enough, and in deede he had good meanes to liue peaceably at home, without any trouble, if he could haue contented him ſelfe only with the ſouerainty ouer his owne naturall ſubiectes. But thinking, that if he did neither hurt other, nor that other did hurt him, he could not tell how to ſpend his time, and by peace he ſhould pyne away for ſorow, as *Homer* ſayd of *Achilles*:

He languiſhed and pynde by taking eaſe and reſt:
F *And in the vvarres vvhere trauaile vvas, he liked euer beſt.*

And thus ſeeking matter of newe trouble, fortune preſented him this occaſion. About this time, the ROMAINES by chaunce made warre with the TARENTINES, who could nether beare

their force, nor yet deuise how to pacifie the same, by reason of the rashnesse, folly, and wic- A
kednes of their gouernors, who perswaded them to make *Pyrrus* their Generall, and to sende
The Tarentines hauinge warre with the Romaines, determine to make king Pyrrus their Generall. for him for to conduct these warres: bicause he was lesse troubled at that time, then any of the
other kinges about them, and was esteemed of euery man also to be a noble souldier, and fa-
mous Captaine. The elders, and wise men of the city, vtterly misliked that counsell: but some
of them were put to silence, through the noyse and fury of the people, who cried for warres.
Some other seeing them checked, and taken vp by the multitude in this manner, woulde no
more repayre to their common assemblies. Among the rest, there was one *Meton*, an honest
Meton counterfeating the foole, wisely perswaded the Tarentines not to send for Pyrrus. worshipfull citizen, who when the day was come that the people shoulde conclude in coun-
sel, the decree for the calling in of *Pyrrus*: all the people of TARENTVM being assembled, & set
in the Theater, this *Meton* put an olde withered garlande of flowers vpon his head, and carry- B
ing a torch in his hande as though he had bene dronke, and hauing a woman minstrell before
him playing on a pype, went daunsinge in this goodly aray through the middest of the whole
assembly. And there, (as it happeneth commonly in euery hurly burly of people that will be
Tarentum a city in Italie. maisters them selues, and where no good order is kept) some of them clapped their handes,
other burst out in a laughter, and euery man suffered him to doe what he lust: but they all
cried out to the woman minstrell, to play on and spare not, and to *Meton* him selfe, that he
shoulde sing, and come forward. So *Meton* made shewe as though he prepared him selfe vnto
it: and when they had geuen silence to heare him sing, he spake vnto them with a lowd voice
Metons counsell to the Tarentines. in this manner. My Lordes of TARENTVM, ye doe well sure, not to forbid them to play and
to be mery that are so disposed, whilest they may lawfully do it: and if ye be wise, euery of you C
also (as many as you be) will take your liberty whilest you may enioy it. For when king *Pyrrus*
shalbe in this city, you shall liue I warrant ye after an other sorte, and not as ye now do. These
wordes of *Meton* moued many of the TARENTINES, and sodainly there ran a rumor through
all the assembly, that he had sayed truely. But they that had offended the ROMAINES, fearing
if peace were made, that they shoulde be deliuered into their handes, they checked the peo-
ple, asking them if they were such fooles, as would abide to be mocked and played withall to
their teeth: and with those wordes all ranne vppon *Meton*, and draue him out of the Theater.
The decree thus confirmed by voyces of the people, they sent Ambassadors into EPIRVS, to
The Tarentines sende Ambassadors to Pyrrus. carry presents vnto king *Pyrrus*, not only from the TARENTINES, but from other GREECIANS
also that dwelt in ITALIE, saying that they stoode in neede of a wise and skilful Captaine, that D
was reputed famous in marshall discipline. And as to the rest, for numbers of good soul-
diers, they had men enough in ITALIE, & were able to bring an army into the field, of the LV-
CANIANS, the MESSAPIANS, the SAMNITES, and TARENTINES, of twenty thowsande horse,
& three hundred thowsand footemen being all assembled together. These wordes of the Am-
bassadors did not only lift vp *Pyrrus* harte, but made the EPIROTES also maruelous desirous to
Cineas the orator, a Thessalian borne, and attending in Pyrrus courte. go this iorney. There was in kinge *Pyrrus* courte one *Cineas* THESSALIAN, a man of great vn-
derstanding, and that had bene *Demosthenes* the orators scholler, who seemed to be the onely
man of all other in his time in common reputacion, to be most eloquent, following the liuely
image and shadow of *Demosthenes* passing eloquence. This *Cineas*, *Pyrrus* euer entertained a-
bout him, and sent him Ambassador to the people and cities thereabouts: where he verefied E
Euripides wordes.

As much as trenchant blades, in mighty handes may doe,
So much can skill of eloquence, atchieue and conquer too.

And therfore *Pyrrus* would often say, that *Cineas* had wonne him moe townes with his elo-
quence, then him selfe had done by the sword: for which he did greatly honor and imploy him
in all his chiefe affaires. *Cineas* perceiuinge that *Pyrrus* was maruelously bent to these warres
Cineas graue talke with Pyrrus, to moderate his ambitious minde. of ITALIE, finding him one day at leasure, discoursed with him in this sorte. It is reported, and
it please your maiesty, that the ROMAINES are very good men of warre, & that they cõmaund
many valliant and warlike nations: if it please the goddes we doe ouercome them, what bene-
fit shall we haue of that victory? *Pyrrus* aunswered him againe, thou doest aske me a question F
that is manifest of it selfe. For when we haue once ouercome the ROMAINES, there can nei-
ther GRECIAN nor barbarous city in all the contry withstande vs, but we shall straight con-

A quer all the reſt of ITALIE with eaſe: whoſe greatnes, wealth, and power, no man knoweth better then thy ſelfe. *Cineas* pawſing a while, replied: and when we haue taken ITALIE, what ſhal we do then? *Pyrrus* not finding his meaning yet, ſaid vnto him. SICILIA as thou knoweſt, is hard adioyning to it, & doth as it were offer it ſelfe vnto vs, & is a maruelous populous and riche lande, and eaſie to be taken: for all the cities within the Ilande are one againſt an other, hauing no head that gouernes thē, ſince *Agathocles* died, more thē orators only that are their counſellers, who will ſoone be wonne. In dede it is likely which your grace ſpeaketh, quod *Cineas*: but when we haue wonne SICILIA, ſhall then our warres take ende? If the goddes were pleaſed, ſayed *Pyrrus*, that victory were atchieued: the way were then broade open for vs to attaine great conqueſtes. For who would not afterwardes goe into AFRICKE, and ſo to CAR-

Pyrrus iudgemēt of orators corruption.

B THAGE, which alſo will be an eaſie conqueſt, ſince *Agathocles* ſecretly flying from SYRACVSA, and hauing paſſed the ſeaes with a fewe ſhippes, had almoſt taken it? And that once conquered, it is moſt certaine there durſt not one of all our enemies that now doe daily vexe and trouble vs, lift vp their heades or handes againſt vs. No ſurely, ſayd *Cineas*: for it is a cleare caſe, that with ſo great a power we may eaſily recouer the realme of MACEDON againe, and commaunde all GREECE beſides, without let of any. But when we haue all in our handes: what ſhall we doe in the ende? Then *Pyrrus* laughing, tolde him againe: we will then (good *Cineas*) be quiet, & take our eaſe, and make feaſts euery day, & be as mery one with an other as we can poſſible. *Cineas* hauing brought him to that poynt, ſayd againe to him: my Lord, what letteth

C vs now to be quiet, and mery together, ſith we enioy that preſently without further trauel and trouble, which we will now go ſeeke for abroade, with ſuch ſheading of blood, and ſo manifeſt daunger? and yet we know not whether euer we ſhall attaine vnto it, after we haue both ſuffered, and cauſed other to ſuffer infinite ſorowes and troubles. Theſe laſt wordes of *Cineas*, did rather offende *Pyrrus*, then make him to alter his minde: for he was not ignorant of the happy ſtate he ſhoulde thereby forgoe, yet could he not leaue of the hope of that he did ſo much deſire. So he ſent *Cineas* before vnto the TARENTINES, with three thouſand footemen: and afterwardes the TARENTINES hauing ſent him great ſtore of flatbottomes, gallies, and of all ſortes of paſſengers, he ſhipped into them twenty elephantes, three thouſand horſemen, and

A daungerous thing to withſtande the Princes mind.

Pyrrus iorney into Italy.

two and twenty thowſande footemen, with fiue hundred bowe men and ſlinges. All thinges thus ready, he wayed anckers, and hoyſed ſayles, and was no ſooner in the maine ſea, but the

D north winde blew very roughly, out of ſeaſon, and draue him to leeward. Notwithſtandinge, the ſhip which he was in him ſelfe, by great toile of the pilots and mariners turning to windeward, and with much a do, and maruelous daunger recouered the coaſt of ITALIE. Howbeit the reſt of his fleete were violently diſperſed here and there, whereof ſome of them failinge their courſe into ITALIE, were caſt into the ſeas of LIBYA, and SICILIA. The other not able to recouer the pointe of APVLIA, were benighted, and the ſea being hie wrought, by violence caſt them apon the ſhoare, and againſt the rockes, and made ſhipwrackes of them, the Admirall onely reſerued, which through her ſtrength, and the greatnes of her burden, reſiſted the force of the ſea that moſt violently bet againſt her. But afterwards, the winde turning & comming from the lande, the ſea cruelly raking ouer the height of her forecaſtell: in fyne brought

Pyrrus daunger by tempeſt on the ſea.

E her in manifeſt perill of openinge, and ſplitting, and in daunger to be driuen from the coaſt, puttinge her out againe to the mercy of the windes, which chaunged euery hower. Wherefore *Pyrrus* caſtinge the perill euery way, thought beſt to leape into the ſea. After him foorthwith lept his gard, his ſeruauntes, and other his familiar frendes, venturing their liues to ſaue him. But the darkenes of the night, and rage of the waues (which the ſhore breakinge, forced ſo to rebound backe vpon them) with the great noyſe alſo, did ſo hinder their ſwimming: that it was euen day before they could recouer any lande, and yet was it by meanes that the winde fell. As for *Pyrrus*, he was ſo ſea beaten, and wearied with the waues, that he was able to do no more: though of himſelfe he had ſo great a harte, & ſtowte a corage, as was able to ouercome any perill. Moreouer, the MESSAPIANS (vpon whoſe coaſt the ſtorme had caſt him) ran out

Pyrrus caſt on ſhoare apon the contry of the Meſſapians.

F to helpe him, and diligently labored in all they coulde poſſible to ſaue him, and receiued alſo certaine of his ſhippes that had ſcaped, in which were a few horſemen, about two thowſande footemen, and two elephantes. With this ſmall force, *Pyrrus* marched on his iorney to goe

by lande vnto TARENTVM: and *Cineas* being aduertiſed of his comming, went with his men to meete him. Now when he was come to TARENTVM, at the firſt he would doe nothing by force, nor againſt the goodwill of the inhabitantes: vntill ſuch time as his ſhippes that had eſcaped the daungers of the ſea, were all arriued, and the greateſt parte of his army comen together againe. But when he had all his army he looked for, ſeeing that the people of TARENTVM could neither ſaue them ſelues, nor be ſaued by any other, without ſtraight order & compulſion, bicauſe they made their reckening that *Pyrrus* ſhould fight for them, & in the meane time they would not ſtirre out of their houſes from bathing them ſelues, from banketing, and making good chere: firſt of all he cauſed all the parkes & places of ſhew to be ſhut vp, where they were wont to walke and diſporte them ſelues, in any kind of exerciſe, and as they walked, to talke of warres as it were in paſtime, & to fight with words, but not to come to the blowes. And further he forbad all feaſtinges, mommeries, and ſuch other like pleaſures, as at that time were out of ſeaſon. He trained them out alſo to exerciſe their weapons, and ſhewed him ſelfe very ſeuere in muſters, not pardoning any whoſe names were billed to ſerue in the warres: inſomuch as there were many (which vnacquainted with ſuch rough handling & gouernment) forſooke the city altogether, calling it a bondage, not to haue liberty to liue at their pleaſure. Furthermore, *Pyrrus* hauing intelligence that *Leuinus* the ROMAINE Conſul came againſt him with a great puiſant army, and that he was already entred into the lande of LVCANIA, where he deſtroyed and ſpoyled all the contry before him: albeit the TARENTINES aide of their confederates was not as yet comen, he thought it a great ſhame to ſuffer his enemies approche ſo nere him, and therefore taking that ſmall number he had, brought them into the fielde againſt *Leuinus*. Howbeit he ſent a herauld before to the ROMAINES, to vnderſtand of them, if (before they entred into this warre) they coulde be content the controuerſies they had with all the GREECIANS dwellinge in ITALIE, might be decided by iuſtice, and therein to referre them ſelues to his arbitremēt, who of him ſelfe would vndertake the pacification of thē. Whereunto the Conſull *Leuinus* made aunſwere, that the ROMAINES would neuer allow him for a iudge, neither did they feare him for an enemy. Wherfore *Pyrrus* going on ſtil, came to lodge in the plaine which is betwene the cities of PANDOSIA, & of HERACLEA: & hauing newes brought him that the ROMAINES were encamped very nere vnto him on the other ſide of the riuer of Siris, he tooke his horſe, and rode to the riuers ſide to view their campe. So hauing throughly conſidered the forme, the ſcituacion, and the order of the ſame, the maner of charging their watche, and all their facions of doing: he wondered much thereat. And ſpeaking to *Megacles*, one of his familiars about him, he ſayd: this order *Megacles* (quod he) though it be of barbarous people, yet is it not barbarouſly done, but we ſhall ſhortely proue their force. After he had thus taken this view, he beganne to be more carefull then he was before, and purpoſed to tary till the whole aide of their confederates were comen together, leauing men at the riuers ſide of Siris, to kepe the paſſage, if the enemies ventured to paſſe ouer as they did in dede. For they made haſt to preuent the aide that *Pyrrus* looked for, & paſſed their footemen ouer apon a bridge, and their horſemen at diuerſe fordes of the riuer: inſomuch as the GREECIANS fearinge leaſt they ſhoulde be compaſſed in behinde, drew backe. *Pyrrus* aduertiſed thereof, and being a litle troubled therwithall, cōmaunded the Captaines of his footemen preſently to put their bandes in battell ray, and not to ſturre till they knew his pleaſure: and he him ſelfe in the meane time marched on with three thowſande horſe, in hope to finde the ROMAINES by the riuer ſide, as yet out of order, & vtterly vnprouided. But when he ſaw a farre of a greater number of footemen with their targettes ranged in battell, on this ſide the riuer, and their horſemen marching towardes him in very good order: he cauſed his men to ioyne cloſe together, and him ſelfe firſt beganne the charge, being eaſie to be knowen from other, if it had bene no more but his paſſinge riche gliſteringe armor and furniture, and withall, for that his valliant dedes gaue manifeſt proofe of his well deſerued fame and renowne. For, though he valliantly beſturred his hands and body both, repulſing them he encountered withall in fight, yet he forgate not him ſelfe, nor neglected the iudgement & foreſight, which ſhould neuer be wanting in a Generall of an army: but as though he had not fought at all, quietly and diſcretly gaue order for euerie thinge, rydinge to and fro, to defende and encorage his men in thoſe places, where

Pyrrus being receiued of the Tarētines reformed their vaine voluptuous life.

Marſhall diſcipline.

Leuinus Conſul, ſent againſt Pyrrus.

Pyrrus camped in the plaine, betwene Pandoſia and Heraclea.

Siris fl.

Megacles.

Pyrrus Battell.

Pyrrus firſt conflict with the Romaines.

Pyrrus wiſedom & foreſight in battell.

A where he ſawe them in moſt diſtreſſe. But euen in the hotteſt of the battell, *Leonatus* MACEDONIAN, ſpyed an ITALIAN a man of armes, that followed *Pyrrus* vppe and downe where he went, and euer kept in manner of euen hande with him, to ſet apon him. Wherefore he ſayd to *Pyrrus*: my Lord doe you not ſee that barbarous man there vppon a baye horſe with white feete? Sure he looketh as though he ment to doe ſome notable feate and miſchiefe with his owne handes: for his eye is neuer of you, but wayteth only apon you, being ſharpe ſet to deale with your ſelfe & none other, & therefore take hede of him. *Pyrrus* aunſwered him, it is impoſſible *Leonatus*, for a man to auoyde his deſtinie: but neither he, nor any other ITALIAN whatſoeuer, ſhall haue any ioy to deale with me. And as they were talkinge thus of the matter, the ITALIAN taking his ſpeare in the middeſt, and ſetting ſpurres to his horſe, charged apon *Pyr-*
B *rus*, and ranne his horſe through and through with the ſame. *Leonatus* at the ſelfe ſame inſtant ſerued the ITALIANS horſe in the like manner, ſo as both their horſes fell dead to the ground. Howbeit *Pyrrus* men that were about him, ſaued him preſently, and ſlew the ITALIAN in the fielde, although he fought it out right valliantly. The ITALIANS name was *Oplacus*, borne in the city of FERENTVM, and was Captaine of a bande of men of armes. This miſchaunce made kinge *Pyrrus* looke the better to him ſelfe afterwardes, and ſeeinge his horſemen geue backe, ſent preſently to haſten his footemen forward, whom he ſtraight ſet in order of battell: and deliuering his armor and cloke to one of his familiars called *Megacles*, and being hidden as it were in *Megacles* armor, returned againe to the battell againſt the ROMAINES, who valiantly reſiſted him, ſo that the victory depended longe in doubt. For it is ſayd, that both the one ſide
C and the other did chaſe, and was chaſed, aboue ſeuen times in that conflict. The chaunginge of the kinges armor ſerued very well for the ſafety of his owne perſone, howebeit it was like to haue marred all, and to haue made him looſe the fielde. For many of his enemies ſet vppon *Megacles*, that ware the kings armor: and the partie that ſlue him dead, and threw him ſtarke to the grounde, was one *Dexius* by name, who quickely ſnatched of his head peece, tooke away his cloke, and ranne to *Leuinus* the Conſul, crying out alowde, that he had ſlaine *Pyrrus*, and withall ſhewed foorth the ſpoyles he ſuppoſed to haue taken from him. Which being caried about through all the bands, & openly ſhewed from hand to hand, made the ROMAINES maruelous ioyfull, and the GREECIANS to the contrary, both afeard and right ſorowfull: vntill ſ[illegible] time as *Pyrrus* hearing of it, went and paſſed alongeſt all his bandes bare headed, and
D bar[illegible]ed, holdinge vp his hande to his ſouldiers, and geuinge them to vnderſtande with his owne voyce, that it was him ſelfe. The elephantes in the ende were they in deede that wanne the battell, and did moſt diſtreſſe the ROMAINES: for, their horſes ſeeing them a farre of, were ſore afrayed, and durſt not abide them, but caried their maſters backe in deſpite of them. *Pyr-*
rus at the ſight thereof, made his THESSALIAN horſemen to geue a charge apon them whileſt they were in this diſorder, and that ſo luſtely, as they made the ROMAINES flie, and ſuſteine great ſlaughter. For *Dionyſius* wryteth, that there dyed few leſſe, then fifteene thowſand ROMAINES at that battell. But *Hieronymus* ſpeaketh onely of ſeuen thowſande. And of *Pyrrus* ſide, *Dionyſius* wryteth, there were ſlaine thirteene thowſande. But *Hieronymus* ſayth leſſe then foure thowſande: howebeit they were all of the beſt men of his army, and thoſe whome moſt
E he truſted. King *Pyrrus* preſently hereupon alſo tooke the ROMAINES campe, which they forſooke, and wan many of their cities from their allyance, ſpoyled, and ouercame much of their contry. Inſomuch as he came within ſix and thirty mile of ROME, whither came to his aide, as confederates of the TARENTINES, the LVCANIANS, & the SAMNITES, whom he rebuked bicauſe they came to late to the battel. Howbeit a man might eaſily ſee in his face, that he was not a litle glad and proude to haue ouerthrowen ſo great an army of the ROMAINES with his owne men, and the aide of the TARENTINES onely. On thother ſide, the ROMAINES hartes were ſo great, that they would not depoſe *Leuinus* from his Conſullſhippe, notwithſtandinge the loſſe he had receiued: and *Caius Fabricius* ſayed openly, that they were not the EPIRO-
F TES that had ouercomen the ROMAINES, but *Pyrrus* had ouercome *Leuinus*: meaning thereby, that this ouerthrow chaunced vnto them, more through the ſubtilty and wiſe conduction of the Generall, then through the valliant feates and worthines of his army. And hereuppon they ſpeedily ſupplied their legyons againe that were miniſhed, with other newe ſouldiers

Pyrrus changed his armor & cloke.

Megacles ſlaine, taken for Pyrrus.

Pyrrus victory of Leuinus the Conſull.

in the dead mens place, and leauied a freſh force beſides, ſpeaking brauely and fiercely of this warre, like men whoſe hartes were nothinge appawled. Whereat *Pyrrus* maruelinge much, thought good firſt to ſend to the Romaines, to proue if they would geue any eare to an offer of peace, knowing right well that the winning of the city of Rome was no eaſie matter to cõpaſſe, or attaine, with that ſtrength he preſently had: and alſo that it would be greatly to his glory, if he could bring them to peace after this his valliant victory. And hereupon he ſent *Cineas* to Rome, who ſpake with the chiefeſt of the city, and offred preſentes to them and their wiues, in the behalfe of the king his maſter. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receiue any at his handes, but aunſwered all with one voyce: that if the peace might be general to all, they all priuately woulde be at the kinges commaundement, and woulde be glad of his frendſhippe. Moreouer, when *Cineas* had talked in open audience before the Senate, of many curteous offers, and had deliuered them profitable capitulacions of peace: they accepted none, nor ſhewed any affection to geue eare vnto them, although he offered to deliuer them their priſoners home againe without raunſome, that had bene taken at the battell, and promiſed alſo to aide them in the conqueſt of Italie, requiring no other recompence at their handes, ſauing their goodwills only to his maſter, & aſſurance for the Tarentines, that they ſhould not be annoyed for any thinge paſt, without demaunde of other matter. Neuertheleſſe in the ende, when they had hearde theſe offers, many of the Senators yeelded, and were willinge to make peace: alleaginge that they had already loſt a great battell, and howe they looked for a greater, when the force of the confederates of Italie ſhould ioyne together with king *Pyrrus* power. But *Appius Claudius*, a famous man, who came no more to the Senate, nor delt in matters of ſtate at all by reaſon of his age, and partely bicauſe he was blinde: when he vnderſtoode of king *Pyrrus* offers, and of the common brute that ranne through the city, howe the Senate were in minde to agree to the capitulacions of peace propounded by *Cineas*, he could not abide, but cauſed his ſeruauntes to cary him in his chayer apon their armes vnto the Senate dore, his ſonnes, and ſonnes in law taking him in their armes, caried him ſo into the Senate houſe. The Senate made ſilence to honor the comming in of ſo notable & worthy a perſonage: and he ſo ſoone as they had ſette him in his ſeate, beganne to ſpeake in this ſorte. Hitherunto with great impacience (my Lordes of Rome) haue I borne the loſſe of my ſight, but now, I would I were alſo as deafe as I am blinde, that I might not (as I doe) heare the [illegible]orte of your diſhonorable conſultacions determined vpon in Senate, which tende to ſub[illegible] the glorious fame and reputacion of Rome. What is now become of all your great and mighty bragges you blaſed abroade, through the whole worlde? that if *Alexander* the great him ſelfe had come into Italie, in the time that our fathers had bene in the flower of their age, and we in the prime of our youth, they would not haue ſayed euery where that he was altogether inuincible, as now at this preſent they doe: but either he ſhould haue left his body ſlaine here in battell, or at the leaſt wiſe haue bene driuen to flie, and by his death or flyinge ſhoulde greatly haue enlarged the renowne and glory of Rome? you plainly ſhow it now, that all theſe words ſpoken thẽ, were but vaine & arrogant vaunts of fooliſh pride. Conſidering that you tremble for feare of the Molossians & Chaonians, who were euer a pray to the Macedonians: and that ye are afrayed of *Pyrrus* alſo, who all his life time ſerued and followed one of the gard vnto *Alexander* the great, and nowe is come to make warres in theſe partes, not to aide the Greecians inhabiting in Italie, but to flie from his enemies there about his owne contry, offering you to conquer all the reſt of Italie with an army, wherewith he was nothing able to kepe a ſmall parte of Macedon only for him ſelfe. And therefore you muſt not perſwade your ſelues, that in making peace with him, you ſhall thereby be rid of him: but rather ſhall you draw others to come & ſet apon you beſides. For they will vtterly deſpiſe you, when they ſhal heare ye are ſo eaſily ouercome, and that you haue ſuffered *Pyrrus* to eſcape your handes, before you made him feele the iuſt reward of his bolde preſumptuous attempt vpon you: carying with him for a further hier, this aduantage ouer you, that he hath geuen a great occaſion both to the Samnites, and Tarentines, hereafter to mocke and deride you. After that *Appius* had tolde this tale vnto the Senate, euery one through the whole aſſembly, deſired rather warre then peace. They diſpatched *Cineas* away thereupon with this aunſwere, that if

Cineas ſent Ambaſſador to Rome.

The noble minde of the Romaines.

Appius Claudius diſſwaded the Romaines from making peace with Pyrrus.

Appius Claudius oration to the Senate.

A if *Pyrrus* ſought the ROMAINES frendſhippe, he muſt firſt departe out of ITALIE, and then ſende vnto them to treate of peace: but ſo longe as he remained there with his army, the ROMAINES would make warres vpon him, with all the force and power they could make, yea although he had ouerthrowen and ſlaine tenne thowſand ſuch Captaines as *Leuinus* was. They ſay that *Cineas*, during the time of his abode at ROME, intreating for this peace, did curiouſly labor to conſider and vnderſtande, the manners, order, and life of the ROMAINES, and their common weale, diſcourſing thereof with the chiefeſt men of the city: and how afterwards he made ample reporte of the ſame vnto *Pyrrus*, and tolde him amongeſt other thinges, that the Senate appeared to him, a counſell houſe of many kinges. And furthermore (for the number of people) that he feared greatly they ſhould fight againſt ſuch a ſerpent, as that which was in B olde time in the mariſes of LERNE, of which, when they had cut of one heade, ſeuen other came vp in the place: bicauſe the Conſull *Leuinus* had nowe leauied an other army, twiſe as great as the firſt was, and had left at ROME alſo, many times as many good able men to cary armor. After this, there were ſent Ambaſſadors from ROME vnto *Pyrrus*, and amongeſt other, *Caius Fabricius* touching the ſtate of the priſoners. *Cineas* tolde the kinge his maſter, that this *Fabricius* was one of the greateſt menne of accompt in all ROME, a right honeſt man, a good Captaine, and a very valliant man of his handes, yet poore in deede he was notwithſtanding. *Pyrrus* taking him ſecretly a ſide, made very much of him, and amongeſt other thinges, offered him bothe golde and ſiluer, prayinge him to take it, not for any diſhoneſt reſpect he ment towardes him, but only for a pledge of the goodwill and frendſhippe that ſhould be be- C twene them. *Fabricius* would none of his gift: ſo *Pyrrus* left him for that time. Notwithſtanding, the next morninge thinkinge to feare him, bicauſe he had neuer ſeene elephant before, *Pyrrus* commaunded his men, that when they ſawe *Fabricius* and him talkinge together, they ſhoulde bringe one of his greateſt elephantes, and ſet him harde by them, behinde a hanging: which being done at a certaine ſigne by *Pyrrus* geuen, ſodainly the hanging was pulled backe, and the elephant with his troncke was ouer *Fabricius* heade, and gaue a terrible and fearefull crie. *Fabricius* ſoftely geuing backe, nothing afrayed, laughed and ſayd to *Pyrrus* ſmiling: neither did your golde (oh king) yeſterday moue me, nor your elephant to day feare me. Furthermore, whileſt they were at ſupper, fallinge in talke of diuerſe matters, ſpecially touchinge the ſtate of GREECE, and the Philoſophers there: *Cineas* by chaunce ſpake of EPICVRVS, and re- D hearſed the opinions of the EPICVRIANS touching the goddes and gouernment of the common wealth, how they placed mans chiefe felicity in pleaſure, how they fled from all office & publike charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of true felicity: howe they maintained that the goddes were immortall, neither moued with pity nor anger, and led an idle life full of all pleaſures and delightes, without taking any regarde of mens doinges. But as he ſtill continued this diſcourſe, *Fabricius* cried out alowde, and ſayd: the goddes graunt that *Pyrrus* and the SAMNITES were of ſuch opinions, as long as they had warres againſt vs. *Pyrrus* marueling much at the conſtancy and magnanimity of this man, was more deſirous a great deale to haue peace with the ROMAINES, then before. And priuately prayed *Fabricius* very earneſtly, that he would treate for peace, whereby he might afterwards come and remaine with him, E ſaying: that he would giue him the chiefe place of honor about him, amongeſt all his frendes. Whereunto *Fabricius* aunſwered him ſoftly: that were not good (oh king) for your ſelfe, quod he: for your men that preſently doe honor and eſteeme you, by experience if they once knew me, would rather chooſe me for their kinge, then your ſelfe. Such was *Fabricius* talke, whoſe wordes *Pyrrus* tooke not in ill parte, neither was offended with them at all, as a tyran woulde haue bene: but did him ſelfe reporte to his frendes and familiars the noble minde he founde in him, and deliuered him apon his faith only, all the ROMAINE priſoners: to the ende that if the Senate would not agree vnto peace, they might yet ſee their frendes, and kepe the feaſt of Saturne with them, and then to ſend them backe againe vnto him. Which the Senate eſtabliſhed by decree, vpon paine of death to all ſuch as ſhould not performe the ſame accordingly. F Afterwardes *Fabricius* was choſen Conſull, and as he was in his campe, there came a man to him that brought him a letter from kinge *Pyrrus* Phiſitian, wrytten with his owne handes: in which the Phiſitian offered to poyſon his maiſter, ſo he would promiſe him a good reward, for

The maieſtie of the Senate as Rome.

Caius Fabricius, Ambaſſador to Pyrrus.

Caius Fabricius a noble Captaine, but very poore.

Fabricius refuſed king Pyrrus giftes.

The opinion of the Epicurians touchinge felicity.

King Pyrrus Phiſitian wryteth to Fabricius, & offereth to poyſon his maſter.

ending the warres without further daunger. *Fabricius* deteſtinge the wickedneſſe of the Phiſi- A
tian, and hauing made *Q. AEmilius* his colleague, and fellowe Conſull alſo, to abhorre the
Fabricius letter to Pyrrus, aduertiſing him of his Phiſitions treaſon. ſame: wrote a letter vnto *Pyrrus*, and bad him take heede, for there were that ment to poyſon him. The contentes of his letter were theſe: *Caius Fabricius*, and *Quintus AEmylius* Conſuls of ROME, vnto king *Pyrrus* greeting. You haue (oh king) made vnfortunate choiſe, both of your frendes and of your enemies, as ſhall appeare vnto you by reading of this letter, which one of yours hath wrytten vnto vs: for you make warres with iuſt and honeſt men, and do your ſelfe truſt altogether the wicked and vnfaithfull. Hereof therfore we haue thought good to aduertiſe you, not in reſpect to pleaſure you, but for feare leaſt the misfortune of your death might make vs vniuſtly to be accuſed: imagining that by trechery of treaſon, we haue ſought to end this warre, as though by valliantneſſe we coulde not otherwiſe atchieue it. *Pyrrus* hauing red B
this letter, and proued the contentes thereof true, executed the Phiſitian as he had deſerued:
Pyrrus ſendeth the Romaines their priſoners with out ranſome. and to requite the aduertiſement of the Conſulls, he ſent *Fabricius* and the ROMAINES their priſoners, without payinge of raunſome, and ſent *Cineas* againe vnto them, to proue if he could obtaine peace. Howbeit, the ROMAINES, bicauſe they would neither receiue pleaſure of their enemies, and leaſt of all reward, for that they conſented not vnto ſo wicked a deede: did not only refuſe to take their priſoners of free gift, but they ſent him againe ſo many SAMNITES, and TARENTINES. And furthermore, for peace, and his frendſhippe, they would geue no eare to it, before the warres were ended, and that he had ſent away his army againe by ſea, into his kingdome of EPIRVS. Wherefore *Pyrrus* ſeing no remedy, but that he muſt needes fight an other battell, after he had ſomewhat refreſhed his army, drewe towardes the citie of C
Pyrrus ſecond battel with the Romaines, by the city of Aſculum. ASCVLVM, where he fought the ſeconde time with the ROMAINES: and was brought into a maruelous ill grounde for horſemen, by a very ſwift running riuer, from whence came many brookes and deepe mariſhes, inſomuch as his elephantes could haue no ſpace nor ground to ioine with the battel of the footemen, by reaſon wherof there was a great number of men hurt and ſlaine on both ſides. And in the ende, the battell being fought out all day longe, the darke night did ſeuer them: but the next morninge, *Pyrrus* to winne the aduantage to fight in the plaine field, where he might preuaile with the force of his elephantes, ſent firſt certaine of his bandes to ſeaſe vpon the naughty ground they had fought on the day before. And by this policy hauing brought the ROMAINES into the plaine field, he thruſt in amongeſt his elephants, ſtore of ſhot, and ſlingmen, and then made his army marche (being very well ſet in order) with D
great furie againſt his enemies. They miſſinge thother dayes turninges and places of retyre, were now compelled to fight all on a fronte in the plaine fielde: and ſtriuing to breake into the battell of *Pyrrus* footemen before the elephantes came, they deſperately preaced in apon their enemies pykes with their ſwordes, not caring for their owne perſones what became of them, but only looked to kill and deſtroy their enemies. In the ende notwithſtandinge, after the battell had holden out very long, the ROMAINES loſt it, and they firſt beganne to breake and flie
Pyrrus victoty of the Romaines. on that ſide where *Pyrrus* was, by reaſon of the great force and furie of his charge, and much more through the violence of the elephantes: againſt which, the ROMAINES valliantnes nor corage coulde ought preuaile, but that they were driuen to geue them place (much like the rage of ſurging waues, or terrible tremblinge of the earth) rather then tary to be troden vnder E
feete, and ouerthrowen by them, whome they were not able to hurte againe, but be by them moſt greuouſly martyred, and their troubles thereby yet nothinge eaſed. The chaſe was not long, bicauſe they fled but into their campe: and *Hieronymus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that there died ſix thowſande men of the ROMAINES, and of *Pyrrus* parte about three thowſande
The wryters agree not about Pyrrus battell. fiue hundred and fiue, as the kinges owne Chronicles doe witneſſe. Neuertheleſſe, *Dionyſius* makes no mencion of two battells geuen neere vnto the city of ASCVLVM, nor that the ROMAINES were certainely ouerthrowen: howbeit he confirmeth that there was one battell only that continued vntil ſunne ſet, and that they ſcarcely ſeuered alſo when night was come on, *Pyrrus* being hurte on the arme with a ſpeare, and his cariage robbed and ſpoiled by the SAMNITES beſides. And further, that there died in this battell, aboue fifteene thowſande men, as F
well of *Pyrrus* ſide, as of the ROMAINES parte: and that at the laſt, both the one and the other did retyre. And ſome ſay, that it was at that time *Pyrrus* aunſwered one, who reioyced with

him

A him for the victory they had wonne: if we winne an other of the price, quod he, we are vtterly vndone. For in dede thē had he loſt the moſt parte of his army he brought with him out of his realme, and all his frendes and Captaines in manner euery one, or at the leaſt there lacked litle of it: and beſides that, he had no meanes to ſupplie them with other from thence, and perceiued alſo that the confederates he had in ITALIE, beganne to waxe colde. Where the ROMAINES to the contrary, did eaſily renue their army with freſhe ſouldiers, which they cauſed to come from ROME as neede required, (much like vnto a liuely ſpring, the head whereof they had at home in their contry) and they fainted not at all for any loſſes they receiued, but rather were they ſo much the more hotly bent, ſtowtely determining to abide out the warres, what euer betyde. And thus whileſt *Pyrrus* was troubled in this ſorte, newe hopes, and newe enter-

B priſes were offred vnto him, that made him doubtful what to do. For euē at a clap came Ambaſſadors to him out of SICILIA, offering to put into his handes, the cities of SYRACVSA, of AGRIGENTVM, and of the LEONTINES, and beſeeching him to aide them to driue the CARTHAGINIANS out of the Ile, thereby to deliuer them from all the tyrannes. And on the other ſide alſo, newes was brought him from GREECE, howe *Ptolomie* ſurnamed the lightning, was ſlaine, and all his army ouerthrowen in battell againſt the GAVLES, and that now he ſhoulde come in good hower for the MACEDONIANS, who lacked but a king. Then he curſed his hard fortune that preſented him all at once, ſuch ſundry occaſions to doe great thinges: and as if both enterpriſes had bene already in his hande, he made his accompt that of neceſſitie he muſt looſe one of them. So, long debating the matter with him ſelfe, which of the two wayes

C he ſhould conclude vppon: in the ende he reſolued, that by the warres of SICILIA, there was good meane to attaine to the greater matters, conſidering that AFRICKE was not farre from them. Wherefore, diſpoſinge him ſelfe that way, he ſent *Cineas* thither immediatly to make his way, and to ſpeake to the townes and cities of the contry as he was wont to doe: and in the meane time left a ſtrong garriſon in the city of TARENTVM, to kepe it at his deuotion, where-

Ambaſſadors out of Sicilia, to pray aide of Pyrrus.

Pyrrus iorney into Sicilia.

with the TARENTINES were very angry. For they made requeſt vnto him, either to remaine in their contry to maintaine warres with them againſt the ROMAINES, (which was their meaning why they ſent for him) or elſe if he would needes go, at the leaſt wiſe to leaue their city in as good ſtate as he founde it. But he aunſwered them againe very roughly, that they ſhoulde ſpeake no more to him in it, and that they ſhould not chooſe but tary his occaſion. And with

D this aunſwere tooke ſhippe, and ſailed towardes SICILIA: where ſo ſoone as he was arriued, he founde all that he hoped for, for the cities did willingely put them ſelues into his handes. And where neceſſity of battell was offered him to employ his army, nothing at the beginning could ſtande before him. For, with thirty thowſande footemen, two thowſande fiue hundred horſemen, and two hundred ſayle which he brought with him, he draue the CARTHAGINIANS before him, and conquered all the contry vnder their obedience. Nowe at that time, the city of ERIX was the ſtrongeſt place they had: and there were a great number of good ſoul-

Pyrrus wanne the city of Erix in Sicilia.

diers within it to defende it. *Pyrrus* determined to proue the aſſault of it, and when his army was ready to geue the charge, he armed him ſelfe at all peeces from toppe to toe, and approching the walls, vowed vnto *Hercules* to geue him a ſolemne ſacrifice, with a feaſt of common

E playes, ſo that he would graunt him grace to ſhew him ſelfe vnto the GREECIANS inhabiting in SICILIA, worthy of the noble aunceſters from whence he came, and of the great good fortune he had in his handes. This vowe ended, he ſtraight made the trompettes ſound to the aſſault, & cauſed the barbarous people that were on the walles, to retyre with force of his ſhot. Then when the ſcaling ladders were ſet vp, him ſelfe was the firſt that mounted on the walle, where he found diuerſe of the barbarous people that reſiſted him. But ſome he threw ouer the walles on either ſide of him, and with his ſword ſlew many dead about him, himſelfe not once hurt: for the barbarous people had not the harte to looke him in the face, his countenaunce was ſo terrible. And this doth proue that *Homer* ſpake wiſely, and like a man of experience, when he ſayd: that valliantneſſe onely amongeſt all other morall vertues is that, which hath

Homer of valliantnes.

F ſomtimes, certaine furious motions and diuine prouocations, which make a man beſides him ſelfe. So the city being taken, he honorably performed his vowed ſacrifice to *Hercules*, & kept a feaſt of all kindes and ſortes of games and weapons. There dwelt a barbarous people at that

time about MESSINA, called the MAMERTINES, who did much hurt to the GREECIANS thereabouts, makinge many of them pay taxe and tribute: for they were a great number of them, and all men of warre and good ſouldiers, and had their name alſo of *Mars*, bicauſe they were marſhall men, and geuen to armes. *Pyrrus* led his army againſt them, and ouerthrew them in battell: and put their collectors to death, that did leauy and exact the taxe, and raſed many of their fortreſſes. And when the CARTHAGINIANS required peace and his frendſhip, offering him ſhippes and money, pretending greater matters: he made them a ſhorte aunſwere, that there was but one way to make peace and loue betwene them, to forſake SICILIA altogether, and to be contented to make Mare Libycum the border betwixt GREECE and them. For his good fortune, and the force he had in his handes, did ſet him aloft, and further allured him to follow the hope that brought him into SICILIA, aſpiring firſt of all vnto the conqueſt of LIBYA. Now, to paſſe him ouer thither, he had ſhips enough, but he lacked owers & mariners wherefore when he would preſſe them, then he began to deale roughly with the cities of SICILIA, and in anger compelled, and ſeuerely puniſhed them, that would not obey his commaundement. This he did not at his firſt comminge, but contrarily had wonne all their good wills, ſpeaking more curteouſly to them then any other did, and ſhewing that he truſted them altogether, and troubled them in nothing. But ſodainly being altered from a populer prince, vnto a violent tyran, he was not only thought cruell and rigorous, but that worſt of all is, vnfaithfull and ingratefull: neuertheleſſe, though they receiued great hurt by him, yet they ſuffered it, and graunted him any needefull thing he did demaund. But when they ſaw he began to miſtruſt *Thænon* and *Soſtratus*, the two chiefe Captaines of SYRACVSA, and they who firſt cauſed him to come into SICILIA, who alſo at his firſt arriuall deliuered the city of SYRACVSA into his hands, & had bene his chiefe aiders in helping him to compaſſe that he had done in SICILIA: when I ſay they ſaw he would no more cary them with him, nor leaue them behinde him for the miſtruſt he had of them, and that *Soſtratus* fled from him, and abſented him ſelfe, fearing leaſt *Pyrrus* would doe him ſome miſchiefe: and that *Pyrrus* moreouer, had put *Thænon* to death, miſtruſting that he would alſo haue done him ſome harme. Then all things fell out againſt *Pyrrus*, not one after an other, nor by litle and litle, but all together at one inſtant, and all the cities generally hated him to the death, and did againe ſome of them confederate with the CARTHAGINIANS, and others with the MAMERTINES, to ſet vpon him. But when all SICILIA was thus bent againſt him, he receiued letters from the SAMNITES & TARENTINES, by which they aduertiſed him, how they had much a doe to defende them ſelues within their cities and ſtrong holdes, and that they were wholly driuen out of the field: wherfore they earneſtly beſought him ſpeedily to come to their aide. This newes came happely to him, to cloke his flying, that he might ſay it was not for diſpaire of good ſucceſſe in SICILIA that he went his way: but true it was in dede, that when he ſaw he could no longer keepe it, then a ſhippe could ſtand ſtill among the waues, he ſought ſome honeſt ſhadow to colour his departing. And that ſurely was the cauſe why he returned againe into ITALIE. Neuertheleſſe, at his departure out of SICILE, they ſay that looking backe apon the Ile, he ſaid to thoſe that were about him: O what a goodly field for a battell, my frendes, doe we leaue to the ROMAINES and CARTHAGINIANS, to fight thone with thother? And verily ſo it fell out ſhortely after, as he had ſpoken. But the barbarous people conſpiringe together againſt *Pyrrus*, the CARTHAGINIANS on the one ſide watching his paſſage, gaue him battel on the ſea, in the very ſtraight it ſelfe of MESSINA, where he loſt many of his ſhips, and fled with the reſt, & tooke the coaſt of ITALIE. And there the MAMERTINES on the other ſide, being gone thither before, to the number of eighteene thowſande fighting men: durſt not preſent him battell in open fielde, but taried for him in certaine ſtraites of the mountaines, & in very hard places, and ſo ſet vpon his rereward, and diſordered all his army. They ſlew two of his elephants, and cut of a great number of his rereward, ſo as he was compelled him ſelfe in perſone to come from his vangard, to helpe them againſt the barbarous people, which were luſty valliant men, and olde trained ſouldiers. And there *Pyrrus* caught a blow on his head with a ſworde, and was in great daunger: inſomuch as he was forced to retyre out of the preaſe and fight, which did ſo much the more encorage his enemies. Among which there was one more aduenturous then the

The Mamertines why ſo called.

Pyrrus cruelty in Sicilia.

The Samnites and Tarentines ſent for Pyrrus to returne into Italie.

Pyrrus returne into Italy out of Sicile.

Pyrrus hurt on his head with a ſworde.

A the reſt, a goodly man of perſonage, fayer armed in white armor, who aduauncing him ſelfe farre before his company, cried out to the king with a bolde and fierce voyce, and chalenged him to fight with him if he were aliue. *Pyrrus* beinge mad as it were with this brauery, turned againe with his garde, in ſpight of his men, hurt as he was. And beſides that he was all on a fire with choller, and his face all bloody and terrible to behold, he went through his men, and came at the length to this barbarous villen that had challenged him: & gaue him ſuch a blow on his head with all his force and power, that what by the ſtrength of his arme, and through the goodnes of the temper and mettle of the ſword, the blow claue his head right in the middeſt, downe to the ſhoulders: ſo that his heade beinge thus deuided, the one parte fell on the one ſhoulder, & the other parte on the other. This matter ſodainly ſtayed the barbarous peo-

Pyrrus with a blow of his ſword clone his enemies head in the middeſt, and layed it on his ſhoulders.

B ple, and kept them from goinge any further, they were ſo afrayed and amaſed both to ſee ſo great a blowe with ones hande, and it made them thinke in dede that *Pyrrus* was more then a man. After that, they let him go, and troubled him no more. *Pyrrus* holding on his iorney, arriued at the length in the city of TARENTVM, with twenty thowſand footemen, & three thowſand horſe. And with theſe (ioyning thereto the choyceſt pyked men of the TARENTINES) he went incontinently into the field to ſeeke out the ROMAINES, who had their campe within the territories of the SAMNITES, which were then in very hard ſtate. For their hartes were killed, bicauſe that in many battells and encounters with the ROMAINES, they were euer ouerthrowen. They were very angry beſides with *Pyrrus*, for that he had forſaken them, to goe his voyage vnto SICILIA, by reaſon whereof there came no great number of ſouldiers into his

C campe. But notwithſtanding, he deuided all his ſtrength into two partes, whereof he ſent the one parte into LVCANIA, to occupy one of the ROMAINE Conſulls that was there, to the end he ſhould not come to aide his companion: and with the other parte he went him ſelfe againſt *Manius Curius*, who lay in a very ſtraunge place of aduantage nere to the citie of BENEVENTO, attending the aide that ſhould come to him out of LVCANIA, beſides alſo that the Soothſayers (by the ſignes & tokens of the birdes and ſacrifices) did counſell him not to ſturre from thence. *Pyrrus* to the contrary, deſiring to fight with *Manius* before his aide came vnto him, which he looked for out of LVCANIA, tooke with him the beſt ſouldiers he had in all his army, and the warlikeſt elephantes, and marched away in the night, ſuppoſing to ſteale vpon *Manius* on the ſodaine, and geue an aſſault vnto his campe. Now *Pyrrus* hauing a long way to

Manius Curius Conſull.

D go, and through a woddy contry, his lightes and torches failed him, by reaſon whereof many of his ſouldiers loſt their way, and they loſt a great deale of time alſo, before they could againe be gathered together: ſo as in this ſpace the night was ſpent, and the day once broken, the enemies perceiued plainely how he came downe the hills. This at the firſt ſight made thē muſe awhile, and put them in a litle feare: neuertheleſſe *Manius* hauing had the ſignes of the ſacrifices fauorable, and ſeeing that occaſion did preſſe him to it, went out into the field, and ſet a-

Pyrrus thirde battell with the Romaines. Pyrrus ouerthrowen by Manius Curius in battell.

pon the vowarde of his enemies, and made them turne their backes. The which feared all the reſt in ſuch wiſe, that there were ſlaine a great number of them in the fielde, and certaine elephantes alſo taken. This victory made *Manius Curius* leaue his ſtrength, and come into the plaine field, where he ſet his men in battell ray, and ouerthrew his enemies by plaine force on

E the one ſide: but on the other he was repulſed by violence of the elephantes, and compelled to drawe backe into his owne campe, wherein he had left a great number of men to garde it. So when he ſaw them vpon the rampers of his campe all armed, ready to fight, he called them out, and they comming freſh out of places of aduantage to charge vpon the elephantes, compelled them in a very ſhorte time to turne their backes, & flie through their owne men, whom they put to great trouble, and diſorder: ſo as in the ende, the whole victory fell apon the ROMAINES ſide, and conſequently by meanes of that victory, followed the greatnes and power of their Empire. For the ROMAINES being growen more coragious by this battell, and hauing increaſed their force, and wonne the reputacion of men vnconquerable: immediatly after conquered all ITALIE beſides, and ſoone after that, all SICILIA. To this ende as you ſee,

F came king *Pyrrus* vaine hope he had to conquer ITALIE and SICILIA, after he had ſpent ſixe yeares continually in warres, during which time his good fortune decayed, & his army conſumed. Notwithſtanding, his noble corage remained alwayes inuincible, what loſſes ſoeuer he

had ſuſteined: and moreouer whileſt he liued, he was euer eſteemed the chiefeſt of all the kings & princes in his time, as well for his experience & ſufficiency in warres, as alſo for the valiantnes and hardines of his perſon. But what he wanne by famous deedes, he loſt by vaine hope: deſiring ſo earneſtly that which he had not, as he forgate to kepe that which he had. Wherefore *Antigonus* compared him vnto a dice player that caſteth well, but can not vſe his lucke. Now hauing brought backe againe with him into EPIRVS, eight thowſande footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen, and being without money to pay them, he deuiſed with himſelfe to ſeeke out ſome new warre to entertaine thoſe ſouldiers, and kepe them together. Wherefore vppon a newe aide of certaine of the GAVLES beinge comen vnto him, he entered into the realme of MACEDON (which *Antigonus*, *Demetrius* ſonne held at that time) with intent only to make a forrey, and to get ſome ſpoyle in the contry. But when he ſaw that he had taken diuerſe holdes, and moreouer, that two thowſand men of warre of the contry came and yelded themſelues vnto him: he beganne to hope of better ſucceſſe, then at the firſt he looked for. For vpon that hope he marched againſt king *Antigonus* ſelfe, whom he met in a very ſtraight valley, and at his firſt comming, gaue ſuch a luſty charge vpon his rereward, that he put all *Antigonus* army in great diſorder. For *Antigonus* had placed the GAVLES in the rereward of his army to cloſe it in, which were a conuenient number, and did valliantly defend the firſt charge: and the skirmiſhe was ſo hotte, that the moſt of them were ſlaine. After them, the leaders of the elephantes perceiuing they were enuironned on euery ſide, yelded themſelues and their beaſtes. *Pyrrus* ſeeing his power to be now increaſed with ſuch a ſupply, truſting more to his good fortune, then any good reaſon might moue him: thruſt further into the battel of the MACEDONIANS, who were all afrayed, and troubled for the ouerthrowe of their rereward, ſo as they would not once baſe their pykes, nor fight againſt him. He for his parte holdinge vp his hande, and callinge the Captaines of the bandes by their names, ſtraight wayes made all the footemen of *Antigonus* turne wholly to his ſide: who flying, ſaued himſelfe with a few horſemen, and kept certaine of the cities in his realme apon the ſea coaſt. But *Pyrrus* in all his proſperity, iudging nothing more to redownde to his honor and glory, then the ouerthrow of the GAVLES, layed aſide their goodlieſt and richeſt ſpoyles, and offred vp the ſame in the temple of *Minerua Itonida*, with this inſcription.

Pyrrus compared to a dyce player.
Pyrrus returne into Epirus out of Italie.
Pyrrus victory of Antigonus king of Macedon.
Antigonus flieth from kinge Pyrrus.

VVhen Pyrrus had ſubdude, the puiſant Gaules in fields,
He cauſed of their ſpoyles to make, theſe targets, armes, and shields:
The vvhich he hanged vp, in temple all on high,
Before Minerua (goddeſſe here) in ſigne of victory.
VVhen he had ouercome, the vvhole and hugie hoaſt:
The vvhich Antigonus did bring, into his contries coaſt.
Ne maruell ſhould it ſeeme, though victory he vvonne,
Since valliantnes bringes victory, and euermore hath done:
And valliantnes alvvayes, hath conſtantly kept place,
From age to age, and time to time, in AEacus his race.

Immediatly after this battell, all the cities of the realme of MACEDON yelded vnto him: but when he had the citie of ÆGES in his power, he vſed the inhabitantes thereof very hardly, & ſpecially bicauſe he left a great garriſon of the GAVLES there which he had in pay. This nation is extreame couetous, as then they ſhewed themſelues: for they ſpared not to breake vp the tombes wherein the kinges of MACEDON lay buried there, tooke away all the gold and ſiluer they could finde, and afterwards with great inſolency caſt out their bones into the open winde. *Pyrrus* was tolde of it, but he lightly paſſed it ouer, and made no reckening of it: either bicauſe he deferred it till an other time, by reaſon of the warres he had then in hande: or elſe for that he durſt not meddle with puniſhing of theſe barbarous people at that time. But whatſoeuer the matter was, the MACEDONIANS were very angry with *Pyrrus*, & blamed him greatly for it. Furthermore, hauing not yet made all thinges ſure in MACEDON, nor being fully poſſeſt of the ſame: new toyes and hope came into his head, and mocking *Antigonus*, ſayd, he was a mad man to goe apparrelled in purple like a king, when a poore cloke might become him like a priuate man. Now, *Cleonymus* king of SPARTA being come to procure him to bring his

The couetouſneſſe of the Gaules.

A his army into the contry of LACEDÆMON, *Pyrrus* was very willing to it. This *Cleonymus* was of the blood royall of SPARTA, but bicause he was a cruell man, and would do all thinges by authority, they loued him not at SPARTA, nor trusted him at all: and therefore did they put him out, & made *Areus* king, a very quiet man. And this was the oldest quarrell *Cleonymus* had against the cõmon wealth of SPARTA: but besides that, he had an other priuate quarrel, which grewe vppon this cause. In his olde yeares, *Cleonymus* had maried a fayer younge Lady called *Chelidonide*, which was also of the blood royall, and the daughter of *Leotychides*. This Lady being fallen extreamely in loue with *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* sonne, a goodly young gentleman, and in his lusty youth, she greatly vexed and dishonored her husbande *Cleonymus*, who was ouer heade and eares in loue and iealousie with her: for there was not one in all SPARTA, but

Areus made king of Sparta, and Cleonymus put downe.

B plainely knewe that his wife made none accompt of him. And thus his home sorowes, being ioyned with his outwarde common greues, euen for spight, desiring a reuenge, in choller he went to procure *Pyrrus* to come vnto SPARTA, to restore him againe to his kingdome. Hereupon he brought him into LACEDÆMONIA forthwith, with fiue and twenty thowsand foote-men, two thowsand horse, and foure and twenty elephantes: by which preparacion, though by nothing elsse, the worlde might plainely see, that *Pyrrus* came with a minde not to restore *Cleonymus* againe vnto SPARTA, but of intent to conquer for him selfe (if he could) all the contrie of PELOPONNESVS. For in wordes he denied it to the LACEDÆMONIANS them selues, who sent Ambassadors vnto him when he was in the city of MEGALIPOLIS, where he tolde them that he was come into PELOPONNESVS, to sette the townes and cities at libertie which

The cause of Pyrrus inuading Peloponnesus.

Pyrrus straungeame to the Spartans.

C *Antigonus* kept in bondage: & that his true intent and meaning was to send his young sonnes into SPARTA (so they would be contented) to the end they might be trained after the LACONIAN manner, and from their youth haue this aduantage aboue all other kinges, to haue bene well brought vp. But faining these thinges, and abusing those that came to meete him on his way, they tooke no heede of him, till he came within the coast of LACONIA, into the which he was no sooner entred, but he beganne to spoyle and wast the whole contry. And when the Ambassadors of SPARTA reproued and founde fault with him, for that he made warres vpon them in such sorte, before he had openly proclaimed it: he made them aunswer: no more haue you your selues vsed to proclaime that, which you purposed to do to others. Then one of the Ambassadors called *Mandricidas*, replied againe vnto him in the LACONIAN tongue. If thou

Mandricidas giues aunswer to king Pyrrus.

D be a god, thou wilt doe vs no hurt, bicause we haue not offended thee: and if thou be a man, thou shalt meete with an other that shalbe better then thy selfe. Then he marched directly to SPARTA, where *Cleonymus* gaue him counsell euen at the first, to assault it. But he would not so do, fearing (as they sayd) that if he did it by night, his souldiers would sacke the city: and sayd it should be time enough to assault it the next day at broad day light, bicause there were but few men within the towne, and beside they were very ill prouided. And furthermore, king *Areus* him selfe was not there, but gone into CRETA to aide the GORTYNIANS, who had warres in their owne contry. And doutlesse, that only was the sauing of SPARTA from taking, that they made no reckening to assault it hotly: bicause they thought it was not able to make resistaunce. For *Pyrrus* camped before the towne, throughly perswaded with him selfe, that he

Pyrrus besiegeth Lacedæmon.

E should finde none to fight with him: and *Cleonymus* frends and seruauntes also did prepare his lodging there, as if *Pyrrus* should haue come to supper to him, and lodged with him. When night was come, the LACEDÆMONIANS counselled together, & secretly determined to send away their wiues, and litle children into CRETA. But the women them selues were against it,

The corage of the women of Sparta.

and there was one amonge them called *Archidamia*, who went into the Senate house with a sword in her hand, to speake vnto them in the name of all the rest, and sayd: that they did their wiues great wronge, if they thought them so fainte harted, as to liue after SPARTA were destroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in counsell, that they should cast a trenche before the enemies campe, and that at both the endes of the same they should bury cartes in the ground vnto the middest of the wheeles, to the end that being fast set in the ground, they should stay the

F elephantes, and kepe them from passing further. And when they beganne to go in hand withall, there came wiues and maides vnto them, some of them their clothes girte vp round about them, and others all in their smockes, to worke at this trenche with the old men, aduising the

young men that ſhould fight the next morning, to reſt them ſelues in the meane while. So the A
VVomen wrought in the trench. women tooke the third parte of the trenche to taske, which was ſix cubittes broade, foure cubits deepe, and eight hundred foote long as *Philarchus* ſayth: or litle leſſe as *Hieronymus* wryteth. Then when the breake of day appeared, & the enemies remoued to come to the aſſault
VVomen encoraged their men to fight. the women them ſelues fetched the weapons which they put into the young mens hands, and deliuered them the taske of the trenche ready made, which they before had vndertaken, praying them valliantly to keepe and defend it, tellinge them withall, howe great a pleaſure it is to ouercome the enemies, fighting in view and ſight of their natiue contry, and what great felicity and honor it is to dye in the armes of his mother and wife, after he hath fought valliantly like an honeſt man, and worthy of the magnanimity of SPARTA. But *Chelidonida* being gone aſide, had tyed a halter with a riding knot about her necke, ready to ſtrangle & hang her ſelfe, B rather thē to fall into the hands of *Cleonymus*, if by chaunce the city ſhould come to be taken.
Pyrrus battel. Now *Pyrrus* marched in perſon with his battell of footemen, againſt the fronte of the SPARTANS, who being a great number alſo, did tary his comming on the other ſide of the trenche: the which, beſides that it was very ill to paſſe ouer, did let the ſouldiers alſo to fight ſteadely in order of battell, bicauſe the earth being newly caſt vp, did yeld vnder their feete. Wherefore, *Ptolomie* king *Pyrrus* ſonne, paſſing all alongeſt the trench ſide with two thowſand GAVLES, & all the choyce men of the CHAONIANS, aſſayed if he could get ouer to the other ſide at one of the endes of the trenche where the cartes were: which being ſet very deepe into the ground, and one ioyned vnto an other, they did not only hinder thaſſaylants, but the defendants alſo. Howbeit in the end, the GAVLES began to plucke of the wheeles of theſe cartes, and to draw C them into the riuer. But *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* ſonne, a young man, ſeeing the daunger, ranne through the city with a troupe of three hundred luſty youthes beſides, & went to incloſe *Ptolomie* behinde before he eſpied him, for that he paſſed a ſecret hollow way till he came euen to geue the charge vpon them: whereby they were enforced to turne their faces towardes him, one runninge in an others necke, and ſo in great diſorder were thruſt into the trenches, and vnder the cartes: inſomuch as at the laſt, with much a doe, and great bloodſhed, *Acrotatus* and his company draue them backe, and repulſed them. Now the women and old men, that were on thother ſide of the trenche, ſaw plainly before their face, howe valliantly *Acrotatus* had re-
Acrotatus valliantnes. pulſed the GAVLES. Wherefore, after *Acrotatus* had done this exployte, he returned againe through the city vnto the place from whence he came, all on a goare blood, coragious and D liuely, for the victory he came newly from. The women of SPARTA thought *Acrotatus* farre more noble and fayrer to beholde, then euer he was: ſo that they all thought *Chelidonida* happy to haue ſuch a frend and louer. And there were certaine olde men that followed him, crying after him, goe thy way *Acrotatus*, and enioy thy loue *Chelidonida*: beget noble children of her vnto SPARTA. The fight was cruell on that ſide where *Pyrrus* was, and many of the SPARTANS fought very valliantly. Howbeit amongeſt other, there was one named *Phillius*, who after he had fought long, and ſlaine many of his enemies with his owne handes, that forced to paſſe ouer the trenche: perceiuing that his hart fainted for the great number of woundes he had apon him, called one of them that were in the rancke next behinde him, and geuing him his place, fell downe deade in the armes of his frendes, bicauſe his enemies ſhoulde not haue E his body. In the ende, the battell hauinge continued all the day longe, the night did ſeparate
Pyrrus dreame. them: and *Pyrrus* being layed in his bed, had this viſion in his ſleepe. He thought he ſtrake the city of LACEDÆMON with lightning, and that he vtterly conſumed it: whereat he was ſo paſſing glad, that euen with the very ioy he awaked. And thereuppon foorthwith commaunded his Captaines to make their men ready to the aſſault: and told his dreame vnto his familiers, ſuppoſing that out of dout it did betoken he ſhould in that approache take the citie. All that heard it, beleued it was ſo, ſauing one *Lyſimachus*: who to the contrary, ſayed that this viſion liked him not, bicauſe the places ſmitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawfull to enter into them: by reaſon whereof he was alſo affraied, that the goddes did ſignifie vnto him, that he ſhould not enter into the citie of SPARTA. *Pyrrus* aunſwered him: that ſaied he, is a matter F diſputable to & fro in an open aſſembly of people, for there is no maner of certainty in it. But furthermore, euery man muſt take his weapon in his hand, & ſet this ſentence before his eyes

A right good ſigne it is, that he vvould hazard life
In iuſt defence of maſters cauſe vvith ſpeare and bloody knife.

Alludinge vnto *Homers* verſes, which he wrote for the defence of his contry. And ſaying thus, he roſe, and at the breake of day led his army vnto the aſſault. On thother ſide alſo, the LACEDÆMONIANS with a maruelous corage & magnanimity, farre greater then their force beſtirred them ſelues wonderfully to make reſiſtaunce, hauing their wiues by them that gaue them their weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to geue meate & drinke to them that needed, and did alſo withdrawe thoſe that were hurt to cure them. The MACEDONIANS likewiſe for their parte, endeuored them ſelues with all their might to fill vppe the trenche with wodde and other thinges, which they caſt vpon the dead bodies and armors, lying in the bottome of the ditche: & the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, labored all that they could poſſible to let them. But in this great broyle, one perceiued *Pyrrus* a horſe backe to haue lept the trenche, paſt ouer the ſtrength of the cartes, and make force to enter into the city. Wherfore thoſe that were appointed to defende that parte of the trench, cried out ſtraight: and the women fell a ſhreeking, and running, as if all had bene loſt. And as *Pyrrus* paſſed further, ſtriking downe with his owne handes all that ſtoode before him, a CRETAN ſhot at him, & ſtrake his horſe through both ſides: who leapinge out of the preaſe for paine of his wounde, dying, caried *Pyrrus* away, and threw him vppon the hanging of a ſteepe hill, where he was in great daunger to fall from the toppe. This put all his ſeruauntes and frendes about him in a maruelous feare, and therewithall the LACEDÆMONIANS ſeeing them in this feare and trouble ran immediatly vnto that place, and with force of ſhotte draue them all out of the trenche. After this retyre, *Pyrrus* cauſed all aſſault to ceaſe, hoping the LACEDÆMONIANS in the end would yeelde, conſideringe there were many of them ſlaine in the two dayes paſt, and all the reſt in maner hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the citie (whether it were to proue the valliantnes of the inhabitantes them ſelues, or at the leaſt to ſhew what power they were of euen in their greateſt nede and diſtreſſe, when the LACEDÆMONIANS had ſmall hope left) brought one *Aminias Phocian* from CORINTHE, one of king *Antigonus* Captaines with a great band of men, and put them into the city to aide them: and ſtraight after him, as ſoone as he had entred, king *Areus* arriued alſo on thother ſide from CRETA, and two thowſand ſouldiers with him. So the women went home to their houſes, makinge their reckening that they ſhould not neede any more to trouble them ſelues with warres. They gaue the olde men liberty alſo to goe and reſt them ſelues, who being paſt all age to fight, for neceſſities ſake yet were driuen to arme them ſelues, and take weapon in hande: and in order of battell placed the newe come ſouldiers in their roomes. *Pyrrus* vnderſtanding that newe ſupplies were come, grewe to greater ſtomake then before, and inforced all that he could, to winne the towne by aſſault. But in the end, when to his coſt he founde that he wanne nothing but blowes, he gaue ouer the ſiege, and went to ſpoyle all the contry about, determining to lye there in garriſon all the winter. He coulde not for all this auoide his deſtenie. For there roſe a ſedition in the city of ARGOS betwene two of the chiefeſt citizens, *Ariſteas* and *Ariſtippus*: and bicauſe *Ariſteas* thought that kinge *Antigonus* did fauor his enemy *Ariſtippus*, he made haſt to ſende firſt vnto *Pyrrus*, whoſe nature and diſpoſition was ſuch, that he did continually heape hope vppon hope, euer taking the preſent proſperity, for an occaſion to hope after greater to come. And if it fell out he was a loſer, then he ſought to recouer him ſelfe, and to reſtore his loſſe, by ſome other newe attempts. So that neither for being conqueror, nor ouercomen, he would euer be quiet, but alwayes troubled ſome, and him ſelfe alſo: by reaſon wherof, he ſodainly departed towardes ARGOS. But king *Areus* hauing layed ambuſhes for him in diuerſe places, and occupied alſo the ſtraighteſt and hardeſt paſſages, by the which he was to paſſe: gaue a charge vppon the GAVLES and MOLOSSIANS, which were in the tayle of his army. Now, the ſelfe ſame day *Pyrrus* was warned by a Soothſayer, who ſacrificing had founde the liuer of the ſacrificed beaſt infected: that it betokened the loſſe of ſome moſt neere vnto him. But when he heard the noyſe of the charge geuen, he thought not of the forwarning of his Soothſayer, but commaunded his ſonne to take his houſehold ſeruauntes with him, and to go thither: as he him ſelfe in the meane time with as great haſt as he could, made the reſt of his army marche, to get them quickely out of

Pyrrus in daunger of his life, at the ſiege of Sparta.

King Areus arriued in Sparta with new aide.

Sedition in the city of Argos.

Pyrrus repulſed from Sparta goeth to Argos.

this daungerous way. The fraye was very hotte about *Ptolomie Pyrrus* ſonne, for they were all the chiefe men of the LACEDÆMONIANS with whome he had to doe, led by a valliant Captaine called *Eualcus*. But as he fought valliantly againſt thoſe that ſtoode before him, there was a ſouldier of CRETA called *Oræſus*, borne in the citie of APTERA, a man very ready of his hande, and light of foote, who running alongeſt by him, ſtrake him ſuch a blowe on his ſide, that he fell downe dead in the place. This prince *Ptolomie* being ſlaine, his company began ſtraight to flie: and the LACEDÆMONIANS followed the chaſe ſo hottely, that they tooke no heede of them ſelues, vntill they ſawe they were in the plaine field farre from their footemen. Wherefore, *Pyrrus* vnto whom the death of his ſonne was newly reported, being a fire with ſorow and paſſion, turned ſodainly vpon them with the men of armes of the MOLOSSIANS, and being the firſt that came vnto them, made a maruelous ſlaughter among them. For, notwithſtanding that euery where before that time he was terrible and inuincible, hauing his ſword in his hande: yet then he did ſhewe more proofe of his valliantnes, ſtrength, and corage, then he had euer done before. And when he had ſette ſpurres to his horſe againſt *Eualcus* to cloſe with him, *Eualcus* turned on the toe ſide, and gaue *Pyrrus* ſuch a blowe with his ſword, that he miſſed litle the cutting of his bridle hande: for he cut in deede all the raines of the bridle a ſunder. But *Pyrrus* ſtraight ranne him through the body with his ſpeare, and lighting of from his horſe, he put all the troupe of the LACEDÆMONIANS to the ſword that were about the body of *Eualcus*, being all choſen men. Thus the ambition of the Captaines was cauſe of that loſſe vnto their contry for nothing, conſidering that the warres againſt thē were ended. But *Pyrrus* hauing now as it were made ſacrifice of theſe poore bodies of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for the ſoule of his dead ſonne, and fought thus wonderfully alſo to honor his funeralls, conuerting a great parte of his ſorow for his death, into anger and wrath againſt the enemies: he afterwardes held on his way directly towardes ARGOS. And vnderſtanding that king *Antigonus* had already ſeaſed the hills that were ouer the valley, he lodged neere vnto the city of NAVPLIA: and the next morning following ſent a heraulde vnto *Antigonus*, and gaue him defyance, calling him wicked man, and chalenged him to come downe into the valley to fight with him, to trye which of them two ſhould be king. *Antigonus* made him aunſwer, that he made warres as much with time, as with weapon: & furthermore, that if *Pyrrus* were weary of his life, he had wayes open enough to put him ſelfe to death. The citizens of ARGOS alſo ſent Ambaſſadors vnto them both, to pray them to departe, ſith they knew that there was nothing for them to ſee in the city of ARGOS, and that they would let it be a newter, & frend vnto them both. King *Antigonus* agreed vnto it, and gaue them his ſonne for hoſtage. *Pyrrus* alſo made thē fayer promiſe to do ſo too, but bicauſe he gaue no caution nor ſufficient pledge to performe it, they miſtruſtred him the more. Then there fel out many great & wonderful tokens, as wel vnto *Pyrrus*, as vnto the ARGIVES. For *Pyrrus* hauing ſacrificed oxen, their heades being ſtriken of from their bodies, they thruſt out their tongues, and licked vp their owne blood. And within the city of ARGOS, a ſiſter of the temple of *Apollo Lycias*, called *Apollonide*, ranne through the ſtreetes, crying out that ſhe ſaw the city full of murder, and blood running all about, and an Eagle that came vnto the fraye, howbeit ſhe vaniſhed away ſodainly, and no body knewe what became of her. *Pyrrus* then comminge hard to the walles of ARGOS in the night, & finding one of the gates called Diamperes, opened by *Ariſteas*, he put in his GAVLES: who poſſeſſed the market place, before the citizens knew any thing of it. But bicauſe the gate was too low to paſſe the elephantes through with their towers vpon their backes, they were driuen to take them of, & afterwards when they were within, to put them on in the darke, & in tumulte: by reaſon whereof they loſt much time, ſo that the citizens in the ende perceiued it, and ran incontinently vnto the caſtell of Aſpides, and into other ſtrong places of the city. And therewithall, they ſent with preſent ſpeede vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come and helpe them, and ſo he did: and after he was come hard to the walles, he remained without with the skowtes, & in the meane time ſent his ſonne with his chiefeſt Captaines into the towne, who brought a great number of good ſouldiers and men of warre with them. At the ſame time alſo arriued *Areus*, king of SPARTA, with a thowſand of the CRETANS, and moſt luſty SPARTANS: all which ioyning together, came to geue a charge vpō the GAVLES that were in the market place,

Ptolomie kinge Pyrrus ſonne, ſlaine by Oræſus Cretan.

Pyrrus ſlue Eualcus.

Antigonus aunſwere to Pyrrus chalenge.

Tokens of Pyrrus death.

Pyrrus fight in the city of Argos.

Aſpides, the Caſtell in Argos.

A place, who put them in a maruelous feare & hazard. *Pyrrus* entring on that side also of the city called Cylarabis, with terrible noyse & cries: when he vnderstoode that the GAVLES aunswered him not lustely and coragiously, he doubted straight that it was the voyce of men distressed, and that had their handes full. Wherefore, he came on with speede to relieue them, thrusting the horsemen forwards that marched before him, with great daunger and paine, by reason of holes, and sinckes, and water conduites, whereof the city was full. By this meane there was a wonderfull confusion amongest them, as may be thought fightinge by night, where no man saw what he had to doe, nor could heare what was commaunded, by reason of the great noyse they made, straying here and there vp and downe the streetes, the one scattered from the other: neither could the Captaines set their men in order, as wel for the darkenes of the night,
B as also for the confused tumult that was all the city ouer, & for that the streetes also were very narrow. And therefore they remained on both sides without doing any thing, looking for day light: at the dawning wherof, *Pyrrus* perceiued the castel of Aspides, ful of his armed enemies. And furthermore, sodainly as he was come into the market place, amõgest many other goodly common workes sette out to beautifie the same, he spied the images of a bull and a woulfe in copper, the which fought one with an other. This sight made him afrayed, bicause at that present he remembred a prophecy that had bene tolde him, that his end and death should be, when he sawe a woulfe and a bull fight together. The ARGIVES reporte, that these images were set vp in the market place, for the remembraunce of a certaine chaunce that had happened in their contrie. For when *Danaus* came thither first, by the way called *Pyramia* (as one
C would say, land sowen with corne) in the contry of THYREATIDE, he saw as he went, a woulfe fight with a bull: whereupon he stayed to see what the end of their fight would come to, supposing the case in him selfe, that the woulfe was of his side, bicause that being a straunger as he was, he came to set vppon the naturall inhabitantes of the contry. The woulfe in the ende obtained the victory: wherefore *Danaus* making his prayer vnto *Apollo Lycius*, followed on his enterprise, & had so good successe, that he draue *Gelanor* out of ARGOS, who at that time was king of the ARGIVES. And thus you heare the cause why they say these images of the woulfe and bull were set vp in the market place of ARGOS. *Pyrrus* being halfe discoraged with the sight of them, and also bicause nothinge fell out well according to his expectacion, thought best to retyre: but fearing the straitenesse of the gates of the city, he sent vnto his sonne *Hele-*
D *nus*, whome he had left without the city with the greatest parte of his force and army, commaunding him to ouerthrow a peece of the wall that his men might the more readily get out, and that he might receiue them, if their enemies by chaunce did hinder their comming out. But the messenger whom he sent, was so hasty and fearefull, with the tumult that troubled him in going out, that he did not well vnderstand what *Pyrrus* sayd vnto him, but reported his message quite contrary. Whereuppon the young prince *Helenus* taking the best souldiers he had with him, and the rest of his elephantes, entred into the city to helpe his father, who was now
E geuing backe: and so long as he had roome to fight at ease, retyring stilly, he valiantly repulsed those that set vpon him, turning his face oft vnto them. But when he was driuen vnto the streete that went from the market place to the gate of the city, he was kept in with his owne men that entered at the same gate to helpe him. But they couldenot heare when *Pyrrus* cried out, and bad them go backe, the noyse was so great: and though the first had heard him, and would haue gone backe, yet they that were behinde, and did full thrust forward into the preasse, did not permit them. Besides this moreouer, the biggest of all the elephantes by misfortune fell downe ouerthwart the gate, where he grindinge his teeth did hinder those also, that would haue comen out and geuen backe. Furthermore, an other of the elephantes that were
F entred before into the city, called Nicon (as much to say, as conquering) seeking his gouernor that was striken downe to the ground from his backe with terrible blowes: ran vpon thē that came backe vpon him, ouerthrowing frendes and foes one in an others necke, til at the length hauing founde the body of his master slaine, he lift him vp from the ground with his troncke, and carying him vpon his two tushes, returned backe with great fury, treading all vnder feete he found in his way. Thus euery man being thronged and crowded vp together in this sorte, there was not one that could helpe him selfe: for it seemed to be a masse and heape of a multi-

A bull and woulfe in copper, set vp in the way of Argos fighting together.

Danaus wan the city of Argos from king Gelanor.

Apollo Lycius.

Gelanor king of the Argiues.

Helenus Pyrrus sonne.

The straunge loue of an Elephant to his keeper.

tude, and one whole body ſhut together, which ſometime thruſt forward, and ſomtime gaue backe, as the ſway went. They fought not ſo much againſt their enemies, who ſet apon them behinde: but they did them ſelues more hurt, then their enemies did. For if any drew out his ſword, or baſed his pyke, he could neither ſcabard thone againe, nor lift vp thother, but thruſt it full vpon his owne fellowes that came in to helpe them, and ſo killed them ſelues one thruſting vpon an other. Wherefore *Pyrrus* ſeeing his people thus troubled and harried to & fro, tooke his crowne from his heade which he ware apon his helmet, that made him knowen of his men a farre of, and gaue it vnto one of his familiars that was next vnto him: and truſting then to the goodnes of his horſe, flewe vpon his enemies that followed him. It fortuned that one hurt him with a pyke, but the wound was neither daungerous nor great: wherfore *Pyrrus* ſet vpon him that had hurt him, who was an ARGIAN borne, a man of meane condition, and a poore olde womans ſonne, whoſe mother at that preſent time was gotten vp to the toppe of the tyles of a houſe, as all other women of the city were, to ſee the fight. And ſhe perceiuing that it was her ſonne whome *Pyrrus* came apon, was ſo afrighted to ſee him in that daunger, that ſhe tooke a tyle, and with both her handes caſt it apon *Pyrrus*. The tyle falling of from his head by reaſon of his head peece, lighted full in the nape of his necke, & brake his necke bone aſunder: wherewith he was ſodainly ſo benummed, that he loſt his ſight with the blow, the raines of his bridle fell out of his hande, and him ſelfe fell from his horſe to the ground, by *Licymmias* tombe, before any man knew what he was, at the leaſt the common people. Vntill at the laſt there came one *Zopyrus*, that was in pay with *Antigonus*, and two or three other ſouldiers alſo that ran ſtraight to the place, and knowing him, dragged his body into a gate, euen as he was comming againe to him ſelfe out of this traunſe. This *Zopyrus* drewe out a SLAVON ſword he wore by his ſide, to ſtrike of his head. But *Pyrrus* caſt ſuch a grimme countenance on him betweene his eyes, that made him ſo afrayed, & his hand ſo to ſhake therewith: that being thus amazed, he did not ſtrike him right in the place where he ſhould haue cut of his head, but killed him vnder his mouth about his chinne, ſo that he was a great while ere he could ſtrike of his head. The matter was ſtraight blowen abroade amongeſt diuerſe: whereupon *Alcyoneus* running thither, asked for the head that he might know it againe. But when he had it, he ranne preſently vnto his father withall, and found him talking with his familiar frends, and caſt *Pyrrus* head before him. *Antigonus* looking vpon it, when he knew it, layed apon his ſonne with his ſtaffe, and called him cruell murderer, and vnnaturall barbarous beaſt: and ſo hyding his eyes with his cloke, wept for pity, (remembring the fortune of his grandfather *Antigonus*, and of his father *Demetrius*) and then cauſed *Pyrrus* head & body to be honorably burnt & buried. Afterwards *Alcyoneus* meeting *Helenus* (king *Pyrrus* ſonne) in very poore ſtate, mufled vp with a poore ſhorte cloke; vſed him very curteouſly with gentle wordes, and brought him to his father. *Antigonus* ſeeing his ſonne bringing of him, ſayd vnto him: this parte now (my ſonne) is better then the firſt, and pleaſeth me a great deale more. But yet thou haſt not done all thou ſhouldeſt: for thou ſhouldeſt haue taken from him his beggerly cloke he weareth, which doth more ſhame vs that are the gainers, then him that is the loſer. After he had ſpoken theſe wordes, *Antigonus* embraced *Helenus*, and hauing apparelled him in good ſorte, ſent him home with honorable conuoy into his realme of EPIRVS. Furthermore, ſeaſing all *Pyrrus* campe and army, he curteouſly receiued all his frendes and ſeruauntes.

Kinge Pyrrus ſlaine with a tyle throwen by a woman.

Alcyoneus king Antigonus ſonne.

Antigonus curteſie towards Pyrrus body and frendes.

The end of Pyrrus life. THE

THE LIFE OF *Caius Marius.*

IT is not knowen what was the third name of *Caius Marius*, no more then of *Quintius Sertorius*, who had all SPAYNE in his handes at one time: nor of *Lucius Mummius*, he that destroyed the citie of CORINTHE. For this name of *Achaicus*, that was geuen vnto *Mummius*, of *Africanus* vnto *Scipio*: and of *Numidicus* vnto *Metellus*: were all surnames geuen them, by reason of the conquestes they wan. By this reason *Posidonius* thinketh to ouercome them that say, that the third name the ROMAINES haue, is their proper name: as *Camillus*, *Marcellus*, *Cato*. For if it fell out so, sayd he, then it must needes follow that they which haue two names, should haue no proper name. But on the other side also, he doth not consider that by the like reason he should say, that women haue no names: for there is not a woman in ROME that is called by her first name, which *Posidonius* iudgeth to be the proper name of the ROMAINES. And that of the other two, the one is the common name of all the house or family, as of the POMPEIANS, of the MANLIANS, and of the CORNELIANS, like as the HERACLIDES and the PELOPIDES are amongest the GREECIANS: and the other is a surname taken of the deedes, or of the nature, forme, or shape of the body, or of some other like accident, as are these surnames, *Matrinus*, *Torquatus*, & *Sylla*. Euen as amongest the GREECIANS likewise, *Mnemon*, which signifieth hauing good memory: *Grypos*, hauing a crooked nose: *Callinicos*, conquering. But as for that, the diuersitie of custome would deliuer obiection sufficient to the contrary, to him that lifted. And furthermore, as touching the fauor of *Marius* face, we haue seene an image of his in marbell at RAVENNA, a citie of the GAVLES, which doth liuely represent that rough feuerity of nature and maner which they say was in him. For being borne a rough man by nature, and geuen to the warres, and hauing followed the same altogether from his youth, more then the ciuill life: when he came to authority, he could not bridle his anger and choller ieke nature. And they say furthermore, that he neuer learned the Greeke tongue, nor vsed it in any matters of weight: as though it had bene a mockery to study to learne the tongue, the masters whereof liued in bondage vnder others. After his second triumphe, in the dedication of a certaine temple, he made Greeke players to shewe the ROMAINES pastime: and came into the Theater, how beit he did but sit downe only, and went his way straight. Wherfore me thinkes, that as *Plato* was wont to say of vnto *Xenocrates* the Phi-

Of the names of the Romaines.

Marius fauor.

Marius could no skill of the Greeke tonge.

Platoes saying to Xenocrates.

losopher, who was of a curriſh nature, had his head euer occupied, and to ſeuere: *Xenocrates*, my frend: I pray thee doe ſacrifice to the *Graces*. So if any man could haue perſwaded *Marius* to haue ſacrificed to the *Muſes*, and to the GREECIAN *Graces*: (that is to ſay, that he had knowen the Greeke tongue) to ſo many famous and glorious deedes as he did, both in peace and warres, he had not ioyned ſo vnfortunate and miſerable an end as he made, through his choller and extreame ambition, at ſuch yeares, and through an vnſatiable couetouſnes, which like boyſterous windes made him to make ſhipwracke of all, in a moſt cruell, bloody, and vnnaturall age. The which is eaſily knowen in reading the diſcourſe of his doinges. Firſt of all he was of a meane houſe, borne of poore parents by father & mother, that got their liuings by ſweate of their browes. His father as him ſelfe, was called *Caius*: *Fulcinia* was his mother. And this was the cauſe why he beganne ſo late to haunt the city, and to learne the ciuility and manners of ROME, hauing bene brought vp alwayes before in a litle poore village called CIRROBATON, within the territory of the city of ARPOS: where he led a hard contry life, in reſpect of thoſe that liued pleaſauntly and finely in the cities, but otherwiſe well reformed, and neareſt vnto the manners of the auncient ROMAINES. The firſt iorney he made vnto the warres, was againſt the CELTIBERIANS in SPAYNE, vnder *Scipio* AFRICAN, when he went to beſiege the city of NVMANTIA: where his Captaines in ſhorte time found that he was a better ſouldier, then any other of his companions. For he did maruelous eaſily receiue the reformation of manners, and the diſcipline of warres, which *Scipio* aduaunced amongeſt his ſouldiers that were ill trained before, and geuen ouer to all pleaſure. And they ſay, that in the ſight of his Generall he fought hand to hand with one of his enemies, and ſlew him: vpon which occaſion, *Scipio* to make him loue him, did offer him many curteſies and pleaſures. But ſpecially one day aboue the reſt, hauing made him ſuppe with him at his table, ſome one after ſupper falling in talke of Captaines that were in ROME at that time: one that ſtoode by *Scipio*, asked him (either bicauſe in deede he ſtoode in doubt, or elſe for that he would curry fauor with *Scipio*) what other Captaine the ROMAINES ſhould haue after his death, like vnto him. *Scipio* hauing *Marius* by him, gently clapped him apon his ſhoulder, and ſayd: peraduenture this ſhalbe he. Thus happely were they both borne, the one to ſhew from his youth that one day he ſhould come to be a great man, and the other alſo for wiſely coniecturing the end, by ſeeing of the beginning. Well, it fortuned ſo, that theſe words of *Scipio* (by reporte) aboue all things elſe put *Marius* in a good hope, as if they had bene ſpoken by the oracle of ſome god, and made him bold to deale in matters of ſtate and common wealth: where, by meanes of the fauor & countenaunce *Cæcilius Metellus* gaue him (whoſe houſe his father and he had alwayes followed and honored) he obtained the office of Tribuneſhippe. In this office he preferred a law touching the manner howe to geue the voyces in election of the Magiſtrates, which did ſeeme to take from the nobility the authority they had in iudgement. And therefore the Conſull *Cotta* ſtepped vp againſt it, and perſwaded the Senate to reſiſt that lawe, and not ſuffer it to be authoriſed, and therewithall preſently to call *Marius* before them to yeld a reaſon of his doing. So was it agreed vppon in the Senate. Now *Marius* comming into the Senate, was not abaſhed at any thing, as ſome other young man would haue bene, that had but newly begonne to enter into the world as he did, and hauing no other notable calling or quality in him, ſauing his vertue only to commend him: but taking boldenes of him ſelfe (as the noble actes he afterwards did, gaue ſhow of his valor) he openly threatned the Conſull *Cotta* to ſende him to priſon, if he did not preſently withdrawe the concluſion he had cauſed to be reſolued apon. The Conſull then turning him ſelfe vnto *Cæcilius Metellus*, asked him how he liked it? *Metellus* ſtanding vp, ſpake in the behalfe of the Conſull: and then *Marius* calling a ſergeaunt out, commaunded him to take *Metellus* ſelfe, and to cary him to priſon. *Metellus* appealed to the other Tribunes, but neuer a one would take his matter in hand: ſo that the Senate when all was done, were compelled to call backe the concluſion that before was taken. Then *Marius* returning with great honor into the market place among the aſſembly of the people, cauſed this law to paſſe and be authoriſed: and euery man held opinion of him that he would proue a ſtowt man, and ſuch a one, as would not ſtoupe for any feare, nor ſhrinke for baſhfullnes, but would beard the Senate in fauor of the people. Notwithſtanding, he ſhortly after chaunged opinion, and altered

Marius parents, maners, and contry.

Marius firſt iorney vnto the warres.

Scipio Africans iudgement of Marius.

Marius Tribune of the people.

Cotta Conſull.

A altered the first, by an other act he made. For when an other went about to haue a law made, to distribute corne vnto euery citizen without payment of any penny, he was vehemently against it, and ouerthrew it: so that thereby he came to be a like honored and estemed of either party, as he that would neither pleasure the one, nor the other, to the preiudice of the common wealth. After he had bene Tribune, he sued for the chiefest office of Ædilis. Of the Ædiles there are two sortes: the first is called Ædilitas Curulis, so named bicause of certaine chayers that haue crooked feete, vpon which they sit when they geue audience. The other is of lesse dignity, and that is called Ædilitas popularis: and when they haue chosen the first and greater Ædilis at ROME, they presently proceede the same day also in the market place vnto election of the lesser. *Marius* seeing plainely that he was put by the chiefest of the Ædiles, turned againe straight yet to demaund the second: but this was misliked in him, and they tooke him for too bold, too shameles, and too presumptuous a man. So that in one selfe day he had two denyalles and repulses, which neuer man but him selfe before had. And neuertheless, all this could not cut his combe, but shortely after he sued also for the Prætorshippe, and he lacked but litle of the deniall of that: yet in the ende, being last of all chosen, he was accused to haue bribed the people, and bought their voyces for money. And surely amogenst many other, this presumption was very great: that they saw a man of CASSIVS SABACON within the barres where the election is made, running to and fro amonge them that gaue their voyces, bicause this *Sabacon* was *Marius* very great frend. The matter came before the iudges, and *Sabacon* was examined vpon it. Whereunto he aunswered, that for the great extreame heate he felt, he was very dry, and asked for colde water to drinke, and that this man had brought him some in a potte where he was, howbeit that he went his way as soone as euer he had dronke. This *Sabacon* was afterwardes put out of the Senate by the next Censors, and many iudge that he was worthy of this infamy, for that he was periured in iudgement, or bicause he was so subiect and geuen to his pleasure. *Caius Herennius* was also called for a witnesse against *Marius*: but he did alleage for his excuse, that the law and custome did dispense with the Patrone, to be a witnesse against his follower & client, and he was quit by the iudges. For the ROMAINES alwayes call those Patrons, who take the protection of meaner then them selues into their handes: saying, that *Marius* predecessors, and *Marius* him selfe, had euer bene followers of the house of the HERENNIANS. The iudges receiued his aunswere, and allowed thereof. But *Marius* spake against it, alleaging, that since he had receiued this honor to beare office in the common wealth, he was now growen from this base condicion, to be any more a follower of any man: the which was not true in all. For euery office of a Magistrate doth not exempt him that hath the office, nor yet his posterity, to be vnder the patronage of an other, nor doth discharge him from the duety of honoring them: but of necessity he must be a Magistrate, which the law doth permit to sit in the crooked chayer called Curulis, that is to say, caried vppon a charet through the city. But notwithstanding that at the first hearing of this cause, *Marius* had but ill successe, and that the iudges were against him all they could: yet in the ende for all that, at the last hearing of his matter, *Marius*, contrary to all mens opinions, was discharged, bicause the iudges opinions with and against him fell to be of like number. He vsed him selfe very orderly in his office of Prætorshippe, and after his yeare was out, when it came to deuide the prouinces by lot, SPAINE fell vnto him, which is beyond the riuer of Bætis: where it is reported that he skowred all the contrie thereabouts of theeues and robbers, which notwithstanding was yet very cruell and sauage, for the rude, barbarous, and vnciuill manner and facion of life of the inhabitantes there. For the SPANYARDS were of opinion euen at that time, that it was a goodly thinge to liue apon thefte and robbery. At his returne to ROME out of SPAYNE, desiring to deale in matters of the common wealth, he saw that he had neither eloquence nor riches, which were the two meanes, by the which those that were at that time in credit and authority, did cary the people euen as they would. Notwithstanding, they made great accompt of his constancy and noble minde they found in him, of his great paynes and trauell he tooke continually, and of the simplicity of his life: which were causes to bring him to honor and preferment, insomuch as he maried very highly. For he maried *Iulia*, that was of the noble house of the *Cæsars*, and aunte vnto *Iulius Cæsar*: who afterwardes came to be the

Two sortes of AEdiles.
AEdilitas Curulis.
AEdilitas popularis.
Marius denyed to be AEdilis.
Marius chosen Prætor.
Sabacon put of the Senate.
Caius Herennius pleaded in Marius behalfe, touching the patron & clients.
Marius acteth in Spayne.
The opinio of Spanyards in olde time.
Eloquence, & riches raised men to authority.
How Marius credit and estimacion grew.
Iulia, Marius wife.

chiefeſt man of all the ROMAINES, and who by reaſon of that allyance betwene them, ſeemed in ſome thinges to followe *Marius*, as we haue wrytten in his life. *Marius* was a man of great temperaunce and pacience, as may be iudged by an acte he did, puttinge him ſelfe into the handes of ſurgeons. For his ſhanckes and legges were full of great ſwollen veynes, and being angrie bicauſe it was no pleaſaunt thinge to beholde: he determined to put him ſelfe into the handes of ſurgeons to be cured. And firſt, laying out one of his legges to the ſurgeon to worke vpon, he would not be bound as others are in the like caſe: but paciently abode all the extreame paines a man muſt of neceſſity feele being cut, without ſturring, groning, or ſighing, ſtill keeping his countenaunce, and ſayed neuer a word. But when the ſurgeon had done with his firſt legge, and would haue gone to the other, he would not geue it him: nay ſayd he, I ſee the cure is not worth the paine I muſt abide. Afterwardes, *Cæcilius Metellus* the Conſull, being appointed to go into AFRICKE to make warre with king *Iugurthe*, tooke *Marius* with him for one of his Lieutenauntes. *Marius* being there, ſeeing notable good ſeruice to be done, and good occaſion to ſhew his manhoode, was not of minde in this voyage to increaſe *Metellus* honor and reputacion, as other Lieutenauntes did: and thought that it was not *Metellus* that called him forth for his Lieutenaunt, but fortune her ſelfe that preſented him a fit occaſion to raiſe him to greatnes, and (as it were) did lead him by the hand into a goodly field, to put him to the proofe of that he coulde doe. And for this cauſe therefore, he endeuored him ſelfe to ſhew all the poſſible proofes of valliantneſſe and honor he could. For, the warres being great continually there, he neuer for feare refuſed any attempt or ſeruice, how daungerous or painfull ſoeuer it were, neither diſdained to take any ſeruice in hand, were it neuer ſo litle: but exceeding all other his fellowes and companions in wiſedome and foreſight, in that which was to be done, and ſtriuing with the meaneſt ſouldiers in liuing hardly and painefully, wanne the goodwill and fauor of euery man. For to ſay truely, it is a great comforte & refreſhing to ſouldiers that labor, to haue companiõs that labor willingly with them. For they thinke, that their company laboring with them, doth in manner take away the compulſion and neceſſity. Furthermore, it pleaſeth the ROMAINE ſouldier maruelouſly to ſee the Generall eate openly of the ſame bread he eateth, or that he lyeth on a hard bed as he doth, or that him ſelfe is the firſt man to ſet his hande to any worke when a trenche is to be caſt, or their campe to be fortified. For they doe not ſo much eſteeme the Captaines, that honor and reward them: as they doe thoſe that in daungerous attempts labor, and venture their liues with them. And further, they do farre better loue them that take paines with them, then thoſe that ſuffer them to liue idlely by them. *Marius* performing all this, and winning thereby the loue and goodwills of his ſouldiers: he ſtraight filled all LIBYA and the city of ROME with his glory, ſo that he was in euery manns mouth. For they that were in the campe in AFRICKE, wrote vnto them that were at ROME, that they ſhould neuer ſee the ende of theſe warres againſt this barbarous king, if they gaue not the charge vnto *Marius*, and choſe him Conſull. Theſe thinges miſliked *Metellus* very much, but ſpecially the misfortune that came apon *Turpilius*, did maruelouſly trouble him: which fell out in this ſorte. *Turpilius* was *Metellus* frende, yea he and all his parentes had followed *Metellus* in this warre, being maſter of the workes in his campe. *Metellus* made him gouernor ouer the city of VACCA, a goodly great city: and he vſing the inhabitantes of the ſame very gently and curteouſly, miſtruſted nothing, till he was fallen into the handes of his enemies through their treaſon. For they had brought king *Iugurthe* into their city vnknowing to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but onely begged him of the king, and let him goe his way ſafe. And this was the cauſe why they accuſed *Turpilius* of treaſon. *Marius* being one of his iudges in the counſell, was not contented to be bitter to him him ſelfe, but moued many of the counſell beſides to be againſt him. So that *Metellus* hy the voyces of the people, was driuen againſt his will to condemne him, to ſuffer as a traitor: and ſhortly after it was founde, and proued, that *Turpilius* was wrongfully condemned, and put to death. To ſay truely, there was not one of the coũſel but were very ſory with *Metellus*, who maruelous impaciently tooke the death of the poore innocent. But *Marius* contrarily reioyced, and tooke it vpon him that he purſued his death, and was not aſhamed to make open vauntes, that he had hanged a fury about *Metellus* necke, to reuenge his frendes blood, whom he giltleſſe had cauſed to be put to death.

Marius temperaunce and pacience.

Cæcilius Metellus Conſull.

Marius, Metellus Lieutenaunts in the warre againſt Iugurthe.

The labour & preſence of the Generall maketh the ſouldiers worke willingly.

Marius the author of Turpilius falſe accuſation & death.

Vacca, a great city.

The cauſe of the ſuppoſed treaſon againſt Turpilius.

Turpilius wrongfully put to death.

Diſpleaſure betwixt Metellus & Marius.

A death. After that time they became mortall enemies. And they ſay, that one day *Metellus* to mocke him withall, ſayd vnto him: O good man, thou wilt leaue vs then, and returne to ROME to ſue for the Conſulſhippe, and canſt thou not be contented to tary to be Conſull with my ſonne? Now his ſonne at that time was but a boy. But whatſoeuer the matter ment, *Marius* left him not ſo, but labored for leaue all he could poſſible. And *Metellus* after he had vſed many delayes and excuſes, at the length gaue him leaue, twelue dayes only before the day of election of the Conſulls. Wherefore *Marius* made haſt, and in two dayes and a night came from the campe to Vtica apon the ſea ſide, which is a maruelous way from it: and there before he tooke ſhippe, did ſacrifice vnto the goddes, and the Sooth ſayer tolde him, that the goddes by the ſignes of his ſacrifices, did promiſe him vncredible proſperity, and ſo great, as he himſelfe
B durſt not hope after. Theſe wordes made *Marius* hart greater. Whereupon he hoyſed ſayle, and hauing a paſſing good gale of winde in the poope of the ſhippe, paſſed the ſeaes in foure dayes, and being landed, rode poſte to ROME. When he was arriued, he went to ſhewe himſelfe vnto the people: who were maruelous deſirous to ſee him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the people vnto the pulpit for orations, after many accuſations which he obiected againſt *Metellus*, in the end he beſought the people to chooſe him Conſull, promiſing that within few dayes he would either kill, or take king *Iugurthe* priſoner. Whereupon he was choſen Conſull without any contradiction. And ſo ſoone as he was proclaimed, he beganne immediatly to leauie men of warre, cauſing many poore men that had nothing, & many ſlaues alſo, to be enrolled againſt the order of auncient cuſtome: where other Captaines before him
C did receiue no ſuch maner of men, and did no more ſuffer vnworthy men to be ſouldiers, then they did allow of vnworthy officers in the common wealth: in doing the which euery one of them that were enrolled, left their goodes behinde them, as a pledge of their good ſeruice abroade in the warres. Yet this was not the matter that made *Marius* to be moſt hated, but they were his ſtowte prowde wordes, full of contempt of others, that did chiefely offende the noble men in the city. For he proclaimed it euery where abroade as it were, that his Conſullſhippe was a ſpoyle he had gotten of the effeminate riche noble men through his valliantnes, and that the wounds which he had vpon his body for ſeruice of the common wealth, and not the monuments of the dead, nor the images and ſtatues of others, were thoſe that recommended him to the people, nor weare his ſtrength. And ofttimes naming *Albinus*, and otherwhile
D *Beſtia*, both noble men, and of great houſes, who hauing bene Generalls of the ROMAINE army, had very ill fortune in the contry of LIBYA: he called them cowardes, and ſimple ſouldiers, asking them that were about him, if they did not thinke that their auncеſters would rather haue wiſhed to haue left their children that came of them like vnto him ſelfe, then ſuch as they had bene: conſidering that they them ſelues had wonne honor and glory, not for that they were diſcended of noble blood, but through their deſerued vertue and valliant deedes. Now *Marius* ſpake not theſe wordes in a fooliſhe brauery, and for vaine glory onely, to purchaſe the ill will of the nobility for nothing: but the common people being very glad to ſee him ſhame and deſpite the Senate, and meaſuring alwayes the greatnes of his cotage with his hawty fierce wordes, they egged him forward ſtill not to ſpare the nobility, and to reproue the
E great men, ſo that he euer held with the communalty. And furthermore, when he was paſſed ouer againe into AFRICKE, it ſpited *Metellus* to the hart, bicauſe that he hauing ended all the warre, that there remained almoſt no more to take or winne, *Marius* ſhould come in that ſorte to take away the glory and triumphe out of his handes, hauing ſought to riſe and increaſe by vnthankefullnes towards him. He would not come to him therefore, but went an other way, and left the army with *Rutilius* one of his Lieutenauntes, to deliuer the ſame vnto him. Howbeit the reuenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the ende vpon *Marius* owne necke. For *Sylla* tooke out of *Marius* hands, the honor of ending this warre: euen as *Marius* had taken it from *Metellus*. But how, & after what ſorte, I will repeate it in few words, bicauſe we haue written the particularities more at large in the life of *Sylla*. *Bocchus* king of high NVMIDIA, was father
F in law vnto king *Iugurthe*, vnto whom he gaue no great aide, whileſt he made warres with the ROMAINES, bicauſe he hated his vnfaithfullnes, & feared leaſt he would make him ſelfe greater then he was: but in the end, after *Iugurthe* had fled, and wandered vp and downe in euery

Marius firſt time of being Conſull.

Marius offended the nobility.

Marius deprived Metellus of the honor of conquering of king Iugurthe.

Bocchus kinge of Numidia, deliuereth Iugurthe vnto Sylla.

place, he was constrained of very necessity to cast his last hope and ancker apon him, as his finall refuge, and so repayre vnto him. King *Bocchus* receiued him rather for shame, bicause he durst not punish him, then for any loue or goodwill he bare him: and hauing him in his hands, seemed openly to intreate *Marius* for him, and secretly to wryte the contrary vnto him. But in the meane time, he practised treason vnder hande, and sent priuely for *Lucius Sylla*, who then was Quæstor (to say, high treasorer) vnder *Marius*, and of whome he had receiued certaine pleasures in those warres. *Sylla* trusting to this barbarous king, went at his sending for to him. But when he was come, king *Bocchus* repented him of his promise, and altered his minde, standing many dayes in doubt with him selfe howe to resolue, whether he should deliuer king *Iugurthe*, or keepe *Sylla* him selfe: yet at the last he went on with his purpose and intended treason, and deliuered king *Iugurthe* aliue into *Syllaes* hands. And this was the first originall cause of the pestilent and mortall enmitie that grew afterwardes betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, and was like to haue vtterly ouerthrowen the citie of Rome, and to haue rased the foundation of the empyre vnto the grounde. For many enuyinge the glorie of *Marius*, gaue it out euery where, that this acte of the taking of king *Iugurthe*, appertained only vnto *Sylla*: and *Sylla* him selfe caused a ring to be made, which he ware cõmonly, and had grauen vpon the stone of the same, how *Bocchus* deliuered *Iugurthe* into his handes. And afterwardes he made it allwayes his seale to dispite *Marius* with all, who was an ambitious and proude man, and coulde abide no companion to be partaker of the glorie of his doings: and *Sylla* did it specially at the procurement of enemies & ill willers, who gaue the glory of the beginning & chiefe exployts of this warre, vnto *Metellus*, and the last and finall conclusion vnto *Sylla*, to the ende that the people should not haue *Marius* in so great estimacion and good opinion, as they had before. But all this enuy, detraction, and hatred against *Marius*, was soone after extinguished and troden vnder foote, by reason of the great daunger that fell apon all Italie out of the West: and they neuer spake of it afterwardes, knowing that the common wealth stoode in neede of a good Captaine, and that they beganne to looke about, and consider who should be that great wise Pylot, that might saue and preserue it, from so exceding daungerous storme of warres. For there was not a noble man of all the auncient houses of Rome, that durst vndertake to offer him selfe to demaunde the Consullshippe: but *Marius* being absent, was chosen Consull the second time. For *Iugurthe* was no sooner taken, but newes came to Rome of the cõming downe of the Tevtons, and of the Cimbres, the which would not be beleued at the first, by reason of the infinite number of the fighting men which was sayd to be in their company, and for the vncredible force and power of armies which was iustified to come also: but afterwardes they knew plainely, that the rumor that ranne abroade was lesse, then the troth fell out in deede. For they were three hundred thowsand fighting men all armed, who brought with them also an other multitude as great (or more) of women and children: which wandered vp and downe seeking contries and townes to dwell and liue in, as they heard say the Gavles had done in olde time, who leauing their owne contry, came, and had possessed the best parte of Italie, which they had taken away from the Thvscans. Now to say truely, no man knewe of what nation they were, nor from whence they came: as well for that they had no frendshippe with any other people, as also bicause they came out of a farre contry, as a clowde of people that was spred all ouer Gavle & Italie. It was douted much that they came out of Germanye, dwelling about the north sea: and this they coniectured by viewe of the greatnes of their bodies, and also for that they had darke blew eyes and redde, besides that the Germanes in their tongue doe call theeues and robbers, Cimbri. Other say that Celtica, for the great length and largenes of the contry, stretching it selfe from the coast of the great Occean sea and from the north partes, drawing towards the mariisses Mœotides, and the East runneth into Scythia, or Tartaria Pontica: and that for neighbourhood these two nations ioyned together, and went out of their contrie, not that they made this great voyage all at one time, but at many sundry times, marching yearely in the spring further and further into the contry. And thus by continuance of time, they passed by force of armes through all the firme lande of Evrope and that for this cause, although they had many particular names according to the diuersitie of their nations, yet all this masse and multitude of people gathered together, were called notwith-

Lucius Sylla Quæstor vnder Marius.

The originall cause of the ciuill warres betwixt Marius and Sylla.

The comming into Italie of the Teutons and Cimbres.

The army of the Teutons and Cimbres 300000 men.

Cimbri.

A notwithſtanding, the army of the CELTOSCYTHES, as who would ſay, the CELTOTARTARES. Other hold opinion that the nation of the CIMMERIANS, who were knowen in old time for auncient GREECIANS, the one parte of them were not very great in reſpect of the whole, the which being fled (or driuen out of their contrie for ſome ciuill diſſention) were compelled by the TARTARES to paſſe beyond the mariſſes Mœotides, into the contries of ASIA, vnder the conduction of a Captaine called *Ligdamis*. But the reſidue of them which were a farre greater number, and more warlike men, they dwelt in the furdeſt partes of the earth, adioyning vnto the great Oceean ſea, in a darke ſhadowed contrie, couered with wonderfull forreſtes, of ſuch length, and ſo great and thicke, and the trees ſo high, that the ſunne can haue no power vpon the ground, and they ioyne hard vpon the great forreſt of Hercynia. And furB thermore, they are vnder ſuch a climate, where the pole is of ſuch a height by the inclination of the circles equidiſtant, which they call Parallelles, that it is not farre from the poynte that aunſwereth directly to the plummet vppon the head of the inhabitantes: and where the dayes are equinoctiall, they doe deuide all their time in two partes, the which geueth *Homer* occaſion to fayne, that when *Vliſſes* would call vpon the dead, he went into the contry of the CIMMERIANS, as into the contry of hell. And this is the cauſe why they ſay theſe barbarous people left their owne contries to come into ITALIE, which from the beginning were called CIMMERIANS, and afterwardes they ſay (and not without great likelyhoode) that they were ſurnamed CIMBRES: howebeit that is ſpoken rather by a likely coniecture, then by any aſſured troth of hiſtory. And as for the multitude of men, the moſt parte of hiſtoriographers doe C wryte, that they were rather moe, then leſſe then we haue ſpoken of: and that they were ſo hardy and valliant, that nothing coulde ſtande before them, they did ſo great thinges by the ſtrength of their handes where they fought with any, ſo violently, and ſo ſodainely, that they ſeemed to be like a lightninge fire all about where they came. By meanes whereof, they met with no man that durſt reſiſt them, but ſcraped together and caried away, all that they found, hande ouer head: and there were many ROMAINE Captaines appointed gouernors to keepe that which the ROMAINES held in GAVLE beyonde the mountaines, who with great armies were ſhamefully ouerthrowē by them. The cowardlynes of thoſe, whom they had ouercome, was the chiefeſt cauſe that moued them to direct their iorney to ROME. For when they had vanquiſhed the firſt they fought withall, and gotten great richeſſe alſo: they were ſo fleſhed D by this, that they determined to ſtay no where before they had firſt deſtroyed ROME, & ſacked all ITALIE. The ROMAINES hearing of this out of all partes, ſent for *Marius* to geue him the conduction and leading of theſe warres, and choſe him Conſull the ſeconde time: notwithſtanding that it was directly againſt the lawe, that did expreſſely forbid any man to be choſen being abſent, and vntill alſo a certaine time appointed had paſt betwene the vacation and election, before they could chooſe him officer twiſe in one office. Some alleaged this law, of intent to hinder the election. But the people repulſt them, obiecting to the contrary: that this was not the firſt time the law had geuen place to the benefit of the common wealth, and that the occaſion offered to abrogate the law at that preſent was no leſſe, then former occaſions by the which they choſe *Scipio* Conſull, againſt the courſe and time appointed by the law, not for E any feare they ſtoode in to loſe their owne contrie, but for the deſire they had to deſtroy the contry of the CARTHAGINIANS, by reaſon whereof the people proceeded to election. And *Marius* bringing home his armie againe out of LIBYA into ITALIE, tooke poſſeſſion of his Conſulſhip the firſt day of Ianuary (on which day the ROMAINES beginne their yeare) and therwithall made his triumphe into the city of ROME, ſhowing that to the ROMAINES, which they thought neuer to haue ſeene: and that was, kinge *Iugurthe* priſoner, who was ſo ſubtill a man, and coulde ſo well frame him ſelfe vnto his fortune, and with his craft and ſubtiltie was of ſo great corage beſides, that none of his enemies euer hoped to haue had him aliue. But it is ſayd, that after he was led in this triumphe, he fell mad ſtraight apon it. And the pompe of triumphe being ended, he was caried into priſone, where the ſergeauntes for haſt to haue the F ſpoyle of him, tare his apparell by force from of his backe: and bicauſe they would take away his rich golde eare ringes that hong at his eares, they pulled away with them the typpe of his eare, and then caſt him naked to the bottome of a deepe dungeon, his wittes being altogether

Cimmerij.

Marius choſen Conſull the ſecond time againſt the law.

Law muſt giue place for common benefit.

Marius triumphe into Rome, for king Iugurthe.

troubled. Yet when they did throw him downe, laughing he sayd: O *Hercules*, how colde are your stoues. He liued there yet six dayes, fighting with hunger, and desiring alwayes to prolong his miserable life vnto the last hower: the which was a iust deserued punishment for his wicked life. In this triumphe were caried (as they say) three thowsand & seuen hundred pound weight in gold, and of siluer nygots, fiue thowsand seuen hundred and lxxv. pounde weight and more in golde and ready coyne, eight and twenty thowsand and seuen hundred crownes. After this triumphe, *Marius* caused the Senate to assemble within the Capitoll, where he entred into the companie with his triumphinge robe, either bicause he forgot it, or else of too grosse and vnciuill arrogancy: but perceiuing that all the assemblie misliked of it, he rose sodainly, and tooke his long Consulls gowne, and then returned quickely againe into his place.

How Marius trained his souldiers.

Furthermore *Marius* departing to goe to the warres, thought to traine his army by the way, and to harden his souldiers vnto labor, causing them to runne euery way, making great longe iorneys, compelling ech souldier to cary his owne furniture, and to prepare him necessary vittells to finde him selfe withall: so that euer after they made a prouerbe of it, and called such as were paineful and willing to do that which they were commaunded without grudging, *Marius* moyles. Other notwithstanding, do shew an other cause and beginning of this prouerbe.

Marius moyles.

For they say, that *Scipio* lying at the siege of the city of NVMANTIA, would not only take view of the armor and horses of seruice that were in his armie, but also of the moyles and other beastes of burden, bicause he would see how they were kept & furnished. So *Marius* brought his horse and moyle to the muster which he kept him selfe, fatte, fayer, and very well dreste, and his moyles heare so slike and smooth, and therewithall so lusty and trimme, as none of the rest were like vnto them. *Scipio* tooke great pleasure to see these beastes so well kept, and in so good plyte: insomuch as he spake of it afterwards many a time and oft. And vpon his words, this manner of talke was taken vp euer after, and became a common prouerbe: when they meane to mocke any man that is painefull, and geuen to sore labor, makinge as though they would praise him, they call him *Marius* moyle. Furthermore, it was a happy turne for *Marius* (in mine opinion) that these barbarous people (like in force to the beating backe of the raging seaes) turned their first fury towardes SPAYNE: and that he in the meane space had time and leasure to traine and exercise his souldiers, to make them bolde, and withall, him selfe to be throughly knowen amongest them. For when by litle and litle they had learned not to offend, nor disobey: then they found his rough commaunding, and sharpe seuerity in punishing such as slacke their duety, both profitable and very necessarie, besides that it was also iust and reasonable. Againe, his great fury, his sharpe words, and his fierce lookes, after they had a while bene vsed to them, by litle and litle they seemed nothinge so fearfull to them, as to their enemies. But the thing that pleased the souldiers more then all the rest, was his iustice acd vpright dealinge: whereof they reporte such an example: *Marius* had a nephewe of his in his campe called *Caius Lusius*, who had charge of men in the army. This *Lusius* was taken for a maruelous honest man, sauing that he had this fowle vice in him, that he would be sodainly in loue with fayer young boyes: and as at that time he fell in loue with a trimme younge striplinge, called *Trebonius*, that serued vnder him, and hauing many times lewdly entised him, and neuer could obtaine his purpose, at the last sent for him one night by his seruaunt. The young man might not disobay his Captaine being sent for, but presently went vnto him. When he was come into his tent, and that his Captaine did striue with all his force to doe him villanny: he drewe out his sworde, and killed him in the place. And this was done when *Marius* was out of his campe: who so soone as he returned, caused the marshall to bring the young man before him. Many stepped forth straight to accuse him, but no man to defend him. Wherefore he boldly began to tell his tale himselfe, & to name many witnesses, who had both seene & knowen how his dead Captaine had oftentimes offered him dishonor, and how that he had continually resisted his abhominable motion, and would neuer yeld him selfe vnto him, for any gift or present he could offer him. Wherefore *Marius* commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, caused presently one of those crownes to be brought vnto him, which are vsed to be geuen to them that in a day of battel haue done some valliant deede, and he him selfe did crowne *Trebonius* withall, as one that had done a noble acte, and at such a time, as good and honest

Marius commended for his iustice.

examples

A examples were requisite. This iudgement of *Marius* beinge caried to ROME, stoode him to great good purpose towardes the obtaining of his third Consullshippe: besides also that they looked for the comming backe of these barbarous people about the springe with whome the ROMAINE souldiers would not fight vnder any other Captaine, then *Marius*. Howbeit they came not so soone againe as they looked for them, but *Marius* passed ouer also the yeare of his third Consullshippe. So time comming about againe for the election of newe Consulls, and his companion also being dead: he was driuen to goe him selfe vnto ROME, leauing the charge of his campe in his absence, vnto *Manius Acilius*. At that time there were many noble men that sued for the Consullshippe: but *Lucius Saturninus* one of the Tribunes, who had the communalty vnder his girdell as he would him selfe, more then any of thother Tribunes, B and being wonne vnder hand by *Marius*, made many orations, in the which he perswaded the people to choose *Marius* Consull the fourth time. *Marius* to the contrary, seemed to refuse it, saying that he would none of it, though the people chose him. Whereupon *Saturninus* called him traitor, crying out, that his refusall in such a daunger and time of necessity, was an apparant parte to betray the common wealth. It was found straight that this was a grosse packe betwixt *Saturninus* and *Marius*, by such as could see day at a litle hole. Neuertheless, the people considering that their present troubles required *Marius* skil & good fortune in the warres, they made him Consull the fourth time, and ioyned *Catulus Luctatius* Consul with him, a man that was greatly honored of the nobility, and not misliked also of the common people. *Marius* hauing newes of the approching of the barbarous people, passed ouer the Alpes with great C speede, & fortifying his campe by the riuer of Rhone, he brought great prouision of all kindes of vittels thither with him, least being straighted by lacke therof, he should be forced to come to battell at any other time, but euen as he would him selfe, and as it should seeme good vnto him. And where before that time the transporting of vittells vnto his campe by sea was very long, and daungerous, and a maruelous great charge besides: he made it very shorte and easie by this meanes. The mouth of the riuer of Rhone had gathered together so much mudde, and such store of sande, which the waues of the sea had cast on heapes together, that the same was becomen very high and depe: so as the banckes made the entry into it very narrow, hard, and daungerous for great shippes of burden that came from the sea. *Marius* considering this matter, set his men a worke while they had nothing to do, & made them digge a large trench D and deepe channell, into the which he turned a great parte of the riuer, and caried it to a conuenient place of the coast, where the water fell into the sea by an open gulfe, wherby he made it able to cary the greatest shippes that were: and besides that, it was in a very still quiet place, not being troubled with windes nor waues. The channell carieth yet his name, and is called *Marius* Channell or trenche. These barbarous people deuided them selues into two armies to passe into ITALIE, so that it fell out to the one parte which were the CIMBRES, to goe through high GERMANYE, and to force that passage which *Catulus* kept: and vnto the other parte, which were the TEVTONS and AMBRONS, to passe through the contry of the GENOVESIANS by the sea side against *Marius*. Now the CIMBRES hauing the greater compasse to fetch about, stayed lenger, and remained behinde: but the TEVTONS and the AMBRONS go- E ing their way first, had in fewe dayes dispatched their iorney they had to go, to bring them to the campe where the ROMAINES lay, vnto whom they presented themselues by infinite numbers, with terrible faces to beholde, and their cryes & voyces farre contrary vnto other mens. They tooke in a maruelous deale of grounde in length to campe vpon, and so came forth to defie *Marius*, and prouoke him to battell in open field. *Marius* made no reckoning of all their bragging defiaces, but kept his men together within his campe, taking on terribly with them that would rashely take vpon them to moue ought to the contrary, and which through impacience of choller would nedes go forth to fight, calling them traytors to their contry. For said he, we are not come to fight for our priuate glory, neither to winne two triumphes nor victories for our selues: but we must seeke by all meanes to diuert and put by this great shower of F warres from vs, and this lightning and tempest, that it ouercome not all ITALIE. These words he spake vnto the priuate Captaines which were vnder him, as vnto men of hauior and quality. But as for the common souldiers, he made them stande vpon the trenches of his campe,

Marius third Consullshippe.

Manius Acilius Lieutenant of the army, vnder Marius.

Lucius Saturninus Tribune.

Marius fourth Consullshippe with Catulus Luctatius.

Rhodanus fl.

Marius channell.

The Cimbres went through Germanie into Italie.

The Teutons and Ambrons fall vpon Marius to passe into Italie, through the territory of Genua.

one after an other to behold the enemies,& to acquaint them ſelues with ſight of their faces, their countenaunce,and marching,& not to be afrayed of their voyces to heare them ſpeake, which were wonderfull,both ſtraunge & beaſtly : and alſo that they might know the facion of their weapons,and how they handled them. And by this order & ordinary viewing of them, in time he made the things that ſemed fearefull vnto his men at the firſt ſight,to be afterwards very familiar : ſo that they made no more wondring at them. For he iudged, the thing which in deede is true,that a rare and new matter neuer ſeene before,for lacke of iudgement and vnderſtanding,maketh things vnknowen to vs,more horrible & fearefull thē they are:and to the contrary, that cuſtome taketh away a great deale of feare, & terror of thoſe things, which by nature are in deede fearefull. The which was ſeene then by experience. For they being dayly acquainted to looke vpon theſe barbarous people, it did not only diminiſh ſome parte of the former feare of the ROMAINE ſouldiers:but furthermore they whetting their choller with the fierce vntollerable threates and bragges of theſe barbarous brutiſh people,did ſet their hartes a fire to fight with them, bicauſe they did not only waſt and deſtroy all the contry about them, but beſides that,came to geue aſſault euen vnto their campe with ſuch a boldnes,that the ROMAINE ſouldiers could no lenger ſuffer them,and they letted not to ſpeake wordes that came to *Marius* eares him ſelfe. What cowardlines hath *Marius* euer knowen in vs, that he keepes vs thus from fighting, & vnder locke & key as it were,in the gard of porters,as if we were women ? Let vs therefore ſhew our ſelues like men,& go aske him if he looke for any other ſouldiers beſides our ſelues to defend ITALIE : and if he haue determined to employ vs as pioners onely,when he would caſt a trenche to ridde away the mudde,or to turne a riuer contrary.For therein hath he onely hitherunto employed vs in great labor,and they are the notable workes he hath done in his two Conſullſhippes, whereof he maketh his boaſt vnto them at ROME. Is he afrayed they ſhould take him,as they did *Carbo* & *Cepio*,whom the enemies haue ouerthrowen ? He muſt not be afrayed of that: for he is a Captaine of an other manner of valor and reputacion then they were,and his army much better then theirs was.But howeſoeuer it be,yet were it much better in prouing to looſe ſomething,then to be idle, & to ſuffer our frends and cōfederats to be deſtroyed & ſacked before our eyes. *Marius* was maruelous glad to heare his men cōplaine thus, & did comfort them,& told thē that he did nothing miſtruſt their corage & valiantnes:howbeit that through the coūſell of certaine prophecies & oracles of the gods, he did expect time & place fit for victory.For he euer caried a SYRIAN womā in a litter about with him called *Martha*,with great reuerence,whom they ſaid had the ſpirit of prophecie in her:& that he did euer ſacrifice vnto the gods by her order,& at ſuch time as ſhe willed him to do it. This SYRIAN woman went firſt to ſpeake with the Senate about theſe matters, and did foretell & prognoſticate what ſhould follow. But the Senate would not heare her,& made her to be driuē away.Wherupon ſhe went vnto the womē,& made thē ſee proofe of ſome things ſhe vaūted of,& ſpecially *Marius* wife,at whoſe feete ſhe was ſet one day in an aſſembly of the cōmon playes,to ſee ſwordplayers fight for life & death:for ſhe told her certenly which of the ſhould ouercome.Whereupon this Lady ſent her vnto her husband *Marius*,who made great reckening of her,& caried her euē in a litter with him wherſoeuer he went.She was alwaies at *Marius* ſacrifices,apparelled in a gown of purple in graine, claſped to her with claſpes,& held a ſpeare in her hand woūd all about with noſegayes,& garlands of flowers tyed on with laces. This maner of ieaſt made many dout whether *Marius* ſhewed this woman opēly, beleuing in dede that ſhe had the gift of prophecy:or els that knowing the cōtrary,he made as though he did beleue it, to helpe her fayning. But that which *Alexander* the MYNDIAN wrote touching Vultures,is a thing greatly to be wōdred at.For he ſaid there were two of thē followed *Marius* in his warres, & that they euer ſhewed thē ſelues & miſſed not, when he ſhould win any great battel,& that they did know them by latin collers they ware about their necks,which the ſouldiers had tyed about thē,& afterwards let them go where they would: by reaſon wherof, they did know the ſouldiers againe,& it ſemed alſo that they did ſalute thē,& were very glad when they ſaw thē, & perſwaded thē ſelues, that it was a ſigne & token of good lucke to follow. Many ſignes and tokens were ſeene before the battell : howbeit all the reſt were ordinary ſightes, ſauing that which was reported to be ſeene at TVDERTVM,& AMERIA,two cities of ITALIE.

Martha, a wiſe woman or propheteſſe.

The attier of Martha in time of ſacrifice.

A wonder of the Vultures ſhewed to Marius.

Wonders ſeene.

For

A For they say there were seene speares and targets in the night, burning like fire in the element, which first were caried vp & downe here and there, and then met together euen as men moue & sturre that fight one with an other: vntill at the length, the one geuing backe, and the other followinge after, they all vanished away, and consumed towardes the West. About the selfe same time also, there came from the citie of PESSINVNTA, *Batabaces*, the chiefe priest of the great mother of the goddes, who brought newes, that the goddesse had spoken to him within her sanctuary, and told him that the victory of this warre should fall out on the ROMAINES side. The Senate beleued it, and ordained that they should build a temple vnto that goddesse, to geue her thankes for the victorie which she did promise them. *Batabaces* also would haue presented him selfe vnto the people in open assemblie, to tell them as much. But there was

Batabaces the priest of the mother of the goddes.

B one *Aulus Pompeius* a Tribune that would not suffer him to do it, calling him tombler, or iugler, & violently thrust him behinde the pulpit for orations: but the mischaunce that fell apon *Pompeius* afterwards, made thē the more to beleue *Batabaces* words. For *Pompeius* the Tribune no sooner came home vnto his house, but a great vehement agew tooke him, whereof he dyed the seuenth day after, as all the world could witnes. Now the TEVTONS perceiuing that *Marius* stirred not at all out of his campe, they proued to assault him: howbeit they were so well receiued with shotte and slinges, that after they had lost certaine of their men, they gaue it ouer, and determined to goe further, perswading them selues that they might easily passe the Alpes without daunger. Wherfore trussing vp al their baggage, they passed by *Marius* campe:

Aulus Pompeius Tribune.

at which time it appeared more certainly then before, that they were a maruelous great mul-

C titude of people, by the length of time which they tooke to passe their way. For it is sayd they were passing by his campe, sixe dayes continually together. And as they came raking by the ROMAINES campe, they asked them in mockery, if they would wryte or send home any thing to their wiues, for they would be with them ere it were long. When they were all passed and gone, and that they continued on their iorney still, *Marius* also raised his campe, and went and followed them fayer and softly foote by foote, and euer kept hard at their taile as neere as he could, alwayes fortifying his campe very well, and euer choosing strong places of scituacion & aduantage to lodge in, that they might be safe in the night time. Thus they marched on in this sorte, vntill they came vnto the city of ARLES, from whence they had not farre to goe, but they entered straight into the mountaines of the Alpes. Wherefore *Marius* prepared nowe

The enemies campe were remouing sixe dayes together.

D to fight with them: & chose out a place that was very strong of scituacion to lodge his campe in, howebeit there lacked water. And they say he did it of purpose, to the ende to quicken his mens corage the more thereby. Many repined at it, and tolde him that they should stande in great daunger to abide maruelous thirst if they lodged there. Whereunto he made answere: shewing them the riuer that ranne hard by the enemies campe, saying withall, that they must go thither and buy drinke with their blood. The souldiers replyed againe: and why then doe ye not lead vs thither, whilest our blood is yet moyste? he gently answered them againe: bicause the first thing we doe, we must fortifie our campe. The souldiers, though they were angry with him, yet they obeyed him: but the slaues hauing neither drinke for them selues, nor for their cattell, gathered together a great troupe of them, and went towardes the riuer: some

Marius bolde wordes to his souldiers, and their answer.

E of them carying axes, other hatchets, other swords and speares, with their pottes to cary water, determining to fight with the barbarous people, if otherwise they could not come by it. A fewe of the barbarous people at the first fought with them, bicause the most parte of their company were at dinner, after they had bathed, and others were still in the bathe washinge them selues, finding in that place many springes of hotte naturall bathes. Thus the ROMAINES founde many of the barbarous people makinge merry, and taking their pleasure about these bathes, for the great delite they tooke to cōsider the pleasauntnes of the place: but when they heard the noyse of them that fought, they beganne to runne one after an other vnto the place from whence the noyse came. Wherefore it was a hard thing for *Marius* any lenger to keepe the ROMAINE souldiers in from going to their helpe, for that they feared their slaues should

F haue bene slaine of the barbarous people: and moreouer, bicause the valliantest souldiers of their enemies called the AMBRONS (who before had ouercome *Manlius* and *Cepio*, two ROMAINE Captaines with their armies, and that made of them selues thirty thowsande fighting

men) ranne to armes, being very heauy of their bodies, as hauing filled their bellies well, but otherwise valliant and coragious fellowes, and more liuely then they were wont to be, by reason of the wine they had dronke. They ran not furiously to fight out of order, neither did they crie out confusedly, but marching all togethier in good array, making a noyse with their harnes all after one sorte, they oft rehearsed their owne name AMBRONS, AMBRONS, AMBRONS which was, either to call one an other of them, or else to feare the ROMAINES with their name only. The ITALIANS also on thother side, being the first that came downe to fight with them, were the LIGVRIANS, dwelling vpon the coast of Genuoa, who hearing this noyse and crye of theirs, plainely vnderstanding them: aunswered them againe with the like noyse and crye, LIGVRIANS, LIGVRIANS, LIGVRIANS, saying that it was the true surname of all their nation. And so before they ioyned together, this crye was redoubled many a time on either side: and the Captaines of both partes made their souldiers crye out all together, contendinge for enuy one against an other, who should crye it out lowdest. This contention of crying, inflamed the souldiers corages the more. Now the AMBRONS hauing the riuer to passe, were by this meanes put out of order, and before they could put them selues in battell ray againe, after they had passed the riuer, the LIGVRIANS ranne with great fury to set apon the formest: and after them, (to aide the LIGVRIANS that had begon the charge) the ROMAINES them selues fell also apon the AMBRONS, comming downe from the places of aduantage vpon these barbarous people, and compelled them by this meanes to turne their backes, and flie. So the greatest slaughter they made, fortuned vppon the bancke of the riuer, whereinto they thrust one an other in such sorte, that all the riuer ran blood, being filled with dead bodies. And they that could get ouer the riuer againe, and were on thother side, durst not gather together any more to stand to defence: so as the ROMAINES slew them, and draue them into their campe, euen vnto their cariage. Then their women came out against them with swordes and axes in their handes, grinding their teeth: and crying out for sorrow and anger, they charged as well vpon their owne people that fled, as vpon them that chased them: the one as traitors, and the other as enemies. Furthermore, they thrust them selues amongest them that fought, & stroue by force to plucke the ROMAINES targets out of their handes, and tooke holde of their naked swordes bare handed, abiding with an inuincible corage to be hacked and mangled with their swordes. And thus was the first battell geuen (as they say) by the riuers side, rather by chaunce vnlooked for, then by any set purpose, or through the generals counsel. Now the ROMAINES, after they had ouercome the most parte of the AMBRONS, retyring backe by reason the night had ouertaken them, did not (as they were wont after they had geuen such an ouerthrow) sing songes of victory and triumphe, nor make good chere in their tentes one with an other, and least of all sleepe: (which is the best & sweetest refreshing for men that haue fought happely) but contrarily, they watched all that night with great feare and trouble, bicause their campe was not trenched and fortified, and bicause they knewe also that there remained almost innumerable thowsandes of barbarous people, that had not yet fought: besides also, that the AMBRONS that had fled and scaped from the ouerthrow, did howle out all night with lowd cries, which were nothing like mens lamentacions and sighes, but rather like wilde beastes bellowing and roaringe. So that the bellowing of such a great multitude of beastly people, mingled togethier with threates and waylinges, made the mountaines thereabouts and the running riuer to rebounde againe of the founde and ecco of their cries marueilously: by reason whereof, all the valley that lay betwene both, thundered to heare the horrible and fearefull trembling. This made the ROMAINE souldiers afeard, and *Marius* him selfe in some doubt: bicause they looked to haue benefought withall the same night, being altogether troubled and out of order. Notwithstanding, the barbarous people did not assault them that night, nor the next day following, but only prepared them selues vnto battell. And in the meane time *Marius* knowing that there was aboue the place where they were camped, certaine caues and litle valleyes couered with wodde: he secretly sent *Claudius Marcellus* thither with three thowsand footemen well armed, and commaunded him to keepe close in ambushe, vntill he saw that the barbarous people were fighting with him, and that then he should come and set apon their reareward. The residue of his armie, they supped when time came, and after supper reposed them selues.

Battell betwixt the Ambrons & Marius.

Marius ouercame the Ambrons.

The mannishnes of the women.

A ſelues. The next morning at the breake of day, *Marius* brought his men into the fielde out of his forte: where he put them in order of battell, ſending his horſemen before to draw the enemies out to skirmiſhe. The TEVTONS ſeeing them come, had not the pacience to tary till the ROMAINES were come downe into the plaine fielde to fight without aduantage, but arming them ſelues in haſt, and in a rage, ranne vp the hill to the ROMAINES, where they ſtoode in battell ray. *Marius* taking good regard to that they did, ſent here and there vnto the priuate Captaines, charging them they ſhould not ſtirre, and onely to temporiſe and forbeare, vntill the enemies came within a ſtones caſt of them: and that they ſhould then throw their dartes at them, and afterwardes drawe their ſwordes, and repulſe the barbarous people with their ſhieldes. For he did foreſee before, that when they ſhould clime vp againſt the hill (vppon the

B hanging whereof the ROMAINES had ſet their battell) that their blowes would not be of great force, nor their order and rankes could ſtand cloſe together to any effect or purpoſe: bicauſe they could not haue ſure footing, nor march aſſuredly, but would eaſily be throwē backeward if they were neuer ſo litle repulſed, by reaſon of the hanging of the hill. *Marius* gaue this order vnto his folke and therewithall was him ſelfe the firſt man that put it in execution: for he was as trymme a warriour, and as valliant a ſouldier, as any man in all his army: beſides, not one amongeſt them all would venter furder, and be more bolde then him ſelfe. So when the ROMAINES had reſiſted them, and ſtayed them ſodainely, going with fury to haue wonne the hill, perceiuing them ſelues to be repulſed, they gaue backe by litle and litle, vntill they came into the field: and then beganne the formeſt of them to gather together, and to put them ſelues in

C battell ray vppon the plaine, when ſodainly they heard the noyſe and charging of them that were in the tayle of their army. For *Claudius Marcellus* failed not to take the occaſion when it was offered him, bicauſe that the noyſe of the firſt charge comming vp againſt the hills thereabouts, vnder the which he lay in ambuſhe, gaue him aduertiſement thereof: whereupon he cauſed his men preſently to ſhew, and running with great cryes, came to geue a charge vpon thoſe which were in the tayle of the barbarous people, putting the hindemoſt to the worde. They made their fellowes whoſe backes were next vnto them, to turne their faces, & ſo from man to man, till at the length, in ſhorte time all their battell beganne to wauer in diſorder: and they made no great reſiſtaunce, when they ſaw they were ſo charged before and behinde, but beganne ſtraight to flie for life. The ROMAINES following them hard at the heeles, killed and

D tooke priſoners aboue a hundred thowſande of them, and tooke moreouer their cartes, their tentes and all their cariage. Which the whole army by conſent agreed to preſent vnto *Marius*, excepting nothing, ſauing that which was imbeaceled and conueyed away vnder hande. Now, though this was a maruelous honorable & right noble preſent yet they thought it not a recompence ſufficient for that he had deſerued, for the valure he had ſhewed of a famous Captaine in leading of his army, & for the good order he kept in this warre: ſo happy thought they them ſelues to haue eſcaped ſo great a daunger. Notwithſtanding, ſome wryters doe not agree, that the ſpoyle of the barbarous people was geuen vnto *Marius*: nor that there were alſo ſo great a number of men ſlaine as we haue ſpoken of. But they ſay, that after this battell the MARSSILIANS did incloſe their vines, with hedges made of dead mens bones: and that

E the bodies being rotten and conſumed vpon the fieldes through the great raine that fell vpon them the winter following, the ground waxed ſo fatte, and did ſoke the greaſe ſo deepe in the ſame, that the ſommer following they did beare an vncredible quantity of all ſortes of frutes. And by this meanes were *Archilecus* wordes proued true, that the errable land doth waxe fat with ſuch rottenneſſe or putrification. And it is ſayd alſo, that of ordinary after great battells, there falleth great ſtore of raine. Either it is by meane of ſome god that powring downe pure raine water doth purifie, waſh, and cleanſe the grounde, defiled and polluted with mans blood: or elſe it happeneth by naturall cauſe. For that the ouerthrow of ſo many dead bodies, and of the blood ſpilt, engendreth a moyſt, groſſe, and heauy vapoure, which doth thicken the ayer (that by nature is chaungeable, and eaſie to alter) from a very ſmall or litle beginning, vnto an

F exceeding great chaunge. After this battell, *Marius* cauſed the harneſſe and ſpoyles of the barbarous people to be layed aſide, that were left whole and fayer to ſight, to beautifie & enrich the pompe of his triumphe. Then he cauſed the reſt to be gathered together on a great

Marius ſeconde battell with the Teutons.

Marius victory of the Teutons and Ambrons.

Much raine followeth after great battells.

heape, and layed apon a ſtake of wodde, to make a noble ſacrifice vnto the gods, all his army being armed about him, crowned with garlandes of triumphe, and him ſelfe apparelled in a long gowne of purple, according to the cuſtome of the ROMAINES in ſuch a caſe, and holding a torch burning in both his hands, which he firſt lifted vp vnto heauen. And as he was turning downe the torch to put fire to the ſtake of wood; they ſaw ſome of his frends a good way of a horſe backe, comming poſt vnto him: then ſodainly there was a great ſilence made of all the aſſembly, euery man deſirous to heare what good newes they had brought. When they were come and lighted of their horſes, they ranne ſtraight to embrace *Marius*, and brought him newes that he was choſen Conſull the fift time: and preſented him the letters ſent him from ROME confirming the ſame. And thus, this new ioy falling out beſides the victory, the priuate ſouldiers did ſhewe the great ioy and pleaſure they tooke in both, with great ſhowtes and beating vpon their harneſſe: and the Captaines alſo, they crowned *Marius* againe with new garlandes of laurell which they put about his head, and that done, he put fire vnder the ſtake of wodde, and ended his ſacrifice. But that which neuer ſuffereth men quietly to enioy the good happe of any victory clearely, but in this mortall life doth euer mingle the ill with the good, be it either fortune or ſpight of fatall deſtenie, or elſe the neceſſitie of the naturall cauſes of earthly thinges: did ſhortely after this great ioy bring newes vnto *Marius*, of his companion *Catulus Luctatius* the other Conſull, who was like a cloude in a fayer bright day, and brought the city of ROME againe into a new feare and trouble. For *Catulus* that went againſt the CIMBRES, thought it was not for him to keepe the ſtraightes of the mountaines, in hope to let the barbarous people for paſſing: bicauſe that in ſo doing, he had bene compelled to deuide his army into many partes, and had weakened him ſelfe very much if he had taken that courſe. Wherefore comming a litle on this ſide the Alpes towardes ITALIE, he planted him ſelfe vppon the riuer of Atheſis, and built a bridge apon it, to paſſe and repaſſe ouer his men when he would, and ſette vp at either ende of the bridge two ſtrong fortes well fortified, that he might more cõmodiouſly helpe the places on the other ſide of the riuer, if the barbarous people by chaũce would offer to force thẽ, after they had gotten out of the ſtraights of the mountaines. Now, theſe barbarous people had ſuch a glory in them ſelues, and diſdained their enemies ſo much, that more to ſhew their force and boldnes, then of any neceſſity that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they ſuffred it to ſnow apon them being ſtarke naked, and did clime vp to the toppe of the mountaines, throw great heapes of iſe and ſnow. And when they were at the very toppe of all, they layed their long broad targets vnder their bodies, and lay all along apon them, ſliding downe the ſteepe high rockes, that had certaine hanginges ouer of an infinite height. In the ende, they came to campe neere vnto the ROMAINES by the riuer ſide, and conſidered howe they might paſſe it ouer: and beganne to fill it vp, tearing downe (like gyants) great hilles of earth which they founde thereabours, brought thither great trees which they pulled vp whole by the rootes, threw in great peeces of rockes which they brake, and whole towers of earth after them, to ſtoppe and breake the courſe of the riuer. But beſides all this, they threw great tymber into the riuer, which being caried downe the ſtreame, came with ſuch a force, & hit againſt the poſtes of the bridge ſo violently, that they ſhaked the ROMAINES bridge maruelouſly. Whereuppon many of the ſouldiers of the great campe were afrayed, and forſaking it, beganne to retyre. But then did *Catulus*, like a perfit good Captaine ſhowe, that he made leſſe accompt of his owne priuate honor and eſtimacion, then he did of the generall honor of all his ſouldiers. For, ſeeing that he could not perſwade his men by any reaſon to tary, and that in this feare they diſlodged in diſorder againſt his will: he him ſelfe cõmaunded the ſtanderd bearer of the Eagle to marche on, and ranne to the foremeſt that went their way, and marched him ſelfe before them all, to the intent that the ſhame of this retyre ſhould altogether light vpon him, & not apon his contry, and that it might appeare the ROMAINES did follow their Captaine, and not flie away. The barbarous people therefore aſſaulting the forte at the end of the bridge of the riuer of Atheſis, tooke it, & all the men that were in it. And bicauſe the ROMAINES defended it like valliant men, and had luſtely ventured their liues to the death for defence of their contry: the barbarous people let them go vpon cõpoſition, which they ſware to kepe faithfully, by their bull of copper. This bull afterwards was taken when

Mærius the fift time Conſull.

Atheſis flu.

Catulus Luctatius the Conſull, flieth from the Cimbres.

A when they loſt the battell, and caried (as they ſay) into *Catulus Luctatius* houſe, as the chiefeſt thing of the victory. Furthermore, the barbarous people finding the contry open without any defence, ſcattered here and there, and deſtroyed all where they came. Whereuppon the Romaines ſent for *Marius* to Rome to goe againſt them: and after he was arriued, euery man thought he ſhoulde haue entred in triumphe, bicauſe alſo the Senate did graunt it him very willingly. But he would not doe it, either bicauſe he would not depriue his ſouldiers and the Captaines that had fought vnder him, of any parte of the honor that was due vnto them, they being abſent: or bicauſe that he would warrant the people frō the preſent daunger they were in, by layinge aſide the glory of his former victories, into the handes of the good fortune of Rome, in certaine hope to take it againe afterwardes, by a more honorable and perfit confir-

Marius refuſed to enter in triumphe.

B mation of the ſecond. Wherefore, after he had made an oration to the people, and Senate according to the time, he went his way immediatly towardes *Catulus Luctatius*, whoſe comming did comforte him much: and ſent alſo for his army that was yet in Gavle beyond the mountaines. And after his army was come, he paſſed the riuer of Po, to kepe the barbarous people from hurting Italie on this ſide the Po. Now, the Cimbres ſtill deferred to geue battell bicauſe they looked for the Tevtons, and ſayd: that they marueled much what they ment to tary ſo long: either bicauſe they knewe not in deede of their ouerthrowe, or elſe for that they would not ſeeme to knowe it, bicauſe they handeled them cruelly that brought the newes of their deathes. At the length, they ſent vnto *Marius* to aske him landes and townes ſufficient, to kepe them and their brethren. *Marius* asked their Ambaſſadors what brethren they ment.

Marius goeth towardes Catulus Luctatius to helpe him.

Po flu.

C They aunſwered, that they were the Tevtons. Whereat the ſtanders by beganne to laugh: and *Marius* finely mocked them, ſaying. Care not for thoſe brethren ſayd he, for we haue geuen them ground enough, which they will kepe for euer. Theſe Ambaſſadors found his mock ſtraight, and beganne to reuile and threaten him, that the Cimbres ſhoulde preſently make him repent it, and the Tevtons ſo ſoone as they arriued. Why, ſayd *Marius* vnto them againe, they are come already: and there were no honeſty in you, if you could goe your way & not ſalute them, ſince they are your brethren. And as he ſpake theſe wordes, he commaunded his men to bring him the kinges of the Tevtons bounde and chained, that had bene taken within the mountaines of the Alpes by the Sequani. The Cimbres vnderſtāding this by reporte of their Ambaſſadors, preſently marched towardes *Marius*, who ſtirred not at all, but

Marius mocke to the Cimbres.

The Cimbres march againſt Marius.

D only fortified and kept his campe. They ſay that it was for this battell that *Marius* firſt inuented the newe deuiſe he brought in for the darte which the Romaines were wont alwayes to throwe againſt the enemies at the firſt charge. For before, the ſtaffe of the darte was faſtned vnto the iron, and the iron vnto the ſtaffe, with two litle iron pinnes that paſſed through the wodde: and then *Marius* left one of the iron pinnes as it was before, & taking away the other, put a litle thinne pinne of wodde, eaſie to be broken, in place of the ſame, making it craftely, to the end that when the darte was throwen, & ſtucke in the enemies target, it ſhould not ſtand right forward, but bow downewards towardes the iron, that the wodden pinne being broken, the ſtaffe of the darte ſhould hang downewardes, holding yet by the iron pinne running quite through at the poynte. So *Bœorix* king of the Cimbres, comming neere to *Marius* campe

Marius deuiſe for alteringe the darte in fight.

Bœorix king of the Cimbres.

E with a ſmall number of horſemen, ſent him defyaunce, & willed him to appoint a day & place for battell, that they might trye it out, who ſhould be owners of the contry. Whereunto *Marius* made aunſwer, that it was not the manner of the Romaines to counſell with their enemies, of the time and place when they ſhould geue battell: but neuertheleſſe, he would not ſticke to pleaſure the Cimbres ſo much. And thus they agreed betwene them, that it ſhould be the thirde day following, in the plaine of Verſelles, which was very commodious for the horſemen of the Romaines: and alſo for the barbarous people to put out at will their great number of fighting men. So both armies failed not to meete according to appointment, but appeared ranged in battell, the one before the other. *Catulus Luctatius* the other Conſull, had in his campe twenty thowſand, and three hundred ſouldiers: and *Marius* had in his campe two

Two and fiftie thowſand and three hundred men betweene Marius and Catulus.

F and thirty thowſand fighting men, which he placed in the two winges of the battell, ſhutting in *Catulus* with his men in the middeſt. As *Sylla* writeth it, who was preſent at the ſame: ſaying, that *Marius* did it of malice, for the hope he had to ouerthrowe his enemies with the two

The Romaines battell.

winges of the battell, to the end that the whole victory ſhould light apon his two winges, and A
that *Catulus* & his men in the middeſt ſhould haue no parte therof. For he could not ſo much
as fronte the enemy, bicauſe that commonly when the fronte of a battell is of ſuch a bredthe,
the two winges are euer ſtretched out before, and is made like the creſſant of a moone, where
the middeſt is thickeſt and fardeſt in. And it is wrytten alſo in other ſtories, that *Catulus* him
ſelfe accuſing the malice of *Marius*, bicauſe he did ſo: ſpake it to excuſe his owne diſhonor.

The battell of the Cimbres.

As for the CIMBRES, the troupes of their footemen comming out of their fortes leaſurely,
did put them ſelues into a ſquadron, as broade as long, for in euery ſide they occupied almoſt
thirty furlong: but their horſemen which were fifteene thowſande, marched before in ſump-
tuous furniture. For they had helmets on their heades facioned like wilde beaſtes neckes, and
ſtraunge beuers or buffes to the ſame, & ware on their helmets great high plumes of feathers, B
as they had bene winges: which to ſight made them appeare taller and bigger men then they
were. Furthermore, they had good curaſes on their backes, and caried great white targets be-
fore them: and for weapons offenſiue, euery man had two dartes in his hand to beſtow a farre
of, & when they came to hand ſtrokes, they had great heauy ſwords which they fought with
all neere hand. But at that time they did not marche directly in rancke againſt the army of the
ROMAINES, but turned a litle on the right hand, meaning to incloſe the ROMAINES betwene
them and their footemen that were on the left hand. The ROMAINE Captaines founde their
policy ſtraight, but they coulde not keepe their ſouldiers backe: for there was one that cried,
the enemies fled, and immediatly all the reſt beganne to runne after. In the meane time, the
footemen of the barbarous people that were like to a ſea before them, came forwards ſtill: & C
then *Marius* hauing waſhed his handes, and lifting them vp to heauen, promiſed, and vowed
a ſolemne ſacrifice vnto the goddes of a hundred oxen. *Catulus* alſo made a vow, lifting vp his
handes to heauen in like maner, that he would build a temple vnto fortune for that day: and
it is reported, that *Marius* hauing ſacrificed, when they ſhewed him the intralls of the beaſtes
ſacrificed: he cried out a lowde, the victory is mine. But when they came to geue the charge,
Marius had a great misfortune happened him, powred apon him by goddes iuſtice, who tur-

A duſt raiſed, that neither army could ſee one an o-ther.

ned his craft againſt him ſelfe, as *Sylla* wryteth: for there roſe very credibly ſo great a duſt, that
both armies loſt the ſight one of an other. And hereupon *Marius* being the firſt that ranne to
beginne the charge, and hauing placed his men about him, miſſed to meete with his enemies:
and being paſſed beyonde their battell, wandred a great while vp and downe the field, whileſt D
the barbarous people fought againſt *Catulus*. So that the greateſt fury of the battel was againſt
Catulus and his army: in the which, *Sylla* wryteth he was him ſelfe, and ſayeth, that the heate

The ſunne ful in the Cimbres faces.

and the ſunne which was full in the CIMBRES faces, did the ROMAINES maruelous pleaſure
at that time. For the barbarous people being very hard brought vp to away with cold (bicauſe
they were borne and bred in a cold contry, ſhadowed altogether with woddes and trees as we
haue ſayd) were to the contrary very tender againſt the heate, and did melt with ſweating a-
gainſt the ſunne, and gaped ſtraight for breathe, putting their targets before their faces: for it

The fielde fought the 27. of Iuly.

was alſo in the hart of ſommer, about the ſeuen and twentie day of the moneth of Iulie, that
this battell was geuen, and this duſt alſo made the ROMAINES the bolder, and kept them that
they could not ſee the innumerable multitude of their enemies farre from them. And euery E
man running to ſet apon them that came againſt them, they were ioyned together in fight,
before that the ſight of their enemies could make them afrayed. And furthermore, they were
ſo good ſouldiers, and ſo able to take paines, that how extreame ſoeuer the heate was, no man
was ſene ſweate nor blow, though they ranne at the firſt to ſet apon them: & this hath *Catulus*
Luctatius him ſelfe left in wryting vnto the praiſe of his ſouldiers. So were the moſt parte of
the barbarous people, and ſpecially of the beſt ſouldiers, ſlaine in the field. And bicauſe they
ſhould not open nor breake their rancks, the foremeſt rancks were all tyed & bound together
with girdells, leather thongs, & long chaynes of iron: and they that fled, were chaſed & follo-
wed into their campe by the ROMAINES, where they met with horrible and fearefull thinges
to beholde. For, their wiues being apon the toppe of their cartes, apparelled all in blacke, ſlue F

Horrible cruelty of women.

all thoſe that fled, without regarde of perſones: ſome their fathers, other their husbandes or
their brethren, and ſtrangling the litle young babes with their owne handes, they caſt them

vnder

A vnder the carte wheeles, and betwene the horſe legges, and afterwards ſlue them ſelues. And they ſay, that there was a woman hanged at the ende of a carte ladder, hauing hanged vp two of her children by the neckes at her heeles. And that the men alſo, for lacke of a tree to hang them ſelues on, tyed ſlipping halters about their neckes, vnto the hornes & feete of the oxen, and that they did pricke them afterwardes with goades to make them fling and leape ſo long, that dragging them all about, and treading them vnder feete, at the length they killed them. Now, though nũbers were ſlaine by this meanes, yet were there three ſcore thowſand of them taken priſoners, and the number of them that were ſlaine, came to twiſe as many moe. In this manner *Marius* ſouldiers ſpoyled the campe of the CIMBRES: but the ſpoyles of dead men that were ſlaine in the fielde, with their enſignes and trompets, were all brought (as it is ſayd)

Priſoners 60. thowſand.

Men ſlaine ſix ſcore thowſand.

B vnto *Catulus* campe, which was a plaine teſtimonie to ſhewe that *Catulus* and his ſouldiers had wonne the field. Striſe riſing thus betwene the ſouldiers of both campes about it, that the matter might be tryed frendly betwene them: they made the Ambaſſadors of PARMA their arbitrators, who were by chaunce at that time in the army. *Catulus Luctatius* ſouldiers led the Ambaſſadors to the place where the ouerthrowe was geuen, ſhewing them the enemies bodies pearſed through with their pykes, which were eaſie to be knowen, bicauſe *Catulus* had made them graue his name apon their pykes. For all this, *Marius* went away with the honor of this great victory, as well for the firſt battell he wanne alone, when he ouerthrewe the TEVTONS and the AMBRONS: as for his great calling, hauing bene Conſul fiue times. And furthermore, the common people at ROME, called him the third foũder of the city of ROME, thinking them

Might ouercõmeth right.

C ſelues now deliuered from as great a dãger, as before time they had bene from the auncient GAVLES. And euery man feaſting at home with his wife and children, offered the beſt diſhes of meate they had to ſupper, vnto the goddes, and vnto *Marius*: and would needes haue him alone to triumphe for both victories. But he would not in any caſe, but triumphed into the city with *Catulus Luctatius*, meaning to ſhew himſelfe curteous and moderate in ſo great proſperity: and peraduenture alſo fearing *Catulus* ſouldiers, who were in readineſſe and prepared (if *Marius* would haue depriued their Captaine of that honor) to let him alſo of his triumphe. And thus you ſee howe he paſſed his fift Conſulſhippe. After that, he made more earneſt ſute for the ſixt Conſulſhippe, then euer any other did for his firſt: ſeeking the peoples goodwilles by all the fayer meanes he could to pleaſe them, humbling him ſelfe vnto them, not only more

D then became his eſtate and calling, but directly alſo againſt his owne nature, counterfeating a curteous populer manner, being cleane contrarie to his diſpoſition. His ambition made him timerous to deale in matters of the ſtate concerning the city. For that corage and boldeneſſe which he had in battell againſt the enemy, he loſt it quite when he was in an aſſembly of people in the city: and was eaſily put out of his byaſe, with the firſt blame or praiſe he heard geuen him. And though they reporte, that on a time when he made a thowſande CAMERINES free of the city of ROME, bicauſe they had done valliant ſeruice in the warres, that there were ſome that did accuſe him, ſaying, that it was a thing done againſt all law: he aunſwered them, that for the noyſe of the armor, he could not heare the law. Notwithſtanding, it ſeemeth that in dede he was greatly afeard of the fury of the people in an aſſembly of the city. For in time

E of warres, he euer ſtoode apon his reputacion and authority, knowing that they had neede of him: but in peace and ciuill gouernment, bicauſe he would rather be the chiefeſt man then the honeſteſt man, he would creepe into the peoples boſomes to get their fauor and goodwil. And thus through his euill behauior, he brought all the nobility generally to be his enemies. But he feared nor miſtruſted none ſo much, as he did *Metellus*, for the great vnthankefull parte he remembred he had played him: and the rather alſo, bicauſe he knew him to be a iuſt & true dealing man, and one that was euer againſt theſe people pleaſers and flatterers. *Marius* there-

Metellus againſt people pleaſers.

F fore practiſed all the wayes he could, to get *Metellus* to be baniſhed ROME. Wherfore, to compaſſe his intent, he fell in frendſhip with *Glaucia*, and one *Saturninus*, two of the moſt boldeſt, moſt deſperate, and moſt hardbraind young men, that were in all ROME: who had all the rablement of rogues and beggers, and ſuch tumultuous people at their commaundement, by whoſe meanes he made new populer lawes, and cauſed the ſouldiers to be called home out of the warres, & mingled them with the people of the city in common aſſemblies, to trouble and

vexe *Metellus*. Moreouer *Rutilius*, an honeſt and true writer, (howbeit an enemy vnto *Marius*) A
wryteth, that he obtained his ſixt Conſulſhippe by corruption of money, which he cauſed to
be diſtributed amongeſt the tribes of the people: & that he bought it for ready money to put
Valerius Flaccus Conſull with Marius the ſixt time. by *Metellus*, and to haue *Valerius Flaccus* not for his fellowe and companion in the Conſul-
ſhippe, but rather for a miniſter of his will. There was neuer Romaine to whome the people
graunted the Conſulſhippe ſix times, except it were vnto *Valerius Coruinus* only. But for him,
Valerius Coruinus ſixe times Conſull. they ſay that there was ſiue and forty yeares betwene his firſt Conſulſhip and the laſt. Where
Marius ſince the firſt yeare of his Conſulſhippe, continued fiue yeares together by good for-
tune one after an other. But in his laſt Conſulſhip, he wanne him ſelfe great hate and malice,
bicauſe he did many fowle faultes to pleaſe *Saturninus* withall: as amongeſt others, when he
bare with *Saturninus*, who murdered *Nonius* his competitor in the Tribuneſhip. Afterwardes B
The law Agraria. when *Saturninus* was choſen Tribune of the people, he preferred a law for diſtribution of the
An article for the othes of the Senate to confirme what the people ſhould paſſe by voyce. landes among the common people, and vnto that law he had ſpecially added one article that
all the Lords of the Senate ſhould come openly to ſweare, that they ſhould kepe and obſerue
from pointe to pointe that which the people by their voyces ſhould decree, and ſhould not
deny it in any iotte. But *Marius* in open Senate, made as though he would withſtand this arti-
cle, ſaying, that neither he nor any other wiſe man of iudgement would take this othe: for ſaid
he, if the law be euill, then they ſhould doe the Senate open wrong to compell them by force
to graunt it, and not of their owne goodwills. But he ſpake not that, meaning to do as he ſaid
Marius duble dealing. for it was but a bayte he had layed for *Metellus* only, which he could hardly eſcape. For, ima-
gining that to tell a fine lye, was a peece of vertue, and of a good wit: he was throughly reſol- C
To lye cunningly, Marius taketh it for a vertue. ued with him ſelfe, not to paſſe for any thing he had ſpoken in the Senate. And to the contra-
ry alſo, knowinge well enough that *Metellus* was a graue wiſe man, who eſteemed that to be
iuſt and true (as *Pindarus* ſayd) is the beginning and foundacion of great vertue: he thought he
would outreach him, makinge him affirme before the Senate that he would not ſweare, kno-
winge alſo that the people would hate him deadly, if he would refuſe afterwardes to ſweare.
And ſo in dede it happened. For *Metellus* hauing aſſured them then that he would not ſweare,
the Senate brake vp vppon it. And ſhortly after, *Saturninus* the Tribune calling the Senators
vnto the pulpit for orations, to compell them to ſweare before the people: *Marius* went thi-
ther to offer him ſelfe to ſweare. Whereupon the people making ſilence, liſtned attentiuely
to heare what he would ſay. But *Marius* not regarding his large promiſe & bragges made be- D
fore the Senate, ſayed then, his necke was not ſo long, that he would preiudice the common
wealth in a matter of ſo great importance: but that he would ſweare, and obey the lawe, if it
were a law. This ſhifting ſubtilty he added to it, to cloke and couer his ſhame: and when he
had ſayd ſo, he tooke his othe. The people ſeeing him ſweare, were maruelous glad, and prai-
ſed him with clapping of their hands: but the nobility hanging downe their heads were aſha-
med of him, and were maruelous angry in their hartes with him, that he had ſo cowardly and
Timorous policy cauſeth periury. ſhamefully gone from his word. Therupon all the Senate tooke their othes, one after an other
againſt their wills, bicauſe they were afrayed of the people. Sauing *Metellus*, whome, neither
parentes nor frendes perſwaſion and intreaty could once moue to ſweare, for any puniſhment
Metellus conſtant in vertue. that *Saturninus* had impoſed vpon them, which refuſed to take the othe, but continued one E
man ſtill according to his nature, and would neuer yelde vnto it, offering to abide any payne,
rather then to be brought to conſent to a diſhoneſt matter vnbeſeming his eſtate. And there-
Metellus wiſe ſaying, touching well doing. uppon went out of the aſſembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them,
that to do euill, it was too eaſie a thing: and to doe good without daunger, it was alſo a com-
mon matter: but to do well with daunger, that was the parte of an honeſt and vertuous man.
Metellus baniſhment. *Saturninus* then commaunded the Conſulls by edict of the people, that they ſhould baniſhe
Metellus by ſounde of trompet, with ſpeciall commaundement, that no man ſhould let him
haue fire nor water, nor lodge him priuately nor openly. The common people, they were rea-
dy to haue fallen vpon him, and to haue killed him: but the noble men being offended for the
iniury they had offred him, gathered together about him to ſaue him, if any would offer him F
violence. *Metellus* him ſelfe was ſo good a man, that he would not any ciuill diſſention ſhould
riſe for his ſake: and therefore he abſented him ſelfe from Rome, wherein he did like a wiſe
man.

man. For sayd he, either things will amend, and the people then repenting them selues of the wrong they haue done me, will call me home againe: or else thinges standing as they do now, it shalbe best for me to be furthest of. But for his trauaill in his exile, howe much he was beloued and honored, and how sweetely he passed his time studying philosophie in the citie of RHODES, shalbe declared more at large in his life. Now on the other side, *Marius* to recompéce the pleasure *Saturninus* had done him, being driuen to let him haue his will in all things: did not foresee what an intollerable plague he brought vnto the common wealth, geuing the brydle to a desperate man, who euery way, by force, by sword and murder, plainly sought to vsurpe tyrannicall power, with the vtter destruction and subuertion of the whole common weale. And so bearing reuerence of the one side vnto the nobility, and desiring on the other side to gratifie the common people: he played a shamefull parte, and shewed him selfe a double dealing man. For one night the nobilitie and chiefest citizens comming to his house, to perswade him to brydle *Saturninus* insolencie and boldnes: at the selfe same time also *Saturninus* going thither to speake with him, he caused him to be let in at a backe dore, the noble men not being priuy to his comming. And so *Marius* telling the nobility, and then *Saturninus*, that he was troubled with a losenes of his body, vnder this pretence whipped vp and downe, now to the one, then to the other, and did nothing else but set them further out one against an other, thē they were before. Neuertheles, the Senate being maruelous angry with his naughty double dealing, and the order of knightes taking parte with the Senate, *Marius* in the ende was compelled to arme the people in the market place, to suppresse them that were vp, and draue them into the Capitoll: where for lacke of water, they were compelled to yelde them selues at the length, bicause he had cut of the pypes and conduits by the which the water ran vnto the Capitoll. By reason whereof, they being vnable to continue any lenger, called *Marius* vnto them, and yeelded them selues to him, vnder the assurance of the faith of the common people. But although *Marius* did what he could possible to his vttermost power to saue them, he could not preuaile, nor doe them pleasure: for they were no sooner come downe into the market place, but they were all put to death. Whereupon he hauing now purchased him selfe the ill will of the people and nobility both, when time came about that new Censors shoulde be chosen, euery man looked that he would haue bene one of the suters: howbeit he sued not for it, for feare of repulse, but suffered others to be chosen of farre lesse dignity and calling then him selfe. Wherein notwithstanding he gloried, saying that he would not sue to be Censor, bicause he would not haue the ill will of many, for examining too straghtly their liues & manners. Againe, a decree being preferred to repeale *Metellus* banishment, *Marius* did what he could possible by word and deede to hinder it: howbeit, seeing in the end he could not haue his will, he let it alone. The people hauing thus willingly reuoked *Metellus* banishment, *Marius* hart would not serue him to see *Metellus* returne againe, for the malice he bare him: wherfore, he tooke the seas to goe into CAPPADOCIA and GALATIA, vnder colour to pay certaine sacrifices to the mother of the goddes, which he had vowed vnto her. But this was not the very cause that made him to vndertake this iorney, for he had an other secret meaning in it. For his nature not being framed to liue in peace, and to gouerne ciuill matters, and hauing attained to his greatnes by armes, and supposing that his glorie & authority consumed and decreased altogether liuing idlely in peace: he sought to deuise new occasion of warres, hoping if he could stirre vp the kinges of ASIA, and specially *Mithridates* (who without his procurement was feared much, that one day he would make warres against the ROMAINES) that he should then vndoutedly without let of any man be chosen Generall to make warres with him, and withall also, that by that meanes he should haue occasion to fill the citie of ROME with newe triumphes, and his house with the spoyles of the great kingdome of PONTE, and with the riches of the king. Now *Mithridates* disposing him selfe to entertaine *Marius*, with all the honor and curtesies he could possibly shew him: *Marius* in the ende notwithstanding would not once geue him a good looke, nor a curteous word againe, but churlishly sayd vnto *Mithridates* at his departure from him. Thou must determine one of these two, king *Mithridates*: either to make thy selfe stronger then the ROMAINES, or else to looke to doe what they commaund thee, without resistaunce. These wordes amazed *Mithridates*, who had heard say be-

Marius doble dealing betwene the nobilitie and people.

Marius procureth sedition at Rome.

No trust to the faith of the cōmon people.

Metellus returne from banishement.

Marius iorney into Cappadocia and Galatia.

Marius prowd wordes to Mithridates.

fore that the ROMAINES would speake their mindes freely: howbeit he neuer saw nor found it before, vntill that time. After *Marius* was returned vnto ROME, he built a house neere vnto the market place, bicause he would not (as he said himself) that such as came vnto him should trouble them selues in going farre to bring him home to his house: or else for that he thought this would be an occasion that diuerse would come to salute him, as they did other Senators. Howbeit that was not the cause in deede, but the onely cause was, for that he had no naturall grace nor ciuility to entertaine men curteously that came vnto him, and that he lacked behauior besides to rule in a common wealth: and therefore in time of peace they made no more reckoning of him, then they did of an old rusty harnesse or implement that was good for nothing, but for the warres only. And for all other that professed armes as him selfe did, no man grieued him so much to be called forward to office and state before him selfe, as *Sylla* did. For he was ready to burst for spite, to see that the noble men did all what they could to preferre *Sylla*, for the malice and ill will they bare him: and that *Syllaes* first rising and preferrement grew, by the quarrells and contentions he had with him. And specially when *Bocchus* king of NVMIDIA was proclaimed by the Senate, a frende and confederate of the ROMAINES people he offred vp statues of victories, carying tokens of triumphe, into the temple of the Capitoll and placed neere vnto them also, an image of gold of king *Iugurthe*, which he deliuered by his owne handes vnto *Sylla*. And this made *Marius* starke madde for spite and ielousie, and could not abide that an other should take vpon him the glory of his doinges: insomuch as he determined to plucke those images downe, and to cary them away by force. *Sylla* on the other side stomaked *Marius*, and would not suffer him to take them out of the place where they were: so that this ciuill sedition had taken present effect, had not the warres of their confederates fallen out betwene, and restrained them for a time. For the best souldiers and most warlike people of all ITALIE, and of greatest power, they all together rose against the ROMAINES, and had well neere ouerthrowen their whole Empire. For they were not onely of great force, and power, and well armed: but their Captaines also, for valliantnes and skill, did in maner equil the worthines of the ROMAINES. For this warre fell out wonderfully, by reason of the calamity and misfortune that happened in it: but it wanne *Sylla* as much fame and reputacion, as it did *Marius* shame and dishonor. For he shewed him selfe very colde and slow in all his enterprises, still delayinge time, either bicause age had mortified his actiue heate, and killed that quicke ready disposition of body that was wont to be in him, being then aboue three score and fiue yeare olde: or else as he sayd him selfe, bicause he was waxen gowty, and had ache in his vaines & sinewes, that he could not well stirre his body, and that for shame, bicause he would not tary behinde in this warre, he did more then his yeares could away withall. Notwithstanding, as he was, yet he wanne a great battell, wherein were slaine six thowsande of their enemies: and so long as the warres endured, he neuer gaue them aduantage of him, but pacientely suffred them sometime to intrenche him, and to mocke him, and geue him vile words, chalenging him out to fight, & yet all this would not prouoke him. It is sayd also, that *Pompeius Silo*, who was the chiefest Captaine of reputacion & authority the enemies had, said vnto *Marius* on a time: if thou be *Marius*, so great a Captaine as they say thou art, leaue thy campe, & come out to battel. Nay, said *Marius* to him againe: if thou be a great Captaine, plucke me out by the eares, & cõpell me to come to battell. An other time when the enemies gaue them occasion to geue a great charge vpon them with aduantage: the ROMAINES were fainte hartted, and durst not set vpon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were retyred, *Marius* caused his men to assemble, and spake vnto them in this sorte. I can not tell which of the two I should recken most cowardes: you your selues, or your enemies: for they durst not once see your backes, nor you them in the faces. In the end notwithstanding, he was compelled to resigne his charge, being able to serue no lenger for the weakenesse and debilitie of his body. Now, all the rebels of ITALIE being put downe, many at ROME (by the orators meanes) did sue to haue the charge of the warres against *Mithridates*: and among them, a Tribune of the people called *Sulpitius*, (a very bold and rash man) beyond all mens hope and opinion preferred *Marius*, and perswaded them to geue him the charge of these warres, with title and authority of vice Consull. The people thereupon were deuided in two partes: for the one side stoode

The cause of the dissension betwext Marius & Sylla.

The warre of the confederates.

Siloes stowte chalenge and Marius answer.

A stoode for *Marius*, and thother would haue *Sylla* take the charge, saying, that *Marius* was to thinke nowe vppon the hotte bathes at Baies, to looke to cure his olde bodie, brought lowe with rewme and age, as him selfe sayd. For *Marius* had a goodly stately house in those partes neere vnto the mount of Misene, which was farre more fine and curiously furnished, then became a Captaine that had bene in so many foughten battells and daungers. They say that *Cornelia* afterwardes bought that fine house for the summe of seuen thowsande fiue hundred crownes, and shortly after also, *Lucullus* bought it againe for two hundred and fifty thowsand crownes: to so great excesse was vanitie and curiositie growen in very shorte time at Rome. *Mons Misenus.*

Notwithstanding all this, *Marius* too ambitiously striuing like a passioned young man against the weakenes and debility of his age, neuer missed day but he would be in the field of *Mars* to *Marius ambition.*

B exercise him selfe among the young men, shewing his body disposed and ready to handle all kinde of weapons, and to ryde horses: albeit that in his latter time, he had no great health of body, bicause he was very heauy and sad. There were that liked that passing well in him, and went of purpose into the fielde to see the paines he tooke, striuing to excell the rest. Howbeit those of the better sorte were very sory to see his auarice and ambition, considering specially, that being of a poore man become very rich, and of a right meane persone a great estate, that he coulde not now containe his prosperity within reasonable boundes, nor content him selfe to be esteemed and honored, quietlie enioyinge all he had wonne, and which at that present he did possesse: but as if he had bene very poore and needy, after he had receiued such great honor and triumphes, would yet cary out his age so stowtly, euen into Cappadocia,

C and vnto the realme of Pont, to goe fight there against *Archelaus*, and *Neoptolemus*, Lieutenaunts of king *Mithridates*. In deede he alleaged some reasons to excuse him selfe, but they were altogether vaine: for he sayd that he desired in persone to bring vp his sonne in exercise of armes, and to teach him the discipline of warres. That discouered the secret hidden plague, which of long time hath lurked in Rome, *Marius* specially hauing now met with a fit instrument, and minister to destroy the common wealth, which was, the insolent and rash *Sulpitius*: who altogether followed *Saturninus* doinges, saying that he was found too cowardly & fainte harted in all his enterprises, and for that did *Marius* iustly reproue him. But *Sulpitius*, bicause he would not dally nor delay time, had euer sixe hundred younge gentlemen of the order of knightes, whome he vsed as his gard about him, and called them the gard against the Senate. *Sulpitius gard of sixe hundred knightes.*

D And one day as the Consulls kept their common assembly in the market place, *Sulpitius* comming in armed apon them, made them both take their heeles, and get them packing: and as they fled, one of the Consulls sonnes being taken tardy, was slaine. *Sylla* being thother Consull, and perceiuing that he was followed hard at hand vnto *Marius* house, ranne into the same against the opinion of all the world: wherof they that ranne after him not being aware, passed by the house. And it is reported that *Marius* him selfe conueyed *Sylla* safelie out at a backe dore, and that he being scaped thus, went vnto his campe. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* him selfe in his commentaries doth not say, that he was saued in *Marius* house when he fled: but that he was brought thither to geue his consent vnto a matter which *Sulpitius* woulde haue forced him vnto against his will, presenting him naked swordes on euery side. And he wryteth *Sulpitius boldnes.*

E also, that being thus forcibly brought vnto *Marius* house, he was kept there in this feare, vntill such time as returninge into the market place, he was compelled to reuoke againe the adiornement of iustice, which he and his companion by edict had commaunded. This done, *Sulpitius* then being the stronger, caused the commission & charge of this warres against *Mithridates* to be assigned vnto *Marius* by the voyce of the people. Therfore *Marius* geuing order for his departure, sent two of his Colonells before to take the army of *Sylla*: who hauing wonne his souldiers harts before, and stirred them vp against *Marius*, brought them on with him directly towardes Rome, being no lesse then fiue and thirty thowsand fighting men: who setting apon the Captaines *Marius* had sent vnto them, slewe them in the fielde. In reuenge whereof, *Marius* againe in Rome put many of *Syllaes* frendes and followers to death, and pro-

F claimed open liberty by sound of trompet, to all slaues and bondmen that would take armes for him: but there were neuer but three only that offered them selues. Whereupon, hauing made a litle resistaunce vnto *Sylla* when he came into Rome, he was soone after compelled to *Marius sedition.*

Marius flieth from Rome.

runne his way. *Marius* was no ſooner out of the citie, but they that were in his company for-ſaking him, diſperſed them ſelues here and there being darke night: and *Marius* him ſelfe got to a houſe of his in the contrie, called Salonium, and ſent his ſonne to one of his father in law *Mutius* farmes not farre from thence, to make ſome prouiſion for vittells. But *Marius* in the meane time, went before to OSTIA, where one of his frendes *Numerius* had prepared him a ſhippe, in the which he imbarked immediatly, not tarying for his ſonne, and hoiſed ſaile, hauing only *Granius* his wiues ſonne with him. In the meane time the younger *Marius* beinge at his father in law *Mutius* farme, ſtayed ſo long in getting of prouiſion, in truſſing of it vp, and carying it away, that broade day light had like to haue diſcouered him: for the enemies had aduertiſement whether he was gone, whereupon certaine horſemen were ſent thither ſuppoſing to haue found him. But the keeper of the houſe hauing an inckling of their comminge, and preuenting them alſo before they came, ſodainely yoked his oxen to the carte which he loded with beanes, and hidde this younger *Marius* vnder the ſame. And prickinge the oxen forward with his goade, ſet out, and met them as he went towards the city, and deliuered *Marius* in this ſorte into his wiues houſe: and there taking ſuch thinges as he needed, when the night following came, went towards the ſea, & tooke ſhippe, finding one croſſe ſayled, bound towards AFRICKE. *Marius* the father ſaylinge on ſtill, had a very good winde to poynte a-longeſt the coaſt of ITALIE: notwithſtanding, being afrayed of one *Geminius*, a chiefe man of TERRACINE, who hated him to the death, he gaue the maryners warning thereof betimes, and willed them to take heede of landing at TERRACINE. The maryners were very willing to obey him, but the winde ſtoode full againſt them comming from the mayne, which raiſed a great ſtorme, and they feared much that their veſſell which was but a bote, would not brooke the ſeas, beſides that he him ſelfe was very ſicke in his ſtomake, and ſore ſea beaten: notwithſtanding, at the length with the greateſt difficulty that might be, they recouered the coaſt ouer againſt the city of CIRCHES. In the meane time, the ſtorme increaſed ſtill, and their vittells failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandring vp & downe not knowinge what to doe, nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in ſuch like caſes of extremitie, they thought it alwayes the beſt ſafetie for them, to flie from the place where they were, and to hope of that which they ſaw not: for if the ſea were their enemy, the lande was ſo likewiſe. To meete with men, they were afrayed: and not to meete with them on thother ſide lacking vtittells, was in deede the greater daunger. Neuertheleſſe, in the end they met with heard men that could geue them nothing to eate, but knowing *Marius*, warned him to get him out of the way as ſoone as he could poſſible, bicauſe it was not longe ſince that there paſſed by a great troupe of horſemē that ſought him all about. And thus being brought vnto ſuch perplexity, that he knew not where to beſtowe him ſelfe, and ſpecially for that the poore men he had in his company were almoſt ſtarued for hunger: he got out of the high way notwithſtanding, and ſought out a very thicke wodde where he paſſed all that night in great ſorow, and the next morninge beinge compelled by neceſſity, determined yet to employ his body before all his ſtrēgth failed. Thus he wandered on alongeſt the ſea coaſt, ſtill comforting them that followed him the beſt he could, & praying them not to diſpayre, but to referre them ſelues to him, euen vntil the laſt hope, truſting in certaine prophecies which the Sooth-ſayers had told him of long time before. For when he was but very young, and dwelling in the contry, he gathered vp in the lappe of his gowne, the ayrie of an Eagle, in the which were ſeuen young Eagles: whereat his father and mother much wondering, asked the Soothſayers what that ment. They anſwered, that their ſonne one day ſhould be one of the greateſt men in the world, and that out of doubt he ſhould obtaine ſeuen times in his life the chiefeſt office of dignity in his contry. And for that matter, it is ſayd that ſo in dede it came to paſſe. Other hold opinion, that ſuch as were about *Marius* at that time, in that preſent place, and elſe where, during the time of his flying: they hearing him tell this tale, beleued it, and afterwardes put it downe in wrytinge, as a true thinge, although of trothe it is bothe falſe and fayned. For they ſay, that the Eagle neuer getteth but two younge ones: by reaſon whereof it is mayntayned alſo, that the Poet *Muſæus* hathe lyed, in that which he hathe wrytten in theſe verſes.

Marius the ſonne flieth into Africke.

Marius found an ayrie of Eagles.

The

The Eagle layes three egges, and twyo she hatcheth forth:
But yet she bringeth vp but one, that any thing is worth.

How many egges the Eagle layeth.

Howsoeuer it was, it is certaine that *Marius* many times during the time of his flying sayd, that he was assured he should come vnto the seuenth Consulship. When they were comen neere now to the city of MINTVRNES, about a two myle & a halfe frō it, they might perceiue a troupe of horsemen comming by the sea side, and two shippes on the sea that fell vppon the coast by good happe. Wherefore they all beganne to runne (so long as they had breath and strength) towardes the sea, into the which they threw them selues, and got by swymming vnto one of the shippes where *Granius* was: and they crossed ouer vnto the Ile that is right against it called ENARIA. Now for *Marius*, who was heauy and sicke of body, two of his seruauntes holpe to holde him vp alwayes aboue water, with the greatest paine and difficultie in the worlde: and at the last they labored so throughly, that they put him into the other shippe at the selfe same present, when the horsemen came vnto the sea side, who cried out alowde to the maryners, to lande againe, or else throw *Marius* ouer borde, and then to goe where they would. *Marius* on thother side humbly besought them with teares, not so to do: whereby the masters of the shippe in a shorte space were in many mindes whether to doe it, or not to doe it. In the ende notwithstanding, they aunswered the horsemen they would not throwe him ouer the borde: so the horsemen went their way in a great rage. But as soone as they were gone, the masters of the shippe chaunging minde, drewe towardes lande, and cast ancker about the mouth of the riuer of Liris, where it leaueth her banckes, and maketh great marysses: & there they tolde *Marius* he should doe well to goe a land to eate somewhat, and refresh his sea sicke body, till the winde serued them to make saile, which doubtlesse sayed they, will be at a certaine hower when the sea winde falles and becomes calme, and that there riseth a litle winde from the lande, ingendred by the vapours of the marysses, which will serue the turne very well to take seas againe. *Marius* following their counsell, and thinking they had ment good faith, was set a lande vppon the riuers bancke: and there layed him downe apon the grasse, nothing suspecting that which happened after to him. For the mariners presently taking their shippe againe, and hoysing vp their anckers, sailed straight away, and fled: iudging it no honesty for them to haue deliuered *Marius* into the handes of his enemies, nor safetie for them selues to haue saued him. *Marius* finding him selfe all alone, & forsaken of euery man, lay on the ground a great while, and sayd neuer a word: yet at the length taking harte a litle to him, got vp once againe on his feete, and painefully wandred vp and downe, where was neither way nor pathe at all, ouerthwart deepe marisses and great ditches, full of water and mudde, till he came at the length to a poore olde mans cotage, dwelling there in these marisses, and fallinge at his feete, besought him to helpe to saue and succour a poore afflicted man, with promise that one day he would geue him a better recompence then he looked for, if he might escape this present daunger wherein he was. The olde man whether for that he had knowen *Marius* aforetime, or that seeing him (by coniecture only) iudged him to be some great personage: told him that if he ment but to lye downe and rest him selfe a litle, his poore cabyne would serue that turne reasonably well: but if he ment to wander thus, to flie his enemies that followed him, he would then bring him into a more secret place, and farder of from noyse. *Marius* prayed him that he would so much doe for him: and the good man brought him into the marishe, vnto a low place by the riuers side, where he made him lye downe, and then couered him with a great deale of reede and bent, and other such light thinges as could not hurte him. He had not long bene there, but he heard a great noyse comming towardes the cabin of the poore old man: for *Geminius* of TERRACINE had sent men all about to seeke for him, whereof some by chaunce came that way, and put the poore man in a feare, and threatned him, that he had receiued and hidden an enemie of the ROMAINES. *Marius* hearing that, rose out of the place where the old man had layed him, and stripping him selfe starke naked, went into a parte of the marishe where the water was full of myre and mudde, and there was founde of those that searched for him: who takinge him out of the slime all naked as he was, caried him into the citie of MINTVRNES, and deliuered him there into the gouernours handes. Open proclamation was made by the Senate through all ITALIE, that they should apprehend *Marius*, and kill him where-

Liris fl.

Marius set a land, and forsaken of the mariners.

Marius hidden in the marisses.

Marius taken.

ſoeuer they founde him. Notwithſtanding, the gouernors and magiſtrates of MINTVRNES A thought good firſt to conſult therupon amongeſt them ſelues, & in the meane time they deliuered him into the ſafe cuſtody of a woman called *Fannia*, whom they thought to haue bene a bitter enemie of his, for an old grudge ſhe had to him, which was this: *Fannia* ſomtime had a husband called *Tinnius*, whom ſhe was willing to leaue for that they could not agre, and required her dower of him againe, which was very great. Her husbande againe ſayed, ſhe had played the whore. The matter was brought before *Marius* in his ſixt Conſulſhippe, who had geuen iudgement apon it. Both parties being heard, and the law proſecuted on either ſide, it was found that this *Fannia* was a naughty woman of her body, and that her husband knowing it well enough before he maried her, yet tooke her with her faultes, and long time liued with her. Wherefore *Marius* being angrie with them both, gaue ſentence that the husband ſhould B repay backe her dower, and that for her naughty life, ſhe ſhould pay foure farthings. This notwithſtanding, when *Fannia* ſaw *Marius*, ſhe grudged him not for that, and leaſt of all had any reuenginge minde in her towardes him, but contrarily did comforte and helpe him what ſhe could with that ſhe had. *Marius* thanked her maruelouſly for it, and bad her hope well: bicauſe he met with good lucke as he was comming to her houſe, and in this manner. As they were leading of him, when he came neere to *Fanniaes* houſe, her dore being open, there came an aſſe running out to go drinke at a conduit: not farre from thence: and meeting *Marius* by the way, looked apon him with a liuely ioyfull countenaunce, firſt of all ſtopping ſodainly before him, and then beginning to bray out alowde, and to leape and skippe by him. Whereuppon *Marius* ſtraight conie&turing with him ſelfe, ſaid, that the goddes did ſignifie vnto him, that he C ſhould ſaue him ſelfe ſooner by water then by lande: bicauſe that the aſſe leauing him, ranne to drinke, and cared not to eate. So when he had tolde *Fannia* this tale, he deſired to reſt, and prayed them to let him alone, and to ſhut the chamber dore to him. But the magiſtrates of the citie hauing conſulted together about him, in the ende reſolued they muſt deferre no lenger time, but diſpatche him out of the way preſently. Now when they were agreed apon it, they could not finde a man in the citie that durſt take apon him to kill him: but a man of armes of the GAVLES, or one of the CIMBRES (for we finde both the one and the other in wryting) that went thither with his ſword drawen in his hande. Now, that place of the chamber wherein *Marius* lay was very darke, and as it is reported, the man of armes thought he ſawe two burninge flames come out of *Marius* eyen, and heard a voyce out of that darke corner, D ſaying vnto him: O fellowe, thou, dareſt thou come to kill *Caius Marius*? The barbarous GAVLE hearing theſe wordes, ranne out of the chamber preſently, caſting his ſworde in the middeſt of the flower, and crying out theſe wordes onely: I can not kill *Caius Marius*. This made the MINTVRNIANS afraied in the city at the firſt, but afterwards it moued them to compaſſion. So they were angry with them ſelues, and did repent them that they conuerted their counſell to ſo cruell and vnkinde a deede, againſt one that had preſerued all ITALIE: and to deny him aide in ſo extreame neceſſity, it was too great a ſinne. Therefore let vs let him goe, ſayed they to them ſelues, where he will, and ſuffer him take his fortune appointed him elſe where: and let vs pray to the goddes to pardone this offence of ours, to haue thruſt *Marius* naked and beggerly out of our city. For theſe conſiderations, the MINTVRNIANS went all to- E gether to *Marius* where he was, and ſtoode about him, determining to ſee him ſafely conducted vnto the ſea ſide. Now though euery man was ready, and willing to pleaſure him, ſome with one thing, ſome with an other, and that they did haſten him all they could poſſible, yet they were a good while a going thither: bicauſe there was a wodde called Marica, that laye right in their way betwene their city and the ſea coaſt which they greatly reuerence, & thinke it a ſcriledge to cary any thing out of that wodde, that was once brought into it. On thother ſide, to leaue to goe through this wodde, and to compaſſe it rounde about, it would aske a maruelous long time. So they ſtanding all in doubt what they ſhould doe, one of the auncienteſt men of the city, ſpake alowde vnto them, and ſaid: that there was no way forbidden them, that went about to ſaue *Marius* life. Then *Marius* him ſelfe being the formeſt man, taking F vp ſome of the fardells which they caried with him, to pleaſure him in the ſhip, went through the wodde. All other things neceſſary being thus readily prepared for him with like goodwil,

Fanniaes curteſie vnto Marius.

One hiered to kill Marius.

The Minturnians ſuffered Marius to go his way with ſafety.

Marica Sylua.

and

A and ſpecially the ſhippe which one *Bellæus* had ordained for him: he cauſed all this ſtorie to be painted in a table at large, which he gaue vnto the temple, out of the which he departed when he tooke ſhippe. After he was departed thence, the winde by good fortune caried him into the Ile of ENARIA, where he founde *Granius* and ſome other of his frendes, with whom he tooke ſea againe, and pointed towardes AFRICKE. But lacking water, they were compelled to lande in SICILIA, in the territory of the city of ERIX: where by chaunce there laye a ROMAINE Quæſtor, who kept that coaſt. *Marius* being landed there, ſcaped very narrowly that he was not taken of him: for he ſlue ſixteene of his men that came out with him to take water. So *Marius* getting him thence with all ſpeede, croſſed the ſeas, vntill he arriued in the Ile of MENYNGE, where he firſt vnderſtoode that his ſonne was ſaued with *Cethegus*, and that

B they were both together gone to *Hiempſal* king of the NVMIDIANS to beſeeche him of ayde. This gaue him a litle corage, & made him bold to paſſe out of that Ile, into the coaſt of CARTHAGE. Nowe at that time, *Sextilius* a ROMAINE Prætor was gouernor of AFRICKE, vnto whom *Marius* had neuer done good nor hurt, & therfore he hoped, that for pity only he might perhappes haue helpe at his hande. Howbeit he was no ſooner landed with a few of his men, but a ſergeaunt came ſtraight and ſayd vnto him: *Sextilius*, Prætor and gouernor of LIBYA, doth forbid thee to lande in all this prouince: otherwiſe he telleth thee, that he will obay the Senates commaundement, and purſue thee as an enemy of the ROMAINES. *Marius* hearing this commaundement, was ſo angry and ſory both, that he coulde not readily tell what aunſwere to make him, and pawſed a good while, and ſayd neuer a word, ſtill eying the ſergeaunt

C with a grimme looke: vntill he asked him, what aunſwer he would make, to the Prætors commaundement. *Marius* then fetching a deepe ſigh from his harte, gaue him this aunſwer. Thou ſhalt tell *Sextilius*, that thou haſt ſeene *Caius Marius* baniſhed out of his contrie, ſitting amongeſt the ruines of the city of CARTHAGE. By this aunſwere, he wiſely layed the example of the ruine and deſtruction of that great city of CARTHAGE, before *Sextilius* eyes, and the chaunge of his fortune: to warne *Sextilius* that the like might fall vppon him. In the meane time, *Hiempſal* king of the NVMIDIANS, not knowing how to reſolue, did honorably intreate young *Marius* and his companie. But when they were willing to goe their way, he alwayes founde newe occaſion to ſtay them, and was very glad to ſee that he ſtarted not for any oportunity or good occaſion that was offered: notwithſtandinge, there fortuned a happy meane

D vnto them, whereby they ſaued them ſelues. And this it was. This *Marius* the younger being a fayer complexioned young man, it pitied one of the kinges concubines to ſee him ſo hardly delt withall. This pity of hers was a ſhadow to cloke the loue ſhe bare him: but *Marius* would not hearken at the firſt to her intiſementes, and refuſed her. Yet in the ende, perceiuing that there was no other way for him to eſcape thence, and conſidering that ſhe did all thinges for their auaile, more diligently and louingly then ſhe would haue done, if ſhe had not ment further matter vnto him, then only to enioy the pleaſure of him: he then accepted her loue and kyndneſſe, ſo as at the length ſhe taught him a way howe to flye, and ſaue him ſelfe and his frendes. Hereupon he went to his father, and after they had imbraced and ſaluted eche other, going alongeſt the ſea ſide, they founde two ſcorpions fighting together. *Marius* tooke this

E for an ill ſigne: wherupon they quickly tooke a fiſher boate, and wēt into the ile of CERCINA, which is no great diſtaunce of from firme lande. They had no ſoner hoiſed vp ancker, but they ſawe the horſe men which kinge *Hiempſal* had ſent vnto the place from whence they were departed: and that was one of the greateſt daungers that *Marius* euer eſcaped. In the meane time there was newes at ROME, that *Silla* made warre againſt kinge *Mithridates* Lieutenauntes: and furthermore, that the Conſulls being vp in armes thone againſt thother, *Octauius* wanne the battell, and being the ſtronger had driuen out *Cinna*, who ſought to haue vſurped tyrannicall power, and had made *Cornelius Merula* Conſull in his place: and that *Cinna* on thother ſide leauied men out of other partes of ITALIE, and made warres vpon them that were in ROME. *Marius* hearing of this diſſention, thought good to returne as ſoone as he

F could poſſible into ITALIE. And aſſembling certaine horſemen of the nation of the MAVRVSIANS in AFRICKE, & certaine ITALIANS that had ſaued them ſelues there, vnto the number of a thowſand men in all: he tooke ſea, & landed in a hauen of THVSCANE called TELAMON,

Marius the elder flieth into Africke.

Marius wiſe anſwere of fortunes inconſtancy.

Marius the younger eſcapeth Hyempſals hands.

Cinna driuen out of Rome by Octauius.

and being landed, proclaimed by ſounde of trompet, liberty to all ſlaues and bonde men that would come to him. So the laborers, heard men, and neateheardes of all that marche, for the onely name and reputacion of *Marius*, ranne to the ſea ſide from all partes: of the which he hauing choſen out the ſtowteſt and luſtieſt of them, wanne them ſo by fayer wordes, that hauing gathered a great companie together in few dayes, he made fortie ſayle of them. Furthermore, knowing that *Octauius* was a maruelous honeſt man, that would haue no authoritie otherwiſe then law & reaſon would: and that *Cinna* to the contrarie was ſuſpected of *Sylla*, and that he ſought to bring in chaunge and innouation to the common wealth, he determined to ioyne his force with *Cinna*. So *Marius* ſent firſt vnto *Cinna*, to lette him vnderſtande that he would obay him as Conſull, and be ready to do all that he ſhould commaunde him. *Cinna* receiued him, and gaue him the title and authoritie of Viceconſull, and ſent him ſergeaunts to carie axes and roddes before him, with all other ſignes of publicke authoritie. But *Marius* refuſed them, and ſayed, that pompe became not his miſerable fortune: for he euer went in a poore threede bare gowne, and had let his heare grow ſtill after he was baniſhed, being aboue three ſcore and tenne yeare olde, and had a ſober gate with him, to make men pitie him the more that ſawe him. But vnder all this counterfeate pitie of his, he neuer chaunged his naturall looke, which was euer more fearefull and terrible, then otherwiſe. And where he ſpake but litle, & went very demurely & ſoberly: that ſhewed rather a cankered corage within him, then a minde humbled by his baniſhment. Thus when he had ſaluted *Cinna*, and ſpoken to the ſouldiers: he then beganne to ſet thinges abroache, and made a wonderfull chaunge in fewe dayes. For firſt of all, with his ſhippes he cut of all the vittells by ſea, & robbed the marchaunts that caried corne and other vittells to ROME: ſo that in a ſhorte ſpace he was maſter purueyer for all neceſſarie prouiſion and vittells. After this he went alongeſt the coaſt, and tooke all the cities apon the ſea ſide, and at the length wanne OSTIA alſo by treaſon, put the moſt parte of them in the towne to the ſword, and ſpoyled all their goodes: and afterwards making a bridge apon the riuer of Tiber, tooke from his enemies all hope to haue any manner of prouiſion by ſea. That done, he went directly towardes ROME with his armie, where firſt he wanne the hill called Ianiculum through *Octauius* faulte: who ouerthrewe him ſelfe in his doinges, not ſo much for lacke of reaſonable skill of warres, as through his vnprofitable curioſitie and ſtrictnes in obſeruing the law. For when diuerſe did perſwade him to ſet the bond men at liberty to take armes for defence of the common wealth: he aunſwered, that he would neuer geue bond men the law and priuiledge of a ROMAINE citizen, hauing driuen *Caius Marius* out of ROME, to maintaine the authoritie of the lawe. But when *Cæcilius Metellus* was come to ROME, the ſonne of that *Metellus Numidicus*, that hauing begonne the warres in LIBYA againſt king *Iugurthe*, was put out by *Marius*: the ſouldiers forſooke *Octauius* immediatly, and came vnto him, bicauſe they tooke him to be a better Captaine, and deſired alſo to haue a leader that could tell how to commaund them, to ſaue the citie, and the common wealth. For they promiſed to fight valliantly, & perſwaded them ſelues that they ſhould ouercome their enemies, ſo that they had a skilfull & valliant Captaine that could order them. *Metellus* miſliking their offer, commaunded them in anger to returne againe vnto the Conſull: but they for ſpite went vnto their enemies. *Metellus* on thother ſide, ſeeing no good order taken in the citie to reſiſt the enemies, got him out of ROME. But *Octauius* being perſwaded by certaine Soothſayers and CHALDEAN ſacrificers, who promiſed him all ſhould goe well with him, taried ſtill in ROME. For that man being otherwiſe, as wiſe as any ROMAINE of his time, and one that dealt as vprightly in his Conſulſhippe, not caried away with flattering tales, and one alſo that followed the auncient orders and cuſtomes as infallible rules and examples, neither breaking nor omitting any parte therof: me thinkes yet had this imperfection, that he frequẽted the Soothſayers, wiſe men, and aſtronomers, more then men skilfull in armes and gouernment. Wherefore, before that *Marius* him ſelfe came into the citie, *Octauius* was by force pluct out of the pulpit for orations, and ſlaine preſently by *Marius* ſouldiers, whome he had ſent before into the citie. And it is ſayed alſo, that when he was ſlaine, they founde a figure of a CHALDEAN prophecie in his boſome: and here is to be noted a great contrarietie in theſe two notable men, *Octauius* and *Marius*. The firſt loſt his life, by truſting to ſoothſaying: and the ſeconde proſpered,

Marius ioyneth force with Cinna.

Octauius negligence in defence of the citie of Rome, againſt Cinna & Marius.

Octauius too much geuen to Soothſaiers. Octauius vertue and imperfection.

Octauius ſlaine by Marius ſouldiers. A great contrariety in aſtronomy.

A prospered,& rose againe, bicause he did not despise the arte of diuination. The state of Rome standing then in this maner, the Senate consulting together, sent Ambassadors vnto *Cinna* and *Marius*, to pray them to come peacibly into Rome, and not to embrue their hands with the blood of their citizens. *Cinna* sitting in his chayer as Consul, gaue them audience,& made them a very reasonable and curteous aunswer. *Marius* standing by him, spake neuer a worde: but shewed by his sower looke that he would straight fill Rome with murder and blood. So when the Ambassadors were gone, *Cinna* came into Rome enuironned with a great number of souldiers: but *Marius* stayed sodainly at the gate, speaking partely in anger, and partely in mockerie, that he was a banished man, and driuen out of his contrie by law. And therefore if they would haue him come into Rome againe, they should first by a contrarie decree abolish B and reuoke that of his banishment, as if he had bene a religious obseruer of the lawes, and as though Rome had at that present enioyed their freedom and libertie. Thus he made the people assemble in the market place to proceede to the confirmation of his calling home againe. But before three or foure tribes had time to geue their voices, disguising the matter no lenger, and showing plainly that he ment not to be lawfully called home againe from exile: he came into Rome with a garde about him, of the veriest rascalls, & most shameless slaues, called the Bardioeians, who came to him from all partes: and they for the least word he spake, or at the twinckling of his eye, or at a nodde of his head made to them, slew many men through his commaundement, and at the length slew *Ancharius* a Senator (that had bene Prætor) at *Marius* feete with their swordes, bicause only that *Marius* did not salute him when he came one C day to speake with him. After this murther, they continued killinge all them that *Marius* did not salute, and speake vnto: for that was the very signe he had geuen them, to kill them openly in the streetes before euery man, so that his very frendes were afearde of being murthered, when they came to salute him. Thus being a great number of men slaine, *Cinna* in the end beganne to be satisfied, and to appease his anger. But *Marius* anger and vnsatiable desire of reuenge increased more and more, so that he spared not one if he suspected him neuer so litle: and there was neither towne nor high way, that was not full of skowtes & spies, to hunte them out that hidde them selues and fled. Then experience taught them, that no frende is faithfull, and to be trusted, if fortune especially frowne neuer so litle: for there were very fewe that did not betray their frendes that fled to them for succor. And therefore doe *Cornutus* seruaunts so D much the more deserue praise, who hauing secretly hidden their master in his house, did hang vp the dead body of some common persone by the necke, and hauing put a golde ring on his finger, they shewed him to the Bardioeians, *Marius* garde, and buried him in steade of their owne master, without suspicion of any man that it was a fained thing: and so *Cornutus* being hidden by his seruauntes, was safely conueyed into the contrie of Gavle. *Marke Anthony* the Orator had also founde out a faithfull frende, yet was he vnfortunate. This faithfull frend of his, was a poore simple man, who hauing receiued one of the chiefest men of Rome into his house to kepe him close there: he being desirous to make him the best chere he could with that litle he had, sent one of his men to the next tauerne to fetche wine, and tastinge the wine more curiously then he was wont to do, he called for better. The drawer asked him, why E the new ordinary wine would not serue him, but he must needes haue of the best and dearest: the foolish fellow simply aunswered him (telling him as his familiar frend) that his master did feast *Marke Anthony*, who was hidden very secretly in his house. He was no sooner gone with his wine,& his backe turned, but the vile traiterous drawer ranne vnto *Marius*, who was set at supper when he came. The drawer beinge brought to him, promised him to deliuer *Marke Anthony* into his handes. *Marius* hearing that, was so ioconde, that he cried out, and clapt his handes together for ioye: and would haue risen from the borde, and gone thither him selfe in persone, had not his frendes kept him backe. But he sent *Annius* one of his Captaines thither with a certaine number of souldiers, and commaunded them to bringe him his heade quickely. So they went thither, and when they were come to the house which the drawer had F brought them to, *Annius* taried beneath at the dore, and the souldiers went vp the stayers into the chamber, & finding *Anthony* there, they beganne to encorage one an other to kill him, not one of them hauing the harte to lay handes vppon him. For *Anthonyes* tongue was as

Cinna and Marius entry into Rome.

Bardiæi.

Marius caused great murder in Rome.

Marius cruelnie.

Small trust of frendes in aduersitie.

The faithfulnes of Cornutus seruaunts to their master.

M. Antonius the Orator, betrayed by a tauerner.

The force of eloquence.

ſweete as a Sirene, and had ſuch an excellent grace in ſpeaking, that when he began to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers, and to pray them to ſaue his life: there was not one of them ſo hard harted, as once to touch him, no not onely to looke him in the face, but looking downewardes, fell a weeping. *Annius* perceiuing they tarried long, and came not downe, went him ſelfe vp into the chamber, and found *Anthony* talking to his ſouldiers, and them weeping, his ſweete eloquent tongue had ſo melted their hartes: but he rating them, ranne furiouſly apon him, and ſtrake of his head with his owne handes. And *Catulus Luctatius* alſo, that had bene Conſull with *Marius*, and had triumphed ouer the CIMBRES with him, ſeeing him ſelfe in this perill, ſet men to intreate *Marius* for him: but his aunſwere was euer, he muſt needes dye. So *Catulus* locked him ſelfe into a litle chamber, and made a great fire of charcole to be kindled, and with the ſmoke thereof choked him ſelfe. Now after their heades were cut of, they threw out the naked bodies into the ſtreetes, and trodde them vnder their feete: the which was not only a pitiefull, but a fearefull ſight to all that ſawe them. But after all this yet, there was nothing that grieued the people ſo much, as the horrible lechery & abhominable cruelty of this gard of the BARDIÆIANS, who comming into mens houſes by force, after they had ſlaine the maſters, defiled their young children, and rauiſhed their wiues and maides, & no man would once reproue their crueltie, lecherie, and vnſatiable auarice: vntill *Cinna* and *Sertorius* in the end ſet apon them as they ſlept in their campe, and ſlewe them euery one. But in this extremitie, as if all thinges had bene reſtored vnto their firſt eſtate, newes came againe from all partes to ROME, that *Sylla* hauing ended his warre againſt king *Mithridates*, and recouered the prouinces which he had vſurped: returned into ITALIE with a great power. This cauſed theſe euills and vnſpeakeable miſeries to ceaſe a litle, bicauſe the wicked doers of the ſame looked they ſhould haue warres on their backes ere it were long. Whereuppon *Marius* was choſen Conſull the ſeuenth time. He going out of his houſe openly the firſt day of Ianuarie, being the beginning of the yeare, to take poſſeſſion of his Conſulſhippe: cauſed one *Sextus Lucinus* to be throwen downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeian, which ſeemed to be a great ſigne and certaine token of the euills and miſeries, that fell out afterwards the ſelfe ſame yere apon them of their faction, and vnto all the citie beſide. But *Marius* being ſore broken with his former troubles, and his minde oppreſſed with extreame ſorow and griefe, could not now at this laſt time of neede plucke vp his harte to him againe, when he came to thinke of this newe toward warre that threatned him, and of the daungers, griefes, and troubles he ſhould enter into, more great and perillous then any he had paſſed before. For through the great experience he had in warres, he trembled for feare when he beganne to thinke of it, conſidering that he had to fight, not with *Octauius*, nor with *Merula*, Captaines of a companie of rebells gathered together: but with a noble *Sylla*, that had driuen him out of ROME before, and that came now from driuing the puiſant king *Mithridates*, vnto the furdeſt parte of the realme of PONT, and of the ſea Euxinum. Thus, deepely waying and conſidering the ſame, and ſpecially when he looked backe vppon his long time of banithment, how vacabondlike he wandered vp and downe in other contries, and remembred the great misfortunes he had paſſed, and the ſundrie daungers he fell ſo often into, being purſued ſtill by ſea and by land: it grieued him to the harte, and made him ſo vnquiet, that he coulde not ſleepe in the night, or if he ſlept, had fearefull dreames that troubled him, and ſtill he thought he heard a voyce buſſing in his eares.

The Bardiæians ſlaine of their Captains for their crueltie.

Marius ſeuenth Conſulſhip.

Marius ſhoughes and feare.

A Lyons very denne, is dreadfull to behold:
Though he him ſelfe be gone abroade, and be not therein hold.

But fearing moſt of all that he ſhould no more ſleepe and take his reſt, he gaue him ſelfe to make vnreaſonable banckets, and to drinke more then his yeres could beare, ſeeking to winne ſleepe by this meanes, to auoyde care the better. But at the length there came one from the ſea, that gaue him certaine intelligence of all: & that was an increaſe of a new feare vnto him. And thus he being now extreamely troubled, partely for feare of the thing to come, & partely alſo for the ouer heauie burden of his preſent ill, there neded but litle more aggrauation, to fall into the diſeaſe whereof he dyed, which was a plewriſie: as *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher wryteth, who ſayeth plainly that he went into his chamber when he was ſicke, and ſpake vnto him

Deuiſe to winne ſleepe.

A him about matters of his Ambaſſade, for the which he came to Rome. Yet an other hiſtoriographer *Caius Piſo* wryteth, that *Marius* walking one day after ſupper with his frendes, fell in talke of his fortune from the beginning of his life, telling them at large how often fortune had turned with and againſt him: concluding, that it is no wiſe mans parte to truſt her any more. So when he had done, he tooke his leaue of them, and layed him downe vpon his bed, where he lay ſicke ſeuen dayes together, and on the ſeuenth day dyed. Some wryte that his ambition appeared plainly, by a ſtraunge rauing that tooke him in his head during his ſickenes. For he thought that he made warres with *Mithridates*, and ſhewed in his bed all his geſtures and mouings of his bodie, as if he had bene in a battell, crying the ſelfe ſame cryes out alowde, which he was wont to crie when he was in the extreameſt fight. The deſire he had to haue taken this
B charge in hande againſt *Mithridates*, was ſo deepely ſetled in his minde through extreame ambition and iealouzy that poſſeſt him: that being then three ſcore and ten yeare old, after he had bene the firſt man that euer was choſen ſeuen times Conſull in Rome, and alſo after that he had gotten a world of goodes and richeſſe together that might haue ſuffiſed many kinges: yet for all this he dyed for ſorrowe, lamenting his harde fortune, as if he had dyed before his time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had deſired. But this was cleane contrarie vnto that the wiſe *Plato* did, when he drewe neere to his death. For he gaue God thankes for his fatall end and good fortune. Firſt, for that he had made him a reaſonable man, and no brute beaſt: ſecondly, a Greke and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he was borne in *Socrates* time. It is reported alſo, that one *Antipater* of Tharsis, calling to mind
C a litle before his death the good fortune he had in his life time, did not forgette amonge other thinges, to tell of the happie nauigation he made, comming from his contrie vnto Athens: which did witneſſe that he put vpon the ſyle of his good accompts for a ſingular great grace, all fauor fortune had ſhewed him, and that he kept it in perpetuall memorie, being the onely and moſt aſſured treaſure a man can haue, to kepe thoſe giftes that nature or fortune doe beſtowe vpon him. But contrariwiſe, vnthankefull fooles vnto God and nature both, doe forget with time the memory of their former benefittes, and laying vp nothing, nor keping it in perpetuall memory, are alwayes voyde of goods and full of hope, gaping ſtill for things to come & leauing in the meane time the things preſent, though reaſon perſwades them the contrary. For fortune may eaſily let thē of the thing to come, but ſhe can not take that from thē which
D is already paſt: and yet they vtterly forget the certaine benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging vnto thē, & dreame alwayes of that which is vncertaine. And ſure it chaunceth to them by great reaſon. For, hauing gathered outward goodes together, and locking them vp before they haue built and layd a ſure grounded foundacion of reaſon through good learning: they can not afterwardes fill nor quenche their vnſatiable greedie couetous minde. Thus ended *Marius* his life, the ſeuenteenth day of his ſeuenth Conſulſhippe, whereof all the citie of Rome was not a litle glad, and tooke harte againe vnto them, ſuppoſing they had then bene deliuered from a bloodie cruell tyranny. But within few dayes after they knew it to their coſt, that they had chaunged an olde maſter taken out of the worlde, for a younger that came but newly to them: ſuch extreame vnnaturall cruelties, & murders did *Marius* the younger com-
E mit, after the death of his father *Marius*, murdering in manner all the chiefeſt noble men of Rome. At the firſt, they tooke him for a valliant and hardy young man, whereuppon they named him the ſonne of *Mars*: but ſhortly after his deedes did ſhew the contrary, and then they called him the ſonne of *Venus*. In the end he was ſhut in, and beſieged by *Sylla* in the city of Perusia, where he did what he could poſſible to ſaue his life, but all was in vaine: & laſtly, ſeeing no way to eſcape, the city being taken, he ſlewe him ſelfe with his owne handes.

Marius the fathers death.

Marius mad ambition.

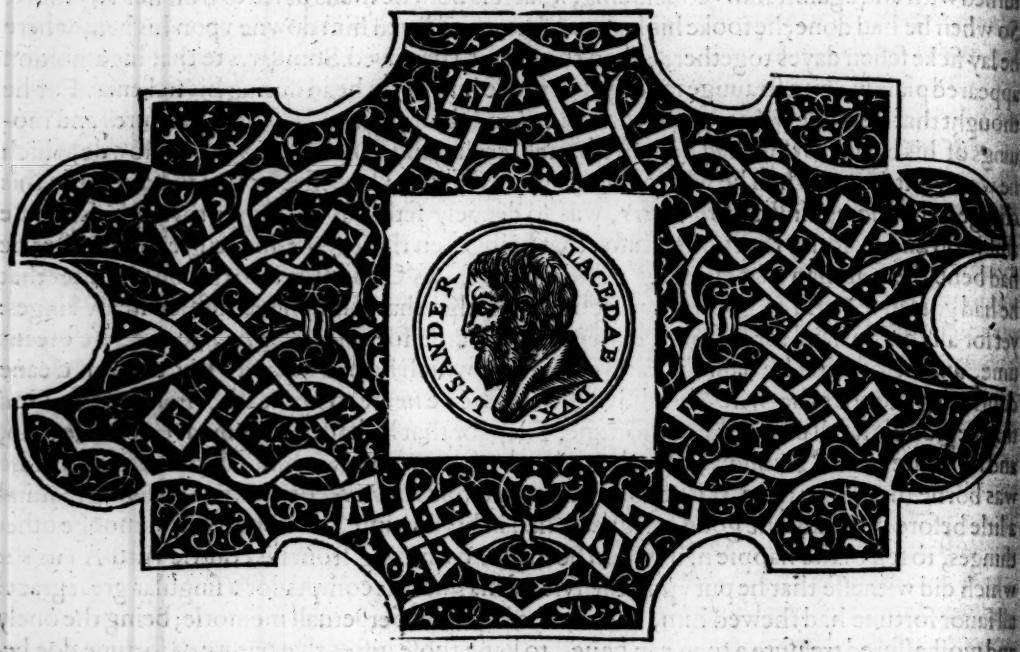
A note againſt the ambitious.

Platoes words at his death.

Note that in Syllaes life following it appeareth, that Marius the younger was beſieged in the city of Praneſte, and not in Perugia as ye reade here. So as the ciſy ſeemeth to be miſtakē in one of theſe two.

The end of Caius Marius life.

THE LIFE OF *Lyſander.*



IN the treaſorie of the ACANTHIANS, which is in the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES, there is this inſcription: *Braſidas*, and the ACANTHIANS, with the ſpoile of the ATHENIANS. That inſcription maketh many men thinke, that the image of ſtone that ſtandeth within the chamber by the dore therof, is the image of *Braſidas*: howbeit in truth it is the liuelie image of *Lyſander* him ſelfe, made with a great buſh of heare, & a thicke long beard after the old auncient facion. And where ſome ſay that the ARGIVES, after they were ouercome and had loſt a great battell, did all of them ſhaue them ſelues in token and ſigne of common ſorrow: and that the LACEDÆMONIANS on thother ſide to ſhewe the ioy of their victory, did all let their heares growe, that is not true. No more then this is true which other do reporte of the BACCHIADES: who being fled from CORINTHE vnto LACEDÆMON, the LACEDÆMONIANS founde them ſo ill fauoredly diſguiſed and deformed, bicauſe their heads were all ſhauen, that thereupon they had a deſire to let their heare and beards grow. For that was one of the ordinaunces of *Lycurgus*, who ſayd that the long buſhe of heare, maketh them that are naturally fayer, the pleaſaunter to looke vppon: and thoſe that are ill fauored, more ougly and fearefull to ſee to. And furthermore, it is ſayd that *Ariſtoclitus*, the father of *Lyſander*, was not of the royall blood of the kinges of SPARTA, though he came of the race of the *Heraclides*: and that his ſonne *Lyſander* was very meanely and poorely brought vp, being as obedient to the lawes and ſtatutes of his contrie, as any other man was, ſhowing him ſelfe alwayes very ſtrong and conſtant againſt all vanitie and pleaſure, ſauing only in matters of honor and curteſie, which they offer vnto thoſe that deſerue well. For they thinke it no ſhame nor diſhoneſty in SPARTA, that the young men doe ſuffer them ſelues to be ouercome with that delite and pleaſure: but doe ſo bring vp their children, that from their youth they would haue them to haue ſome taſt and feeling of honor, deliting to be praiſed, and ſorie to be diſcōmended. For they make no accompt of him that is not moued with the one nor the other, but take him to be of a baſe cowardly nature, that hath no manner of minde to doe good. And therefore it is to be thought, that the ambition and ſtowtneſſe that was bred in *Lyſander*, proceded

Lyſanders image.

Lycurgus the author of wearing longe heare.

The commoditie of wearing longe heare.

Lyſanders kinred.

The education of the Laconian children.

A sadded of the LACEDÆMONIAN discipline and education he had, and not so much of his owne nature. But in dede of his owne nature he was a right courtier, & could tell how to entertaine and flatter great states and nobility, farre better then the common manner of the natural SPARTANS: and moreouer for his priuate benefit, he could easily beare with the slowtons of greater men of authority then him selfe, which some iudge to be a great poynt of wisedome, to know how to deale in matters of state. *Aristotle* in a place where he sayeth, that the greatest wittes commonly are subiect vnto melancholye, (as *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Hercules* were) whereth, that *Lysander* in his later age fell into the melancholy disease, but not in his youth. He had also this singular gift aboue all other, that in his pouerty he alwayes kept that honest modesty with him, as he would neuer be ouercome nor corrupted with gold nor siluer: and yet he filled his con- B trie with riches and couetousnes, which lost him the reputation he had wonne, bicause him selfe made none accompt of riches nor getting. For bringing store of golde and siluer into his contrie after he had ouercomen the ATHENIANS, he reserued not vnto him selfe one Drachma only. And furthermore, when *Dionysius* the tyran of SYRACVSA, had on a time sent goodly riche gownes out of SICILIA to his daughters: he refused them, saying, that he was afrayed such gownes would make them fowler. Neuertheless, shortly after being sent Ambassador out of his contrie vnto the same tyranne, *Dionysius* sending him two gownes, praying him to choose which of the two he would cary to his daughter: he answered, that she her selfe could best choose which was the fitter, and so caried both with him. But now to come to his doings in warlike causes: the warres of PELOPONNESVS fell out maruelous long. For after the ouer- C throw of the armie which the ATHENIANS had sent into SICILIA, when euery man thought they had vtterly lost all their force by sea, and that by all coniecture they shoulde soone after loose all by lande also: *Alcibiades* returning from his exile to deale againe in matters of the state, made an exceding great chaunge and alteration. For he set the ATHENIANS a flote againe, and made them as strong by sea as the LACEDÆMONIANS: who thereupon beganne to quake for feare, and to looke eftsoones for a freshe warre, perceiuinge that they stoode in neede of a greater power, and of a better Captaine then euer they had before. Whereuppon they made *Lysander* their Admirall, who arriuing in the citie of EPHESVS, founde them very well affected towardes him, and maruelous willing and ready to take the LACEDÆMONIANS parte: howbeit otherwise in very poore state, and ready almost to take vp all the barbarous ma- D ners and facions of the PERSIANS, bicause they did continually frequent them, being enuironned round about with the contry of LYDIA, where the king of PERSIANS Captaines were euer resident. Wherefore, hauing planted his campe there, he brought thither marchauntes shippes out of all partes, and sette vp an arsenall or store house to builde gallies in: so that in shorte space, by oft recourse of marchauntes that beganne to trade thither, he quickened their hauens, and set vp their staple againe for trafficke of marchaundise, and filled euery priuate artificers house with an honest trade to make them riche by, so that euer after it grewe in continuall hope to come vnto that florishinge state and greatnes, in the which we see it at this present. Furthermore, *Lysander* being aduertised that *Cyrus*, one of the great king of PERSIANS sonnes, was come vnto the city of SARDIS, he went thither to speake with him, and to com- E plaine of *Tisaphernes*: who hauing commaundement geuen him from the king to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, and to helpe to expulse the ATHENIANS, and to driue them from the sea, seemed to deale but coldly and faintly against them, for the fauor he bare to *Alcibiades*. For, furnishing the LACEDÆMONIANS very scantly with money, was an occasion that all their armie by sea went to wracke. *Cyrus* for his owne parte was very glad that he heard complaintes of *Tisaphernes*, and that they spake against him: bicause he was an ill man, and the rather for that he had him selfe a litle odde grudge to him. Wherfore he loued *Lysander* maruelous well, as well for the complaintes he made of *Tisaphernes*, as also for the pleasure he tooke in his companie, bicause he was a man that could wonderfully please & delite noble men: by which meanes hauing wonne the fauor of this young Prince, he did perswade, and also incorage him F to follow this warre. And when *Lysander* was vpon his departure to take his leaue of him, *Cyrus* feasted him, and afterwardes prayed him not to refuse the offer of his liberalitie, and that was: that he would freely aske him what he would, assuring him he should not be denied any

Lysanders manners.

It is seldome seene that any wise man hath euer melancholye.

Lysander a dispiser of riches.

Lysanders words of Dionysius liberalitie.

Lysander admirall for the Lacedæmonians by sea.

Lysander enlargeth the citie of Ephesus.

Sardis a citie in Lydia.

thing. Whereunto *Lysander* answered him. Sithence I see (*Cyrus*) you are so willing to please vs, I beseeche you, and doe also counsell you then to increase the ordinarie pay of our mariners, one halfe penny a day: to the end that where now they haue but three halfe pence, they may thenceforth receaue two pence a day. *Cyrus* was glad to heare *Lysanders* bounty, and the increase that he would make, and caused tenne thowsande Darickes to be deliuered him: by meane whereof he added to the ordinary pay of the maryners, the increase of a halfe penny a day. This liberality, within few dayes after, emptied all their enemies gallies of their men. For, the most parte of their maryners & galley men went where they might haue the best pay: and such as remained behinde, became very dull, lasie, and seditious, dayly troubling their Captaines and gouernors. Now though *Lysander* had drawen his enemies men from them by this policie, and had done this great hurte, yet he durst not fight it out by sea, fearing the worthines of *Alcibiades*: who was a valliant man, and had greater store of shippes then he had, and besides that, was neuer ouercome by lande nor by sea, in any battell where he was Generall. So it chaūced, that *Alcibiades* went out of the Ile of SAMOS, vnto the city of PHOCEA, which standeth vpon firme lande directly ouer against SAMOS, and leauing the whole charge of his fleete in his absence, with *Antiochus* his pylot: he being more hardie then wise, in scorne and derision of *Lysander*, went with two gallies only into the hauen of EPHESVS, and went by the arsenall (where all their shippes lay in docke) with great noyse and laughing. This put *Lysander* in such a heate and chafe, that first of all he put a fewe gallies to the sea, and had him in chase with them. But afterwardes, perceiuing that the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS came out one after an other to the rescue, he armed other gallies also: so that supplying still with a few on either side, at the length they came to a maine battell, which *Lysander* warne, & hauing taken fifteene of their gallies, he set vp a token of triumphe and victory. When the people at ATHENS heard the newes of this ouerthrow, they were so angrie with *Alcibiades*, that they discharged him presently of his charge: and the souldiers also that lay in campe in the Ile of SAMOS, beganne to mislike him, and to speake ill of him. Whereuppon he presently left his campe, and went into the contrie of CHERRONESVS in THRACIA. This battell was more spoken of then there was cause, by reason of *Alcibiades* reputacion. Furthermore, *Lysander* causinge the stowtest and boldest men of euery city, aboue the common sorte, to come to EPHESVS vnto him: layed there secret foundacions of great chaunge and alteracion, which he stablished afterwardes in the gouernmentes of cities. For he perswaded his priuate frendes to make tribes amongest them selues to winne them frendes, and to practise to gette the rule of their cities into their handes: promising them, that so soone as the ATHENIANS were ouerthrowen, they them selues also should be deliuered from subiection of their people, and euery one of them should beare chiefe rule in their contry. And this he performed to them all, and made euery one of them proue his wordes true. For he preferred all them that had bene his olde frendes, vnto the best offices and charges: not sparing to doe against all right and reason, so that they were aduaunced by it. And thus by this meanes, euery man came to take his part, and they all sought and desired to gratifie and please him: hoping, that what great matter soeuer fell out, they assured thēselues in maner that they should obtaine it of him, when he came to haue the gouernment in his owne hands. And therefore they nothing reioyced at *Callicratidas* comming, who came to succeede him in the office of the Admirall: neither afterwards also, when they saw by experience that he was as honest and iust a man as coulde be. Neither did they like his manner of gouerninge which was plaine, and without any arte or cunning. But they commended the perfectiō of his vertue, as they would haue done the image of some demy god made after the olde facion, which had bene of singular beawty. But in the meane time, they wished for *Lysander*, as well for the tender loue and good will he bare to his frends and them, as also for the profit and commodity they got by him. So when *Lysander* tooke the seas to returne home againe, all they that were in the campe, were as sory as could be possible, insomuch as the teares stoode in their eyes: and he on thother side, studied to make them worse affected vnto *Callicratidas*. For amongest many other thinges, he sent the rest of the money backe againe to SARDIS, which *Cyrus* had geuen him to pay the maryners: saying, that *Callicratidas* should go him selfe to aske it, if he would haue it, and finde the meanes to entertaine his

Lysander tooke money for pay of his souldiers.

Lysanders victorie of the Athenians by sea.

Cherranesus a contrye in Thracia.

Callicratidas Lysanders successor in his office of admyralsie.

Playnenes cōmended for a vertue, but liked as an olde image of a god that had bene excellent faier.

The spighte of Lisander to Callicratidas.

A his men. And lastly, when he was ready to imbarke, he protested before all them that were present, that he did deliuer, leaue, and assigne ouer the armie into his handes, commaunding all the sea. But *Callicratidas*, to ouercome his false ambicion, and fowle boasting lye aunswered him againe, and saied. If that be true thow saiest, come then and deliuer me the gallies in the city of MILETVM, as thou goest by, before the Ile of SAMOS: for sith thou commaundest all the sea, we shall not neede to feare our enemies that are in SAMOS. *Lysander* thereto replied, that the armie was no more at his commaundement, and that he had the charge ouer them: and so departed thence, taking his course directly vnto PELOPONNESVS, and left *Callicratidas* in great perplexity. For he had brought no money out of his contrie with him, neither would he compell the cities to furnishe him with any, seeinge that they were at that time too much B troubled already. Then had he no other way but to goe to the Lieutenauntes of the king of PERSIA, to aske them money as *Lysander* had done. But he was the vnmeeteste man for it that could be possible: for he was of a noble and liberall nature, and thought it lesse dishonor & reproache vnto the GREECIANS, to be ouercome by other GREECIANS, then to goe flatter the barbarous people, and seeke to them that had gold & siluer enough, but otherwise, no goodnes nor honesty. In the end notwithstanding, making vertue of necessity, he tooke his iorney towards LYDIA, and went directly to *Cyrus* courte: where at his first comming he willed them to let him vnderstand, that *Callicratidas* the Admirall of the LACEDÆMONIANS would speake with him. One of the souldiers that warded at the gate, told him: my frende, syr straunger, *Cyrus* is not at leasure nowe, for he is set at dinner. *Callicratidas* aunswered him plainely againe: C no force, I will tary here till he haue dined. The barbarous PERSIANS hearing this, tooke him for some plaine lowte, and so he went his waye the first time with a mocke at their handes. But the second time when they would not let him come in at the gate, he fell in a rage, and retorned backe (as he came) to the citie of EPHESVS, cursing and banning them that at the first had so much imbased them selues, as to goe sue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be prowde and stately for their goodes and riches: swearing before them all that were present, that so soone as he came to SPARTA againe, he would doe all that he could possible to pacifie the GREECIANS, & set them at peace one with an other, to the end they might be fearefull to the barbarous people, & also that they should medle with them no more, nor neede their aide to destroy one an other. But *Callicratidas* hauing the noble harte of a SPARTAN, and being to D be compared in iustice, valliancy, and greatnes of corage, with the most excellentest GREECIANS in his time, dyed shortly after in a battell by sea, which he lost vppon the Iles ARGINVSES. Wherefore, the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS seeing that their state was in declining, they all together sent an Ambassade vnto SPARTA, by whom they made request to the counsell, that they would send *Lysander* againe for their Admirall, promising that they would do all things with better corage & goodwill vnder his conduction, then they would vnder any other Captaine they could sende them. So much did *Cyrus* also wryte vnto them. But bicause there was an expresse law forbidding that one man should be twise Admirall, and besides, they being willing to graunt the request of their confederats, made one *Aracus* their Admirall, but in effect gaue *Lysander* the whole authoritie of all thinges. Who was maruelous welcome vn- E to them, and specially vnto the heades and rulers of cities, which long before had wished for his comming: bicause that by his meanes they hoped to make their authority greater, and altogether to take away the authority from the people. But they that loued plaine dealing, and open magnahimitie in the manners of a gouernor and generall, when they came to compare *Lysander*, with *Callicratidas*: they founde that *Lysander* had a fine subtill head, and did more in warres with his policy and subtiltie, then by any other meanes. And moreouer, that he esteemed iustice, when it fell out profitable: and tooke profit, for iustice and honestie, not thinking that plaine dealing was of better force then crafte, but measuring the value of the tone and thother, by the profit that came out of them, and mocking of them that sayed that the race of *Hercules* should not make warres with craft and subtilty. For sayd he, when the lyons skin F will not serue, we must help it with the case of a foxe. And hereunto agreeth that, which they wryte he did in the citie of MILETVM. For his frendes and familiars to whome he had promised aide for destruction of the peoples authority, and to driue their enemies out of the city:

Nothing esteemed with the Barbarians but money.

Callicratidas patience.

The death of Callicratidas.

Lysander crafty and deceitfull.

A wise saying of Lysander.

they hauing chaunged their mindes, and being reconciled vnto their aduerſaries, he openly made great ſhowe of gladnes, and ſeemed as though he would helpe to agree them together: but ſecretly being alone, he tooke them vp ſharply, and told them that they were cowards to doe it, and did procure them to the contrarie, to ſet apon the people. And then when he vnderſtoode that there was commocion among them in the citie, he ranne thither ſo dainly as it were to appeaſe it. But when he was alſo comen into the citie, the firſt he met with of them that would alter the ſtate of gouernment, and take the authority from the people: he fell out withall, and gaue them rough wordes, commaunding with extreamitie that they ſhould follow him, as though he would haue done ſome great puniſhment. And againe, meeting with them on the contrary parte, he willed them alſo that they ſhould not be afrayed, nor dout that any man ſhould doe them hurte where he was. This was a wicked and malicious practiſe of him, to ſtay the chiefeſt of them that were moſt affected to the popular faction, to the ende that afterwardes he might, put them all to death as he did. For they that truſting to his words remained quiet in the city were all put to death. Moreouer, *Androclidas* touching this matter, hath left in wryting that which *Lyſander* was wont to ſay: by the which it appeareth, that he made very litle reckening to be periured. For he ſayd, that children ſhould be deceiued with the play of kayles, and men with othes of men, following therein *Polycrates*, the tyran of Samos, but without reaſon: for he was a lawfull Captaine, and the other a violent vſurper of tyrannicall power. Furthermore, it was not done like a true Laconian, to behaue him ſelfe towardes the goddes none otherwiſe, then towardes men, but rather worſe, & more iniuriouſly. For he that deceiueth his enemy, & breaketh his othe to him: ſheweth plainly that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God. *Cyrus* therefore hauing ſent for *Lyſander* to come to Sardis to him, gaue him money largely, and promiſed him more: and bicauſe he would more honorably ſhewe the good will he had to gratifie him, tolde him, that if the kinge his father would geue him nothing, yet he would geue him of his owne. And furthermore, whē all other meanes fayled to helpe him with money, that rather then he ſhould lacke, he would melt his owne chayer to make money of (which he ſate in when he gaue audience in matter of iuſtice) being altogether of gold and ſiluer. And to be ſhorte, when he was going into Media to the king his father, he gaue *Lyſander* power to receiue the taxes and ordinary tributes of the cities vnder his gouernment, and made him Lieutenaunt of all his contry. And laſtly, bidding him farewell, praied him that he woulde not geue battell by ſea vnto the Athenians, vntil he returned from the courte: and that before his comming againe he woulde haue authoritie to leauie a greate nomber of ſhippes, aſwell out of Phœnicia, as out of Cilicia. Wherefore whileſt *Cyrus* was in his iorney, *Lyſander* not being able to fight with his enemies with like nomber of ſhippes, nor alſo to lye ſtill and doe nothing with ſo good a number of gallyes, went and ſcowred the ſeas, where he tooke certaine Ilandes, and robbed alſo Ægina and Salamina. From thence he went & landed on the firme lande in the contrye of Attica, and did his dutie there vnto *Agis* king of Lacedæmonia, who came purpoſely from the forte of Decelea to the ſea ſide to ſee him, bicauſe their armye by lande alſo ſhoulde ſee what power they had by ſea, and howe it ruled more by ſea then they woulde. Neuertheles, being aduertiſed that the fleete of the Athenians followed harde after him, he tooke an other courſe to flye backe againe into Aſia by the Iles: and returninge againe, founde all the contry of Helleſpont without men of warre. So he laied ſiege before the citie of Lampſacvs, and did aſſault it with his gallies by ſea: and *Thorax* being come thither alſo at the ſelfe ſame time in great haſt with his armie by land, gaue thaſſault on his ſide. Thus was the citie taken by force, which *Lyſander* left to the ſpoile of the ſouldiers. Now in the meane time the fleete of the Athenians (which was a hundred and foure ſcore ſaile) came to an ancker before the citie of Elevnte, in the contrie of Cherronesvs: and newes being broughte them that the city of Lampſacvs was taken, they came with all ſpede poſſible vnto the citie of Sestos, where getting freſhe acates and vittelles, they coaſted all alongeſt the coaſt vnto a certaine place called the goates riuer, directly ouer againſt the fleete of their enemies, which lay yet at ancker before the citie of Lampſacvs. Now there was a captaine of the Athenians mongeſt other called *Philocles*, he that perſwaded the Athenians to cut of the priſoners thumbes

The wicked diſſembling and double dealing of Lyſander.

Lyſander regarded no periurie, following the example of Polycrates the tyran of Samos.

Cyrus liberalitie to Lyſander.

Lyſanders actes by ſea.

Philocles cruel aduiſe vnto the Athenians.

A thumbes of their right handes that were taken in the warres, to thend they ſhould no more handle the pyke, but only ſerue to pull the ower. Both the tone and the tother reſted that day, hoping to haue battel without faile the next morning. But *Lyſander* hauing an other meaning with him, commaunded the maiſters and maryners notwithſtanding, that they ſhould haue their gallies ready to geue battell the next morninge by breake of day, bicauſe euery man ſhould get a bord betimes, and ſhould keepe them ſelues in order of battell, making no noiſe at all, attending what he would commaunde them: and further, made the armie by lande alſo to be ranged in battell ray, by the ſea ſide. The next morning at funne riſing, the ATHENIANS beganne to row with all their gallies ſet in order of battell in a fronte. But *Lyſander*, though he had his ſhippes in order to fight, the proes lying towardes the enemies before day, towed not B for all that againſt them, but ſending out pynnaſies vnto the firſt gallies, commaunded them ſtraightly that they ſhould not ſtirre at all, but keepe them ſelues in order, making no noyſe, nor rowing againſt the enemy. Though the ATHENIANS alſo were retyred in the night, he would not geue the ſouldiers leaue to come to lande out of the gallies, before he had ſent firſt two or three gallies to diſcrie the fleete of his enemies: who brought him word that they had ſeene the ATHENIANS take lande. The next morning they did the like, the third day, and the fourth alſo all in one ſorte: ſo that the ATHENIANS beganne to be bold of them ſelues, and to deſpiſe their enemies, imagining they lay thus cloſe for feare of them, and durſt not come forward. In the meane time, *Alcibiades* (who lay at that time in the contrie of CHERSONESVS, in certaine places which he had conquered) came ryding to the campe of the ATHENIANS, C to tell the Captaines and generalls of the armie, the great faultes they committed. Firſt, for that they had caſt ancker, and kept their ſhippes in an open place, where there was no maner of ſuccor, nor harber to retyre vnto vpon any ſtorme: and worſt of all, bicauſe that they were ſo fete the their vittells farre of, at the citie of SESTOS, vnto which hauen they ſhould rather draw them ſelues vnto, conſidering that they had but a litle way to go, & alſo that they ſhould haue the citie to backe them, which would furniſh them with all thinges neceſſarie: and beſide that, they ſhould be further of from their enemies, which were gouerned by one generall onely that did commaund them all, and were ſo well trained, that at a whiſtle they were ready ſtraight to execute his commaundement. *Alcibiades* perſwaſions to theſe Captaines of the ATHENIANS were not only miſliked, but furthermore there was one called *Tydeus*, that an- D ſwered him very lewdly: that he had nothing to doe to commaunde the armie, but other that had the charge of them. *Alcibiades* miſtruſting thereby ſome treaſon, quietly went his way. The fift day, the ATHENIANS hauing made the ſame countenaunce to preſent battell vnto their enemies, and retyring the ſame night as of cuſtome very negligently, and in ill order, as men that made no reckening of their enemies: *Lyſander* ſent againe certaine galliots to diſcrie them, commaunding the Captaines of the ſame, that when they perceiued the ATHENIANS had left their gallies and taken lande, they ſhould then returne backe with all poſſible ſpeede they could, and being mid way ouer the ſtraightes, that they ſhould lift vp a copper target into the ayre, apon the top of a pyke in the foredecke, for a ſigne to make all the whole fleete to row in battell. Now *Lyſander* him ſelfe in the meane time went in perſone from galley to gal- E ley, perſwading & exhorting euery Captaine that they ſhould put their galliots, maryners, and ſouldiers in good readines, to thend that when the ſigne ſhould be lifted vp, they ſhould rowe with all their might in battell againſt the enemies. Wherefore, ſo ſoone as the copper target was ſet vp in the ayer, and that *Lyſander* had made his trompet ſound out of the Admiral, for a token to hale out into the ſea: the gallies immediatly beganne to row for life in enuy one of an other, and the footemen that were apon the lande, ranne with ſpeede alſo to the toppe of a high cliffe neere vnto the ſea, to ſee what would be the ende of his fight, bicauſe the diſtaunce from one ſide to the other in that place was not fully two myles, which they had ſone cut ouer, and in a litle ſpace, through the great diligence & force of rowing with their owers. So *Conon* the chiefe Captaine of the ATHENIANS perceiuing from the ſhore this great fleete F comming with a full force to aſſault them: he then cried out to the ſouldiers that they ſhould runne to their ſhippes, and being in a rage to ſee thinges in this daunger, called ſome by their names, others he intreated, and the reſt he compelled to take their gallies. But all his diligence

Lyſanders craft in marine fight.

Alcibiades gaue good aduiſe to the Captaines of the Athenians.

A copper target lift vp, the ſigne of battell by ſea.

Conon, Admirall of the Athenians.

was to no purpose, bicause the souldiers were wholly scattered here and there. For so soone as they were set a lande out of their gallies at their returne, some went to buy prouision, other went a walking in the fieldes, some were set at supper in their cabines, and other were layed downe to sleepe, nothing mistrusting that which happened to them, through their Captaines ignoraunce and lacke of experience. But when the enemies were ready to ioyne and fall vpon them with great cries and noyse of owers, *Conon* hauing eight gallies, stale secretly out of the fleete, and flying vnto *Euagoras*, saued him selfe in the Ile of CIPRVS. In the meane time, the PELOPONNESIANS falling apon the other gallies, tooke some of them emptie, and brake the others as the souldiers beganne to come aborde apon them. And as for the men, some were slaine by their shippes as they ranne vnto them like naked men without weapon, and out of order, thinking to haue saued them selues: other were killed in flying, bicause the enemies landed and had them in chase. And there were taken aliue of them, three thowsand prisoners with the Captaines. *Lysander* moreouer tooke all the whole fleete of their shippes, the holie galley excepted called Paralos, and the eight that fled with *Conon*: and after he had destroyed all the campe of the ATHENIANS, he fastened the gallies that were taken, vnto the keele of his gallies, and returned with songes of triumphe, with the sound of flutes and hoboyes, towards the citie of LAMPSACVS, hauing wonne a great victory with litle labor, and had cut of in a small time, the long continuing and most diuerse warre that euer was, and had brought forth so many sundrie straunge euentes of fortune, as are vncredible. For there had bene infinite battells fought both by sea and lande, and had altered many sundry times, and there was slaine at that time moe Captaines, than in all the other warres of GREECE together: all which were at the length brought to ende and determined, by the good wisedome and conduction of one onely man. And therefore some thought, that this great ouerthrowe was geuen by the gods, and sayd: that at the departure of *Lysanders* fleete out of the hauen of LAMPSACVS, to goe set apon the fleete of the enemies, they perceaued ouer *Lysanders* galley the two fires, which they call the starres of Castor and Pollux: the one on the tone side of the galley, and the other on thother side. They say also, that the fall of the stone was a token, that did signifie this great ouerthrow. For about that time, (as many hold opinion) there fell out of the ayer a maruelous great stone, in the place they call the goates riuer, which stone is seene yet vnto this day, holden in great reuerence by the inhabitauntes of the citie of CHERRONESVS. It is sayd also that *Anaxagoras* did prognosticate, that one of the bodies tyed vnto the vaulte of the heauen, should be pluckt away, and should fall to the ground by a slyding & shaking that should happen. For he sayd, that the starres were not in their proper place where they were first created, considering that they were heauy bodies, and of the nature of stone: howebeit that they did shine by reflection of the fire elementory, & had bene drawen vp thither by force, where they were kept by the great violēce of the circuler motion of the element, euen as at the beginning of the world they had bene stayed & let from falling downe beneath, at that time when the separation was made of the colde and heauy bodies, from the other substaunce of the vniuersal world. There is an other opinion of certaine Philosophers, where there is more likelyhoode then in that. For they say, that those which we call falling starres, be no fluxions nor deriuacions of the fire elementorie, which are put out in the ayer, in a manner so soone as they be lighted: nor also an inflammation or cōbustion of any parte of the ayer, which by her to ouermuch quantity doth spread vpwardes: but they are celestiall bodies, which by some slackenes of strength, or falling from the ordinary course of heauen, are throwen and cast downe here beneath, not alwayes in any parte of the earth inhabited, but more ofter abroade in the great Occean sea, which is the cause that we do not see them. Notwithstanding, *Anaxagoras* words are confirmed by *Damachus*, who writeth in his booke of religion, that the space of three score and fifteene yeares together, before that this stone did fall, they saw a great lumpe of fier continually in the ayer like a clowde inflamed, the which taried not in any one place, but went and came with diuerse broken remouings, by the driuing whereof there came out lightnings of fire that fell in many places, and gaue light in falling, as the starres do that fall. In the end, when this great body of fire fell in that parte of the earth, the inhabitants of the contrie, after that they were a litle boldened from their feare and wonder, came to the place to see what it

was:

Lysanders victory of the Athenians.

Paralos, the holy galley of Athens.

The starres of Castor, and Pollux.

A stone fell out of the element.

AEgos fl.

Anaxagoras opinion of the starres.

What falling starres be.

Damachus testimonie of the fiery stone seene in the element.

A was: and they found no manner of ſhew or apparaunce of fire, but only a very great ſtone lying vpon the ground, but nothing in comparilon of the leaſt parte of that which the compaſſe of this bodie of fire did ſhew, if we may ſo name it. Sure herein, *Dicearchus* wordes had neede of fauorable hearers. But againe if they be true, then he vtterly confuteth their argumentes, that maintaine that it was a peece of a rocke, which the force of a boyſterous winde did teare from the toppe of a mountaine, and caried in the ayer, ſo long as this hurle winde continued: but ſo ſoone as that was downe, and calme againe, the ſtone fell immediatly. Neither doe we ſay that this lightning bodie, which appeared ſo many dayes in the element, was very fire in deede, which comming to diſſolue and to be put out, did beget this violent ſtorme and boyſterous wind in the element, that had the force to teare the ſtone in ſunder, & to caſt it downe.

An other opinion of the ſtone that fell.

B Neuertheles, this matter requireth better diſcourſe in ſome other booke then this. But now to our ſtory. Whē the three thouſand ATHENIANS that were taken priſoners at that ouerthrow, were condemned by the counſell to be put to death: *Lyſander* calling *Philocles*, one of the Captaines of the ATHENIANS, asked him what paine he would iudge him worthy of, that gaue the citizens ſo cruell & wicked counſell. *Philocles* being nothing abaſhed to ſee him ſelfe in that miſerie, aunſwered him. Accuſe not them that haue no iudge to heare their cauſe: but ſince the goddes haue geuen thee grace to be conqueror, doe with vs, as we would haue done with thee, if we had ouercome thee. When he had ſayd ſo, he went to waſhe him ſelfe, and then put on a fayer cloke vpon him, as if he ſhould haue gone to ſome feaſt: and went luſtely the formeſt man to execution, leading his contrie men the way, as *Theophraſtus* wryteth. After

Philocles cōſtancy, Captaine of the Athenians.

C this done, *Lyſander* with all his fleete went by all the cities of the ſea coaſt, where he commaūded ſo many ATHENIANS as he founde, that they ſhould get them to ATHENS, letting them vnderſtand that he would not pardone a man of them, but put them all to death as many as he found out of their city. And this he did of policie to bring them all within the precinct of the walles of ATHENS, bicauſe he might ſo much the ſooner famiſh them for lacke of vittells: for otherwiſe they would haue troubled him ſore, if they had had wherewithall to haue maintayned a long ſiege. But in all the cities as he paſſed by, if they were gouerned by the authority of the people, or if that there were any other kinde of gouernment, he left in euery one of them

D a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine or gouernor, with a counſell of tenne officers, of them that had bene before in league and amity with him: the which he did as well in the cities that had euer bene confederates and frendes vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, as in them that not long before had bene their enemies. So he went ſayling all alongeſt the coaſtes, fayer and ſoftely making no haſte, ſtabliſhing in manner a generall principality ouer all GREECE. For he did not make them officers that were the richeſt, the nobleſt, or honeſteſt men, but ſuch as were his frendes, out of thoſe tribes which he had placed in euery citie: & to them he gaue authority to puniſh, and reward ſuch as they liked of, and would be preſent him ſelfe in perſone to helpe them to put thoſe to death, whome they would execute, or otherwiſe expulſe or baniſh their contrie. But this gaue the GREECIANS ſmall hope of good or gratious gouernment vnder the rule of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Wherefore, me thinkes that *Theopompus* the comicall Poet doted, when he compared the LACEDÆMONIANS, vnto tauerners wines, ſaying: that they had ge-

Lyſanders cruelty.

Theopompus the Comicall Poets ſayinge of the Lacedæmonians.

E uen the GREECIANS a taſt of the ſweete drinke of libertie, and that afterwardes they had mingled it with vineger. For, the taſt they gaue the GREECIANS of their gouernment from the beginning, was very ſharpe vnto them: bicauſe *Lyſander* tooke the rule and authority of gouernment out of the peoples handes, and gaue it vnto a fewe of the boldeſt, and moſt ſeditious men in euery citie. Thus hauing ſpent a great time in this voyage, to make theſe alterations: he ſent newes before to LACEDÆMON, that he was comming with two hundred ſaile. He ſpake alſo with the kinges *Agis* and *Pauſanias*, in the contry of ATTICA, perſwading him ſelfe that he ſhould winne the city of ATHENS at the firſt aſſault. But when he ſaw his expectation failed, & that the ATHENIANS did valliantly reſiſt him: he returned once againe with his fleete into ASIA, where he made an end of chaunging and altering the maner of gouern-

F ment through euery city in equall maner, ſtabliſhing a counſell of tenne officers only in euery one of them, & putting euery where many citizens to death, and baniſhing many alſo. Among others, he draue all the SAMIANS out of their contry, and reſtored againe all them that had

bene baniſhed before: and the city of SESTOS alſo, being yet in the ATHENIANS handes, he tooke it from them. And furthermore, he would not ſuffer the naturall SESTIANS to dwell there, but draue them away, and gaue their citie, their houſes, and landes, vnto ſhippe maiſters, officers of gallies, and galley ſlaues, that had bene in the warres with him. But therein the LACEDÆMONIANS were againſt him, and this was the firſt thing that they did forbid him: for they reſtored the SESTIANS, againſt his will, vnto their landes and goodes againe. But as the GREECIANS were very much offended, to ſee the partes *Lyſander* played: ſo were they all very glad againe, to ſee theſe others which he afterwardes did. For he reſtored the ÆGINETES againe to their landes and houſes, who had bene put from them a long time. He reſtored alſo the MELIANS, and the SCIONÆIANS to their landes againe, which the ATHENIANS had gotten from them, and draue out the ATHENIANS. Furthermore, *Lyſander* being aduertiſed, that the citizens and inhabitantes of ATHENS were pinched ſore for lacke of vittells, he returned againe, and came into the hauen of PIRÆA: by meanes whereof he kept the citie ſo ſtraight, that he made them yeelde vppon ſuch condicions as he him ſelfe would. Howbeit there are certaine LACEDÆMONIANS that ſay, *Lyſander* wrote vnto the EPHORES; the city of ATHENS is taken. And that the *Ephori* wrote againe vnto him: it is well that it is taken. But this is but a tale deuiſed to make the matter ſeeme better: for in deede the capitulacions which the *Ephori* ſent vnto him, were theſe. The Lordes of the counſell of LACEDÆMON haue thus decreed: that ye doe raſe the fortification of the hauen of PIRÆA. That ye do ouerthrow alſo the long wall that ioyneth the hauen to the citie. That ye yeelde vp and redeliuer all the cities which ye doe holde, and content your ſelues with your liues and contry only. This doing, ye ſhall haue peace, ſo that ye performe our demaundes. That ye ſhall receiue thoſe which are baniſhed: & for the number of ſhippes, ye ſhall diſpoſe of them as we ſhall will you. The ATHENIANS agreed vnto the articles contained in that bill, following the counſell of *Theramenes*, the ſonne of *Agnon*. Who when a young orator called *Cleomenes*, did openly aske him in anger, if he were ſo bold to dare to doe, or ſay, any thing contrary vnto that, which *Themiſtocles* had done before time, to aſſent vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, that the walle which he built in deſpite of them, ſhould by their cõmaundement now be raſed: he aunſwered him openly againe, young man, my frend, I doe nothing contrary to *Themiſtocles* doinges. For like as he heretofore did build the walle, for the ſafety and benefit of all the citizens and people that were in ATHENS at that time: euen ſo doe we that are here nowe, for the ſelfe ſame cauſe plucke it downe and raſe it. And if it be true that walles doe make cities happy, then it muſt needes follow that the city of SPARTA which neuer had any walles, ſhould be the vnfortunateſt of all other. So *Lyſander* hauing receiued all the ATHENIANS ſhippes but twelue, & the walles of the city alſo to vſe them at his pleaſure: on the ſixteenth day of march (on which day in olde time the ATHENIANS had wonne the battell by ſea, within the ſtraight of SALAMINA, againſt the king of PERSIA) he counſelled them ſtraight to chaunge the forme of their gouernment. The people could not brooke that motion, and were maruelouſly offended withall. Whereuppon *Lyſander* ſent to declare vnto them, that they had broken the articles of the peace made betweene them, for that their walles were yet ſtanding, the tenne dayes being expired in which they had promiſed to ouerthrowe them: and therefore that he would once againe referre it to the determination of the counſell, howe they ſhould be vſed, that had broken the articles and couenaunts of the firſt peace. Other ſay, that immediatly he referred it vnto the deliberacion of the counſell of their confederates, that is to ſay: whether they ſhould altogether deſtroy the city, and make the inhabitantes thereof, ſlaues, and bondmen or no. In this counſell, it is reported that there was a THEBAN called *Erianthus*, whoſe opinion was, that they ſhould vtterly raſe the city, & make the contry a deſert: ſo that it ſhould neuer after ſerue for other thing, but for paſturage of beaſtes. But during this dyet & counſell, there was a banket made, whereunto all the Captaines and chiefe officers of the army being bidden, there was a PHOCIAN, a ſinger of ſonges, that ſang the entry of the *Chorus* to the tragedy of *Electra*, made by the Poet *Eurtpides*, which beganne in this ſorte.

The Athenians yeelde vp Athens to Lyſander.

The maner of peace offered by the Lacedæmonians to the Atheniãs.

A notable ſaying for the walls of cities.

Erianthus cruell aduiſe againſt the Athenians.

Electra noble Dame, and daughter to a king:
Euen Agamemnon, king of Greece, vvhoſe fame ſo vvide did ring.

I come nowe to your courtes, which lye both wide and waste:
By spoyle of warres depopulate, destroyed, and defaste.

These words moued all the hearers with cõpassion, so that the most parte of them thought it were too great a sinne to destroy so noble a city, which brought forth so many famous wise men, & great persones. Wherefore *Lysander*, when the ATHENIANS had submitted the selues altogether to his will, caused all the women players of pipes or shalmes to come out of the city, and gathered all those together which he had in his owne campe also, and with the sound of their instruments he made the walles and fortifications of the city of ATHENS to be pulled downe to the very ground, and set all their gallies on fire, & burnt them in the presence of the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who daunced and played in the meane season with garlandes of flowers on their heades, in token that that day was a beginning of their full and perfect liberty. Immediatly after he chaunged also the state of the gouernment, establishing a counsell of thirty Magistrates in the city, and other tenne also in the hauen of PIRÆA, hauing all equall and like authority: and therewithall made *Callibius* a gentleman of SPARTA Captaine of the castell there, and left a good garrison of the LACEDÆMONIANS with him. This *Callibius* one day lift vp his staffe he had in his hande to strike *Autolycus* withall, a strong made man to wrestle: whereuppon *Xenophon* the Philosopher made his booke in olde time, called Conuiuium. But *Autolycus* that was a cunning wrestler, hauing all the sleights of wrestling, sodainly tripped *Callibius* with his legge, and lifting him vp at the armes ende, cast him to the ground. Howbeit *Lysander* was not angry with *Autolycus* for it, but reproued *Callibius*, telling him that he should haue remembred (if he had bene wise) that he had the gouernment ouer free men, and not of bonde men. Notwithstanding, shortly after the thirty gouernors of the city, to satisfie *Callibius*, put this *Autolycus* to death. When *Lysander* had done all these things, he tooke sea againe, and went into the contry of THRACIA, and sent by *Gylippus* before vnto SPARTA (who had bene Captaine and generall of the SYRACVSANS in SICILIA) all the golde and siluer that was left in his handes, with all the presentes besides which had bene priuately geuen him, and with the crownes also that had bene presented him: which were maruelous in number as it is to be thought, for that many came to present him, considering the great power he had, and that in maner he was chiefe and sole prince of all GREECE. This *Gylippus* did rippe the seames of euery bagge in the bottome where the money was, and tooke a good summe out of euery of them: and afterwardes sowed them vp againe, not thinking that there had bene a border vppon euery bagge, apon the which was declared, the number and kindes of gold and siluer that were therein. Now when he was come to SPARTA, he hid the money he had stolen, vnder the house eauinges, and went and deliuered the bagges he had brought, into the handes of the *Ephori*, shewing them *Lysanders* seale, which he had set to euery one of them. The *Ephori* hauing opened the bagges, & told the money, found that the summe agreed not with the borders of the contentes: and yet coulde not tell where the fault was. But a seruaunt of *Gylippus* told them in darke wordes, saying: that vnder the tyles of his masters house there lay a great number of owles. Nowe the greatest parte of the coyne of golde and siluer which was currãt through GREECE, was stamped with the marke of an owle, by reason of the ATHENIANS. Thus *Gylippus* after so many noble exploytes done in warres, committing so shameful & vile a dede, was banished out of his cõtry of LACEDÆMONIA. But the wisest men of SPARTA, and of deepest iudgement, fearing the power of golde and siluer, and seeing by proofe of *Gylippus* doinges, that it had such power to make one of their chiefest men to fall through couetousnes: they greatly blamed *Lysander* for bringing of it into LACEDÆMON, beseeching the *Ephori* that they would send all this golde and siluer out of SPARTA, as a plague, prouocation, and wicked baite, to make them do euill: declaring vnto them, that they should vse no other money, but their owne only. Whereupon they referred all, to the wisedome and determination of the counsell. *Theopompus* writeth, that *Sciraphidas* was he that did moue the counsel of the *Ephori* in it. Howbeit *Ephorus* calleth him *Phlogidas*, who was the first that spake against it in the counsell, that they should not admit, nor receiue into the city of SPARTA, any money of golde or siluer: but should onely content them selues with their owne contry iron coyne, the which first of all, comming from the fire redde hotte, was quenched with vineger,

The sweete musicke softened their cruell hearts, and moued them to pity.

Lysander ouerthrew the walles of the city of Athẽs.

Callibius Captaine of the Castell of Athens.

Autolycus a cunninge wrestler.

Autolycus put to death.

Lysander sent money to Sparta by Gylippus.

Gylippus robbed parte of the money he caried to Sparta.

The Grekishe coyne was marked with an owle.

Gylippus banishment.

Couetousnes of money corrupted Gylippus, one of the chiefest men of Lacedamõ.

The iron money of Lacedemonia.

to thend they ſhould be forged no more, nor employed vnto any other vſe. For it was ſo eger and brittle by meanes of this temper, that they coulde no more conuert it to any other purpoſe: and beſide, it was very heauie and vnhandſome to remoue, conſidering that a great heape and quantitie of it, was but of ſmall value. And it ſeemeth they did vſe of olde time, certaine litle iron money, and in ſome places copper money, called Obeliſci, from whence the ſmall peeces of money now extant are called Oboli, whereof ſix make a Drachma, ſo termed, for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Neuertheleſſe, at the earneſt ſute of *Lyſanders* frendes that ſtoode againſt it, and held hard with him: it was decreed in the counſell, that the money ſhould remaine in the city, and ordained that it ſhould be currant onely but for thafayres of the common wealth. And if it were found, that any priuate man did either locke vp, or kepe any money, that he ſhould ſuffer death for it: as if *Lycurgus* when he made his lawes feared gold and ſiluer, and not the couetouſnes and auarice which the golde and ſiluer bringeth with it. The which was not taken away ſo much, prohibiting priuate men to haue it: as it was ingendred only by a common tolleracion of getting it. For, the profit which they ſawe it brought withall, made it to be eſteemed and deſired. For it was vnpoſſible they ſhould deſpiſe a thing priuately for vnprofitable, which they ſaw reckened of commonly, as a thing very neceſſary: and that they ſhould thinke it would not ſerue their turne priuately, ſeeing it ſo commonly eſteemed and deſired. But we are rather to thinke, that priuate mens manners are conformed according to the common vſes and cuſtomes of cities: then that the faultes and vices of priuate men doe fill cities and common weales with ill qualities. And it is more likely, that the partes are marred & corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out ill: then that the partes corrupted ſhould drawe the whole vnto corruption. For to the contrary, the faultes of a parte deſtroyed, which might be preiudiciall vnto the whole, are oftentimes redreſſed and corrected by thother partes, whole and entier. But they that tooke this reſolucion in their counſell at that time, to haue money in the common wealth: made feare of puniſhment, and of the law, to be the outward watchmen of citizens houſes, to keepe that no money ſhould come in to them. But all this while they made no inwarde prouiſion, to kepe the entry of their ſoules from all paſſion & greedy deſires of money: but to the contrary, they made them all to haue a couetous deſire to be rich, as if it were a great and honorable thing. But for that we haue hertofore in other places reproued the LACEDÆMONIANS. And moreouer *Lyſander* cauſed a ſtatue of braſſe to be made like him ſelfe of the ſpoile he had gotten of the enemies, to ſet it vp in the citie of DELPHES, and for euery priuate Captaine of the gallies in like caſe: and the two ſtarres of Caſtor & Pollux in golde beſides, which vaniſhed away a litle before the battell of Leuctres, and no man knewe what became of them. Againe, in the chamber of the treaſory of *Braſidas*, and of the ACANTHIANS, there was alſo a galley made of gold and iuory, of two cubittes long, which *Cyrus* ſent vnto him after the victory he had wonne by ſea, of the ATHENIANS. And furthermore, *Alexandrides* the hiſtoriographer borne at DELPHES, wryteth, that the ſelfe ſame *Lyſander* had left there to be kept ſafe, a tallent of ſiluer, two & fifty Minas, and eleuen peeces of gold called Stateres. But all this accordeth not with that which all the other hiſtoriographers write, agreeing of his pouerty. But *Lyſander* being aloft then, and of greater power then euer any GREECIAN was before him: caried a greater porte and countenaunce then became his ability. For, as *Duris* writeth, he was the firſt of the GRECIANS vnto whome they did euer erect any aulters, and offer ſacrifice vnto as a god, and in honor of whom they did firſt ſing any hymnes: and at this day there is yet good memory of one which beganne in this maner.

At what time the Lacedæmonians receiued gold and ſiluer againe.

The ill life of the Magiſtrate, the cauſe of diſorder in a commō weale.

A galley of gold and Iuory.

Lyſanders honors and pride.

The noble Captaines praiſe, vve meane to celebrate,
Of Greece: that land vvhich is deuine, in euery kinde of ſtate.
Euen he, vvhich vvas both borne, and brought to high renovvne.
VVithin the noble vvealthie vvalles, of Sparta ſtately tovvne.

The SAMIANS by publicke decree ordained, that the feaſtes of *Iuno*, which were called in their city Hercea, ſhould be called *Lyſandria*. *Lyſander* had euer one *Chœrilus* a SPARTAN Poet about him, to wryte and ſet forth all his doinges in verſe. An other Poet called *Antilochus*, one day made certaine verſes in his praiſe: which pleaſed him ſo well, that he gaue him his hatte full

A full of siluer. There were two other Poets, *Antimachus* COLOPHONIAN, and *Nicerates* borne at HERACLEA, which did both wryte verses to honor him, striuing whether of them should ab beste. *Lysander* iudged the crowne and victory vnto *Nicerates*: wherewith *Antimachus* was so angry, that he rased out all that he had writte of him. But *Plato* who at that time was young, & loued *Antimachus* bicause he was an excellent Poet, did comforte him, and tolde him that ignorance did blinde the vnderstanding of the ignorant, as blindenes doth the sight of the blinde. *Aristonous* an excellent player of the citerne, & one that had sixe times wonne the prises of the Pythian games: to winne *Lysanders* fauor, promised him, that if euer he wanne the prise of his arte againe, he would cause him selfe to be proclaimed *Lysanders* slaue. This ambition of *Lysander* was very odious and grieuous, only vnto great personnes, and men of his estate: but

Platoes saying of the ignorant.

Ignorance cõpared with blindenes.

B besides his ambition, in thende he became very prowde and cruell, through the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: so that he exceeded in recompencing his frendes, as also in punishinge of his enemies. For, to gratifie his frendes and familiars, he gaue them absolute power and authority of life and death in their townes and cities: and to pacifie and appease his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all possibilitie of pardon. And that he plainly shewed afterwards in the city of MILETUS, where, fearing least they would flie that tooke parte with the people, & bicause he would haue them appeare that hid them selues: he gaue his word, and sware that he would doe them no hurt at all. The poore men gaue credit to his worde. But so soone as they came out, and did appeare, he deliuered them all into the handes of their aduersaries, (which were the chiefest of the nobility)

Lysanders ambition, pryde, and cruelty.

C to put them all to death: & they were no lesse then eight hundred men one with an other. He caused great murders of people to also be done in other cities: for he did not only put them to death that had priuatly offended him, but numbers besides, onely to satisfie and reuenge the priuate quarrells, enmities and couetousnes of his frendes, whom he had in euery place. And therefore was *Eteocles* LACEDAMONIAN greatly commended for his saying: that GREECE could not abide two *Lysanders*. *Theophrastus* wryteth also, that the very like was spoken of *Alcibiades* by *Archestratus*. Howbeit in *Alcibiades* there was nothing, but his insolency, and vaine glory that men misliked: but in *Lysander*, a seuere nature, and sharpe condicions, that made his power fearfull & intollerable. Neuertheless, the LACEDAMONIANS passed ouer all other complaintes exhibited against him: saiuing when they heard the complaints of *Pharnabazus*,

Eteocles wordes of Lysander.

Lysander brake his word & othe, and procured the death of eight hundred persons.

D who purposely sent Ambassadors vnto them, to complaine of the wrongs and iniuries *Lysander* had done him, spoyling and destroying the contry vnder his gouernment. Then the *Ephori* being offended with him, clapped vp *Thorax* in prison, one of his frendes and Captaines that had serued vnder him: and finding that he had both gold and siluer in his house contrary to the law, put him to death. And to him selfe they sent immediatly that which they call Scytala, (as who would say, the scrolle wrytten apon a rounde staffe) commaunding him that he should retorne immediatly apon receite thereof. The Scytala is in this sorte. When the *Ephori* doe sende a Generall, or an Admirall to the warres, they cause two litle rounde staues to be

Thorax put to death for offending the law.

The Laconiã Scytala what maner thing it is, and how vsed.

made of the like bignes and length, of which the *Ephori* doe keepe the tone, and thother they geue to him whome they sende to the warres. These two litle staues they call Scytales. Nowe

E when they will aduertise their Generall secretly of matters of importaunce, they take a scrolle of parchement, long and narrowe like a leather thonge, and wreath it about the round staffe, leauinge no voyde space betwene the knottes of the scrowle. Afterwardes when they haue bound them fast together, then they wryte vppon the parchment thus rolled what they will, and when they haue done wryting, vnfolde it, and sende it to their Generall, who can not else possibly read it to know what is writte, (bicause the letters are not ioined together, nor follow in order, but are scattered here and there) vntill he take his litle rowle of wodde which was geuen him at his departure. And then wreathing the scrowle of parchment about it which he receaueth, the folding and wreathes of the parchement falling iust into the selfe same place as they were first folded: the letters also come to ioyne one with an other, as they ought to doe.

F This litle scrowle of parchment also is called as the rowle of wodde, Scytala: euen as we commonly see in many places that the thing measured, is also called by the name of the measure. When this parchement scrowle was brought vnto *Lysander*, who was then in the contrie of

Hellespont, he was maruelously troubled withall, fearing aboue all other thinges the accusations of *Pharnabazus*: so he sought meanes to speake with him before he departed, hoping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, *Lysander* prayed him he would write an other letter vnto the Lordes of Sparta, contrary to his first, how that he had done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cause to complaine of him: but he did not remember that he was a Cretan, (as the common prouerbe sayeth) that could deceaue an other Cretan. For *Pharnabazus* hauing promised him that he would performe his desire, wrote a letter openly, purporting the effect of *Lysanders* request: but behinde he had an other of contrary effect, so like on the out side vnto the other, that by sight no man could discerne the one frō the other. And when he came to put his seale, he chaunged the first with the last that was hidden, & gaue it him. When *Lysander* came vnto Sparta, he went as the maner is, straight to the pallace where the Senate kept, and gaue his letters vnto the Ephores, thinking that by thē he should haue bene cleared from all daunger of the greatest accusations they could haue burdened him withall: bicause that *Pharnabazus* was very well thought of of the Lords of Lacedæmonia, for that he did euer shew him selfe willing and ready to helpe them in all their warres, more then any other of the kinges Lieutenauntes of Persia. The *Ephori* hauing red this letter, they shewed it vnto him. Then did *Lysander* plainly see, that the common prouerb was true:

Lysander carieth letters against him selfe.

That Vlysses vvas not subtill alone.

Thereuppon he went home to his house maruelously troubled. But within few dayes after returning to the pallace againe to speake with the Lords of the counsell, he told them that he must needes make a voyage vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*, to discharge certaine sacrifices which he had vowed and promised to him before he had wonne the battells. Some say, that in deede *Iupiter Ammon* appeared to him in a dreame as he did besiege the city of the Aphydnians, in the contry of Thracia, and that by his commaundement he raised the siege, and charged them of the city, that they should thanke *Iupiter Ammon*, and doe sacrifice vnto him: by reason whereof, they thinke that he ment good faith, when he sued for licence to make this voyage into Libya, to performe the vowes which he had made. But the most parte did certainely beleue that he made sute to goe this iorney, for a cloke and colour only to absent him selfe, bicause he feared the Ephores, and that he coulde not endure the yoke and subiection which he must abide remaining at home, neither could like to be commaunded. And this was the true cause of his sute to goe this voyage, much like vnto a horse taken out of a fresh pasture and goodly meadowes, to bring him into a stable, & make him to be iorneyed as he was before. Neuertheless, *Ephorus* writeth an other cause, the which I will recite hereafter. In the end, *Lysander* hauing hardly obtained licence, tooke shippe, and crossed saile. But during his absence, the kinges of Lacedæmon remembring that he kept all the cities at his commaundement, by meanes of the frendes he had in euery city, whom he had made chiefe gouernors of the same, & that by their meanes he came in maner to be absolute prince ouer all Greece they tooke vppon them to redeliuer the gouernment of the townes and cities againe into the handes of the people, and also to put downe his frendes whome he had stablished there. And hereupon fell out great insurrection againe. For first of all, they that were banished from Athens, hauing surprised and taken the castell of Phyla apon the sodaine, did set apon the thirty gouernors tyrans (whom *Lysander* had placed there) and ouercame them in battell. Whereuppon *Lysander* straight returned to Sparta, & perswaded the Lacedæmonians to referre the gouernment to the number of a few, and to punish the insolency of the people. So by his procurement, they sent first a hundred tallents vnto the thirty tyrans for an aide to maintaine this warre, and appointed *Lysander* him selfe generall. But the two kinges of Sparta enuying him, and fearing least he should take the city of Athens againe: they determined that one of them would go. Whereupon *Pausanias* went thither immediatly, who in apparaunce seemed to maintaine the tyrannes against the people: but in effect, he did his indeuor to appease this warre, for feare least *Lysander* by meanes of his frends and followers should once againe come to haue the city of Athens in his power, the which he might easily doe. And thus hauing agreed the Athenians againe one with an other, and pacified all faction and commocion among

Lysander goeth to Iupiter Ammon.

King Pausanias reconciled the Athenians with the Spartans.

A mong them, he pluckt vp the roote of *Lysanders* ambition. But shortly after, the ARGIENS rebelling againe against the LACEDÆMONIANS, *Pausanias* him selfe was reproued, bicause he yelded so much to the boldnes and insolency of the people, which were bridoled and restrained before, by the authority of the small number of gouernors: and to the contrary, they gaue *Lysander* the honor to be generall, who ruled not in this rebellion to please mens mindes and to content them, neither with fond ostentation of glory, but seuerely, for the profit and commodity of SPARTA. It is true he would geue great wordes, and was terrible to them that resisted him. As he aunswered the ARGIVES one day, who contended for their confines with the LACEDÆMONIANS, and seemed to alleage the best reasons. Euen they (sayd he) that shall proue the stronger hereby, shewing the his sword shalbe they that shal pleade their cause best B for their confines. An other time, when a MEGARIAN had tolde his minde boldly enough in open counsell, he aunswered him: thy wordes (good frend) had neede of a city, meaning therby that he was of too meane a towne to vse so great words. And to the BOEOTIANS also, who were in dout to professe them selues frends or enemies: he sent vnto thē, to know if he should passe through the contry with his pykes vpwardes or downewardes. And when the CORINTHIANS also were reuolted from their allyance, he brought his army harde vnto their walles: but when he sawe his men were afrayed, and made curtsey whether they should goe to the assault or not: by chaunce spying a hare comming out of the towne ditches, he sayd vnto them: Are ye not ashamed to be afrayed to goe and assault your enemies that are so cowardly and sloothfull, as hares doe keepe their formes at ease within the circuite of their walles? Now king C *Agis* being deceased, he left behinde him his brother *Agesilaus*, and his supposed sonne *Leotychides*. Wherefore, *Lysander* that had loued *Agesilaus* aforetime, gaue him counsell to stande for the right of the crowne, as lawefull heire and next of the blood, discending of the race of *Hercules*: bicause it was suspected that *Leotychides* was *Alcibiades* sonne, who secretly had kept *Timæa Agis* wife, at what time he was banished out of his contry, and came then to remaine in SPARTA. And *Agis* selfe also, concluding by reckening of the time of his absence, that his wife coulde not be with childe by him: made reckening of *Leotychides*, (and had openly shewed it all the rest of his life time) that he did not acknowledge him for his sonne, vntill such time as falling sicke of that disease whereof he died, he was caried to the city of HERÆA. And there lying in his death bed, at the humble sute of *Leotychides* him selfe, and partely at the in- D stant request of his frendes who were importunate with him: he did acknowledge *Leotychides* for his sonne in the presence of diuers, whome he prayed to be witnesses vnto the Lordes of LACEDÆMON, of his acceptation and acknowledging of him to be his sonne. Which they all did in fauor of *Leotychides*. For all that, *Agesilaus* tooke it apon him, by the support and maintenaunce of *Lysanders* fauor. Howebeit, *Diopithes* a wise man, and knowen to be skilfull in auncient prophecies, did great hurt to *Agesilaus* side, by an auncient oracle which he alleaged against a defect *Agesilaus* had, which was his lamenes.

Lysanders terrible words

The death of king Agis. Lysander deprineth Leotychides of his kingedome.

O Spartan people you, vvhich beare high hawty hartes,
And looke a loft: take heede I say, looke vvell vnto your martes:
Least vvhiles you stande vpright, and guide your state by grace,
E *Some halting kingdom priuily, come creeping in a pace.*
By that meanes might you mouse, great troubles, carke and care,
And mischiefes heape vpon your head, before you be avvare.
And plonged should you be, euen ouer head and eares,
VVith vvast of vvarres, vvhich here on earth doth perish many peares.

Many by occasion of this oracle, fell to take *Leotychides* parte: but *Lysander* declared vnto them, that *Diopithes* did not conster the meaning of the oracle well. For God, sayed he, cared not whether he halted of one legge or no, that should come to be king of LACEDÆMON: but in deede, the crowne and kingdome should halte and be lame, if bastardes not lawfully begotten, should come to raigne ouer the true naturall issue and right line of *Hercules*. By these per- F swasions, *Lysander* with his great countenaunce and authority besides, wanne all men to his opinion: so that *Agesilaus* by this meanes was proclaimed king of LACEDÆMON. This done, *Lysander* beganne straight to counsell him to make warres in ASIA, putting him in hope that

Through Lysanders working, Agesilaus was made king.

he ſhould deſtroy the kingdome of PERSIA, and ſhould come to be the greateſt man of the world. Moreouer, he wrote vnto his frendes in the cities of ASIA, that they ſhould ſend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS to require king *Ageſilaus* for their generall, to make warres againſt the barbarous people. Which they did, and ſent Ambaſſadors purpoſely vnto SPARTA to ſue that they might haue him: the which was no leſſe honor procured vnto *Ageſilaus* by *Lyſander* meanes, then that he did, in making him to be choſen king. But men ambitious by nature, being otherwiſe not vnapt nor vnfit to commaunde, haue this imperfection: that through the iealouſie of glory, they doe commonlie enuie their equalles, the which doth greatly hinder them for doing any notable thinges. For they take them for their enemies, enuying their vertue: whoſe ſeruice and meanes might helpe them to doe great matters. Thus *Ageſilaus* being choſen generall of this enterpriſe, tooke *Lyſander* with him in this iorney, amongeſt the thirty counſellers which were geuen vnto him to aſſiſt him: and made ſpeciall choyce of him, as by whoſe counſell he hoped moſt to be gouerned, and to haue him neereſt about him, as his chiefeſt frende. But when they were arriued in ASIA, they of the contry hauing no acquaintaunce with *Ageſilaus*, ſeldome ſpake with him, or but litle: and to the contrary, hauing knowen *Lyſander* of long time, they followed him, and waited vppon him to his tent or lodging, ſome to honor him, bicauſe they were his frendes, others for feare, bicauſe they did miſtruſt him. Euen much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the Theaters, when they play tragedies there: that he that ſhall play the perſon of ſome meſſenger or ſeruaunt, ſhalbe the beſt player, and ſhall haue the beſt voyce to be heard aboue all others: and to the contrary, that he which hath the royall bande about his heade, and the ſcepter in his hande, a man doth ſcant heare him ſpeake. Euen ſo fell it out then: for all the dignitie due vnto him that commaundeth all, was ſhewed only vnto the counſeller: and there remained to the king no more, but the royall name only of a king, without any power. Therefore me thinkes that this vndiſcreete and importunate ambition of *Lyſander*, did well deſerue reproofe perhappes, to make him only to be cõtented with the ſecond place of honor next vnto the king. But for *Ageſilaus* againe, through extreame couetouſnes and iealouſie of glory, to caſt *Lyſander* altogether of, and to ſet ſo light by his frende and benefactor, that ſurely became not him neither. For firſt of all, *Ageſilaus* neuer gaue *Lyſander* occaſion to doe any thinge, neither did commit any matter of weight vnto him, that might be honorable for him: but which is worſt of all, if he perceiued that he had taken any mens cauſes in hand, and that he did fauor them, he did alwayes ſende them backe againe into their contry, denying their ſute, without that they coulde obtaine any thing they ſued for, leſſe then the meaneſt perſones that could haue come, extinguiſhing *Lyſanders* credit by litle, and litle, and taking from him all authority by this meanes. Wherefore, *Lyſander* perceiuing howe he was thus refuſed and reiected in all thinges, ſeing that the countenaunce and fauor which he thought to ſhew vnto his frendes, fell out hurtfull vnto them: left of to ſolicite their matters any more, and prayed them to forbeare to come vnto him, or to followe him, but to go to the king, and vnto thoſe that could doe them better pleaſure then him ſelfe, and ſpecially thoſe that honored them. When they heard that, many deſiſted to trouble him any more in matters of importaunce, but not to doe him all the honor they could, and continued ſtill to accompanie him, when he went out to walke, or otherwiſe to exerciſe him ſelfe: the which did aggrauate and increaſe *Ageſilaus* anger more againſt him, for the enuy he bare vnto his glory. And where he gaue very honorable charge & commiſſion in the warres, oftentimes vnto very meane ſouldiers to execute, or cities to gouerne: he appointed *Lyſander* ſurueyor generall of all the ordinary prouiſion of vittells, and diſtributer of fleſh. And then mocking the IONIANS that did honor him ſo much: let them go now, ſayd he, and honor my fleſh diſtributer. Wherefore, *Lyſander* ſeeing it high time to ſpeake: went vnto *Ageſilaus*, and tolde him in few wordes after the LACONIAN manner: Truely *Ageſilaus*, thou haſt learned well to abaſe thy frendes. In deede ſayed he againe, ſo haue I, when they wilbe greater then my ſelfe: and to the contrary, they that maintaine and increaſe my honor and authority, it is reaſon that I eſteeme of them. Yea mary, ſayd *Lyſander*, but perhappes I haue not done as thou ſayſt. Yet I pray thee geue me ſuch an office, as I may be leaſt hated, & moſt profitable for thee: though it be but in reſpect of ſtraungers eyes that looke apon vs both. After this talke betwene them,

Ageſilaus

Ambition abideth no equalles.

Ageſilaus priuie grudge to Lyſander.

Lyſanders wiſedome.

Lyſander ſurueiour of the vittells.

Lyſanders talke with king Ageſilaus, after the Laconian maner of ſpeaking.

A *Agesilaus* sent him his Lieutenaunt into the contry of Hellespont, where *Lysander* still kept this anger secret in his hart against him, but for all that, did not leaue to doe all that he could for the benefit of his masters affaires. As amongest many other thinges, he caused a Persian Captaine called *Spithridates*, to rebell against his master, who was a valliant man of his hands, and a great enemy of *Pharnabazus*, and had an army also which he brought with him vnto *Agesilaus*. Now concerning this warre, this was all that he did in that iornay. Wherefore, he returned againe to Sparta not long after, with litle honor, being maruelously grieued and offended with *Agesilaus*; and hating more then before, all the state and gouernment of the citie of Sparta: by reason whereof, he determined to put that in practise, which he had long time thought vppon, concerninge the alteracion of gouernment, and his enterprise was this. A- *Lysander seeketh innouation in the state of Sparta.*

B mongest the offspring and issue of *Hercules*, who were mingled with the Dorians, and returned againe into the contrie of Peloponnesvs, the greatest number and chiefest of them, dwelled in the city of Sparta: howbeit, all they that came of that race had no right of succession to the crowne, sauing two families only, the *Eurytiontides*, and the *Agiades*. The other families, albeit they were all for nobility of blood descended out of one selfe house, yet had they no more right nor interest vnto the realme, then the residue of the people: for, the dignities that were attained vnto by vertue, were geuen vnto the inhabitauntes that could deserue them. *Lysander* then being one of those which was discended of the true race of *Hercules*, who notwithstanding had no interest in the crowne: when he saw him selfe aloft, and called to great honor through his famous actes and merites, and that he had wonne many frendes, and great *The Families of the kinges of Lacedemon.*

C credit and authority by dealing in matters of the state: it grieued him much, to see that they which were no nobler then him selfe, should be kinges in that city, which he had increased by his vertue, and that he could not haue so much power as to take from these two houses, the *Eurytiontides*, and the *Agiades*, the prerogatiue that the kinges should be chosen onely out of one of those two houses, and to cast it apon the offspring of *Hercules*. Some say againe, that he would not only haue enlarged that prerogatiue vnto the issue of *Hercules*, but vnto all the naturall Spartans also: bicause that *Hercules* race should not only desire this reward of honor, but euen they also that followed his steps in vertue, which had made him equal with the gods in honor. For he douted not, but if they would dispose the crowne in this sorte, that there was

D no man in the city of Sparta that should sooner be chosen king then him selfe: whereupon he attempted first to perswade his citizens by very good reasons; & to bring this about the better, he conned an oration without booke, penned by *Cleon Halicarnasseus*, made him for this purpose. But afterwardes weying with him selfe, that so great and straunge a chaunge as he would bring in, had neede of some better and stronger helpe: he beganne to frame a deuise as they say, to moue the people by, much after the manner they vse in tragedies, framing engines to bring some god to come downe from heauen vnto them, and this was his fained inuention. He deuised certaine oracles & prophecies, thinking that all *Cleons* rethoricke would stand him in no steade, if first of all he did not fill the citizens hartes with some superstition & *Lysander deuiseth false oracles, & corrupteth southsayers with money.*

E feare of the goddes, that he might bring them afterwardes more easily vnto reason. And *Ephorus* sayeth, that he proued first to corrupt the Nunne with money, that geueth all the oracles and aunswers in the temple of *Apollo* at Delphes: and that afterwardes, he woulde haue wonne the Nunne also of the temple of Dodone with money, by *Pheretles* practise. And that he being reiected by them both, went lastly vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*: and that there he spake vnto the priestes, and offered them great store of money for the same purpose. But they were so offended with *Lysander*, that they sent men of purpose to Sparta, to accuse him, that he would haue corrupted them with money. The counsell clearing *Lysander* of this accusation, the Libyans his accusers at their departing sayd: we will one day iudge more iustly, then you my Lordes of Lacedemon haue done now, when you shall come to dwell in our contry of Libya: supposing there was an auncient prophecy that sayd, the Lacedemonians one day should come to dwell in the contry of Libya. But we shall doe better to wryte

F the whole story at large of this practise, suttelty, and malicious deuise, which was no matter of small importaunce, nor lightly grounded: but as in a mathematicall proposition there were many great coniectures and presuppositions, & many long circumstances to bring it to con-

clusion, the which I will dilate from point to point, deliuering that which an historiographer and philosopher both hath wrytten. There was in the marches of the realme of Pontus a man that sayed she was gotten with childe by *Apollo*, the which many (as it is to be thought) would not beleue at all, and many also did beleue it: so that she beinge deliuered of a goodly sonne, diuerse noble men and of great estate were carefull to bring him vp, and to haue him taught. This childe, I know not whereuppon, nor how, was named *Silenus*: and *Lysander* seyinge the plat of his deuise from thence, added to all the rest of him selfe, to goe on with his practise. Now he had many (and they no small men) that made his way to frame this ieast, goinge out a rumor of the birth of this childe, without any suspicion gathered out of the intent of this rumor. And furthermore, they brought other newes from Delphes, which they dispersed abroade through the city of Sparta, to wit: that the priestes of the temple kept secret bookes of very auncient oracles, which they them selues durst not touch nor handle, neither might any man read them, onlesse he were begotten of the seede of *Apollo*, who should come after a long time, and make his birth appeare vnto the priestes that kept these papers, by that by some secret marke & token, which they had amongest them: & thereby being knowen for *Apolloes* sonne, he might then take the bookes, & read the auncient reuelacions & prophecies of the same. These things prepared in this sorte, there was order taken that *Silenus* should come and aske for these bookes as though he were the sonne of *Apollo*: and that the priestes which were priuy to this practise, should make as though they did diligently examine him of euery thing, and how he was borne. And that at the length, after they had seemed to know all, they should deliuer these prophecies vnto him, as if he had bene in deede *Apolloes* sonne: and that he should openly read them in the presence of many witnesses. And among the rest of the prophecies, that he should read that specially, for the which this long paltry fained drift was framed, touching the kingdome of Lacedæmonia: that it was better, and meetelier for the Spartans they should choose them for their kinges, whome they found the meetest men of all their magistrates. But when *Silenus* was come of full age, and brought into Greece of purpose to performe this practise, all the mistery was marde by the fainte heart of one of the players and companions of *Lysander*, who holpe him to countenaunce this deuise: who when the matter should haue taken effect, shroncke for feare, and let the misterie alone. This notwithstanding, nothing was bewrayed in *Lysanders* life time, till after his death. For he dyed, before king *Agesilaus* returned out of Asia, being fallen into warres with Boeotia before his death, or rather hauing him selfe made Greece to fall into warres. They doe reporte it either way, and some lay the fault apon him, other apon the Thebans, and other apon them both: and they burden the Thebans withall, bicause they did vtterly ouerthrowe the common sacrifices which *Agesilaus* made in the city of Aulide. And they say also, that *Androclides* and *Amphitheus* did raise this warre among the Greecians, being before corrupted with money by the king of Persia to bring warres apon the Lacedæmonians in Greece: and beganne to inuade and destroy the contry of the Phocians. Other say that *Lysander* was very angry with the Thebans, bicause they onely of all other their confederates did aske the tenth parte of all the spoyle which was wonne in the warre against the Athenians: and that they were not pleased that *Lysander* had sent the money away vnto Sparta. But aboue all *Lysander* did malice them most, bicause they were the first that made way for the Athenians to be deliuered from thoppression of thirty tyrannes, whom he had stablished gouernors in Athens, and in whose fauor (to make them to be dreaded the more) the Lacedæmonians had ordained by a common edict: that they that were banished and did flee from Athens, might lawefully be taken and apprehended in what place soeuer they fled vnto, and that whosoeuer should resist or let them to do it, they should be proclaimed rebells, & open enemies vnto the Lacedæmonians. Againe to contrary this edict, the Thebans made an other very like, & meete for the glorious dedes of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* their auncestors, for whom it was made that euery house and city through the contry of Boeotia, should be open for the Athenians that would come thither, & that he that would not helpe a banished man from Athens, against him that would take him away by force, should be fined and amerced at a talent. And also if there were any souldiers that went vnto Athens, through the contrie of Boeotia, that

Lysanders fained deuise to possesse the kingdome.

The warres of Baotia.

Diuers causes surmised of the beginning of these wars.

An edict against the banished men from Athens.

An edict made by the Thebans in fauor of the banished mē.

A that the THEBANS ſhould not ſee nor heare it. This was no diſſimulation to ſpeake of, that they ſhould ordaine thinges with ſo gentle wordes, and ſo meete for the people of GREECE, and then that the dedes ſhould not aunſwer vnto their edicts & proclamations. For *Thraſybulus*, and his fellowes of the conſpiracie, who kept the caſtell of Phyla, they departed from THEBES, with armor and money, and the THEBANS did helpe them to beginne and practiſe their enterpriſe ſo ſecretly, that it was not diſcouered. Theſe were the cauſes why *Lyſander* was ſo earneſtly bent againſt the THEBANS, & his choller being ſo extreame, by reaſon of his melancholines that grewe dayly apon him more and more through his age, he ſolicited the EPHORES ſo, that he perſwaded them to ſende a garriſon thither: and him ſelfe taking the charge of them, vndertooke the iorney ſtraight with his men. But afterwardes they ſent kinge *Lyſanders iorney vnto Boeotia.*

B *Pauſanias* alſo with an army thither, who was to fetche a great compaſſe about to enter into the contrie of BOEOTIA, by mount Cithæron: and *Lyſander* ſhoulde goe to meete him through the contry of PHOCIDES, with a great company of ſouldiers beſides. Now as *Lyſander* went, he tooke the city of the ORCHOMENIANS, who willingly yeelded them ſelues to him as ſoone as he came thither. From thence he went to the city of LEBADIA, which he ſpoyled: & from thence he wrote vnto king *Pauſanias*, that departing from PLATEES, he ſhould march directly to the city of ALIARTE, where he would not faile to meete him the next morning by breake of day at the towne walles. Theſe letters were intercepted by certaine skowtes of the THEBANS, who met with the meſſenger that caried them. Thus the THEBANS hauing intelligence of their purpoſe, left their citie in cuſtodie vnto the ATHENIANS who were come to *Cithæron mons.*

C aide them: and departed out of THEBES about midnight, and marched all night with great ſpeede, that they came to ALIARTE in the morning a litle before *Lyſander*, and put halfe their men into the citie. Now for *Lyſander*, he was determined at the firſt to keepe his men apon a hill which is nere to the city, and there to tary the comming of king *Pauſanias*. But afterwards, when he ſawe that the day was farre ſpent, and that he came not, he could tary no lenger, but arming him ſelfe, after he had made an oration vnto the confederates which he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in battell ray, longer then large, by the high way that went vnto the city. In the meane ſeaſon, the THEBANS that were left without the city, leauing ALIARTE on the left hande, did ſet vppon *Lyſanders* rereward, of his army againſt the fountaine called Ciſſuſa: where the Poets faine that the nurſes of *Bacchus* did waſhe him, when he *Ciſſuſa fons.*

D came out of his mothers wombe, bicauſe the water that commeth out of it (though it be very clere and ſweete to drinke) hath notwithſtanding (I can not tell by what meanes) a collour like wine: and not farre from thence there grow great plenty of Styrap trees. The which the ALIARTIANS do alleage, to proue that *Radamanthus* heretofore dwelt in that parte, & doe ſhew his ſepulchre there yet to this day, which they call Alea. And hard by that alſo, there is the monumẽt of *Alcmena*, which was buried (as they ſay) in that place, & was maried to *Radamanthus*, after the death of *Amphitryon*. But the THEBANS who were within the city with the ALIARTIANS, ſtirred not vntill they ſawe that *Lyſander* with the firſt of his troupe was neere vnto the towne walles: & then opening the gates on the ſodaine, they made a ſalie out vpon *Lyſander*, *Lyſander ſlaine by the Thebans.*

E & ſlue him with his foothſaier & a few other, bicauſe the moſt part of the voward fled, into the ſtrẽgth of the battel. Howbeit the THEBANS gaue thẽ not ouer ſo, but followed thẽ ſo valiantly, that they brake their order, & made thẽ all flie through the moũtaines, after they had ſlaine three thouſand of thẽ in the field: ſo were there three hundred THEBANS alſo ſlaine there, who followed their enemies ſo fiercely, till they recouered ſtraight narrow waies, of great ſtrength for them. Theſe three hũdred were in maner all thoſe that were ſuſpected in THEBES to fauor the LACEDÆMONIANS ſecretly: wherfore, for thẽ deſire they had to take away this opiniõ frõ their citizens, they hazarded thẽſelues to no purpoſe, & were caſt away in this chaſe. King *Pauſanias* heard newes of this ouerthrow, going frõ PLATEES vnto THESPIES, & went on further, marching ſtill in battel ray towards ALIARTE, where *Thraſybulus* alſo arriued at the ſelfe ſame time, bringing the aide of the ATHENIANS frõ THEBES. And when *Pauſanias* was purpoſed to

F ſend to aske licẽce of the enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had ſlaine, to thintent to bury them: the olde SPARTANS that were in his army, miſliking it much, at the firſt were angry in them ſelues. But afterwardes they went vnto the king him ſelfe, to tell him

that he dishonored SPARTA, to offer to take vp *Lysanders* bodie by his enemies leaue & fauor, A
To aske leaue of the enemie to burye the deade is dishonorable. and that he should valliantly recouer him by force of armes, and honorably burie him, after that he had ouercome their enemies: or else if it were their fortune to be ouerthrowē, that yet it should be more honorable for them, to lye dead in the field by their Captaine, then to aske leaue to take vp his body. But notwithstanding all these wordes of the old men, king *Pausanias* seeing that it was a hard matter to ouercome the THEBANS in battell, now that they had gotten the victory, and furthermore, that the body of *Lysander* lay hard by the walls of ALIARTE, and that he could not come to take it away without great daunger, although they should win the battell: he sent a herauld to the enemies. And hauing made truce for certaine dayes, he led his army away, and tooke vp *Lysanders* body with him, and buried him after they were out of
Lysanders tombe. the confynes of BOEOTIA, within the territory of the PANOPEIANS: where vntill this day his B tombe remaineth apon the high way, goinge from DELPHES vnto the city of CHÆRONEA. Thus *Pausanias* campe being lodged there, it is sayd there was a PHOCIAN, who reporting the battell vnto one that was not there, sayd that the enemies came to geue a charge vpon them, as *Lysander* had passed the Oplites. Thother wondring at that, there was a SPARTAN a very frend of *Lysanders* by, hauing heard all their talke, asked him what that was which he called Oplites: for that he had not heard that word named before. What? aunswered the PHOCIAN to him againe. Euen there it was where the enemies did ouerthrow the first of our men which were slaine in the fieldes: for the riuer that runneth by the walles of the city, is called
Oplites fl. Destinie inevitable. Oplites. The SPARTAN hearing that, burst out of weping for sorrow, saying: then I see it is vnpossible for a man to auoyde his destinie. For *Lysander* aforetime had an oracle that tolde him C thus.

Lysander, take good heede, come not I thee aduise:
Neere Oplites that riuers banckes, in any kinde of vvise.
Nor neere the Dragon he, vvhich is the earth her sonne,
VVho at the length vvill thee assault, and on thy backe vvill ronne.

Howebeit some take it, that this riuer of Oplites is not that which passeth by the walles of ALIARTE, but it is the riuer that runneth neere vnto the city of CORONEA, and falleth into
Phliarus fl. Hoplia, Isomantus. the riuer of Phliarus, hard by the city: and they say that in olde time it was called Hoplia, but now they call it Isomantus. He that slue *Lysander*, was an ALIARTIAN called *Neochorus*, who caried a Dragon painted apon his target: and this was that which the oracle of likelyhoode D
Neochorus slue Lysander. did signifie. They say also, that in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the THEBANS had an oracle from the tēple of *Apollo Ismenias*: which oracle did prophecy the battell which they wanne by the castell of DELIVM, and the battell of ALIARTE also, which was thirty yeares after that. The effect of that oracle was this.

VVhen thou thy nets shalt spread, the vvolues for to intrappe:
Beevvare thou come not neere vnto, a litle hill by happe,
Of Orchalide. Nor neere, to any his confynes:
For there, the crafty foxes keepe, their dennes and priuy mines.

He calleth the territory that is about DELIVM, the vttermost confynes, bicause BOEOTIA
Orchalide mons. doth confine there with the contry of ATTICA: and the hill Orchalide which is now called A- E
Helicon mons. lopecon (to say the foxe denne) which lieth on that side of the citie of ALIARTE, that looketh towardes mounte Helicon. *Lysander* being slaine, the SPARTANS tooke his death so ill, that
Pausanias exile. they would haue condemned king *Pausanias* of treason by law: who durst not abide the tryall, but fled vnto the citie of TEGEA, where he ended the rest of his life within the sanctuarie of the temple of *Minerua*. When *Lysander* was dead, his pouertie appeared to the world which
Lysanders cleane handes and pouertie commended after his deathe. made his vertue farre more famous, than when he liued. For then they sawe, that for all the gold & siluer which had passed through his hands, for all his great authority & countenaunce that he had caried, and for all that so many cities & townes did come to honor him, & briefly, for al that he had so great & puissant a kingdom in maner in his hands: yet he did neuer enrich nor increase his house with so much, as one farthing. So writeth *Theopompus*, whom we should F rather beleue when he praiseth, then when he discommendeth: for commonly he taketh more delite to dispraise, then to praise any. It fortuned not longe after, as *Ephorus* writeth, that the

LACE-

A LACEDEMONIANS and their confederats fel at variance together, whereupon *Lyſanders* letters were to be ſeene that were in his houſe. Kinge *Ageſilaus* goinge thither to peruſe them, amongeſt other writinges, founde the oration penned by *Cleon Halicarnaſſeus* which *Lyſander* had prepared to perſwade the SPARTANS to chaunge their gouernment, and to declare vnto them that they ſhoulde reuoke the prerogatiue which the *Eurytiontides* and the *Agiades* had: that the kinges of SPARTA could not be choſen but out of thoſe two families, and to leue the prerogatiue at liberty, that the chiefeſt magiſtrats might be laufully choſen kings of SPARTA. *Ageſilaus* ſtood indifferēt to haue ſhewed this oratiō openly to the people, that the SPARTANS might ſee what manner a citizen *Lyſander* had bene in his harte. But *Lacratidas*, a graue wiſe man, & preſident at that time of the counſel of the *Ephori*, would not ſuffer him: ſaying, that he B ſhoulde not digge *Lyſander* out of his graue againe, but rather bury his oration with him, that was ſo paſſingly well, and eloquently penned to perſwade. Yet notwithſtandinge, they did him great honor after his death: and amongeſt others, condemned two citizens in a great ſumme of money, that were made ſure to two of his daughters while he liued, and refuſed to matye them when he was dead, ſeeing their father dyed ſo poore: bicauſe they ſought to matche in his houſe, ſuppoſing he had bene riche, and forſooke them afterwardes for their fathers pouerty, when they ſaw he dyed a good and iuſt man. Thus we ſee, that at SPARTA there was a puniſhment for them that did not mary, or that matyed too late, or that maried ill: and vnto this punithment were they moſt ſubiect, that ſought great matches for couetouſnes of goods. This is all we haue to wryte of *Lyſanders* life and actes.

Lyſanders counſell for altering of the kingdom.

Lacratidas wiſdom forbearing to ſhewe extremitie to the deade.

Lyſander honored by the Spartans after his death.

Singlenes of life, late mariage, and ill mariage puniſhed by the Lacedemonians.

THE LIFE OF *Sylla.*

Vetus Cornelius Sylla was of the race of the *Patricians*, who be the noble men & gentlemen of ROME: & there was one of his auncesters called *Rufinus*, that obtained the dignity of Conſul. He notwithſtanding his Conſulſhippe, wanne more diſhonor by defame, then he obtained honor by dignity of Conſull. For they finding in his houſe aboue ten pownds worth of plate, contrary to the lawe at that time expreſſely forbidding it: he was expulſed the Senate, and loſt his place there, after which diſhonor once receiued, his iſſue neuer roſe, nor yet recouered it. And *Sylla* him ſelfe had very litle left him by his father: ſo

Syllaes kinred.

that in his youth he was faine to hyer an other mans houſe, & ſat at a ſmall rent, as afterwards he was twitted in the teeth withall, when they ſaw him richer then they thought he had deſerued. For when he gloried & boaſted of the victory at his returne from the warres of AFRICK, there was a noble man that ſayd vnto him: why, how is it poſſible thou ſhouldeſt be an honeſt man, that hauing nothing left thee by thy father, thou arte now come to haue ſo much? Now, though ROME had left her auncient iuſtice and purenes of life, wherewith ſhe brought vp her people in former times, and that their hartes were poyſoned with couetous deſire of vaine ſuperfluous delites: yet notwithſtanding, it was as fowle a reproche to them that did not maintaine them ſelues in the pouerty of their fathers, as vnto them that did conſume their patrimony, and bring all to naught which their parentes had left them. But afterwardes alſo when he caried the whole ſway in ROME, and that he had put ſo many men to death: a free man being borne of the ſlaues infranchiſed, & being ready to be throwen downe the rocke Tarpeian, bicauſe he had ſaued and hidden one of the outlawes and men proclaimed to be put to death, whereſoeuer they were found: caſt it in *Syllaes* teeth, how that they had liued and dwelt together a long time in one ſelfe houſe, he hauing payed thowſande Nummos for the rent of the vppermoſt roomes of the ſame houſe, & *Sylla* three thowſand for all the neathermoſt roomes beneath. So that betwene both their wealthes, there was but onely two thowſande and fiftie Drachmas of ATHENS difference. And this is that we finde in wryting of his firſt wealth. As for his ſtature and perſone, that appeareth ſufficiently by the ſtatues and images that were made for him, which yet remaine. But for his eyes, they were like fire, and wonderfull redde: and the colour of his face withall, made them the more fearefull to beholde. For he was copper noſed, and that was full of white ſtreakes here and there: whereuppon they ſay that the ſurname of a *Sylla* was geuen him, by reaſon of his colour. And there was a ieaſter at ATHENS that finely mocked him in his verſe:

Syllaes honeſty reproued, by meanes of his great wealth.

Syllaes ſtature.

That is, bicauſe that ſyl in laten, ſignifieth oker, which becometh red when it is put to the fire, and therfore ſyllaceus color in vitruuia, ſignifieth purple colour.

Sylla is like a blacke Bery ſprinckled vvith meale.

Syllaes skoffing.

It is not amiſſe to ſearch out the naturalll diſpoſition of this man by ſuch outward markes and tokens. It is ſayd alſo that he was ſo naturally geuen to mocke & ieaſt, that being a young man vnknowen, he would neuer be out of the company of players, fooles, and tomblers, but ſtill eating and tippling with them in diſſolute manner. And afterwardes alſo when he was in his chiefeſt authoritie, he would commonly eate and drinke with the moſt impudent ieaſters and ſcoffers, and all ſuch rakehelles, as made profeſſion of counterfeate mirth, & would ſtriue with the baddeſt of them to geue the fineſt mockes: wherin he did not only a thing vncomely for his yeres, & diſhonored the maieſty of his office & dignity, but therby alſo grew careleſſe & negligent in matters of great importance, wherunto he ſhould haue taken good regard. For after he was once ſette at his table, he was not to be moued any more in matters of weight. Now, though from the table he was commonly found both very actiue, painefull, and ſeuere: yet falling into ſuch cõpany by drinking, bowſing, & making good chere, he ſodainly became an other maner of man. So that without all compaſſe of modeſty and iudgement, he was too familiar and conuerſaunt with players, ieaſters, tumblers, and daunſers: who when they had him in that vaine, might doe what they would with him. Of this ryoting came (in mine opinion) his vice of letchery, whereunto he was greatly geuen, and eaſily drawen after loue and pleaſure: in ſuch ſorte, as his gray heares could not reſtraine his voluptuous life. His vnlawfull luſting loue beganne in his young yeares, with one *Metrobius* a common player, which ſtretched on increaſing his amorous deſire vntill his latter age. For at the firſt he loued *Nicopolis* a rich curtiſan: and frequenting her company by oft acceſſe, and beſides that he ſpent the prime of his beawty and youth in feaſting her with great delight and paſſing pleaſure, ſhe afterwardes became in loue with him, ſo that when ſhe dyed, ſhe made *Sylla* her heire of all ſhe had. He was heire alſo vnto his mother in lawe, who loued him as her owne begotten ſonne: and by theſe two good happes he was ſtept vp to pretie wealth. Afterwardes beinge choſen Quæſtor (to ſay treaſorer) the firſt time that *Marius* was Conſull, he embarked with him in his iorney into AFRICKE, to warre with kinge *Iugurthe*. When he was arriued at the campe, he ſhewed him ſelfe a man of great ſeruice in all other thinges, but in this eſpecially, that he could wiſely vſe the benefit of any occaſion offered him, and thereby wanne *Bocchus* kinge of the

Syllaes voluptuouſnes.

Sylla Quæſtor.

A the NVMIDIANS to be his fast and faithfull frende: whose Ambassadors, that scaped from a company of NVMIDIAN theeues he curteously entertained, and hauing geuen them goodly presentes, sent them backe againe with a safe conuoy. Now concerninge kinge *Bocchus*, he had of long time both hated and feared king *Iugurthe* his sonne in law: insomuch, that after he was ouercome in battell, and came to him for succor, *Bocchus* practised treason against him, and for this cause sent secretly for *Sylla*, desiring rather that *Iugurthe* should be taken by *Sylla*, then by him selfe. *Sylla* brake this matter vnto *Marius*, of whom hauing receiued a small number of souldiers to accompany him, (without respect of perill or daunger) went and committed him selfe to the faith and fidelity of one barbarous king, to take an other: considering also that the king whom he trusted was so vniust of his word, euen vnto his neerest frends and con-

The cause of Bocchus frendshippe vnto Sylla.

B federates. Now *Bocchus* hauing *Iugurthe* and *Sylla* both in his power, and brought him selfe to that pinch that of necessity he must betray the one or the other: after he had taken good breath to resolue which of the two he should deale withall, in thend went on with his first plat & deuise of treason, and so deliuered *Iugurthe* into *Syllaes* handes. In deede *Marius* triumphed for taking of king *Iugurthe*: but his euill willers, for the spight and grudge they bare him, did attribute the glory and honor of *Iugurthes* taking wholy vnto *Sylla*. That secretly went to *Marius* harte, and specially for that *Sylla* being high minded by nature (comming then but newly from a base, obscure, and vnknowen life to be knowen & well accepted of the people in ROME, and to tast also what honor ment) became so ambitious and couetous of glory, that he caused the story to be grauen in a ring, which he did euer after vse to weare & seale withall. Where king

Iugurthe deliuered vnto Sylla by kinge Bocchus.

C *Bocchus* was deliuering of *Iugurthe* vnto *Sylla*, and *Sylla* also receiuing *Iugurthe* prisoner. These thinges misliked *Marius* much: but notwithstanding, iudging that *Sylla* was not so much enuied as him selfe, he tooke him with him vnto the warres. *Marius* in his seconde Consulshippe made *Sylla* one of his Lieutenauntes: and in his third Consulshippe, he had charge vnder him of a thowsand footemen, and did many notable and profitable exployctes for him. When *Sylla* was his Lieutenaunt, he tooke one *Copillus*, a generall of the GAVLES Tectosages. And when he was Colonell of a thowsande footemen, he brought the MARSIANS (a maruelous great contry of people in ITALIE) and perswaded them to remaine good frendes, and confederates of the ROMAINES. For this his good seruice, he founde that *Marius* grewe in great misliking with him, bicause from thence forth he neuer gaue him any honorable charge, or occasion to

Tho honor of Iugurthes takinge ascribed vnto Sylla.

Syllaes noble deedes vnder Marius.

D shewe good seruice: but to the contrary, did what he could to hinder his rising. Wherefore, *Sylla* afterwardes tooke *Catulus Luctatius* parte, who was companion with *Marius* in his Consulshippe. This *Catulus* was a very honest man, but somwhat slacke and colde in marshall matters, which was the cause that in deede he did committe vnto *Sylla* all the speciall seruice, and matters of weight in his charge: whereuppon he gaue him occasion not onely to increase his estimacion, but also his credit and power. For, by force of armes, he conquered the most parte of the barbarous people which inhabited the mountaines of the Alpes: and *Catulus* campe lacking vittells, hauing commission, he made a maruelous great quantity of prouision to be brought thither, insomuch as *Catulus* campe being plentifully vittelled, they sent their store & surplusage vnto *Marius* souldiers, the which *Sylla* him selfe wryteth, did much mislike *Marius*.

Sillaes doings vnder Catulus.

E And this is the first cause of their enmity. The which being grounded vpon so light occasion, was followed with ciuill warres, great effusion of blood, and with incurable factions and dissentions: that it ended at the length with a cruell tyranny, and confusion of all the ROMAINE state and Empire. This doth proue that *Euripides* the Poet was a wise man, and one that foresaw the ruines of common weales, when he counselled, and also commaunded gouernors to flie ambition, as a most pestilent and mortall furie vnto them that are once infected withall.

The first cause of enmity betwext Sylla and Marius.

Ambition is to be fled, as a mortall furie.

Now *Sylla* thinking that the reputation he had gotten already in the warres would haue made his way open to preferre him to some honorable office in the city of ROME: he was no sooner returned from the warres, but he would needes proue the peoples good willes vnto him, and procured his name to be billed among them that sued for the Prætorshippe of the city (that is to say, the office of the ordinary iudge that ministreth iustice vnto the citizens) but he was re-

F iected by the voyce of the people. For the which he layed the fault vppon the meaner sorte, saying, that the communalty knew well enough the frendshippe he had with king *Bocchus*, and

that therefore they hopinge that if he were made Ædilis before he came to be Prætor, he would make them see noble huntinges and great fightinges of wilde beastes of Libya. And that therefore they did choose other Prætors, and put him by his sute, in hope to compel him by this meanes to be first of all Ædilis. Howbeit it seemeth that he doth not confesse the truth of his refusall, for his owne act doth condemne him selfe: bicause the next yere following he was chosen Prætor, partely for that he wan the people with curtesie, and partely with money. So he fallinge out with *Cæsar* apon that occasion, in his anger threatned him that he would vse the power and authority of his office apon him. But *Cæsar* smiling, answered him: thou hast reason to call it thine office, for in deede it is thine, bicause thou hast bought it. But after the time of his Prætorshippe was expired, he was sent with an army into Cappadocia, colouring his voyage thither with commission to restore *Ariobarzanes* into his kingdom again: howbeit thonly cause of his iorney was in deede to suppresse kinge *Mithridates* a litle, who tooke too many thinges in hande, and increased his power and dominion with a new signiory of no lesse greatnes, then that which he had before. In troth he brought no great army out of Italie with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the confederates of the Romaines in euery place, through whose aide he ouerthrewe a great number of the Cappadocians, and afterwardes also a greater number of the Armenians, which came in like case to aide them: so that he expulsed *Gordius* king of Phrygia out of Cappadocia, and restored *Ariobarzanes* to his realme againe. After which victory, *Sylla* remained by the riuer of Euphrates, and thither came vnto him one *Orobazus* a Parthian, Ambassador of *Arsaces*, king of the Parthians. Now these two nations, the Romaines, and the Parthians, were neuer frendes before: and that with other thinges shewed the great good fortune *Sylla* had, that the Parthians came first to him by his meanes to seeke frendshippe with the Romaines. They say, that receiuing this Ambassador *Orobazus*, he made three chayres to be brought out, the one for king *Ariobarzanes*, the other for *Orobazus* the Ambassador, and the third for him selfe, which he placed in the middest betwene them both, and sitting downe in the same, gaue audience vnto the Ambassador: for which cause the king of Parthia afterwardes put *Orobazus* to death. Some doe commend *Sylla* for this acte, for that he kept his state in such maiesty among the barbarous people. Other do reproue his ambition in it, shewing him selfe stately out of time, and to no purpose. We doe read that a soothsayer of Chaldea being in *Orobazus* traine, hauing diligently viewed and considered the phisiognomy of *Sylla*, and all his other mouinges and gestures of minde and body, to iudge not by the clymate of the contry, but according to the rules of his arte what his nature should be: all well considered of, he sayed that *Sylla* one day must needes come to be a great man, and that he marueled how he could suffer it that he was not euen then the chiefest man of the worlde. When *Sylla* was returned againe to Rome, one *Censorinus* accused him of extorcion, that he had caried away a great summe of money with him, contrary to the lawe, out of one of their confederates contry: howbeit he prosecuted not his accusation, but gaue it ouer. In the meane time, the enmity begonne betwixt him and *Marius*, kindled againe vppon a new occasion of king *Bocchus* ambition: who partely to creepe further into the peoples fauor of Rome, and partely also for to gratifie *Sylla*, gaue and dedicated certaine images of victory carying tokens of triumphe, vnto the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, and next vnto them also the image of *Iugurthe*, which he deliuered into the handes of *Sylla*, being all of pure golde. This did so offende *Marius*, that he attempted to take them away by force: but others did defend the cause of *Sylla*. So that for the quarrell of these two, the city of Rome taking armes, had like to haue brought all to ruine: had not the warres of the confederats of Italie bene, which of long time did kindle and smoke, but at the length brake out into open flame and sedition for that time. In this maruelous great warre which fell out very daungerous, by sundry misfortunes and great losses to the Romaines, *Marius* did no notable exployte: whereby it appeareth, that the vertue of warlike discipline hath neede of a strong, lusty, and able body. For *Sylla* to the contrary, hauing done notable seruice, and obtained many profitable victories, wanne the fame and estimacion among the Romaines, of a noble souldier, and worthy Captaine: and among thenemies them selues, of a most fortunate man. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* did not as *Timotheus* Athenian, the sonne of *Conon* had done:

Sylla chosen Prætor.

Orobazus Ambassador from the king of the Parthians vnto Sylla.

Sylla accused of extorcion.

Ciuill warres.

Who,

A Who, when his aduerſaries and ill willers did attribute his noble deedes vnto the fauor of fortune, and did painte fortune in tables, that brought him all the cities taken and ſpared in warre whileſt he ſlept: he tooke it in very ill parte, and was maruelous angrie with them that did it, ſaying, that they robbed him of the glory that iuſtly belonged vnto him. Wherefore one day when this *Timotheus* was returned from the warres with great victories, after he had openly acquainted the ATHENIANS with the whole diſcourſe of his doings in his voyage, he ſayd vnto them: my Lordes of ATHENS, fortune hath had no parte in all this which I haue told vnto you. Hereupon the goddes it ſhould ſeeme were ſo angry with this fooliſh ambition of *Timotheus*, that he neuer afterwardes did any worthy thing, but all went vtterly againſt the heare with him: vntill at the length he came to be ſo hated of the people, that in the end they bani-

B ſhed him from ATHENS. But *Sylla* to the contrary, did not only paciently abide their wordes that ſayed, he was a happy man, and ſingularly beloued of fortune: but alſo increaſinge this opinion, and glorying as at a ſpeciall grace of the goddes, did attribute the honor of his doings vnto fortune, either for a vaine glory, or for that he had in fanſy, that the goddes did proſper him in all his doinges. For he wrote him ſelfe in his commentaries, that the enterpriſes which he hazarded moſt hottely, according to the ſodaine occaſion offered, did better proſper with him, then thoſe which by good aduiſe he had determined of. Furthermore, when he ſayd that he was better borne vnto fortune, then to the warres: it ſeemeth that he confeſſed all his proſperity came rather by fortune, then by his worthineſſe. And to conclude, it appeareth that he did wholly ſubmit him ſelfe vnto fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether

C depend vpon her: conſidering that he did attribute it to the ſpeciall grace and fauor of the goddes, that he neuer diſagreed with *Metellus* his father in law, who was a man of like dignitie and authoritie as him ſelfe was. For where it was thought he woulde haue bene a greate hinderer of his doings, he found him verie curteous and gentle in his behalfe, in all that they had to deale in together, by reaſon of the ſocietie of their office. And furthermore, in his commentaries which he dedicated vnto *Lucullus*, he counſelled him to thincke nothing more certaine and aſſured, then that which the goddes ſhould reueale vnto him, and commaunde him in his nightes dreame. He wryteth alſo that when he was ſent with an army vnto the warres of the confederates, the earth ſodainly opened about LAVERNA, out of the which immediatly came a maruelous bright flame of fire that aſcended vp to the element. The wiſe men be-

D ing asked their opinions about the ſame, made aunſwere: that a very honeſt, and alſo a maruelous fayer man of complexion taking ſoueraine authoritie in his handes, ſhould pacifie all tumultes and ſedition which were at that time in ROME. Whereupon *Sylla* ſayed it was him ſelfe whome the goddes ment, bicauſe that amongeſt other things he had that ſingular gift of beawty, that his heare was yellow as golde: and he was not aſhamed to name him ſelfe an honeſt man, after he had wonne ſo many notable great victories. Thus haue we ſufficiently ſpoken of the truſt he had in the fauor of the goddes. And furthermore, he ſeemed to be very contrary in his manners, and vnlike to him ſelfe. For if he tooke away much in one place, he gaue as much more alſo in an other. Some he preferred without cauſe: and others he put downe without reaſon. He would be very gentle to them, of whome he would haue ought

E and vnto thoſe that ſought of him, he would ſtand much apon his honor, and looke for great reuerence. Wherby men could hardly decerne his nature, whether pride or flattery did more abound in him. And as for the inequality he vſed in puniſhing of them that had offended him: ſometimes he hanged vp men for very ſmall and light cauſes: Some other times againe to the contrary, he paciently aboade the moſt grieuous offences in the worlde: and lightly pardoned and forgaue ſuch faultes as were in no wiſe to be forgiuen. And afterwards againe would puniſh right ſmall crimes, with murders, effuſion of blood, and confiſcation of goodes. This iudgement may be geuen of him: that by nature he had a malicious and a reuenging minde: yet notwithſtanding he qualified that naturall bitternes with reaſon, geuing place to neceſſity, and his benefit. For in this warre of the confederates, his ſouldiers ſlue *Albinus* one of his

F Lieutenauntes, beating him to death with ſtaues and ſtones, being a man of good quality, and one that had bene Prætor. This great offence he paſſed ouer with ſilence, vſing no manner of puniſhment, and turned it to a boaſt in the end, ſaying, that his men were the more obedient

Timotheus Athenian would not attribute the glory of his doinges to fortune.

Sylla gaue fortune the honor of all his doinges.

Syllas beleefe in dreames.

A ſtraunge ſight appeared to Sylla.

Sylla ſtraunge of condicions.

and diligent in any peece of ſeruice that was to be done, and that he made them amende their faultes by worthy ſeruice. And furthermore, he did not regarde them that did reprone him: but hauinge determined with him ſelfe to deſtroy *Marius*, and to procure that he might be choſen generall in the warres againſt king *Mithridates*, bicauſe that this warre of the confederats was now ended: for this cauſe he flattered & curried fauor with his ſouldiers that ſerued vnder him. At his returne to Rome from theſe warres of the confederates, he was choſen Conſull with *Q. Pompeius*, being then fifty yeare olde, and maried with *Cæcilia* a noble Ladie, and *Metellus* daughter, who was then chiefe biſhoppe of Rome, for which mariage the common people ſang ſonges and ballades vp and downe Rome againſt him: and many of the noble men enuied him for it, thinkinge him vnworthy of ſo noble a Ladie, whom they thought worthy to be Conſul, as *Titus Liuius* ſayth. Now ſhe was not his only wife, for he had a young wife before called *Ilia*, by whom he had a daughter. After her he maried *AElia*, then a third called *Cælia*, whom he put away bicauſe ſhe brought him no children. But notwithſtanding ſhe went honorably away from him with very good wordes of her, beſides many other goodly riche giftes he gaue her: howbeit ſhortly after he maried *Metella*, which made the world ſuſpect that *Cælia* was put away for her naughtines. Howſoeuer it was, *Sylla* did euer honor and loue *Metella*: inſomuch as the people of Rome afterwardes making ſute, that they that were baniſhed for *Marius* faction might be called home againe: and being denied, and refuſed by *Sylla*, they cried out with open voyce for *Metella*, praying her to helpe them to obtaine their requeſt. And it ſeemeth alſo that when he had taken the city of Athens, he delt more cruelly with them, bicauſe that ſome of them had ſcoffed at *Metella* from the walles: howbeit that was afterwardes. So *Sylla* making his reckening at that time that the Conſulſhippe was a ſmall matter, in compariſon of that which he looked for in time to come: was maruelous deſirous to go againſt *Mithridates*. But therein *Marius* alſo, of a mad furious ambition and couetouſnes of glory ſtoode againſt him, and ſued to goe that iorney in like manner, being ſubiect to thoſe paſſions, which neuer waxe olde, as we may dayly ſee by experience. For being now a heauy man, ſickly of body, and broken in ſeruice abroade in the warres, from the which he came but newly home, and bruſed moreouer with age: did notwithſtanding yet aſpire to haue the charge of the warres ſo farre of beyond the ſeas. Wherfore, to obtaine his purpoſe, whileſt *Sylla* was gone a litle vnto the campe to geue order for certaine thinges that were to be done, he remaining in the city, did practiſe this peſtilent mortall ſedition, which alone did more hurte vnto the city of Rome, then all the enemies that Rome euer had: the which the goddes themſelues had foreſhewed by many ſignes and tokens. For fire tooke of it ſelfe in the ſtaues of the enſignes, which they had much a doe to quenche. Three rauens brought their young ones into the high way, and did eate them vp in the ſight of many people, and afterwardes caried the garbage they left of them into their neaſtes. Rats alſo hauing gnawen ſome iuells of golde in a church, the ſextens ſetting a trappe for them, a rat was taken full of young, and kendled fiue young rats in the trappe, of the which ſhe ate vp three. But more yet, on a fayer bright day whē there was no clowde ſeene in the element at all, men heard ſuch a ſharp ſound of a trompet, that they were almoſt all out of their wittes, for feare of ſo great a noyſe. Whereuppon the wiſe men and ſoothſayers of Thvscan being asked their opinions, tolde them: that this ſo ſtraunge and wonderfull ſigne did pronounce the chaunge of the worlde, and the departure out of this into an other life. For they holde opinion, that there ſhould be eight worldes, all contrary one vnto an other, in manners and facions of life: vnto euery one of the which ſayd they, God hath determined a certaine time of continuance. Howbeit they all came to ende their courſe within the ſpace of the reuolution of the great yeare: and that when the one is ended, and the other ready to begin, there are ſeene ſuch wonderfull ſtraunge ſignes on the earth, or in the element. And ſuch as haue ſtudied that ſcience, doe certainely know, as ſoone as men be borne, which are meere contrary vnto the firſt in their liues & maners, and which are either more or leſſe acceptable vnto the goddes, then thoſe which liued in former age. For they ſay, that amongeſt great chaunges and alteracions which are done in thoſe places from one age vnto an other, the ſcience of diuination, and foretelling of thinges to come doth grow in reputacion, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleaſeth God to ſend

Sylla choſen Conſull.

Metellus chiefe biſhop of Rome, a maried man.

Sylla's wiues.

Marius fonde ambition.

Wonderfull ſignes ſeene before the ciuill warres.

The Thuſcās opinion of eight worldes.

A sudden sott ermine and manifest signes, to know be and foretell things to come. And in some manner also in another age it grew to the same, and lost her reputation, for that it was very rathe, and faileth to concate with the most parte of her predictions, because she hath but obscure meanes, and all her instrumens defaced, to knowe what should come. And these be the fables which the wisest soothsayers of Italy so much reported abroade, & they specially, who seemed to base some inguisitive speculation aboue others. But as the Senate were talking with the soothsayers of these wonders, being assembled together within the temple of the goddesse *Vesta*, a sparrow came flying into the churche in sight of them all, and caried a grasshopper in her bill, and parted it in the middest, and left one parte within the temple, and caried the other away with her. Whereupon the wise men and interpreters of such wonders, saied, that they doubted a commotion and rising of the country men against the commons of the citie, because the common people of the citie doe crye out continually like grasshoppers, and the husbandmen doe kepe them selues vpon their landes in the country. Thus *Marius* grew great and very familiar, with *Sulpitius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, who in all kindes of wickednes and mischiefe that a man can reckon, would geue place to no liuing creature: so that a man bede not to seeke or demaund any where for a worse then he, but the question is rather wherein he him selfe was not the worste of all others. For he was full replet with all kindes of cruelty, auarice, and rashnesse, and that soe extreamely, as he cared not what villany and wickednes bd openly committed, so that the same might turne to his profit. For he had set vp a table in the open market place, where he solde freedome, making slaues and straungers denizens of Rome for their money: and for that purpose he entertained a garde of three thowsand about him, besides a band of young gentlemen of the order of knightes that attended alwayes vpon his person ready at commaundement, whome he called the garde against the Senate. And further more, him selfe hauing passed a law by the voyce of the people, that no Senator should borrow, nor owe, about two thowsande Drachmas: it was founde that at the hower of his death, he dyed three millions of Drachmas in debt. This man nowe like a furious raging beast, being left by *Marius* amongest the people, turned all thinges topsie turuey, by force of armes and maine strength. He made also many wicked lawes to passe by voyce of the people, and amongest others, that one specially, whereby he gaue *Marius* commission to make warres against king *Mithridates*. For which extreame oppressions and dealinges of *Sulpitius*, the two Consuls (*Sylla* and *Quintus Pompeius*) left of to heare publike causes, and ceased the common course of law and iustice. And as they were one day occupied about the adiornement of the same in an open assembly in the market place, before the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*: *Sulpitius* the Tribune came vpon them with his souldiers, and slue many people, and among others, the Consull *Pompeius* by the sonne, and the father him selfe being Consull, had much a doe to saue his life by flying. And *Sylla* the other Consull, was also pursued euen into *Marius* house, where he was compelled to promise before his departure, presently to goe and reuoke the adiornement of the law which he had before commaunded. Thus *Sulpitius* hauing deprined *Pompeius* of his Consulshippe, did not depose *Sylla*, but only tooke from him the charge he had geuen him to make warres against *Mithridates*, and transferred that vnto *Marius*. And sending counsells to the city of Nola to reduce the army that lay there, and to bring the same vnto *Marius*: *Sylla* preuented their, and fled to the campe before them, and told the souldiers all what had past, as it was in deede. Who when they heard it, fell all to commun, and slue *Marius* counsells with stones. *Marius* on the other side put all *Sullaes* friends to death he could, and tooke the spoyle of their goodes and houses. So was there nothing else but flying from the campe to Rome, and from Rome to the campe againe. The Senate were in manner beside them selues, not being able to gouerne as they would, but inforced to obey *Marius* and *Sulpitius* commaundementes. Who being aduertised that *Sylla* was comming towardes Rome, sent straight two Praetors vnto him, *Brutus* and *Seruilius*, to commaund him as from the Senate, to approche no nearer. These two Praetors spake a little to boldly vnto *Sylla*: whereupon the souldiers fell to a mutiny in such sorte, that they stoode indifferent whether to kill them presently in the field or no. Howbeit they brake their axes and bundells of roddes which were caried before them, and spoke their purples robes wherewith the Praetors were appatelled as magistrates, from them, and

The wickednes of Sulpitius the Tribune.

Marius and Sulpitius sedition.

All Lawe ceased for a time, by reason of Sulpitius oppressions and wicked lawes.

sent them home thus shamefully handled and intreated. Vpon their returne now [illegible] their sadde silence only, and them selues so stripped besides, of all their markes and [illegible] Prætoriall dignities, made all men then to iudge that they brought no other newes, but [illegible] as were the worst that possibly could be: and that there was no way then left to pacifie this [illegible] dition, which was now altogether vncurable. Wherefore *Marius* and his followers beginne to make them selues strong by force: and *Sylla*, with his companion Q. *Pompeius*, departed [illegible] meane time from the city of Nola, and brought six entier legions on with him, who desired no other thing but to make haste to march to Romeward. How beit *Sylla* stoode in doubt with him selfe what to do, thinking of the great daunger that might follow. Vntill such time as his soothsayer *Posthumius* hauing considered the signes & tokens of the sacrifices, which *Sylla* had made vpon this determination, gaue him both his handes, and bad him binde them hard, and shut him vp fast, vntill the day of battell should be past: saying, that he was cõtented to suffer death, if he had not good successe, and that out of hande, to his great honor. And it is saied also, that the same night there appeared vnto *Sylla* in a dreame, the goddesse *Bellona*, whome the Romaines do greatly honor, following therein the Cappadocians: and I knowe not whether it be the moone, *Minerua*, or *Enyo* the goddesse of battells. So he thought, that she comming to him did put lightning into his hande, commaunding him that he should lighten vpon his enemies, naming them one after an other by their proper names: and that they being striken with his lightning, fell downe dead before him, and no man knew what became of them. This vision encoraged *Sylla* very much, and hauing reported the same to *Pompeius* his fellow Consull & companion, the next morning he marched with his army to Rome. When he was at Picines, there came other Ambassadors vnto him, to pray him in the name of the Senate that he would not come to Rome in this heate and fury, declaring therwithall that the Senate would graunt him all thinges that should be meete and reasonable. When *Sylla* had heard the message, he aunswered them, that he would campe there: and so commaunded the marshalls to deuide the squadrons according to their maner. The Ambassadors beleeuing that he would so haue done in deede, returned againe to Rome: howebeit their backes were no sooner turned, but *Sylla* straight sent *Lucius Basillus*, and *Caius Mutumius* before to seaze on the gates of Rome, and the walles which were on the side of mount Esquilin, and he him selfe also in persone with all possible speede marched after them. *Basillus* entred Rome, and won the gate by force. But the common people vnarmed, got them vp straight to the top of their houses, and with tyles and stones stayed, and kept him, not onely from entring any further but also draue him backe againe, euen to the very walles of the city. In this hurly burly came *Sylla* him selfe to Rome, who seeing apparantly in what state thinges stoode, cried out to his men, and bad them set fyre on the houses: and him selfe taking a torche light in his hand, shewed them the way what they should doe, appointing his archers and darters to whurle & bestow their dartes, and other fiery instruments, to the toppes of the houses. Herein he was too much ouercome with vnreasonable choller, passion, and desire of reuenge. For, seeking only to plague his enemies, he tooke no regard to frends, to parentes, or confederates, neither had he yet any maner of remorse, or pity: such and so fiery was his anger then, that he put no kind of difference betwene those that had offended, and them that had done him no hurt at all. By this meanes was *Marius* driuen into the city, vnto the temple of the Earth, where he made open proclamation by sounde of trompet, that he would make free all the slaues that would come to his parte. But forthwith came his enemies, set vpon him, and preste him so neere, that he was constrained vtterly to flie and forsake the city. Then *Sylla* assembling the Senate, caused *Marius*, and certaine others, together with *Sulpitius* Tribune of the people, to be condemned to death. *Sulpitius* was betrayed by a slaue of his owne, whom *Sylla* made free according to his promise past by publike edict: but when he had made him free, he caused him to be throwen downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeian. And not contented with this, he proclaimed by promise a great summe of money to him that would kill *Marius*. A very ingrate and vnthankefull parte, considering that *Marius* not many dayes before hauinge *Sylla* in his owne house, in his handes and custody, deliuered him from perill, and set him in safety. Which if at that time he had not done, but had suffered *Sulpitius* to haue slaine him, him selfe had been

Sylla marcheth towards Rome with six legions.

Posthumius the deuine, did prognosticate victory vnto Sylla.

Syllaes vision in his dreame.

Sylla set the houses a fire in Rome.

Marius and Sulpitius condemned to death.

Treason iustly rewarded.

The ingratitude of Sylla reproued.

soueraine

A soueraine Lord of the whole without all contradiction, and might haue ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. But *Sylla* shortly after vpon the like aduantage, vsed no such manner of requitall or gratuitie towardes him, which bred a secret mislikinge amongest the Senate: howbeit the common people made open shewe of the euill will they bare vnto *Sylla*, by reiecting one *Nonius* his neuiew, and one *Seruius*, who vppon confidence of his fauor, presented themselues to sue for certaine offices. And besides the shame of this refusall, to spyte him the more, they chose others in their steedes, whose honor and preferrement they right well knew that *Sylla* would not onely mislike, but be much offended withall. Howbeit he wisely dissembling the matter, seemed to be very glad, saying, that by his meanes the people of Rome enioyed a full & perfit liberty, that in such cases of election, they might freely do what the selues
B listed. And to mitigate somwhat the peoples euill will towards him he determined to choose *Lucius Cinna* Consull, who was of a contrary faction to him: hauing first bounde him by solemne othe and curse to fauor his doings & whole procedings. Wherupon *Cinna* went vp to the Capitoll, and there holding a stone in his hand, did solemnly sweare and promise, that he would be *Syllaes* faithfull frende: beseeching the goddes if he did the contrary, that he might be throwen out of Rome, euen as he threw that stone out of his hand: and with those words, threw it to the ground before many people. But notwithstanding all these curses, *Cinna* was no sooner entred into his Consulshippe, but presently he beganne to chaunge and alter all. For amongest other thinges, he would needes haue *Sylla* accused: and procured *Verginius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, to be his accuser. But *Sylla* left him with his iudges, & went
C to make warres against *Mithridates*. And it is said, that about the time that *Sylla* tooke shippe, and departed out of Italie: there fortuned many tokens and warninges of the goddes vnto kinge *Mithridates*, who was at that present in the city of Pergamvm. As amongest others, that the Pargamenians to honor *Mithridates* withall, hauing made an image of victory, carying a garland of triũphe in her hand, which was let downe from aloft with engines: so soone as she was ready to put the garland vpon his head, the image brake, and the crowne fell to the grounde in the middest of the Theater, and burst all to peeces. Whereby all the people that were present, were striken with a maruelous feare, and *Mithridates* him selfe beganne to mislike this euill lucke: although all things at that time fell out more fortunately, then he looked
D for. For he had taken Asia from the Romaines, and Bithynia and Cappadocia, from the kinges which he had driuen out: and at that time remained in the city of Pergamvm, to deuide the riches and great territories among his frendes. As touching his sonnes: the eldest was in the realme of Pontvs, and of Bosphorvs, which he inherited from his predicessors, euen vnto the desertes beyonde the mariss̃es of Mæotides, without trouble or molestation of any man. The other also, *Ariarathes*, was with a great army, in conquering of Thracia and Macedon. His Captaines and Lieutenauntes moreouer, did many notable conquestes in diuers places, with a great power: amongest the which, *Archelaus* being Lord and master of all the sea, for the great number of shippes he had, conquered the Iles Cyclades, and all those beyond the hed of Malea, and specially amongest others the Ile of Eveoea. And beginning at the city of Athens, had made all the nations of Greece to rebell, euen vnto Thessalie,
E sauing that he receiued some losse by the city of Chæronea. Where *Brutius Sura*, one of the Lieutenauntes of *Sentius* gouernor of Macedon (a man of great wisedome and valliantnes) came against him, and stayed him for goinge any further, ouerrunning the whole contry of Boetia, like a furious raging riuer. And setting vpon *Archelaus* by the city of Chæronea, ouerthrewe him in three seuerall battells: repulsed, and inforced him to take the seaes againe. But as *Brutius* was following him in chase, *Lucius Lucullus* sent him commaundement to geue place vnto *Sylla*, to follow those warres against *Mithridates*, according to the charge and commission in that behalfe geuen him. Whereupon *Brutius Sura* went out of the contry of Boetia, and returned towardes his generall *Sentius*: notwithstandinge his affaires prospered better then he could haue wished, and that all Greece were very willing to reuolt, for the repu-
F tacion of his wisedom and goodnes. Howbeit the thinges that we before haue spoken of, were the most notable matters that *Brutius* did in those partes. *Sylla* now vpon his arriuall, recouered immediatly all the other cities of Greece: who being aduertised of his comming, sent

Lucius Cinna Consull.

Cinna sware to be Syllaes frende.

Sylla went against Mithridates.

Mithridates power.

presently to pray him to come to their aide, the city of Athens onely excepted, which was compelled by the tyran *Aristion*, to take parte with *Mithridates*. *Sylla* thereuppon with all his power went thither, besieged the hauen of Piræa rounde, causing it to be battered and assaulted on euery side, with all sortes of engines and instrumentes of battery: whereas if he could haue had pacience but a litle lenger, he might haue had the high towne by famine, without putting him selfe in any manner of daunger, the same being brought to such extreame dearth and scarsity of all kinde of vittells. But the hast that he made to returne againe to Rome, for feare of the new chaunge which he heard of daily from thence, compelled him to hazard this warre in that sorte with great daunger, many battells, and infinite charge: consideringe also, that besides all other prouision and furniture, he had twenty thowsand mules and mulets laboring dayly to furnishe his engines of batterie. And when all other woode fayled him, bicause his engines were oftentimes marred after they were made, some breaking of them selues by reason of their waight, others consumed with fire throwen from the enemies: at the length he fell to the holy wood, and cut downe the trees of the *Academia*, being better stored and furnished, thē any other parke of pleasure in all the suburbes of the city, & feld downe also the wod of the parke Lycæum. And standing in neede of a great summe of money to entertaine this warres withall, he delt also with the holyest temples of all Greece, causing thē to bring him from the temples of Epidavrvm and Olympvs, all the richest and most pretious iuels they had. He wrote moreouer vnto the counsell of the Amphictyons holden in the city of Delphes, to bring him the ready money they had in the temple of *Apollo*, for that it should be kept in better safety with him, thē if it still remained there: promising besides, that if he should by occasion be compelled to vse it, he would restore as much againe vnto them: and for this purpose he sent *Caphis* Phocian, one of his very frends & familiars, and commaunded him to wey all that he tooke. So *Caphis* went vnto Delphes: but when he came thither, being afraied to touch the holy things, in presence of the counsell of the Amphictyons, he wept, that the teares ran downe by his cheekes, as a man compelled to doe such an act against his will. And when some that were present told *Caphis* that they heard the sound of *Apolloes* citherne in the temple: whether he beleued it was so in dede, or bicause he would put this superstitious feare into *Syllaes* head, he wrote to him of it. But *Sylla* mocking him, sent him word, that he marueled he could not consider, that singing and playing of the citherne, were tokens rather of ioye then of anger: and therefore that he should not faile to procede further, and bring him those things which he commaunded, for that (said he) *Apollo* did geue them him. Now for the other iuells of the temple of *Apollo*, the common people knew not that they were sent vnto *Sylla* but the siluer tonne, which only was that that remained of the offeringes of the kings, the Amphictyons were faine to breake that in peces, bicause it was so great & massie, that the beastes of draught could not draw it whole as it was. This act made them to remember the other auncient Romaine Captaines, as *Flaminius*, *Manius Acilius*, and *Paulus Æmilius*: of the which, the one hauing driuen king *Antiochus* out of Greece, and the rest also hauing ouerthrowen the kings of Macedon, they neuer once touched the gold and siluer of the temples of Greece but contrarily sent their offerings thither, and had them all in great honor and reuerence. But as to them, they were all Captaines lawfully chosen and sent to their charges: their souldiers wel trained, & obedient at commaundement, voide of rebellion, or any maner of mutiny. And for them selues, were kings in greatnes of corage and magnanimity of minde: but in expence of their persones, very spare and scant, without any lauish, but nedefull and necessary, proportioned by reason, and thinking more shame to flatter their souldiers, then feare their enemies. Now the Captaines contrarily in *Syllaes* time, sought not their preferrement in the common wealth by vertue, but by force, and hauing greater warres one with an other, then with straungers their enemies: were compelled to flatter their souldiers whom they should commaund, and to buy their paines & seruice, feeding them still with large & great expences, to please & content them. Wherein they did not consider, that they brought their contry into bondage, & made themselues slaues of the vilest people of the world, whiles that in the meane time they sought to commaund by all meanes possible those, which in many respectes were farre better then them selues. And this was the cause that both draue *Marius* out of Rome, & made him also to returne againe against *Sylla*. This selfe same cause made *Cinna* to kill *Octauius*, and *Fimbria*

Sylla besiegeth the city of Athens.

Sylla tooke the iuells and ready money out of all the temples of Greece, and brought it to him to Athēs.

Caphis superstition for touching the holy thinges.

The commendacion of the auncient Romaine Captaines, for ordering of their souldiers, and also for their modest expences.

A brit to slay *Flaccus*: of which euills, *Sylla* was the very first and only author, spending out of all reason, and geuing the souldiers largely that serued vnder him, to winne their good willes the more, and thereby also to allure them. By reason whereof, *Sylla* had nede of mountaines of money, and specially at the siege where he was: both to make straungers traytors, and besides, to furnishe and satisfie his owne dissolute souldiers. For he had such an earnest desire to take the city of ATHENS, that he could not possibly be disswaded from it. And either it was of a certen vaine ambition he had to fight against the auncient reputacion of that city, being then but a shadow to that it had bene: or els of a very anger, for the mockes & gibes which the tyran *Arision* gaue in his speches from the wals, against him & *Metella*, to spite him the more withall. This tyran *Arision* was full of all cruelty & wickednes, hauing taken vp all the worst qualities
B and greatest imperfections of king *Mithridates*, & heaped them wholly together in him selfe: by reason whereof the poore city of ATHENS which had escaped from so many warres, tyrannies, & ciuill dissentiõs vntil that present time, was by him, as by an vncurable disease, brought vnto all extreamity. For a bushell of wheate was worth a thowsand Drachmas, and men were driuen for famine to eate feuerfew that grew about the castell: & they caused old shoes & old oyle pots to be sodden, to deliuer some sauor vnto that they did eate, whilest the tyran himselfe did nothing all day long but cramme in meate, & drinke dronke, daunse, maske, scoffe & flowte at the enemies, suffering the holy lampe of *Minerua* in the meane season to go out for lacke of oyle. And when the Nunne of the same tẽple sent vnto him for a quarter of a bushel of wheate, he sent her a quarter of a bushell of pepper. And when the counsellers of the city, the priestes
C & religious came to the castell, holding vp their hands, & beseeching him to take some pity of the city, & fall to cõposition with *Sylla*: he made thẽ to be driuen away, & scattered with slings. In the end, very late, & yet with great a do, he sent two or three of his quaffing cõpanions vnto *Sylla*, who when they were come to him, made no demaund of composition for the towne, but began to praise & magnifie the dedes of *Theseus*, of *Eumolpus*, & of the ATHENIANS against the MEDES. Whereupon *Sylla* made them this aunswere. My goodly orators, returne you againe with all your rethoricke: for the ROMAINES sent me not hither to learne nor to study, but to ouercome & conquer those that are rebelled against them. In the meane time there were certaine spyes in the city that heard old men talking together in a place called *Ceramicus*, blaming the tyran bicause he kept no better watch on that side of the wal that was directly ouer against
D the Heptachalcon, which was the only place where the enemies might easiliest get vp vppon the walls. Those spies went straight vnto *Sylla*, & told him what they had heard the old mẽ say. *Sylla* tracted no time, but came to the place in the night to see it: & perceiuing that it was to be taken, set the matter straight abroach. And him selfe wrytes in his commentaries, that the first mã that scaled the walls, was *Marcus Teius*: who finding a souldier ready to resist him, gaue him such a sore blow with his sword vpon his head peece, that his sword brake in two, and yet notwithstanding that he saw him selfe naked & diformed of a sword, did not for all that giue back, but stoode still to it, & kept the place so long, till through him the city was takẽ, & all apon the talke of these old men. So *Sylla* caused the wall to be pulled downe betwene the hauẽ of Piræa, & the holy hauẽ: & hauing before made the breach very plaine, entred into the city about mid-
E night with a wonderfull fearefull order, making a maruelous noise with a nũber of hornes, & souding of trompets, & all his army with him in order of battel, crying, to the sack, to the sack: kill, kill. For he had geuen them the towne in spoyle, and to put all to the sword. The souldiers therefore ran through the streetes with their swords drawen, making an vncredible slaughter: so that to this daye they be not acknowen, nor doe not declare what nomber of persons were slaine, but to shew the greatnes of the murder that there was committed, the place is yet extãt to be seene where the blood ranne. For besides them that were slaine through all the city, the blood of them only that were slaine in the market stede, did wet all the ground of *Ceramicus*, euen vnto the very place called Dipylon: and some say also, that it ranne by the gates into the suburbes of the citie. But if the multitude of the people that were slaine in this sorte were
F great, much more (or so many at the least) it is sayd were those that slue thẽ selues, for the sorrow & cõpassion they had to see their cõtry in such pityful state, supposing certainly that their city was now come to vtter ruine & destruction. This opiniõ made the noblest men of the city to dispaire of their owne safety, & feared to liue any lenger: bicause they thought they should

Sylla the first man that spoiled all good seruice of souldiers, by ouermuch libertie and sufferaunce.

The wickednes of the tyran Arision.

The greate valiantnes of Marcus Teius.

Athens taken by Sylla.

The slaughter of the Athenians after the taking of the citie.

finde no mercy, no moderacion of cruelty in *Sylla*. Notwithstanding, partely at the requestes of *Midias* and *Calliphon*, who were banished men from ATHENS, and fell at *Syllaes* feete vpon their knees: and partely also at the requests of the ROMAINE Senators that were in his campe, who prayed him to pardon the body of the city, and the rather for that he had already quenched the thirst of his rauening mind sufficiently well, after that he had somwhat sayd in praise of the auncient ATHENIANS, he concluded in the end, to geue the greater number vnto the smaller, and the liuing to the dead. *Sylla* wryteth him selfe in his commentaries, that he tooke the city of ATHENS on the very selfe day of the calendes of march, which commeth to agree with the first day of the moneth that we call Anthesterion, on the which day by chaunce many thinges are done at ATHENS in memory of *Noes* flood, and of the vniuersall destruction of the whole world that was in olde time by rage of waters, falling out euen in that very moneth. When the city was thus taken, the tyran *Aristion* fled into the castell, where he was besieged by *Curio*, whome *Sylla* left there of purpose about that matter. And after he had a great time kept it, at the last, constrained thereunto for lacke of water, yelded. The castell was no sooner geuen vp, but immediatly by goddes prouidence, the weather miraculously altered. For the selfe same day, and at the very selfe instant that *Curio* caried the tyran *Aristion* out of the castell: the element being very fayer and clere, the clowdes sodainly gathered together, & there fell such a maruelous glut of raine, that all the castell was full of water. Shortly after also, *Sylla* hauing gotten the hauen of Piræa, burnt the greatest parte of the buildinges: amongest others was the arsenall and armory, which *Philo* in old time had caused to be built, being of a straunge and wonderfull edifice. In the meane time, *Taxilles*, one of the Lieutenaunts of king *Mithridates*, comming from THRACIA and MACEDON, with a hundred thowsand footemen, tenne thowsand horsemen, and foure score and tenne thowsand carts of warre all armed with sythes: sent vnto *Archelaus* to ioyne with him, lying yet at ancker in the hauen of Munychia, and not willing to leaue the sea, nor come to fight with the ROMAINES, but seeking rather to draw these warres out in length, and to cut of all vittells from his enemies. *Sylla* vnderstanding this drift better then him selfe, departed out of the contry of ATTICA (a very barren soyle, and in deede not able to keepe him in time of peace) and went into BOEOTIA: wherein most men thought he committed great error, to leaue ATTICA, which is a very hard contry for horsemen, and to go into BOEOTIA, a plaine champion: and so much the rather, bicause he knew well enough that the chiefest strength of the barbarous people consisted in their horsemen and their armed cartes with sythes. But to auoyd famine, and lacke of vittells as we haue sayd, he was compelled to seeke battell. Furthermore, he had an other cause also that made him afrayed, and compelled him to go: and that was *Hortensius*, a famous Captaine, and very valiant also, who brought him aide out of THESSALIE, and the barbarous people lay in waite for him in his way, in the straight of Thermopyles. And these were the causes that made *Sylla* take his way into BOEOTIA. But in the meane time, *Caphis* that was our contry man, deceiuing the barbarous people, guided *Hortensius* an other way by mount Parnassus, and brought him vnder the city of TITHORA, which was not then so great a city as nowe at this present it is, but was a castell only, scituated vpon the point of a rocke, hewen all about: whether the PHOCIANS in olde time flying king *Xerxes* comming vpon them, retyred them selues for their safety. *Hortensius* lodged there, and there did also both defend and repulse his enemies, so long as day light lasted: and when the night came on, got downe through very hard stony wayes, vnto the city of PATRONIDE, where he ioyned with *Sylla*, who came to meete him with all his power. Thus being ioyned together, they camped vpon a hill that standeth about the middest of the plaine of Elatea: the soyle was very good, and well replenished with great store of trees, and water, at the foote of the same. The hill is called Philobæotus, the nature & scituacion whereof, *Sylla* doth maruelously commend. When they were camped, they seemed but a handfull in the eye of their enemies: and no more were they in deede, for they had not aboue fifteene hundred horse, and lesse then fifteene thowsand footemen. Whereupon the other Captaines their enemies, against *Archelaus* minde, brought out their bandes into the field, and filled all the valley and plaine thereabouts with horsemen, with cartes, with shieldes and targettes, so that the ayer was euen cut a sunder as it were with the violence of the noyse & cries of so many

Anthesterion Marche. The time of Noes flood.

Aristion the tyran yeelded.

The hauen of Piræa wonne. Philoes armory burnt by Sylla.

Taxilles army a hundred thowsande footemen: Tenne thowsand horsemen: Foure score & ten thowsand cartes with Sythes.

The force of the Barbariãs consisted in horsemen and in their carts with Sythes.

The straights of Thermopyles. Parnassus hill. The city of Tithora.

Sylla & Hortensius met at Patronide. The plaine of Elatea. Philobæotus mons. Their whole army together 1500. horse. 15000. footemen.

A ny ſundry nations, which altogether did put themſelues in battell ray. The ſumptuouſnes of their furniture moreouer, was not altogether ſuperfluous and vnprofitable, but ſerued greatly to feare the beholders. For the gliſtering of their harneſſe, ſo richly trimmed and ſet foorth with gold and ſiluer, the cullers of their arming coates vpon their curaces, after the facion of the MEDES and SCYTHIANS, mingled with the bright gliſtering ſteele and ſhining copper, gaue ſuch a ſhow as they went and remoued to and fro, that made a light as clere as if all had bene on a very fire, a fearefull thing to looke apon. Inſomuch as the ROMAINES durſt not ſo much as once goe out of the trenches of their campe, nor *Sylla* with all his perſwaſion coulde take away this great conceiued feare from them: wherefore, (and bicauſe alſo he would not compell them to go forth in this feare) he was driuen not to ſtirre, but cloſe to abide, (though B it grieued him greatly) to ſee the barbarous people ſo prowdly and villanouſly laugh him and his men to ſcorne. Howbeit the diſdaine & ſcoffing of his enemies, ſtoode him to great good purpoſe afterwards. For they making now none accompt of him, kept ſmall watche & ward, ſtrayed vp and downe diſorderly beſides, though otherwiſe they were not very obedient vnto their Captaines, being many commaunders, and fewe good followers: by reaſon whereof, a ſmall number kept in the campe, and all the reſt of the great multitude intiſed with the gaine they made by ſpoyling and ſacking of townes thereabouts, diſperſed them ſelues many dayes iorney from their campe. For it is ſayd, that at that very time they deſtroyed the city of PANOPÆIA, ſacked the city of LEBADIA, and ſpoyled the temple without commaundement or licence of any of all their Captaines to doe it. In the meane while, *Sylla* ſeeing ſo many ci- C ties and townes ſpoyled and deſtroyed, tooke it both grieuouſly, and alſo angrily: howbeit he ſuffered not his men to lie idlely, but kept them in labor, to turne the courſe of the riuer of Cephiſus, and to caſt great trenches, not ſuffering any man to take eaſe or reſt, but contrarily with great ſeuerity puniſhed ſuch as went faintly and laſely to worke, to thend that being wearied with the paine they tooke after ſo many workes, they would rather proue to hazard battell, as it fell out in deede. For the third day after they had begonne thus to labor, as *Sylla* paſſed by them, they cried out vnto him to leade them againſt their enemies. But his aunſwere was vnto them againe: that thoſe were but cries of men wearied rather with labor, then deſirous to fight. Notwithſtanding, if it be ſo in deede, and that you haue ſo good a will to fight as you make ſhowe of: then I will ſayd he, that you arme your ſelues preſently, and get D you to yonder place, ſhowing them therewithall where the caſtell of the PARAPOTAMIANS ſtoode in olde time, which then (the city being deſtroyed) was no more but the toppe of a ſtony mountaine cut all about, and ſeuered from the mount of Edylium by the breadth of the riuer of Aſſus that runneth betwixt, and which at the very foote of the ſame mountaine falleth into the riuer of Cephiſus, and both theſe riuers running in one, carying a ſwift ſtreame, doe make the knappe of the ſayd hill very ſtrong of ſcituacion to lodge a campe vpon. And therefore *Sylla* ſeeing the ſouldiers of his enemies campe, marching with their copper targets to take vp that place to lodge in: to preuent them, and to get it before them (as in deede he did) he marched thither in all haſt poſſible, & got it euen with the earneſt good will of all his ſouldiers. *Archelaus* being ſo repulſed from thence, turned his way towards the city of CHÆRO- E NEA. Whereupon certaine of the CHÆRONEANS that were in *Syllaes* campe, beſought him that he would not forſake their city, aud leaue it to their enemy. *Sylla* deſiring to gratifie them therein, ſent one of his Colonells *Gabinius* with a legion, and therewithall gaue the CHÆRONEANS leaue to go thither, who did what they could poſſible to get into their city before *Gabinius*: but that they could not, ſuch was the diligence and honeſty of the man, as he ſeemed more deſirous of their ſafety, then they were them ſelues. Neuertheleſſe, *Iubas* doth not call the Colonell that was ſent thither *Gabinius*, but *Hircius*. And thus was our city of CHÆRONEA preſerued from the daunger it ſtoode in at that time. In the meane time came very good newes to the ROMAINES, both of oracles and prophecies, which promiſed them victory from the temple of LEBADIA, and the caue of *Trophonius*: of which prophecies, thoſe countreymen F make great mencion. But *Sylla* in his tenth booke of his cõmentaries writeth, that *Quintus Titius*, a man of quality & name amongeſt them that traffiked into the contry of GREECE, came vnto him after he had wonne the battell of CHÆRONEA, to tell him that *Trophonius* gaue him

The braue armor and furniture of the Thracians & Macedonians, ſeruing vnder Taxilles king Mithridates lieutenaunt.

Many commaunders make diſobedient ſouldiers.

Cephiſus fl.

Syllaes ſtraightnes to his ſouldiers.

A good policie to weary feare full ſouldiers with extreame labor, whereby to make them deſirous to fight.

Edylium mõs.

Aſſus fl.

Sylla ſendeth Gabinius with a legion to aide Chæronea.

Oracles and prophecies of victory vnto Sylla.

to vnderstand, that shortly after he should haue a second battell, and that he should yet againe haue an other victory in the same place. After him an other mã of warre called *Saluenius*, told him also what successe he should haue in the warres of ITALIE, saying, that he knew it by reuelation: and both these men agreed in the manner of the reuelation. For they sayd, that they had seene a god, in maiesty, beawty, and greatnes, like vnto the image of *Iupiter Olympius*. *Sylla* hauinge passed the riuer of Assus, went to lodge at the foote of mount Edylium, hard by *Archelaus*, who had placed and fortified his campe betwene the two moũtaines of Acontium, and of Edylium, ioyninge to the city of the ASSIANS. The place where *Archelaus* camped, beareth his owne name *Archelaus* vnto this day. One day after *Sylla* had chaunged his lodging, he left *Muræna* in his campe with a legion, and two cohortes, to keepe the enemies still occupied that were in great trouble, and he him selfe in the meane time went and sacrificed by the riuer of Cephisus. His sacrifice being ended, he marched towards the city of CHÆRONEA, to take the force he had there vnder *Gabinius*, & to know the mountaine also called Thurium, which the enemies had taken. It is a knappe of a mountaine very steepe and sharpe of all sides, with a narrowe point like a pine apple, by reason whereof we doe call it Orthopagum. At the foote of the same runneth the riuer called Morion, and there is also the temple of *Apollo* surnamed *Thurias*: and they say that this surname of *Thurias* was geuen vnto him of the name of *Thuros*, who was mother of *Chæron*, the founder and builder of the city of CHÆRONEA. Other thinke, that the cow which was geuen to *Cadmus* for a guide, came to him in that place: which hath euer since kept the name, for that the PHENICIANS call a cow, *Thor*. Now when *Sylla* came neere vnto CHÆRONEA, the Colonell *Gabinius* whome he had sent thither with a garrison to defend the same, went to meete him with his men very well armed, wearing a lawrell garland: and *Sylla* after he had saluted him, and his souldiers, made an oration vnto them, exhorting them to do their duty in fighting. And as he was in his oration, there came two citizens of CHÆRONEA to him, one, his name was *Omoloichus*, and the other *Anaxidamus*, who promised him to driue the enemies from mount Thurium which they had taken, if he would but geue thẽ some small number of souldiers. For there was a litle path way, which the barbarous people mistrusted not, beginning at a place called Petrochus, hard by the temple of the *Muses*, by the which they might easily go to the toppe of this mountaine Thurium: so that following that pathe, it would bring them ouer the barbarous peoples heads, and they might easily kill them with stones, or at the least they should driue them mawgre their heads downe into the valley. *Gabinius* assuring *Sylla* that they were both very valliant men, and such as he might boldly trust vnto, *Sylla* gaue them men, and commaunded them to execute their enterprise: and he him selfe in the meane season went and set his men in order of battell in the plaine, deuiding his horsemen on the winges, placed him selfe in the right wing, appointinge the left vnto *Muræna*. *Galba* & *Hortensius* his Lieutenauntes, were placed in the tayle with certaine bandes of the reregard which they kept vpon the hils, to watch and let that the enemies should not inclose them behinde: bicause they perceiued a farre of that the enemies put forth a great number of horsemen and footemen light armed in the wings, to thend that the poynts of their battell might the more easily bowe and enlarge them selues, to compasse in the ROMAINES on the backe side. Now in the meane time, these two CHÆRONEIANS whome *Sylla* had sent vnder *Hircius* their Captaine, hauing compassed about the mountaine Thurium, before the enemies were aware of them: sodainly came to shew them selues vppon the toppe of the mountaine, which did so feare the barbarous people, that they began immediatly to flie, one of them for the most parte killing an other. There was no resistaunce, but flying downe the mountaine, fell apon the pointes of their owne partisans and pykes, and one of them thrusting in an others necke, tombled hedlong downe the mountaine together, hauing their enemies besides on their backes, which draue them from the hill, and strake them behinde where they lay open vnto them: so as they were slaine a three thowsande of them about this mountaine Thurium. And as for them that sought to saue them selues by flight, *Muræna* that was already set in battell ray, met with some, cut them of by the way, and slue them downe right. The other fled directly to their campe, and came in great companies, thrusting into the battell of their footemen, put the most parte of them quite out of order, & marueilously troubled their

Saluenius a Souldier.

Iupiter olympias.

Acontium, Edylium mountaines.

Thurium mons: aliter Orthopagum. Morion fl. Apollo Thurias. Chæron the founder of the city of Chæronea.

Sylla ordereth his battell.

Sylla driueth Archelaus aside from the hill.

A their Captaines before they could ſet them againe in order: which was one of the chiefeſt cauſes of their ouerthrowe. For *Sylla* went and gaue a charge vppon them in this trouble and diſorder, and had quickely wonne the ground that was betwene both armies, wherby he tooke away the force of all their armed cartes with ſythes, which are then of greateſt force, when they haue the longeſt courſe, to geue them a ſwift and violent ſtroke in their chaſe: whereas when their courſe is but ſhort, the blow is ſo much the weaker, and of leſſe ſtrength, euen as arrowes are, that a farre of enter not deepe into the thing they be ſhot at: as at that time it fell out with the barbarous people. For their firſt cartes ſet foorth ſo faintly, and came on with ſo feeble a force, that the ROMAINES ſent them backe, & eaſily repulſed them, with great ſlaughter and clapping of handes one to an other, as they commonly vſe in the ordinarie games of
B horſe running at ROME. When they had thus repulſed the cartes, the battell of *Syllaes* footemen beganne to charge the barbarous people, who baſing their pykes, ſtoode cloſe one to an other bicauſe they would not be taken: & the ROMAINES on thother ſide beſtowed firſt their dartes among them, and then ſodainly drewe out their ſwordes in the heate they were in, and put aſide the enemies pykes, whereby they might come neerer to their bodies. There were fifteene thowſand ſlaues in the fronte of the battell of the barbarous people, whom *Mithridates* Lieutenaunt had made free by open proclamation, and had deuided them by bandes amongeſt the other footemen. By occaſion whereof there was a ROMAINE Centurion, ſpake pleaſauntly at that time, ſaying, that he neuer ſaw ſlaues before haue liberty to ſpeake and do like free men, but only at *Saturnes* feaſtes. Neuertheleſſe, they againſt the nature of ſlaues, were
C very valliant to abide the ſhocke, and the ROMAINE footemen could not ſo readily breake nor enter into them, nor make them geue backe, bicauſe they ſtoode very cloſe one to an other, and their ranckes were of ſuch a length beſides: vntill ſuch time as the ROMAINES that were behinde the firſt ranckes, did ſo pelt them with their ſlinges, hurling ſtones, beſtowing their dartes & arrowes apon them, that in thend they compelled them all to turne their backes, and flie a maine. And when *Archelaus* did firſt thruſt out the right wing of his army, ſuppoſing to encloſe the ROMAINES behinde: *Hortenſius* ſtraight wayes cauſed the bands he had with him to run & charge vpon the flanckes. Which *Archelaus* perceiuing, made the horſemen he had about him turne their faces forthwith, which were in nũber aboue two thowſand: inſomuch as *Hortenſius*, being ſet apon with all his trowpe, was compelled to retyre by litle and litle to-
D wardes the mountaine, perceiuing him ſelfe farre from the battell of his footemen, and enuironned round about with his enemies. *Sylla* ſeeing that, being in the right wing of his battell, and hauing not yet fought, went ſtraight to the reſcue of *Hortenſius*. But *Archelaus* coniecturing by the duſt which the horſes raiſed, what the matter was: left *Hortenſius* there, and with ſpeede returned againe towardes the right wing of his enemies from whence *Sylla* was gone, hoping he had left it vnfurniſhed of a ſufficient Captaine to cõmaund them. *Taxilles* on thother ſide, cauſed his copper targets alſo to march againſt *Murena*: ſo as the noyſe they made on both ſides, cauſed the mountaines to ring againe, wherewithall *Sylla* ſtayed, ſtanding in dout which way to take. At the laſt he reſolued, to returne to the place frõ whence he came, & ſent *Hortenſius* with foure enſignes to aide *Murena*: and him ſelfe with the fift in great ſpeede, went
E towardes the right wing of his army, the which was now already bickering, and ioyned with their enemies, fighting hand to hand with *Archelaus*. By reaſon whereof, when *Sylla* was comen with his aide, they did eaſily diſtreſſe them: and after they had broken their array, they chaſed them flying for life to the riuer, & vnto the mountaine Acontium. But *Sylla* notwithſtanding forgate not *Murena*, but went againe to his reliefe: and finding that he on his ſide had alſo put the enemies to flight, followed with him the chaſe of them that fled. There was a maruelous ſlaughter made in that field of the barbarous people, and many of them ſuppoſing to haue recouered their campe, were ſlaine by the way: ſo as of all that infinite multitude of fighting men, there eſcaped only tenne thowſande, who ſaued them ſelues by flying vnto the city of CHALCIDE. *Sylla* for his parte wryteth, that he could make reckening of no more but
F fourteene of his ſouldiers onely that were ſlaine, whereof there came two againe to him the ſame night. Wherefore in the markes of triumphe which he ſet vp for tokens of that victory, he cauſed to be wrytten on the toppe thereof, *Mars*, *victory*, and *Venus*: ſignifying thereby,

The force of the armed cartes with Sythes conſiſt in long courſe.

Syllaes conflict with Archelaus at Thurium.

Slaues made free by authority of the Lieutenaunts in the fielde.

Syllaes victory of Mithridates Lieutenaunte.

that he had ouercome in these warres as much by good fortune, as by force, policie, or martiall shall discipline. These markes of triumphe were set vp for the battell which he wanne in the plaine field, in that place where *Archelaus* beganne to flie, euen vnto the riuer of Molus. And he set vp an other also in the toppe of mount Thurium, where the barbarous people were set vpon behinde: and there is wrytten in Greeke letters, that the valliant deedes of *Omoloichus* and *Anaxidamus*, gaue way to the winning of this victorie. *Sylla* for the ioy of this great worke battell, caused musitians to play in the city of THEBES, where he builded a stage for all the musitians, neere vnto the fountaine OEdipus, and certaine noble GREECIANS were appointed iudges of that musicke, whom he caused to be sent for out of other cities, bicause he mortally hated the THEBANS: insomuch as he tooke from them halfe their landes, which he consecrated vnto *Apollo Pythias*, and *Iupiter Olympias*, appointing that of the reuenue thereof, they should redeliuer and pay backe the money which he had taken and caried away from out of their temples. *Sylla* after this hauing intelligence that *Flaccus*, one of his enemies, was chosen Consull at ROME, and had passed the sea Ionium with an army, vnder pretext to make warre against king *Mithridates*, but in deede to make warre with him selfe: tooke his iorney towards THESSALIE to meete him. But when he was in the citie of MELITEA, there came newes to him out of all partes, that there was a new and second army of the kings arrived, no lesse then the first, the which spoyled and destroyed all the contry which he had left behinde him. For *Dorylaus*, one of king *Mithridates* Lieutenauntes, was arriued in the city of CHALCIDE with a great fleete of shippes, hauing brought thither with him foure score thowsand fighting men, the best trained, the best armed and appointed souldiers, that were in all his kingdom of PONTVS in ASIA: and from thence went into BOEOTIA, had all that contry at commaundement, and sought to fight with *Sylla*, notwithstanding that *Archelaus* alleaged many reasons to dissuade him from it: and furthermore, gaue it out in euery place, that so many thowsandes of souldiers coulde not haue bene cast away in the first battell, without some notable treason. Wherupon *Sylla* returned with all possible speede, & made *Dorylaus* know before many dayes passed ouer his head, that *Archelaus* was a wise man, and knew well enough the worthines and valliant corage of the ROMAINES. And *Dorylaus* hauing had but a litle proofe only in certaine light skirmishes which he made against *Sylla*, about TILPHOSSION in THESSALIE: himselfe was the first that could say then, it was not for them to hazarde battell, but rather to draw out the warres in length, and supplant the ROMAINES with charge & expence. And yet notwithstading, the commodity of the great large plaine that lyeth all about ORCHOMENE, where they were encamped, gaue great encoragement to *Archelaus*, who iudged it a very fit place to geue battell in, specially bicause he was the stronger of horsemen in the field. For of all the plaines that are within the contry of BOEOTIA, the greatest & largest of them, is the plaine nere to the city of ORCHOMENE: which is altogether without trees, and runneth out in length vnto the marisses, where the riuer of Melas disperseth it selfe abroade. The head of the same riuer is not farre from the city of ORCHOMENE, & that riuer only of all other riuers in GREECE from the very head whence it commeth, is nauigable: and hath besides an other singular property, that it riseth & swelleth euen in the longest sommer dayes, as the riuer of Nilus doth, and bringeth forth the selfe same plantes and trees, sauing that they beare no frute, neither are they so great as those of Ægypt. This riuer hath no longe course, bicause that the most parte of the water runneth into lakes and marisses, couered with brambles and briars, and there is but a very litle parte of it that falleth into the riuer of Cephisus, in the place where the redes grow that they make good flutes withal. When they were camped one nere to an other, *Archelaus* lay quietly and sturred not. But *Sylla* presently cast great trenches from one side to an other, to stoppe the way against their enemies, that they could not come into that great plaine where they might haue taken what ground they would for their men of armes, and haue driuen the ROMAINES into the marisses. The barbarous people not being able to endure that, so soone as their Captaines had geuen them liberty, discharged with such a fury, that they did not only scatter them that wrought in *Syllaes* trenches, but put the most parte of their gard also that stoode in battell ray to defend them, in a maruelous feare, who also beganne to flie. Which *Sylla* perceiuing, lighted straight from his horse, and taking an ensigne in his hande, ran through the middest of his

The field was wonne in the plaine of Elatea.
Molus fl.
Apollo Pythias.
Iupiter Olympias.
Flaccus Consull went against Sylla.
Dorylaus Mithridates generall against Sylla.
The goodly plaine before the city of Orchomene.
The riuer of Melas, and nature therof.

his men that fled, vntill he came to his enemies, and crying out, saying: Whether will you flie, O my fellow souldiers, mine honor doth maunde me to dye here, and therefore if you will follow me, I will make you where you forsooke your Captaine, remember that you haue sworne to be true vnto me. They were so ashamed at these wordes, that he made them runne besides that there came two cohortes vnto him from the right wing of his battell, who vnder his leading gaue such a horse charge vpon their enemies, that they fled forthwith apon it. That done, *Sylla* returned with his men, and made them dine and then vpon by and by set them againe to the trenches to enclose his enemies campe, who then came out on better order then they did before. There was *Diogenes*, *Archelaus* wiues sonne slaine, fighting valiantly before them all in the right wing of their battell. And the bowe men being preſſed sonneest by the Romaines, that their bowes would doe no good: tooke their arrowes in their handes in stead of swordes, and strake their enemies with them to force them to geue backe, vntil such time as at the last they were all driuen into their campe, where they passed that night in great sorow, as well for the losse of them that were slaine, as also for the number of those that were hurt. The next morning, *Sylla* leading his men againe towardes the campe of his enemies, went on still continuing his trenches: & certaine of them being come out to skirmish with them, he set apon them so lustely, that at the first charge he put them to flight. That brought such a feare to all the whole campe of the enemies, that not a man durst abide any lenger: so as *Sylla* valiantly following on his victory, shuffled in among them as they fled, and in the ende tooke all together. Straight way all the marisses were filled with blood, and the lake full of dead bodies: so that vntill this present day they find there in that place many bowes of the barbarous people, morrions, peeces of tasses, and swordes drowned in the mudde of the marisses, notwithstanding that it is well neere two hundred yeres agoe since this battell was stricken. And thus much for the warres about the cities of Chaeronea, and Orchomene. Now the warres being past in this sorte in Greece, *Cinna*, and *Carbo* dealt very cruelly and vnnaturally at Rome with the noble men and greatest persons: by reason whereof, many flying their cruelty, went to *Sylla*'s campe, as vnto the hauen of their health and fulnes of felicity, so that in short time *Sylla* had an assembly of a Romaine Senate about him. *Metella* her selfe, his wife, hauing stollen away very hardly with her children, came to bring him newes that his houses in the citie and country both, were all burnt and destroyed by his enemies: praying him that he would go and help them that yet remained at Rome. *Sylla* vpon hearing of these newes, fell in great perplexity. For on the one side, it grieued him to see his contry so miserably afflicted: and on the other side he knew not well how he might go, leauing so great an enterprise as that warre was, and specially against a king of such might and power as *Mithridates* shewed him selfe to be. And being in these dumpes, there came one *Archelaus* a marchant to him, borne in the city of Dyrrhachium, who brought him a secret message from the other *Archelaus*, king *Mithridates* Lieutenaunt: the which pleased *Sylla* so well, that he desired that *Archelaus* & him selfe might meete and talke together. So at the length they met by the sea side, neere vnto the city of Dyrrhachium, where there is a temple of *Apollo*. *Archelaus* beganne to enter the talke with him, declaring vnto *Sylla* that he would wish him to leaue the conquest of Asya, & of the realme of Pontus, and to returne into his contry to the ciuill warres at Rome: and in so doing, the king would furnish him, not onely with as much money, but with as many shippes and men, as he him selfe would desire. *Sylla* apon this motion told him againe: that he would wish him to forsake *Mithridates* seruice, and to make him selfe king, offering to proclaime him a friend and confederate of the Romaines, so that he would deliuer him all his armie which then he had in his handes. *Archelaus* seemed much to abhorre to heare him speake of treason. But *Sylla* going on with his tale, replyed againe vnto him: why *Archelaus*, sayd he, thinkest thou that a Cappadocian, and seruaunt to a barbarous king, or his frend at the least: hast thou so good a hart with thee, that for all the benefits I offer thee, thou wilt not once commit an ill act? And art thou indeede so bolde to speake to me of treason, which am the Romaines lieutenaunt generall, and *Sylla*? As if thou were not he, that at the battell of Chaeronea didest saue thy selfe by flying, with a small number left thee of six score thowsand fighting men, which thou before hadst in thy campe: and that hid thy selfe two dayes together in the marisses of Orchomene,

Sylla's words to animate his souldiers.

Diogenes slaine.

Sylla victorie of Mithridates Lieutenaunes at Orchomene.

Sylla victorie against Archelaus in two famous battells at Chaeronea and at Orchomene.

Talke betwixt Sylla and Archelaus at their meeting.

leauing the fielde all ouer with such heapes of dead bodies, that no man could passe by them. After this replye, *Archelaus* altered his speeche, and falling downe at *Sylla*'s feete, humbly beseought him to ende this warre, and to make peace with *Mithridates*. Whereunto *Sylla* aunswered, that he was very well contented withall. And thereupon peace was concluded betwene them vnder condicions, that *Mithridates* should departe from ASIA the lesse, and from PAPHLAGONIA, that he should restore BITHYNIA vnto *Nicomedes*, and CAPPADOCIA vnto *Ariobarzanes*, that he should pay two thousand talents to the ROMAINES, & geue them three score and tenne gallies, with all their furniture. And vpon this, *Sylla* would also assure him the rest of his realme: and would cause him to be proclaimed a frende of the ROMAINES. These articles being past by agreement betwixt them, *Sylla* taking his iorney through THESSALY and MACEDON into the contry of HELLESPONT, caried *Archelaus* with him, whom he honorably intreated. For *Archelaus* falling daungerously sicke of a disease in the citie of LARISSA, he stayed there for him, and was very carefull to recouer him, as if he had bene one of his chiefest Captaines and companions. And this was the cause that made *Archelaus* to be blamed for the battell of CHAERONEA, as if he had not faithfully fought it out, nor *Sylla* truly won it, but by treason. And againe, *Archelaus* was the more suspected, bicause *Sylla* reddelyuered *Mithridates* all his seruaunts and frends which he had prisoners, sauing the tyran *Aristion* that kept ATHENS, whome he poysoned, bicause he was *Archelaus* enemie: but specially, for the lands *Sylla* gaue vnto this CAPPADOCIAN. For he gaue him tenne thousand Iugera, (or acres of lande) within the Ile of EUBOEA, and gaue him moreouer the title of a frende of the ROMAINES for euer. But *Sylla* denyeth all these thinges in his commentaries. In the meane time, Ambassadors came from king *Mithridates* vnto *Sylla*, who told him that the king their maister did ratifie and accept all the articles of peace, sauing that he onely prayed him he would not take the contry of PAPHLAGONIA from him: and as for the gallies, he would not so much as once say he would promise them. *Sylla* being offended herewith, angerly aunswered them again. Then *Mithridates*, as ye say, meaneth to kepe PAPHLAGONIA still, and refuseth to geue the shippes I demaunded: where I looked that he would haue humbly thancked me on his knees, if I left him his right hand only, with the which he put so many ROMAINE citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me an other tale, if I come once into ASIA: but nowe at PERGAMVM, he speaketh his pleasure of this warre which he hath not seene. The Ambassadors being afrayed of his wordes, replied not againe. Whereupon *Archelaus* spake, and besought him with teares in his eyes to be contented, and tooke him by the hande. By intreating in thende he obtained of *Sylla* to sende him vnto *Mithridates*: promising that he would either bring him to agree to all the articles & condicions of peace that he demaunded, or if he could not, he would kill him selfe with his owne handes. Vpon this promise *Sylla* sent him away, and in the meane while entred with his armie into the contrie of MEDICA: and after he had destroyed the most parte thereof, returned backe againe into MACEDON, where *Archelaus* being returned from *Mithridates*, founde him neere vnto the citie of PHILIPPES, bringing him newes that all should be well, howebeit that his maister *Mithridates* prayed him he might speake with him in any case. Now, the matter that made *Mithridates* so earnest to speake with *Sylla*, was chiefely for *Fimbria*, who hauing slaine *Flaccus* the Consull, being of the contrarie faction vnto *Sylla*, and certaine of *Mithridates* Lieutenauntes also, went him selfe against him to fight with him. *Mithridates* fearing his comming, chose rather to make him selfe *Sylla*'s frend. So *Mithridates* and *Sylla* met together in the contry of TROADE, in the citie of DARDANE: *Mithridates* being accompanied with a fleete of two hundred saile of shippes without at sea, with twenty thousand footemen, fiue thousande horse, and a number of armed carres with sythes besides by land. *Sylla* hauing onely but foure ensignes of footemen, and two hundred horsemen. *Mithridates* went to *Sylla*, and offering to take him by the hande, *Sylla* asked him first, if he did accept the peace with the condicions which *Archelaus* had agreed vnto. *Mithridates* made him no aunswere. *Sylla* following on his tale, sayd vnto him, It is for soldiers to speake first, that haue requested peace: but for conquerors, it is enough to hold their peace, and heare what they will say. Then began *Mithridates* to excuse him selfe, and to lay the occasion of the warre, partly vpon the ordinaunce of the goddes that so had appointed it, & partly also

Peace concluded betwext Sylla & Archelaus in Mithridates behalfe apon condicions.

Archelaus suspected of treason.

Aristion tyran of Athens, poysoned by Sylla.

Mithridates exception to the condicions.

Archelaus sent from Sylla to Mithridates.

Sylla & Mithridates meete at Dardane.

The slowtnes of Sylla.

Mithridates excuseth him selfe to Sylla.

A also vppon the ROMANES them selues. Whereunto *Sylla* replyed, that he had heard of long time that *Mithridates* was an eloquent Prince, and that he knew it now by experience, seeing that he lacked no comely words, to cloke his fowle and shamefull dedes: but withall he sharply reproued him, and draue him to confesse the cruelties he had committed. And afterwardes asked him againe, if he did confirme that which *Archelaus* had done. *Mithridates* made aunswer that he did. Then *Sylla* saluted, embraced, and kissed him: and calling for the kinges *Nicomedes*, and *Ariobarzanes*, reconciled them together, and made *Mithridates* their frende againe. In conclusion, after *Mithridates* had deliuered *Sylla* three score and tenne gallies, and fiue hundred bow men, he returned by sea into his realme of PONTVS. But *Sylla* hearing that his souldiers were angrie with this peace made with *Mithridates*, bicause they could not abide B to behold that king, whom they accompted for their most cruell and mortall enemy, (hauing in one selfe day caused a hundred and fifty thowsand ROMANE citizens to be slaine, that were dispersed abroade in diuers places of ASIA) so to departe, and go his way safe, with the riches and spoyles of the contry, which he had bereft them of, and vsed at his pleasure, the space of forty yeares together: aunswered them in excuse of him selfe, that he was not able to make warres with *Mithridates*, & *Fimbria* both, if once they were ioyned together against him. And so *Sylla* departing thence, went against *Fimbria*, who then was encamped neere to the city of C THYATIRA, and lodged him selfe as neere vnto him as he conueniently might. Nowe whilest he was compassing in his lodging with a trench, *Fimbriaes* souldiers came out of their campe in their coates without any armor or weapon, to salute *Syllaes* souldiers, and holpe them very frendly to make vp their trenche. Which *Fimbria* seeing, and perceiuing his souldiers mindes so chaunged, of an extreame feare which he had of *Sylla*, at whose handes he looked for no mercy: killed him selfe in his owne campe. *Sylla* hereuppon condemned the whole contry of ASIA the lesse, to pay the summe of twenty thowsand talentes amongest them, and presently also he vndid many poore householders through his insolent souldiers, lying long vpon their charge, which he left in garrison there. For he ordained that euery householder should geue the souldier that lodged in his house, foure Tetradrachmas a day, & should be bound to geue him and his frendes (as many as he would bring with him) their supper also: and that euery Captaine should haue fifty Drachmas a day, a night gowne for the house, and a garment to goe abroade into the city when he thought good. When he had geuen this order, he depar- D ted from the city of EPHESVS with all his fleete, and in three dayes sayling arriued in the hauen of Piræa at ATHENS, where he was receiued into the fraternity of the mysteries, and reserued for him selfe the librarie of *Apellicon Teian*: in the which were the most parte of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* workes, not then thought meete to come in euery mans handes. And they say, that this librarie being brought to ROME, *Tyrannion* the grammarian founde the meanes to extract a great parte of them: and that *Andronicus* the RHODIAN hauing recouered the originalls into his hands, put them in printe, and wrote the summaries which we haue at this present. For the auncient Peripatetick Philosophers were of them selues very wise and learned men, but they had not all *Aristotles* workes, nor *Theophrastus* amongest them, and yet those fewe they had, were not by them seene all whole and perfect together: bicause that the E goodes of *Neleus* SCEPSIAN (to whom *Theophrastus* left all his bookes by will) came to fall into the hands of meane ignorant men, who knew not the vertue and estimacion of them. And furthermore, *Sylla* being at ATHENS had such a paine and numnesse in his legges, and was so heauy withall, that *Strabo* calleth it a spice of the gowte, that is to say, a feeling or entring therinto, which then beganne to roote and take hold of him. Vpon which occasion he tooke the seaes, & went vnto a place called ADIPSVM, where there are naturall hotte bathes: and there remained a while solacing him selfe all the day long with musicke, seeing of playes, and entertaining such kinde of people. Vpon a day as he was walking by the sea side, certaine fisher men made him a present of fish, which pleased him maruelous well, & demaunding of the whence they were: they aunswered him againe, that they were of the city of ALES. What? of ALES F sayd he: is there any of them yet left aliue? speaking it, bicause that after the battell of ORCHOMENE when he followed the chase of his enemies, he had taken and destroyed three cities of BOEOTIA all at one selfe time, to wit ANTHEDON, LARYMNA, and ALES. The poore

Syllaes aunswer to Mithridates.

Nicomedes king of Bithynia.

Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia.

A hundred & fifty thowsand Romanes slaine in one day in Asia by Mithridates commaundement.

Fimbria camped at Thyatira.

Fimbria slain.

Sylla very hardly intreated them of Asia.

Aristotle and Theophrastus bookes.

Sylla went to the bathes at Adipsum for the gowte in his legges.

fisher men were so amazed with his wordes, that they stoode still, and could not tell what to say. *Sylla* fell a laughing thereat, & bad them go their wayes a gods name, and be not affrayed, for they brought no small intercessors with them, which were worth the reckening of. When *Sylla* had geuen them these wordes, the ALLEIANS went home with a mery harte, to gather them selues together againe in their city. *Sylla* so passing through THESSALIA & MACEDON, came to the sea side, intending to go from the city of DYRRACHIVM vnto BRVNDVSIVM, with twelue hundred sayle. The city of APOLLONIA is hard by DYRRACHIVM, and thereabout is a parke consecrated vnto the nymphes, where in a fayer goodly greene meadowe in many places there commeth out great bubles of fire that flame continually: and it is sayd that there was a Satyre taken sleeping, euen in the very selfe same forme the painters and image graners haue set him out. He was brought vnto *Sylla*, and being asked by all sortes of interpreters what he was, he made no aunswere that a man could vnderstand: but only put forth a sharpe voyce like the neying of a horse, or whynnying of a goate. *Sylla* wondering at it, abhorred him, and made him to be caried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when *Sylla* had imbarked his men to passe the sea, he was afrayed that so soone as they were landed in ITALIE, they would shrinke from him, and euery man go home to his owne. But they sware and promised first of them selues, that they would tary and keepe together, and by their willes would doe no hurt in ITALIE. Moreouer, perceiuing that he stoode in neede of money, they offred him of theirs, & euery man to lend him as his ability serued. But *Sylla* would none, yet thanked them for their goodwill: and after he had exhorted them to fight like valliant souldiers, he went against fifteene generalls of armies of his enemies, who had foure hundred and fifty ensignes of footemen well armed, as he him selfe wryteth in his commentaries. But the goddes promised him good fortune in his warres, by many sundry apparant signes. For in a sacrifice he made by TARENTVM, after he was come a lande, the liuer of a certaine beast sacrificed, was altogether facioned after the maner of a crowne or garland of laurell, out of the which did hang two bandes or rolles. And a litle before he went into CAMPANIA, neere vnto the mountaine Epheum, there appeared two great goates in the day time fighting together, euen as two men do when they fight: which neuertheless was no matter of trueth, but a vision onely that appeared, and rising from the earth dispersed it selfe by litle and litle here and there in the ayer, and in thende vanished quite away, as clowdes which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the selfe same place, *Marius* the younger, and *Norbanus* the Consull, who brought two great armies against him, were ouerthrowen by him, before he had set his men in battell, or had appointed any man his place where he should fight: and this proceeded onely vpon the corage and life of his souldiers, whose goodwill to serue against them was such, as following this victory, he compelled the Consull *Norbanus* after he had slaine sixe thowsande of his men, to take the city of CAPVA for his refuge. This noble exployte, (as him selfe reported) was the cause that his men kept so well together, that they neither went home to their houses, nor made any reckening of their enemies, although they were many against one. And he sayth furthermore, that in the city of SYLVIVM, there was a slaue of one *Pontius* a citizen, who beinge inspired with a propheticall spirite, came to tell him from the goddesse *Bellona*, that he should grow in strength, & cary away the victory of these wars: howbeit that if he did not hye him the sooner, the Capitoll at ROME should be burnt. And so it fell out the same day according to his wordes, being the sixteene day of the moneth called Quintilis, and now Iuly. And furthermore also, *Lucullus* (one of *Syllaes* Captaines) being neere vnto the city of FIDENTIA with sixteene ensignes only, against fifty ensignes of his enemies, knowing his men to be very well affected to serue, bicause the most parte of them were naked & vnarmed, was afrayed to hazard the battel: and as he was euen bethinking him selfe what was best to determine therof, there rose a litle winde out of a goodly meadow that blewe a wonderfull sorte of flowers apon the souldiers on euery parte of them. These flowers stayed of them selues as they fell, some apon their targets, and others apon their moryans, without falling to the grounde: so that it seemed to their enemies a farre of, as if they had bene garlandes of flowers vpon their heades. This made *Lucullus* souldiers more lusty a great deale, then they were before, and with this good will they determined to geue a charge vpon their enemies: whom they ouerthrew, slue

Bubbles of fire rising out of a meadow by Dyrrachium.

A Satyre take fleeping, and brought to Sylla.

Sylla went against fifteene Generalls, & foure hundred and fifte ensignes.

Syllaes returne into Italie.

Epheum mons.

Sylla ouerthrew the Cōsull Norbanus and Marius the younger neere to the mountaine Epheum.

A slaue foreshewed Syllaes victory, and the burning of the Capitoll which fell out truely.

A winde that blewe flowers out of a meadow vpon Lucullus souldiers by the city of Fidentia.

A fiue eighteene thowſand of them in the field, & tooke their campe. This *Lucullus* was brother vnto the other *Lucullus*, that afterwards ouerthrew the kings *Mithridates*, & *Tigranes*. Neuertheles, *Sylla* perceiuing that his enemies lay round about him with many great puiſant armies, thought good to vſe policy with force: & therefore practiſed with *Scipio*, one of the Conſulls, to make peace with him. *Scipio* was willing to it: & thereupon were oft meetings & aſſemblies of both ſides. Now *Sylla* draue of the concluſion of the peace as long as he could, ſtill ſeeking occaſion of delay, to thend that his ſouldiers which were throughly acquainted with craft and ſubtilty as well as him ſelfe, might in the meane time corrupt *Scipioes* ſouldiers by repayre into his campe: for they comming into *Scipioes* campe, being very conuerſaunt with thē, ſtraight corrupted ſome of them with ready money, other with promiſes, & other with fayer flattering
B words, & many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practiſe had continued a while, *Sylla* comming nere vnto *Scipioes* campe with twenty enſignes only: all his men ſaluted *Scipioes* ſouldiers, & they reſaluting them again, yelded them ſelues vnto *Sylla*, ſo as *Scipio* was left poſte alone in his tente where he was taken, but they afterwards let him goe. So *Sylla* with his twenty enſignes, like vnto the fowlers, that by their ſtales draw other birds into their netts, hauing gotten forty enſignes from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his campe. There it was that *Carbo* ſayd of *Sylla*, that he had to fight with a foxe & a lyon both: but that the foxe did him more hurte & miſchiefe, then the lyon. After this, *Marius* the younger hauing foureſcore and fiue enſignes in his campe neere vnto the citie of SIGNIVM, preſented battell vnto *Sylla*: who hauing very good deſire to fight, and ſpecially on that day, bi-
C cauſe the night before he had ſeene this viſion in his dreame, that he thought he ſawe *Marius* the father (who was deceaſed long before) warning his ſonne that he ſhould come to him. *Sylla* for this reſpect deſired maruelouſly to fight that day: and thereuppon cauſed *Dolobella* to come vnto him, that was before lodged farre from him. But the enemies ſtept betwene him and home, and ſtopped his paſſage to keepe him from ioyning with *Sylla*. *Syllaes* ſouldiers to the contrarie, fought to keepe the way open for him, with ſo great labor and paine, that they were all wearie and ouerharried. And furthermore, there fell a maruelous great ſhower of raine vpon them as they were buſie, opening the way, that troubled them more, then the labor they had in hande. Whereuppon the priuate Captaines of the bandes went to make *Sylla* vnderſtande it, and to pray him to deferre the battell vntill an other day: ſhowing him howe
D the ſouldiers wearied with labor, lay downe vpon their targettes on the grounde to take their eaſe. *Sylla* perceiuing this, was contented withall, though greatly in deede againſt his will. But when he had geuen the ſignall to lodge, and that they beganne to trenche and fortifie their campe: *Marius* the younger commeth a horſe backe marching brauely before all his compa-nie, hoping to haue ſurpriſed his enemies in diſorder, and by that meanes to haue ouerthrowen them eaſily. But farre otherwiſe did fortune then performe the reuelation which *Sylla* had in his foreſayed dreame: for his men fallinge in a rage withall, left their worke in the trenche where they wrought, ſtucke their dartes vppon the bancke, ranne vppon their enemies with their ſwordes drawen, and with a maruelous crie ſet apon them ſo valliantly, that they were not able to reſiſt their furie, but ſodainly turned their backes and fled, where there was a great
E and notable ſlaughter made of them. *Marius* their Captaine fled to the citie of PRÆNESTE, where he found the gates ſhut: but they threw him downe a rope from the wall, which he tied about his midle, and ſo was triced vp by it. Yet ſome wryters ſay, and *Feneſtella* among other, that *Marius* neuer ſawe the battell: for beinge wearied with labor, and verie ſleepie, he laye vnder ſome tree in the ſhadowe to reſt a litle, after he had geuen the ſignall and word of the battell, and ſlept ſo ſowndly, that he coulde ſcant awake with the noyſe and fleeinge of his men. *Sylla* him ſelfe wryteth, that he loſt at this battell but three and twentie men, ſlewe twentie thowſande of his enemies, and tooke eight thowſande priſoners. His Lieutenauntes alſo had the like good ſucceſſe in other places, *Pompeius*, *Craſſus*, *Metellus*, and *Seruilius*: which without any loſſe of their men, or but with a verie ſmall, ouerthrewe ma-
F ny great mightie armies of their enemies. Inſomuch as *Carbo*, the heade and chiefe of all the contrarie faction, and he that moſt maintained it, fled one night out of his campe, and went beyonde the ſeaes into AFRICKE. The laſt battell that *Sylla* had, was againſt *Thebeſinus*

Lucullus victory at Sidenia.

Syllaes policie with Scipio.

Sylla wanne 40. enſignes from Scipio by policie.

Carboes ſaying of Sylla touching the foxe and lyon.

Marius the younger with 85. enſignes preſenteth Sylla battell by the city of Signium.

Syllaes viſion in his dreame.

Marius fled to Praeneſte.

Carbo fled into Africke.

Thelesinus the Samnyte put Sylla in great daūger.

Samnyte, who comming like a fresh champion to set apon him, when he was already wearied, and had fought many battells, had almost slaine him euen at Rome gates. For *Thelesinus* hauinge gathered together a great number of souldiers with one *Lamponius* Lvcanian, marched with all speede towards the city of Prænestɛ, to deliuer *Marius* the younger that was besieged there. But vnderstandinge that *Sylla* on the one side, came in great haste also to meete him, and that *Pomponius* came behinde him on the other side, & perceiuing, moreouer that the way was so shut vp, that he could neither go forward nor backeward: being a valliant souldier, and one that had bene in many great foughten fieldes, most daungerously ventured to go straight to Rome. And so stale away by night with all his whole power, and marching to Rome ward, had almost taken it at his first comming, for that there was neither watch nor ward kept: but he stayed happely tenne furlonges from the gate Collina, bragging with himselfe, and beleuing that he should doe wonders, for that he had mocked so many great Captaines. The next morning betimes came diuerse young noble men and gentlemen out of the citie to skirmishe with *Thelesinus*: who slue a great number of them, and among others one *Appius Claudius* a young gentleman of a noble house, and very honest. Whereuppon (as you may easily imagine) the city trembled for feare, and specially the women, who fell a shreeking, and running vp and downe, as if they had bene all taken. But in this great feare and trouble, *Balbus* (whom *Sylla* had sent) came first with seuen hundred horse vpon the spurre, and staying but a litle to coole and geue them breath, brideled straight againe, and went to set apon the enemies thereby to stay them. Soone after him came *Sylla* also, who commaunded his men that came first, quickely to eate somwhat, and that done, put them straight in battell ray: notwithstanding that *Dolobella* and *Torquatus* perswaded him to the contrary, and besought him not to put his souldiers wearied with their iorney, to so great and manifest a daunger, and the rather, bicause they had not to fight with *Carbo* and *Marius*, but with the Samnytes and Lvcanes, who were (both) warlike nations & good souldiers, and those besides that most deadly hated the Romanes. But for all that, *Sylla* draue them backe, and commaunded his trompets to sounde the alarome, being almost within foure houres of night: and this battell was sharper and more cruell, then any other that euer he fought before. The right wing where *Crassus* was, had the better much: but the left wing was very sore distressed, & stoode in great perill. *Sylla* hearing thereof, and thinking to helpe it, got vp vppon a white courser that was both swift, and very strong. The enemies knewe him, and there were two that lifted vp their armes to throw their dartes at him, whom he saw not: but his page gaue his horse such a lash with his whippe, that he made him so to gird forward, as the very pointes of the dartes came hard by the horse tayle, and stucke fast in the grounde. Some say that *Sylla* had a litle golden image of *Apollo*, which he brought from the city of Delphes, and in time of warres ware it alwayes in his bosome, which he then tooke in his hand, and kissing it, sayd: O *Apollo Pythia*, hast thou so highly exalted *Cornelius Sylla*, so fortunate hitherto through so many famous victories, and wilt thou now with shame ouerwhelme him wholly, euen at the very gates of his owne naturall city among his contrymen? And so crying out to *Apollo* for helpe, thrust into the prease among his men, intreating some, threatning others, and layinge apon the rest to stay them. But for all he coulde doe, all the left winge of his army was broken and ouerthrowen by his enemies: and him selfe amongest them that fled, was compelled to recouer his campe with speede, hauing lost many of his frendes and familiars. There were moreouer many citizens slaine and troden vnder feete (both with horse and men) that came only to see the battell fought: so that they within the city thought them selues vtterly vndone. *Lucretius Ofella* furthermore (he that besieged *Marius* in the citie of Prænestɛ) had almost raised his siege, vpon the wordes of them that fled and came thither from the battell, who wished him to remoue with all speede possible, for *Sylla* was slaine, and *Thelesinus* had taken Rome. Now about midnight came certaine souldiers from *Crassus* to *Syllaes* campe, & asked for meate for *Crassus* supper, and his mens, who hauing chased his flying enemies whom he had ouerthrowen, vnto the city of Antemna (which they tooke for refuge) had lodged his campe there. *Sylla* vnderstāding that, & being aduertised that the most parte of his enemies were ouerthrowen at this battell: went him selfe the next morning betimes vnto Antemna, where three thowsand

Syllaes daunger.

Sylla fled. Lucretius Ofella besieged Marius in Prænestɛ.

In the ende of Marius life it is reported contrarie, that Sylla besieged Marius the younger in Perusia, and not in Prænestɛ.

A thowſand of his enemies ſent to know if he would receiue them to mercy, if they yelded them ſelues vnto him. His aunſwer was, that he would pardon their liues, ſo as they would do ſome miſchiefe to their fellowes before they came to him. Theſe three thowſand hereupon truſting to his promiſe, fell apon their companions: and for the moſt parte one of them killed an other. Notwithſtãding, *Sylla* hauing gathered all thoſe togethe̅ that remained of his enemies, as wel the three thowſand, as the reſt, amounting in all to the number of ſix thowſand men, within the ſhow place where they vſed to run their horſes: whileſt he him ſelf held a counſell in the tẽple of the goddeſſe *Bellona*, & was making his oratiõ there, he had appointed certẽ to ſet vpõ thoſe ſix thowſand, & put them to the ſword euery man. Great and terrible were the cries of ſuch a number of men ſlaine in ſo ſmall a roome, as many may eaſily coniecture: inſomuch as the Se-
B nators ſitting in counſell heard them very eaſily, and marueled what the matter was. But *Sylla* continuing on his oration which he had begon with a ſet ſteady countenance, without chaũging of colour, willed thẽ only to hearken what he ſayd, & not to trouble them ſelues with any thing done abroade: for they were but certen offenders & lewd perſons that were puniſhed by his cõmaundemẽt. This was enough to ſhew the ſimpleſt ROMANE in ROME, that they had but only chaunged the tyran, but not the tyranny. Now for *Marius*, that had bene euer of a churliſh & ſeuere nature euen from his childhood, he neuer chaũged for any authority, but did rather hardẽ his natural ſtubbornes. Where *Sylla* cõtrarily in the beginning, was very modeſt & ciuill in all his proſperity, & gaue great good hope that if he came to the authority of a prince, he would fauor nobility wel, & yet loue notwithſtanding the benefit of the people. And being
C moreouer a man in his youth geuẽ all to pleaſure, deliting to laugh, ready to pity, & weepe for tender hart: in that he became after ſo cruell & bloody, the great alteraciõ gaue manifeſt cauſe to condemne the increaſe of honor & authority, as thonly meanes whereby mens maners continue not ſuch as they were at the firſt, but ſtill do chaunge & vary, making ſome fooles, others vaine & fantaſticall, & others extreame cruel & vnnaturall. But whether that alteracion of nature came by chaunging his ſtate & condicion, or that it was otherwiſe a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which then came to ſhewe it ſelfe, when the way of liberty was layed open: this matter is to be decided in ſome other treatiſe. So it came to paſſe, that *Sylla* fell to ſheading
D of blood, & filled all ROME with infinite & vnſpeakeable murthers: for diuerſe were killed for priuate quarrels, that had nothing to do with *Sylla* at any time, who ſuffered his frends & thoſe about him to worke their wicked wills. Vntil at the length there was a young man called *Caius Metellus*, that was ſo bold to aske *Sylla* in open Senate, when all theſe miſeries ſhould end, and when they ſhould know that all the miſchieues were finiſhed, the which they dayly ſawe. For ſaid he, we will not intreate you to pardõ life, where you haue threatned death: but only to put thẽ out of dout, whom you haue determined to ſaue. Wherunto *Sylla* made aunſwer, that he was not reſolued whom he would ſaue. *Metellus* replied, thẽ tell vs quod he, who they are that ſhall dye. *Sylla* anſwered he would. Howbeit ſome ſay it was not *Metellus*, but *Auſidius* one of
E his flatterers, that ſpake this laſt word vnto him. Wherefore *Sylla* immediatly without making any of the magiſtrats priuy, cauſed foure ſcore mens names to be ſet vp vpon poſtes, whom he would put to death. Euery mã being offẽded withal, the next day following he ſet vp two hundred & twenty mens names more: & likewiſe the third day as many more. Herupon, making an oration to the people, he told thẽ openly that he had appointed all them to dye, that he could call to remẽbraunce: howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that ſhould dye by daies, as he did call them to minde. Whoſoeuer ſaued an outlaw in his houſe, for reward of his kindnes, he himſelfe was condẽned to dye: not excepting thẽ that had receiued their brothers, their ſonnes, their fathers, nor mothers. And the reward of euery homycide & murtherer that killed
F one of the outlawes, was two talentes: though it were a ſlaue that had killed his maſter, or the ſonne that had ſlaine the father. But the moſt wicked & vniuſt act of all was, that he depriued the ſonnes, & ſonnes ſonnes of them whom he had killed, of all credit & good name, & beſides that, had takẽ all their goods as cõfiſcate. And this was not only done in ROME, but alſo in all thẽ cities of ITALIE through out: & there was no tẽple of any god whatſoeuer, no auter in any bodies houſe, no liberty of hoſpital nor fathers houſe, that was not embrued with blood & horrible murder. For the husbãds were ſlaine in their wiues armes, & the childrẽ in their mothers laps:

3000. ſaued them ſelues in Antemnã: and yelded to Sylla vpon promiſe of life.

Sylla againſt the Law of armes and his promiſe, cauſed ſixe thowſand men to be ſlaine.

Honor chaungeth condicions.

Sylla the example.

Infinite murthers committed in Rome by Sylla and his fauorers.

The boldnes of Caius Metellus, to tell Sylla his cruelty in open Senate.

Syllaes proſcripsion.

The murder of outlawes generall through Italy.

and yet they which were slaine for priuate hatred & malice, were nothing in respect of those that were murdered only for their goods. And they that killed them might well say, his goodly great house made that man dye, his goodly fayer garden the other: and his hotte bathes the other. As amongest others, *Quintus Aurelius*, a man that neuer medled with any thinge, and least looked that these euills should light vpon him, and that only pitied those which he saw so miserably murdered: went one day into the market place, and reading the bill set vp of the outlawes names, found his owne name amongest the rest, and cried out alowde: alas the day that euer I was borne, my house of Alba maketh me to be put to death. He went not farre from the market place, but met with one that killed him presently. In the meane time, *Marius* the younger seeing he could by no meanes escape if he were taken, slue him selfe. And *Sylla* comming to Prænestæ, did first execute them by one and by one, keeping a certaine forme of iustice in putting them to death: but afterwardes as if he had no lenger leasure to remaine there, he caused them all to be put in a place together, to the number of twelue thowsand men, whom he caused to be put to the sword euery man, sauing his host only, vnto whom he sayd, that he shewed him specially fauor to saue his life. But his host aunswered him stowtly againe, that he would not be beholding vnto him for his life, seeing he had slaine all the rest of his contry men: and so thrusting in amongest the citizens, was willingly slaine with them.

Marius the younger slue him selfe at Præneste.

Sylla slue 12. thowsand men in Præneste, being put all into one place together.

Lucius Catilina slue his owne brother.

They thought the act of *Lucius Catiline* also very straunge, who had slaine his owne brother before the ciuill warre was ended: and then prayed *Sylla* to put him in the number of the outlawes, as if his brother had bene aliue. *Sylla* performed his desire. *Catiline* thereuppon to shewe his thankefulnesse for the pleasure *Sylla* had done him, went presently, and slue *Marcus Marius*, who was of the contrary faction: and brought him his head for a present before all the people, in the middest of the market place where he was sitting. When he had so done, he went and washed his handes all bloodied in the hallowed font of the temple of *Apollo*, that was hard by. But besides so many murders cõmitted, yet were there other things also that grieued the people maruelously. For he proclaimed him selfe Dictator, which office had not bene of six score yeares before in vse, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past, geuing him free liberty afterwardes to kill whom he would, and to confiscate their goodes: to destroy cities, and to build vp new as he lifted: to take away kingdomes, and to geue them where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly sold the goodes confiscate, by the crier, sitting so prowdly and stately in his chayer of state, that it grieued the people more to see those goodes packt vp by them, to whome he gaue and disposed them: then to see them taken from those that had forfeited them. For somtimes he would geue a whole contry, or the whole reuenues of certaine cities, vnto women for their beawty, or vnto pleasaunt iesters, minstrells, or wicked slaues made free: and vnto some, he would geue other mens wiues by force, and make them to be maried against their willes. For he desiring (howesoeuer it happened) to make alliance with *Pompey* the great, cõmaunded him to put away his wife he had maried: and taking *AEmylia* (the daughter of *AEmylius Scaurus*, & of *Metella* his wife) from the great *Glabrio*, caused him to mary her great with childe as she was by *Glabrio*: but she dyed in childbed, in *Pompeyis* house. *Lucretius Offella* also that had brought *Marius* the younger to that distresse at the city of Prænestæ: suing to be Consull, *Sylla* commaunded him to cease his sute. But he notwithstandinge that expresse commaundement, went one day into the market place, with a great traine of men following him that fauored his cause. Whither *Sylla* sent one of his Centurions that slue *Offella* before all the people: him selfe sitting in a chayer of estate in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and seeing from aboue the murder done. The people that were about *Offella*, layed hold of the murderer straight & brought him before *Sylla*. But *Sylla* bad them be quiet, that brought the Centurion with tumult, and that they should let him goe, bicause he commaunded him to do it. Furthermore as touching his triumphe, it was a sumptuous sight to behold, for the rarenes of the riches, and princely spoyles which were shewed at the same. But yet was it so much the better set out, and worth the sight, to see the banished Romanes, who were the chiefest noble men of all the city of Rome, following his charet triumphant, wearing garlandes of flowers on their heades, calling *Sylla* their father, and sauior: bicause that by his meanes they returned to their contry, and recouered their goods, wiues, and children.

Sylla Dictator.

Lucretius Offella slaine.

The order of Syllaes triumphe.

A drum. In the end of his triumphe, he made an oration in open assembly of the people of ROME, in the which he did not only declare vnto the (according to the custome) what thinges he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and successe, as of his valiant deedes besides: and to conclude his oration, told them that by reason of the great fauor fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by the, Felix, to say, happy, or fortunate. And he him selfe when he wrote vnto the GREECIANS, or that he had any thing to do with them: surnamed him selfe Epaphroditus, as who would say, a pleasaunt man, beloued and fauored of *Venus*. His tokens of triumphe which are yet in our contry, haue this superscription. *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus*. And when his wife *Metella* had brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter: he named his sonne *Faustus*, signifying fortunate, *Sylla's twinnes, named Faustus and Fausta.*
B and his daughter *Fausta*: bicause the ROMANES call Faustum that, which falleth out prosperously, and happely. To be short, he trusted so much vnto his good fortune and doinges, that notwithstanding he had killed and put so many men to death, and had made so great a chaunge and innouation in the common wealth, yet of him selfe he left of his office of Dictator, and restored the people to the authority of election of Consulls againe, without his presence at the election: and frequented the market place as a priuate man among the citizens, offering him selfe to euery man that would aske him accompt of his doings past. It happened that a stowt and rash enemy of his was Chosen Consull against his will, called *Marcus Lepidus*, not for any deuotion the people had to *Lepidus*, but onely to gratifie *Pompey*, who gaue countenaunce and fauor vnto him. *Sylla* seeing *Pompey* come mery homewardes from the election, and ioyfull that he had obtained his frendes sute from all other suters: tooke him a side, & told him. In deede thou hast great cause to reioyce, young man my frende, for thou hast done a goodly acte: to choose *Marcus Lepidus* Consull, the veriest asse in all ROME, before *Catulus* the honestest man. But I tell thee one thing, thou haddest not nede to sleepe: for thou hast strengthened an enemy, that will be thine owne destruction. And *Sylla* proued a true prophet: for *Lepidus* being bent to all cruelty immediatly after, flatly fell at defiaunce with *Pompey*. Now *Sylla* consecratinge the dishes of all his goodes vnto *Hercules*, made exceeding sumptuous feastes vnto the ROMANES, the prouision whereof was so vnreasonable great, that euery day they threwe a great deale of meate into the riuer, and they dranke wine of forty yeares olde and aboue. During these feastes which continued many dayes, his wife *Metella* sickened, and dyed, *Marcus Lepidus chosen Consull.* *Sylla feasted the people.* *Wine of forty yeares olde & vpward.*
D and in her sickenes the Priestes and Soothsayers willed *Sylla* he should not come neere her, nor suffer his house to be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon *Sylla* was diuorsed from her in her sickenes, and caused her to be caried into an other house, whilest she liued. And thus did *Sylla* curiously obserue the superstition and ordinaunce of the Soothsayers: but yet he brake the law which he made him selfe, touching the order of funeralls, sparinge no cost at *Metellaes* buriall. So did he also breake an other order him selfe had made, touching the reformation of banckets: comforting his sorrow with ordinary feastes, full of all vanity and lasciuiousnes. Within a fewe monethes after, he had fensers games at the sharpe: and the roomes of the Theater being open and vnseuered, men and women sitting together, it fortuned that there was a fayer Lady, and of a noble house, that sat hard by *Sylla*, called *Va-* *Sylla brake his owne lawes he made.*
E *leria*: she was the daughter of *Messala*, and sister of *Hortensius* the orator, and had bene diuorsed not long before from her husbande. This Lady passing by *Sylla* behinde him did softly put her hand on his shoulder, and tooke a heare from of his gowne, and so went on to her place, and sat her downe. *Sylla* marueling at this familiarity, looked earnestly vpon her: it is nothing my Lord, (quod she) but that I desire with others to be partaker a litle of your happines. Her words misliked not *Sylla*, but contrarily he shewed that she had tickled him with them: for he sent straight to aske her name, and enquired of what house she was, and how she had liued. But after many slye lookes betwene them, they turned their faces one to an other vpon euery occasion, with prety smyling countenaunces: so that in the ond, they came to promise & contract mariage together, for the which *Valeria* was not to be blamed. For though she was as
F wise, as honest, and as vertuous a Lady as could be possible, yet the occasion that made *Sylla* mary her, was neither good nor commendable, bicause he was taken straight with a looke and a fine tongue, as if he had bene but a young boy: which commonly shew forth the filthiest pas- *Valeria, desirous to be partaker of Sylles happines.* *Sylla maried Valeria, the sister of Hortensius the Orator.*

sions of the minde, to be so caried, and with such motions. Now, notwithstanding he had this fayer young Lady in his house, he left not the company of women minstrells & tumblers, but to haue pleasaunt iesters and musitians about him, with whome he would lye wallowing and drinking all the day long, vppon litle cowches made for the noneſt. For, his companions that were in greateſt estimacion with him at that time, were these three: *Roscius* a maker of common playes, *Sorex* a prince of scoffers, and one *Metrobius* a singing man, whom he was in loue withall while he liued, & yet did not dissemble his loue, though he was past age to be beloued. This wicked life of his was cause of increasing his disease, the originall cause whereof had a light foundacion at the first. For he liued a great time before he perceiued that he had an impostume in his body, the which by processe of time came to corrupt his flesh in such sorte, that it turned all to lice: so that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shift him continually night and day, yet the lyce they wiped away were nothing, in respect of them that multiplied still vpon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, washing, nor meate it selfe, but was presently filled with swarmes of this vile vermine. For he went many times in the day into the bathe to washe and clense him selfe of them, but all would not serue: for the chaunging of his flesh into this putriture wanne it straight againe, that there was no clensing nor shifting of him, that could kepe such a nũber of lyce from him. Some say, that in old time (amongest the most auncientest men, whereof there is any memory) *Acastus* the sonne of *Pelias*, dyed of the lowsie euill: and long time after also, the Poet *Alcman*, and *Pherecides* the diuine: and so did *Callisthenes* Olynthian in prison, and *Mutius* a wise lawyer. And if we shall make mencion of those that are famous men, although it be not in any good matter: we finde that a bonde man called *Eunus*, he that was the first procurer of the warres of the bondmen in Sicilia, being taken and caried to Rome, dyed also of the same disease. Furthermore, *Sylla* did not only foresee his death, but he wrote some thing of it also: for he made an end of writing the two and twenty booke of his commentaries, two dayes before he dyed. In that booke he sayth, that the wise men of Chaldea had told him long before, that after he had liued honorably, he should ende his dayes in the flower of all his prosperity. And there he sayth also, that his sonne (who departed a litle before his mother *Metella*) appeared to him in his sleepe, apparrelled in an ill fauored gowne, and that comminge vnto him, he prayed him he would go with him vnto *Metella* his mother, thenceforth to liue in peace and rest with her. But for all his disease, he would not geue ouer to deale in matters of state. For tenne dayes before his death he pacified a sedition, and tumult, risen among the inhabitantes of the city of Puteolanvm (in Italian called Pozzolo) and there he gaue them lawes and ordinaunces, whereby they should gouerne them selues. And the day before he dyed, hearing that *Granius* who was in debt to the common wealth deferred payment of his money looking for his death: he sent for him, and made him come into his chamber, and there caused his men to compasse him about, and commaunded them to strangle him in his sight. The passion of his anger was so vehement against him, that by the extreame straining of him selfe, he brake the impostume in his body, so as there gushed out a wonderfull deale of blood: by reason whereof his strength failing him, he was full of paine and panges that night, and so dyed, leauing the two litle children he had by *Metella*. For *Valeria*, was brought to bed of a daughter after his death, which was called *Posthumia*, bicause the Romanes call those children that are borne after the death of their fathers, *Posthumi*. Now when *Sylla* was dead, many gathered about the Consull *Lepidus* to let that his body should not be honorably buried, as they were accustomed to bury noble men & men of quality. But *Pompey*, though he was angry with *Sylla*, bicause he had geuen him nothing in his will, and had remembred all his other frendes: yet he made some for loue, some by intreaty, and others with threatning to let it alone, and accompanying the corps to to Rome, gaue both safety and honor vnto the performance of his funeralls. And it is sayd also, that the Romane Ladies, amongest other things, bestowed such a quantity of perfumes & odoriferous matter towardes the same: that besides those which were brought in two hundred and tenne great baskets, they made a great image to the likenes of *Sylla* him selfe, and another of a sergeaunt carying the axes before him, all of excellent incence & synamon. When the day of the funeralls came, fearing least it would raine in the forenone, all the element be-

ing

Syllaes impostume turned to lyce.

Diuers famous men that dyed of lyce.

Syllaes commentaries containe 22. bookes.

Syllaes sonne that was dead appeared to him in his dreame in ill fauored apparell.

Granius strangeled in Syllaes sight by his owne commaundement.

Syllaes death.

Posthumi.

Syllaes funeralls.

A ingso clowdy: they deferred to cary forth the body to be burnt, vntill past three of the clocke in the afternone. And then rose there such a sodaine boysterous winde, that it set all the stake of wodde straight a fire, that the body was burnt at a tryce, and the fire going out, fell a great shower of raine that held on till night: so that it seemed good fortune following him euen to his ende, did also helpe his obsequies after his death. His tombe is to be seene in the fielde of *Mars*, and they say that he him selfe made his owne epitaphe that is wrytten vpon it, which was: that no man did euer passe him, neither in doing good to his frendes, nor in doing mischiefe to his enemies. *Syllaes epitaphe.*

THE COMPARISON OF *Sylla with Lysander.*

A NOw that we haue at large also set forth the life of the ROMANE, let vs come to compare them both together. In this they are both a like, that both of them grew to be great men, rising of thē selues through their owne vertue: but this only is proper to *Lysander*, that all the offices & dignities which he attained vnto in the common wealth, were layed apon him through the peoples good wills and consents. For he compelled them to nothinge, neither vsurped he any extraordinarie authoritie vppon them, contrarie to lawe: for, as the common saying is:

VVhere partialitie, and discorde once doe raigne:
B *There vvicked men are most esteemde, and rule vvith greatest gaine.*

As at that time in ROME, the people being corrupted, and the state of gouernment vtterly subuerted and brought to nought: to day there rose vp one tyranne, to morow an other. And therefore we may not wonder if *Sylla* vsurped and ruled all, when such fellowes as *Glaucia* and *Saturninus*, did both banish and driue out of ROME such men as *Metellus* was: and where also in open assembly they slue Consuls sonnes in the market place, and where force of armes was bought & sold for gold and siluer, with the which the souldiers were corrupted: & where they made new lawes with fire and sword, and forced men to obey the same. Yet I speake not this in reproache of him that in such troublesome times founde meanes to make him selfe the greatest man: but to shew that I measure not his honesty by the dignity he grew vnto in so vnfortunate a city, although he became the chiefe. And as touching him that came from SPARTA (at what time it florished most, and was the best gouerned common weale) he in all great C causes, and in most honorable offices, was reputed for the best of all bests, and the chiefe of all chiefes. Wherefore it happened, that the one resigned vp the authority to his contry men, the citizens, which they had geuen him, who also restored it to him againe many and sundry *The chiefe person is not alwayes the honestest.*

times: for the honor of his vertue did alwayes remaine, and made him iuſtly accompted the worthieſt man. Where the other being once only choſen generall of an army, remained tenne yeares continually in warres and hoſtilitie, making him ſelfe by force, ſometime Conſull, ſomtime vice Conſull, and ſomtime Dictator, but alwayes continued a tyranne. Indede *Lyſander* attempted to chaunge, and alter the ſtate of gouernment in his contrie, howbeit it was with greater lenity, and more lawfully then *Sylla* did. For he ſought it by reaſon, and good perſwaſion, not by the ſword: neither would he make a chaunge of the whole at one ſelfe time as *Sylla* did, but ſought only to reforme the election of kinges. The which thing according to nature, doubtleſſe ſeemed very iuſt: that he which was the beſt amongeſt good men, ſhould be choſen king of that citie, which was the chiefe ouer all Greece, not for her nobility, but for her vertue only. For like as a good hunter doth not ſeeke for the whelpe of a good dogge, but for the good dogge him ſelfe: nor a wiſe man of armes alſo, the colte that commeth of a good horſe, but the good horſe him ſelfe. Euen ſo, he that taketh vpon him to ſtabliſh a ciuill gouernment, committeth a fowle fault: if he looke of whom his Prince ſhould be borne, and not what the Prince him ſelfe ſhould be, conſidering that the Lacedæmonians them ſelues haue depriued diuerſe of their kinges from their crowne and realme, bicauſe they were not Princely, but vnprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a noble man, yet is it alwayes ill of it ſelfe: but vertue is honored for her ſelfe alone, and not bicauſe ſhe is placed with nobility. Now for the wronges and iniuries they both committed, the one did worke only to pleaſure his frendes, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is certaine, that *Lyſander* did great wronges to gratifie his familliars: and the moſt parte of them whom he put to death, was to eſtabliſh the tyrannicall power of certaine his frendes. Where *Sylla* ſought for ſpite to take away his army from *Pompey*, and the Admirallty from *Dolobella*, which he him ſelfe had geuen, & cauſed *Lucretius Offella* to be ſlaine openly in his owne ſight, bicauſe he ſought to be Conſull, for recompence of the good ſeruice he had done: for which cruelty of his, cauſinge his owne frendes to be ſlaine in ſuch ſorte, he made euery man afeard of him. Furthermore, their behauiors touching couetouſnes and pleaſure doth ſhew, that the intent of the one was the deſire of a good Prince, and the other, that of a tyranne. For we doe not finde that *Lyſander*, for all his great Princely authority, did euer vſe any inſolency or laſciuiouſnes in his deedes, but alwayes auoyded as much as a man might, the reproache of this common prouerbe: Lyons at home, and Foxes abroade: He led ſuch a true Laconian life, ſtraightly reformed in all poyntes. Where *Sylla* could neuer moderate his vnlawfull luſtes, neither for pouerty when he was young, nor yet for age, when it came vpon him. But whileſt he gaue lawes to the Romanes touching matrimoniall honeſtie and chaſtitie: him ſelfe in the meane time did nothing but follow loue, and commit adultries, as *Saluſt* wryteth. By meanes whereof he ſo much impoueriſhed Rome, and left it ſo voyde of gold and ſiluer: that for redy money he ſold abſolute freedome vnto the cities their confederates, yet was it his dayly ſtudy to confiſcate and take for forfeit, the richeſt and moſt wealthieſt houſes in all the whole citie of Rome. But all this ſpoyle and hauoke was nothing in compariſon of that which he dayly caſt away vpon his ieaſters & flatterers. What ſparing, or meaſure may we thinke he kept, in his giftes at priuate banckets: when openly in the day time (all the people of Rome being preſent to ſee him ſell the goodes which he had cauſed to be confiſcate) he made one of his frendes and familiars, to truſſe vp a great deale of houſehold ſtuffe, for a very litle price. And when any other had out bidden his price, & that the crier had cried it out alowde: then was he angry, and ſayd: My frendes, I haue great wrong done me here, not to ſuffer me ſell the ſpoile I haue gotten at mine owne pleaſure, and diſpoſe it as I liſt my ſelfe. Where *Lyſander* contrarily ſent to the common wealth of Sparta, with other money, the very preſentes that were geuen to him ſelfe. And yet I do not commende him in that deede. For, peraduenture he did more hurt to Sparta, bringing thither that gold & ſiluer: then *Sylla* did to Rome, in waſting and conſuming that he conſumed. Howbeit I alleage this onely, for proofe and declaration that *Lyſander* was nothing couetous. They both haue done that vnto their citie, which neuer any other but them ſelues did. For *Sylla* being a riotous and licentious man, brought his citizens notwithſtanding to good order and gouernment: and *Lyſander* contrarily filled his citie with

Lyſanders & Syllaes faults.

Lyſanders temperance and moderate life.

Syllaes licentious and prodigall life.

Syllaes tyrannicall ſaying.

A with vice, yet not infected withall him ſelfe. Thus were they both offendors, the one for breaking the law he commaunded to be kept, and the other in making the citizens worſe then he was him ſelfe: for he taught the SPARTANS to deſire thoſe thinges, which he aboue all things had learned to deſpiſe. And thus much concerning peace and ciuill gouernment. Now for matters of warre and battells fought, there is no compariſon to be made of *Lyſander* to *Sylla*, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For *Lyſander* wanne only but two battells by ſea, beſides the taking of the citie of ATHENS: which (though I graunt him) being rightly conſidered, was no great exployte of warre, howbeit it was a noble act, conſidering the fame he wan by it. And as for things which happened to him in BOEOTIA, hard by the citie of ALIARTE: a man might ſay peraduenture that he had ill lucke. But yet me thinkes alſo there B was a fault in him, for that he ſtayed not for king *Pauſanias* aide (the which came from PLATEES immediatly after his ouerthrow) and bicauſe he went in a geere in fury, and in a vaine ambition to runne his head againſt a wall: ſo that men of all ſortes making a deſperate ſalye out of ALIARTE vpon him, ſlue him there to no purpoſe. Farre vnlike to *Cleombrotus* that died at the battell of LEVCTRES, reſiſting his enemies that diſtreſſed his men: nor yet like *Cyrus*, nor *Epaminondas*, who to keepe his men from flying, and to geue them aſſured victory, receiued his deadly wounde: for all theſe men dyed like noble kings, & valliant Captaines. Where *Lyſander* raſhly caſt him ſelfe away, to his great diſhonor, by too much venturing: prouing thereby, that the auncient SPARTANS did like wiſe men, to auoyde the fight with walles. For the nobleſt and valliantest man that is, or poſſible can be, may eaſily be ſo ſlaine, not onely by C the firſt ſouldier that commeth, but by euery ſeely woman or childe. As they ſay that the worthy *Achilles* was killed by *Paris* within the very gates of TROIA. Now to the contrarie againe, the victories that *Sylla* wanne in ſet battells, and the thowſandes of enemies which he ſlue, are not eaſily to be numbred, beſides alſo that he tooke the citty of ROME twiſe, and the hauen of ATHENS: not by famine as *Lyſander* did, but by force, after he had by many great battells driuen *Archelaus* out of firme land, into the maine ſea. It is to be conſidered alſo, againſt what Captaines they made warres. For me thinkes it was but a paſtime, as a mā might ſay, for *Lyſander* to fight with *Antiochus*, a pylot of *Alcibiades*, or to ſurpriſe and deceiue *Philocles*, a common orator at ATHENS,

Much vvorſe then tvvo edged ſvvord, his buſie tongue did ſeeme:
D *VVhich pratled ſtill, and honeſtie did neuer once eſteeme,*

And whom *Mithridates* (in my opinion) would not vouchſafe to compare with his horſe-keeper, nor *Marius* with one of his ſergeauntes or maſebearers. But to leaue a ſide the particular names of all other Princes, Lordes, Conſulls, Prætors, Captaines, and Gouernors that made warres with *Sylla*: what ROMANE Captaine was there more to be feared, then *Marius*? what king liuing was there of ſuch power as king *Mithridates*? And of Generalls and Lieutenauntes of armies in all ITALIE, were there any euer more valliant, then *Lamponius* and *Theleſinus*: of the which *Sylla* draue the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and ſlue the two laſt? But the greateſt matter of all that we haue ſpoken of yet, in my opinion was, that *Lyſander* did all his noble actes, with the aide of his whole contrie: where *Sylla* to the contrarie E did his, (being baniſhed from his contry) by his enemies. And at the ſelfe ſame time that they draue *Syllaes* wife out of ROME, that they ouerthrewe his houſes, and ſlue his frendes alſo in ROME: he notwithſtanding made warres in the meane time with infinite thowſandes of fighting men in BOEOTIA, and ventred his perſon in manifold daungers, ſo that in the end he conquered them all to the honor & benefit of his contry. Furthermore, *Sylla* would neuer ſtoupe to king *Mithridates*, for any particular allyance he offred him, neither yeelde vnto him for any aide of men, or money, to warre againſt his enemies: but a thing moſt chiefely to be noted aboue the reſt, he would not vouchſafe to ſpeake to *Mithridates*, nor to take him by the hande onely, before he had ſpoken it with his owne mouth, and faithfully promiſed, that he would forgoe ASIA, deliuer him his gallies, and geue vp the realmes of BITHYNIA and CAPPADO-F CIA vnto their naturall kinges. This me thinkes was the goodlieſt act that euer *Sylla* did, and proceeded of the greateſt magnanimity, to haue preferred the benefit of the common wealth in that ſorte, before his priuate cōmodity. For therin he was like vnto a good greyhoūd that firſt

Sylla for wars to be preferred before Lyſander.

Sylla fought with men of greateſt power and ouercame them.

Syllaes magnanimity.

pincheth the deare, and holdeth him faſt, till he haue ouerthrowen him: and then afterwarde followeth the recouery of his owne priuate quarrell. And laſtly, me thinkes it is eaſily iudged what difference there was betwene their two natures, in that they did both towardes the cite of ATHENS. For *Sylla* hauing taken it, after the citizens had made fierce warres with him for the increaſe of king *Mithridates* greatnes: yet he left it free vnto them, enioying their owne lawes. Where *Lyſander* to the contrary, ſeing ſuch a mighty ſtate and Empire as that, ouerthrowen from the great rule it bare, had no pity of it at all, but tooke away the libertie of popular gouernment, whereby it had bene gouerned of long time before: and eſtabliſhed there very cruell and wicked tyrans. And therfore in myne opinion, we ſhall not much ſwarue from troth, if we geue this iudgement: that *Sylla* did the greater acts: and *Lyſander* committed the fewer faultes. And that we geue to the one the honor of a continent and modeſt man: and to the other, the commendacion of a valliant and skilfull ſouldier.

Plutarkes iudgement of Sylla and Lyſander.

THE LIFE OF *Cimon.*

Peripoltas & his poſterity.

PEripoltas the Soothſayer, he that brought king *Opheltas* out of THESSALIE into the contry of BOEOTIA, with the people which were vndre his obedience: left a poſterity after him that long time floriſhed in that contry, the more parte of the which were euer reſident in the city of CHÆRONEA, bicauſe it was the firſt city that was cõquered from the barbarous people whom they expulſed thence. All they that came of that race, were commonly men of great corage, and naturally geuen to the warres: who were ſo forward and aduenturous in all daungers therof (in the inuaſions of the MEDES into GREECE, & in the battells of the GAVLES) that they were ſlaine all of them, but onely *Damon* (a litle childe left fatherleſſe and motherleſſe) ſurnamed *Peripoltas* that eſcaped, who for goodly perſonage and noble corage excelled all the luſty youthes of his time, though otherwiſe he was very rude, and of a ſeuere nature. Now it fortuned, that when *Damon* was growen of full age, a ROMANE Captaine of an enſigne of footemen (lying in garriſon for the winter ſeaſon in the citie of CHE-

The maners & lewd partes of Damon Peripoltas.

A Chæronea) fell in great loue with *Damon*: and bicauſe he could not reape the frutes of his dishoneſt loue by no intreaty nor giftes, there appeared vehement preſumptions that by force he went about to abuſe him, for that Chæronea at that time (being my naturall city where I was borne) was a ſmall thing, and (being of no ſtrength nor power) little regarded. *Damon* miſtruſting the Captaines villanie, and deteſting his abhominable deſire watched him a ſhrewd time, and got certaine of his companions (not many in number, bicauſe he might the more ſecretly compaſſe his enterpriſe) to be a counſel with him, and take his parte againſt the Captaine. Now there were a ſixteene of them in conſort together, that one night blacked their faces all with ſoote, & the next morning after they had dronke together, by the breake of day ſet vpon this Romane Captaine, that was making ſacrifice in the market place, and ſlue him
B with a good number of his men: and when they had done, fled out of the citie, which was ſtraight in a great vprore for the murther committed. Thereuppon they called a counſell, and in the market place condemned *Damon* and his confederates to ſuffer paines of death: hoping thereby to haue cleared their innocencie for the fact done to the Romaines. But the ſelfe ſame night, as all the magiſtrates and officers of the city were at ſupper together in the towne houſe according to their cuſtome: *Damon* & his followers ſtale vpon them ſodainly, ſlue them all, & fled againe vpon it. It chaunſed about that time, that *Lucius Lucullus* being ſent on ſome iorney, paſſed by the city of Chæronea with his army: & bicauſe this murther was but newly done, he ſtayed there a few dayes to examine the troth & originall thereof. And found that the commons of the citie were in no fault, but that they them ſelues alſo had receiued hurte:
C whereupon he tooke the ſouldiers of the Romanes that remained of the garriſon, & caried thē away with him. In the meane time, *Damon* deſtroyed all the contry thereabout, and ſtill houeted neere to the citie, inſomuch as the inhabitantes of the ſame were driuen in the end to ſend vnto him, and by gentle wordes and fauorable decrees handled him ſo, that they intyſed him to come againe into the city: and when they had him amongeſt them, they choſe him Gymnaſiarchus, to ſay, a maſter of exerciſes of youth. But ſhortly after, as they were rubbing of him with oyle in his ſtoone or hotte houſe, ſtarke naked as he was, they ſlue him by treaſon. And bicauſe that there appeared ſprights of long time after in that place, & that there were heard
D groninges & ſighings as our fathers tolde vs, they cauſed the dore of the hotte houſe to be walled vp: yet for all that, there are viſions ſeene, and terrible voyces and cries heard in that ſelfe place vnto this preſent time, as the neighbours dwellinge by doe teſtifie. Now they that were diſcended of this *Damon* (for there are yet of his race in the contrie of Phocians, neere vnto the citie of Stiris, who do only of all other both keepe the language and maners of the Æolians) are called Asbolomeni, ſignifyinge blacke, and beſmered with ſoote: bicauſe that *Damon* and his fellowes did blacke their faces with ſoote, when they ſlue the Romane
E Captaine. But the Orchomenians being neere neighbors vnto the Chæronians, and therfore their enemies, hyered an informer of Rome, a malitious accuſer, to accuſe the whole citie, (as if it had bene one priuate perſon alone) for the murther of the Romanes, whome *Damon* and his companions had ſlaine. The inditement was drawen, and the caſe pleaded before the gouernor of Macedon, for that the Romanes did ſend no gouernors at that time into Greece: and the counſellers that pleaded for the citie of Chæronea, relied vpon the teſtimonie of *Lucius Lucullus*, referring them ſelues to his reporte, who knew the troth, & how it was. Thereuppon the gouernor wrote vnto him, and *Lucullus* in his letter of aunſwere aduer-
F tiſed the very troth: ſo was our city cleared of the accuſation, which otherwiſe ſtoode in daunger of vtter deſtruction. The inhabitantes of the city of Chæronea, for that they had eſcaped the daunger by teſtimonie of *Lucius Lucullus*, to honor him withall, they ſet vp his image in ſtone in the market place, next vnto the image of *Bacchus*. And we alſo that be liuing at this preſent, though many yeares be gone and paſſed ſence, do notwithſtanding recken our ſelues partakers of his forepaſſed benefit. And bicauſe we are perſwaded, that the image and portraiture that maketh vs acquainted with mens manners and condicions, is farre more excellent, then the picture that repreſenteth any mans perſon or ſhape only: we will comprehend his life and doinges according to the troth, in this volume of noble mens liues, where we doe compare and ſorte them one with an other. It ſhalbe ſufficient for vs therefore, that we ſhew

Lucius Lucullus examineth the troth of the murther.

Damon ſlaine by treaſon.

Asbolomeni, who they were, and why ſo called.

Chæronea indited for the murther.

Lucullus called for a witneſſe of the troth.

Hiſtorie, is a certaine image of mens manners and wiſedom.

our ſelues thankefull for his benefit, and we thinke, that he himſelfe would miſlike for reward of his true teſtimonie, to be requited with a fauorable lye told in his behalfe. But like as when we will haue a paſſinge fayer face drawen, and liuely counterfeated, and that hath an excellent good grace withall, yet ſome manner of bleamiſhe or imperfection in it: we will not allowe the drawer to leaue it out altogether, nor yet too curiouſly to ſhewe it, bicauſe the one would deforme the counterfeate, and the other make it very vnlikely. Euen ſo, bicauſe it is a hard thing (or to ſay better, peraduenture impoſſible) to deſcribe a man, whoſe life ſhould altogether be innocent, and perfect: we muſt firſt ſtudy to wryte his vertues at large, and then by ſeeke perfectly to repreſent the troth, euen as the life it ſelfe. But where by chaūce we finde certaine faultes and errors in their doinges, proceeding either of paſſion of the minde, by neceſſity of the time or ſtate of the common wealth: they are rather to be thought imperfections of vertue not altogether accompliſhed, then any purpoſed wickednes proceeding of vice, or certaine malice. Which we ſhall not neede too curiouſly to expreſſe in our hiſtory, but rather to paſſe them lightly ouer, of reuerent ſhame to the meere frayelty of mans nature, which can not bringe foorth a man of ſuch vertue and perfection, but there is euer ſome imperfection in him. And therefore, conſidering with my ſelfe vnto whome I might compare *Lucullus*, I thought it beſt to compare him with *Cimon*, bicauſe they haue bene both valliant ſouldiers againſt their enemies, hauing both done notable exploytes in warres againſt the barbarous people: and moreouer, they haue both bene curteous & mercifull vnto their citizens, & were both the only men that pacified the ciuill warres and diſſention in their contrie, and both the one & the other of them wan notable victories of the barbarous people. For there was neuer Greecian Captaine before *Cimon*, nor Romane Captaine before *Lucullus*, that had made warres ſo farre of from their contrie leauing a parte the deedes of *Bacchus* and of *Hercules*, and the deedes alſo of *Perſeus*, againſt the Æthiopians, the Medes, and the Armenians, and the deedes of *Iaſon* alſo: if there remaine any monument extant ſince their time, worthie of credit in theſe our dayes. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together: that they neuer ended their warres, they only ouerthrewe their enemies, but neuer ouercame them altogether. Againe, they may note in them a great reſemblaunce of nature, for their honeſtie, curteſie and humanitie, which they ſhewed vnto ſtraungers in their contrie: and for the magnificence and ſumptuouſnes of their life and ordinarie expence. It may be we doe leaue out ſome other ſimilitudes betwene them: howbeit in the diſcourſe of their liues they will eaſily appeare. *Cimon* was the ſonne of *Miltiades* and of *Hegeſipyle*, a Thracian woman borne, and the daughter of king *Olorus*, as we finde wrytten in certaine poeticall verſes which *Melanthius* and *Archelaus* haue wrytten of *Cimon*. The father of *Thucydides* the hiſtoriographer him ſelfe, who was of kinne alſo vnto *Cimon*, was called in like manner *Olorus*, ſhowing by the agreeing of the name, that this king *Olorus* was one of his aunceſters, and did alſo poſſeſſe mines of gold in the contry of Thracia. It is ſayd moreouer that he dyed in a certaine place called the ditchie forreſt, where he was ſlaine: howbeit that his aſhes and bones were caried into the contrie of Attica, where his tombe appeareth yet to this day, amongeſt the tombes of them of the houſe and family of *Cimon*, neere vnto the tombe of *Cimons* owne ſiſter called *Elpinice*. Notwithſtanding, *Thucydides* was of the village of Alimvs, and *Miltiades* of the village of Lacia. This *Miltiades* *Cimons* father, being condemned by the ſtate to pay the ſumme of fifty talentes, was for non payment caſt into priſon, and there dyed: and left *Cimon* and his ſiſter *Elpinicè* aliue, both Orphanes, and very young. Now, *Cimon* in his firſt young yeares had a very ill name and reporte in the city, being counted a riotous young man, & a great drinker, following his grandfather *Cimons* facions vp and downe, as he had alſo his name: ſauing that his grandfather for his beaſtlines was ſurnamed *Coalemos*, as much to ſay as foole. *Steſimbrotus* Thasian, who was about *Cimons* time, wryteth, that *Cimon* neuer learned muſike, nor any other of the liberall ſciences accuſtomably taught to young noble mens ſonnes of Greece, & that he had no ſharpe wit, nor good grace of ſpeaking, a vertue proper vnto children borne in the contry of Attica: howbeit that he was of a noble minde, and plaine, without diſſimulacion, ſo that he rather liued Peloponnesian like, then like an Athenian. For he was euen ſuch as the Poet *Euripides* deſcribed *Hercules* to be:

A prety ſimilitude.

Howe to deſcribe the life of a man.

Cimon, & Lucullus in what ſtinges they were like.

Cimons linadge.

Thucidydes linadge.

Miltiades died in priſon.

Cimon defamed in his youth. Coalemos, foole.

Cimons condicions.

A

A simple man he was, and could not well disguise:
As honest eke in thinges of weight, as wit could well deuise.

This serued fitly to be applied vnto *Stesimbrotus* wordes wrytten of him: but notwithstanding, in his first younge yeares he was suspected of incontinency with his sister, who in deede otherwise had no very good name. For she was very familiar with the painter *Polygnotus*, who painting the TROIAN Ladies prisoners, vpon the walls of the gallery, called the Plesianaction, and now *Pœcile*: (to say, set out and beawtified with diuers pictures) he drue (as they say) LAODICES face vpon *Elpinices* picture. This painter *Polygnotus* was no common artificer nor hireling, that painted this gallery for moneys sake, but gaue his labor franckely to the common wealth, as all the historiographers that wrote in that time do witnesse: and as the Poet *Melanthius* also reciteth in these verses.

Elpinice Cimons sister vnchast.

Polygnotus the painter.

At his owne proper charge, great cost he hath bestowed:
In decking vp our temples here with gilted roofes embowed,
For honor of the goddes. And in our town like wise,
He hath adorn'd the common place, with many a fine deuise.
Painting and setting forth, in stately show to see,
The images of demy goddes that here amongest vs be.

Yet some say that *Elpinice* did not secretly companie with her brother *Cimon*, but lay with him openly as his lawfull maried wife, bicause she could not for her pouerty haue a husband of like nobilitie and parentage to her selfe. Howbeit, that a certaine man called *Callias*, being one of the richest men of the citie, did afterwardes fall in fansie with her, and desired to mary her, offering to pay her father *Miltiades* fine of fiftie talents, wherein he stoode condemned a debter to the state, so that he might haue her to his wife. *Cimon* was contented, and vpon that condicion maried his sister *Elpinice* vnto *Callias*. This notwithstandinge, it is certaine that *Cimon* was somewhat amorous, and geuen to loue women. For *Melanthius* the Poet in certaine of his elegies, maketh mencion for his pleasure of one *Asteria* borne at SALAMINA, and of an other called *Mnestra*, as if *Cimon* had bene in loue with them. But vndoutedly, he loued his lawfull wife *Isodice* maruelous well, the daughter of *Euryptolemus*, *Megacles* sonne, and tooke her death very grieuously, as we may coniecture by the elegies that were wrytten vnto him, to comforte him in his sorowe. *Panætius* the Philosopher is of opinion, that *Archestratus* the Phisitian wrote those elegies: and sure it is not vnlikely, considering the time in which they were wrytten. But furthermore, *Cimons* nature and condicions deserued great commendacion. For his valliantnesse he gaue no place vnto *Miltiades*, and for his wisedome and iudgement, he was not inferior vnto *Themistocles*: and it is out of all doubt that he was a iuster and honester man, then either of them both. For he was equall with the best of either of both in the discipline of warres, and for the valliantnesse of a noble Captaine: and he did much excell them both in the properties of a good gouernor, and in thadministracion of the affayres of a citie, when he was but a younge man, and had no experience of warres. For when *Themistocles* at the comminge in of the MEDES counselled the people of ATHENS to goe out of the citie, to leaue their landes and contrie, and to shippe into gallies, and fight with the barbarous people by sea in the straight of SALAMINA: as euerie man was wonderinge at his bolde and venturous counsell, *Cimon* was the first man that went with a lyre and iolitie through the streete *Ceramicus*, vnto the castell, accompanied with his younge familiars and companions, caryinge a bitte of a bridle in his hande to consecrate vnto the goddesse *Minerua*, signifyinge thereby, that the citie had no necde of horsemen at that time, but of mariners and seamen. And after he had geuen vp his offering, he tooke one of the targettes that honge vppon the wall of the temple, and hauinge made his prayer vnto *Minerua*, came downe to the hauen, and was the first that made the most parte of the citizens to take a good harte to them, and coragiously to leaue the land, and take the sea. Besides all this, he was a man of a goodly stature, as *Ion* the Poet testifieth, and had a layer curled heare and thicke, and fought so valiantlie at the day of the battell, that he wanne immediatly great reputacion, with the loue and good will of euerie man. So that many were still about him to encourage him, to be lucky and valliant, and to thinke thence

Elpinice being poore, had regarde to matche according to her state & calling.

Cimon subiect to lasciuious life.

The praise of Cimons condicions.

Cimons personage commended.

foorth to doe ſome actes worthie of the glorie that his father had gotten at the battell of MARATHON. And afterwardes, ſo ſoone as he beganne to deale in matters of ſtate, the people were maruelous glad of him, and were wearied with *Themiſtocles*: by meanes whereof *Cimon* was preſently aduaunced and preferred, to the chiefeſt offices of honor in the citie, being very well thought on of the common people, bicauſe of his ſoft and plaine nature. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* alſo did greatlie furder his aduauncement, bicauſe he ſawe him of a good gentle nature, and for that he would vſe him as a countrepeaſe to controll *Themiſtocles* craft and ſtowtneſſe. Wherefore after the MEDES were fled out of GREECE, *Cimon* being ſent for by the ATHENIANS for their generall by ſea, when the citie of ATHENS had then no manner of rule nor commaundement, but followed kinge *Pauſanias* and the LACEDÆMONIANS: he euer kept his contrie men and citizens in maruelous good order in all the viages he made, and they were readier to doe good ſeruice, then any other nation in the whole armie whatſoeuer. And when kinge *Pauſanias* had practiſed with the barbarous people to betraye GREECE, had wrytten alſo to the kinge of PERSIA about it, and in the meane time delt very cruelly and ſtraightly with the confederates of his contry, and committed many inſolent partes by reaſon of the great authority he had, & through his fooliſh pride whereof he was full: *Cimon* farre otherwiſe, gently entertained them whom *Pauſanias* iniured, and was willing to heare them. So that by this his curteous manner, the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing no eye to his doinges, he ſtale away the rule and commaundement of all GREECE from them, & brought the ATHENIANS to be ſole Lordes of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his ſweete tongue, and gracious manner of vſing all men. For the moſt parte of the confederates being no lenger able to away with *Pauſanias* pride and cruelty, came willingly and ſubmitted them ſelues vnder the protection of *Cimon* and *Ariſtides*; who did not only receiue them, but wrote alſo to the counſell of the Ephores at LACEDÆMON, that they ſhould call *Pauſanias* home, for that he diſhonored SPARTA, and put all GREECE to much trouble and warre. And for proofe hereof, they ſay that king *Pauſanias* being on a time in the citie of BYZANCE, ſent for *Cleonice*, a young maiden of a noble houſe, to take his pleaſure of her. Her parentes durſt not keepe her from him, by reaſon of his crueltie, but ſuffered him to cary her away. The young gentlewoman prayed the groomes of *Pauſanias* chamber to take away the lighte, and thinking in the darke to come to *Pauſanias* bed that was aſleepe, groping for the bed as ſoftly as ſhe could to make no noyſe, ſhe vnfortunately hit againſt the lampe, and ouerthrew it. The falling of the lampe made ſuch a noyſe, that it waked him on the ſodaine, and thought ſtraight therewithall that ſome of his enemies had bene comen traiterouſly to kill him, whereupon he tooke his dagger lying vnder his beddes head, and ſo ſtabbed it in the young virgine, that ſhe dyed immediatly vpon it. Howbeit ſhe neuer let *Pauſanias* take reſt after that, bicauſe her ſpirite came euery night and appeared vnto him, as he would faine haue ſlept, and ſpake this angrily to him in verſe, as followeth:

Cimon Generall for the Athenians by ſea.

King Pauſanias through his inſolency and pride, loſt the Lacedæmonians all their rule of Greece.

Pauſanias killed the young Byzantine virgine.

Keepe thou thy ſelfe vpright, and iuſtice ſee thou feare,
For vvoe and ſhame be vnto him, that iuſtice dovvne doth beare.

This vile fact of his did ſo ſtirre vp all the confederates harres againſt him, that they came to beſiege him in BIZANTIVM vnder the conduction of *Cimon*: from whom notwithſtanding he eſcaped, & ſecretly ſaued him ſelfe. And bicauſe that this maidens ſpirite would neuer let him reſt, but vexed him continually; he fled vnto the city of HERACLEA, where there was a temple that coniured dead ſpirites, & there was the ſpirite of *Cleonice* coniured, to pray her to be contented. So ſhe appeared vnto him, & told him that he ſhould be deliuered of all his troubles ſo ſoone as he came to SPARTA; ſignifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he ſhould ſuffer there. Diuers wryters do thus reporte it. *Cimon* being accompanied with the confederates of the GREECIANS, which were come to him to take his parte; was aduertiſed that certaine great men of PERSIA, & allyed to the king himſelfe, who kept the city of EION vpon the riuer of Strymon in the contrie of THRACIA, did great hurt and damage vnto the GREECIANS inhabiting thereabouts. Vpon which intelligence he tooke the ſea with his armie, and went thither; where at his firſt comming he vanquiſhed and ouerthrewe the barbarous people in battell: & hauinge ouerthrowen them, drave all the reſt into the citie of EION.

Cimons iorney and victorie in Thracia.

That

A That done, he went to inuade the THRACIANS that dwelt on the other ſide of the riuer of Strymon, who did commonly vittell them of EIONE: and hauing driuen them to forſake the contrie, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole him ſelfe. Whereupon he held them that were beſieged at EIONE ſo ſtraightly from vittells, that *Butes* the king of PERSIANS Lieutenaunt, diſpayringe of the ſtate of the citie, ſet fire on the ſame, and burnt him ſelfe, his frendes, and all the goodes in it. By reaſon whereof, the ſpoyle taken in that citie was but ſmall, biecauſe the barbarous people burnt all the beſt thinges in it with them ſelues: howebeit he conquered the contrie thereaboutes, and gaue it the ATHENIANS to inhabite, being a verie pleaſaunte and fertyle ſoyle. In memorie whereof, the people of ATHENS ſuffered him to conſecrate and ſet vp openly three Hermes of ſtone, (which are foure ſquare pillers) vpon
B the toppes of the which they ſet vp heades of *Mercurye*: vpon the firſt of the three pillers, this inſcription is grauen.

Butes burneth him ſelfe, city, and frendes, for feare of Cimon.

Statues of Mercury.

The people truely vvere, of corage ſtovvte and fierce,
VVho hauing shut the Medes faſt vp (as ſtories do rehearce)
VVithin the vvalled tovvne, of Eione that tyde,
VVhich on the ſtreame of Strymon ſtands: they made them there abide
The force of famines pinche, and therevvith made them feele,
The dynte of vvarre ſo many a time, vvith truſty tooles of ſteele,
Till in the end diſpaire, ſo pearced in their thought,
As there they did deſtroy them ſelues, and ſo vvere brought to nought.

C Vpon the ſecond there is ſuch an other.

The citizens vvhich dvvell, in Athens ſtately tovvne,
Haue here ſet vp theſe monuments, and pictures of renovvne.
To honor ſo the facts, and celebrate the fame,
Their valliant chieftaines did achieue, in many a marshall game.
That ſuch as after come, vvhen they thereby perceiue,
Hovv men of ſeruice for their deedes, did rich revvards receiue,
Encoraged may be, ſuch men for to reſemble,
In valliant acts, and dreadfull deedes, vvhich make their foes to tremble.

And vpon the third an other.

D *VVhen Mneſtheus did lead forth of this citie here,*
An armie to the Troyane vvarres, (by Homer doth appeare)
He vvas aboue the reſt, that out of Græcia vvent:
A valliant knight, a vvorthy vvight, a Captaine excellent.
To take in hand the charge, an army for to guide:
And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide.
That praiſe of prouveſſe then, (o graue Atheniens)
Is nouv no nevves to fill the eares of theſe your citizens.
Since through the vvorld ſo vvide, the fame and vvorthy praiſe,
For marshall feates, to you of yore hath iudged beene alvvayes.

E Now, though *Cimons* name be not compriſed in theſe inſcriptions, yet they thought that this was a ſingular honor to him at that time: for neither *Miltiades* nor *Themiſtocles* had euer the like. For when *Miltiades* requeſted the people one day that they woulde licence him to weare a garland of olyue boughes vpon his head: there was one *Sochares*, borne in the towne of DECELEA, that ſtanding vp in open aſſembly ſpake againſt him, and ſayd a thing that marueloully pleaſed the people, though in deede it was an vnthankeful recompence for the good ſeruice he had done to the common wealth. When you haue *Miltiades*, (ſayd he) ouercome the barbarous people alone in battell, then aske to be honored alone alſo. But howe was it then, that *Cimons* ſeruice was ſo acceptable to the ATHENIANS? Yt was in myne opinion, bicauſe they had with other Captaines fought to defende them ſelues and their contrie
F onely: and that vnder the conduction of *Cimon*, they had aſſulted and driuen their enemies home to their owne dores, where they conquered the cities of EIONE and of *Amphipolis*,

Sochares Decelean, ſpake againſt Miltiades requeſt for the garland of Olyue boughes.

which afterwardes they did inhabite with their owne citizens, and wanne there also the Ile of Scyros, which *Cimon* tooke vpon this occasion. The Dolopians did inhabite it, who were idle people, and liued without labor or tillage, and had bene rouers of the sea of a wonderfull long time, vsing pyracie altogether to maintaine them selues withall: so that in the end they spared not so much as the marchaūts & passengers that harbored in their hauens, but robbed certaine Thessalians that went thither to trafficke. And when they had taken their goodes from thē, yet would they cast them in prison besides. Howbeit the prisoners found meanes to escape, & after they had saued them selues, repayred to the parlament of the Amphictyons, which is a generall counsell of all the states and people of Greece. The Amphictyons vnderstandinge the matter, condemned the citie of the Scyrians to pay a great summe of money. The citizens refused to be contributaries to the payment of the fine, & bad them that robbed the marchauntes and had the goodes in their handes, pay it if they would. And therfore, bicause there was no other likelyhood, but that the theeues them selues should be driuen to aunswer the fine, they fearing it, wrote letters vnto *Cimon*, and willed him to come with his army, and they would deliuer their city into his handes: the which was performed. And thus *Cimon* hauing cōquered this Iland, draue out the Dolopians thence, & ryd the sea Ægeum of all pirates therby. That done, remembring that the auncient *Theseus*, the sonne of *Aegeus*, flying from Athens came into that Iland of Scyros, where king *Lycomedes* suspecting his comming had traiterously slaine him. *Cimon* was maruelous carefull to seeke out his tombe, bicause the Athenians had an oracle and prophecie, that commaunded them to bring his ashes and bones backe againe to Athens, and to honor him as a demy god. But they knewe not where he was buried, for that the inhabitantes of the Ilande would neuer before confesse where it was, nor suffer any man to seeke it out, till he at the last with much a doe founde the tombe, put his bones abord the Admirall galley sumptuously decked and set foorth, and so brought them againe into his contry, foure hundred yeares after *Theseus* death. For this, the people thanked him maruelously, and thereby he wanne exceedingly the Athenians good willes: and in memorie of him they celebrated the iudgement of the tragicall playes of the Poets. For when *Sophocles* the Poet, being a young man had played his first tragedy, *Aphepsion* the president perceiuinge there was great strife and contention amongest the lookers on, would not draw them by lottes that should be iudges of this play, to geue the victorie vnto that Poet that had best deserued: but when *Cimon* & the other Captaines were come into the Theater to see the same, (after they had made their accustomed oblatiōs vnto the god, in honor of whom these playes were celebrated) he stayed, and made them to minister an othe vnto tenne, (which were of euery tribe of the people, one) and the othe being geuen, he caused thē to sit as iudges to geue sentēce, which of the Poets should cary away the prise. This made all the Poetes striue and contend who best shoulde doe, for the honor of the iudges: but *Sophocles*, by their sentence bare away the victory. But *AEschilus* (as they say) was so angry and grieued withall, that he taried not long after in Athens, and went for spight into Sicilia, where he dyed and was buried neere vnto the citie of Gela. *Ion* wryteth that he being but a young boy, newly come from Chio vnto Athens, supped one night with *Cimon* at *Laomedons* house, and that after supper when they had geuen the goddes thankes, *Cimon* was intreated by the company to sing. And he did sing with so good a grace, that euery man praised him that heard him, & sayd he was more curteous then *Themistocles* farre: who being in like company, and requested also to play vpon the citherne, aunswered them, he was neuer taught to sing nor play vpon the citherne, howbeit he could make a poore village to become a rich and mighty city. After that done, the company discoursing from one matter to an other, as it falleth out commonly in speeche, they entred in talke of *Cimons* doinges: and hauing rehearsed the chiefest of them, he him selfe told one, which was the notablest and wisest parte of all the rest that euer he played. For the Athenians and their confederates together, hauing taken a great number of barbarous people prisoners, in the cities of Sestos and of Bizantium: the confederates to honor him withall, gaue him the preheminence to deuide the spoyle amongest them. Whereuppon he made the diuision, and set out the bodies of the barbarous people all naked by them selues, and layed the spoyles and their apparell by them selues. The confe-

Cimon wanne the Ile of Scyros.

The counsell of the Amphictyons.

Theseus bones brought to Athens 400. yeres after his death by Cimon.

Sophocles and AEschylus contention for victory.

AEschylus ouercome by Sophocles, dwelleth in Sicilia, and dyeth there.

Cimon sang passing sweetely.

Cimons cunning diuision of the spoyle.

A confederates founde this distribution very vnequall: but neuertheleſſe *Cimon* gaue them the choyce to chooſe which of the two they would, and that the ATHENIANS ſhould be contented with that which they left. So there was a SAMIAN Captaine called *Herophytus*, that gaue the confederats counſel rather to take the ſpoiles of the PERSIANS, then the PERSIANS themſelues, and ſo they did: for they tooke the ſpoile of the priſoners goodes and apparell, and left the men vnto the ATHENIANS. Wherupon *Cimon* was thought at that time of the common ſouldiers to be but an ill deuider of ſpoyle, becauſe that the confederats caried away great ſtore of chaines, karkanets, and braſelets of gold, & goodly rich purple apparell after the PERSIAN facion: and the ATHENIANS brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and vnacquainted with paine and labor. But ſhortly after, the parentes and frendes of theſe priſoners, came B out of PHRYGIA and LYDIA, and redeemed euery man of them at a great raunſome: ſo that *Cimon* gathered ſuch a maſſe of readie money together by their raunſome, as he defrayed the whole charges of all his gallies with the ſame, for the ſpace of foure monethes after, and left a great ſumme of money beſides in the ſparing treaſure of ATHENS. *Cimon* by this meanes being nowe become riche, beſtowed the goodes which he had thus honorably gotten from the barbarous people, more honorably againe, in relieuing his poore decayed citizens. For he brake vp all his hedges and incloſures, and layed them plaine and open, that trauellers paſſing by, and his owne poore citizens, might take as much frute thereof as they would, without any maner daunger. And furthermore, kept a continuall table in his houſe, not furniſhed with many diſhes, but with meate ſufficient for many perſons, and where his poore contrie men were C dayly refreſhed, that would come vnto that ordinary: ſo as they needed not otherwiſe care to labor for their liuing, but might be the readier, & haue the more leaſure to ſerue the common wealth. Yet *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher wryteth, that it was not for all the ATHENIANS indifferently, that he kept this ordinarie table: but for his poore townes men onely in the village of LACIA, where he was borne. Furthermore, he had alwayes certaine young men waiting on him of his houſehold ſeruauntes well apparelled, & if he met by chaunce as he went vp and downe the citie, any olde citizen poorely arrayed, he made one of theſe younge men ſtrip himſelfe, and chaunge apparell with the olde man: and that was very well thought of, and they all honored him for it. Moreouer, theſe young men caried euer good ſtore of money about them: and when they met with any honeſt poore citizen in the market place, or elſe where, D knowinge his pouertie, they ſecretly gaue him money in his hande, and ſayd neuer a worde. Which the Poet ſelfe *Cratinus* ſeemeth to ſpeake of, in a comedie of his intituled the Archiloches.

Herophytus Samian, gaue Counſell to chooſe the ſpoyle.

Cimons liberality and hoſpitality.

Cimons charity.

I am Metrobius the ſecretarie, he,
VVhich did my ſelfe aſſure (in age) vvell cherished to be:
At vvealthie Cimons borde, vvhere vvant vvas neuer found,
VVhoſe diſtributions and his almes did to the poore abound.
There thought I for to paſſe myne aged yeares avvay,
VVith that right noble godly man, vvhich vvas the Greecians ſtay.

Furthermore, *Gorgias Leontine* ſayd, that *Cimon* got goodes to vſe them, and that he vſed E them to be honored by them. And *Critias* that was one of the thirty tyrannes of ATHENS, he wiſheth and deſireth of the goddes in his elegies,

How Cimon vſed his goods.

The goddes of Scopas heyres, the great magnificence,
And noble hart of Cimon he, vvho ſpared none expence:
The glorious victories, and high triumphant ſhovves,
Of good Ageſilaus king, good goddes, oh graunt me thoſe.

The name of *Lichas* SPARTAN, hath bene famous amongeſt the GREECIANS: and yet we know no other cauſe why, ſauing that he vſed to feaſt ſtraungers that came to LACEDÆMON on their feſtiuall day, to ſee the ſportes and exereiſes of the young men daunſing naked in the city. But the magnificence of *Cimon*, did farre exceede the auncient liberality, curteſie, and ho- F ſpitalitie of the ATHENIANS: for they of all other were the firſt men that taught the GREECIANS through out all GREECE, how they ſhould ſow corne, and gather it to maintaine themſelues withall, and alſo ſhewed them the vſe of welles, and howe they ſhould light and keepe

The hoſpitality of Lichas Spartan.

Cimons godly actes.

fire. But *Cimon* makinge an hoſpitall of his owne houſe, where all his poore citizens were fed and relieued, and permittinge ſtraungers that trauelled by his grounds to gather ſuch fruits there, as the time and ſeaſon of the yeare yelded: he brought againe (as it were) into the world,

Cimō brought the golden world againe.

the goodes to be in common amongeſt them, as the Poets ſay they were in the old time of *Saturnes* raigne. And now, where ſome accuſed this honeſt liberality of *Cimon*, obiecting that it was but to flatter the common people withall, and to winne their good willes by that meanes the maner of life he led, accompanying his liberality, did vtterly confute and ouerthrow their opinions that way of him. For *Cimon* euer tooke parte with the nobilitie, and liued after the LACEDÆMONIANS manner, as it well appeared, in that he was alwayes againſt *Themiſtocles*, who without all compaſſe of reaſon encreaſed the authority and power of the people: and for this cauſe he ioyned with *Ariſtides*, and was againſt *Ephialtes*, who would for the peoples ſake haue put downe and aboliſhed *Ariopagus* courte. And where all other gouernors in his time were extorcioners, and bribetakers: (*Ariſtides* and *Ephialtes* only excepted) he to the contrarie led an vncorrupt life in adminiſtracion of iuſtice, & euer had cleane hands, whatſoeuer he ſpake or did, for the ſtate and common wealth, and would therefore neuer take money of any man liuing. And for proofe hereof, we finde it wrytten, that a noble man of PERSIA called *Reſaces*, being a traitor to his maſter the king of PERSIA, fled on a time vnto ATHENS: where being continually bayted and wearied, with the common accuſations of theſe tale bearers & picke thanks, that accuſed him to the people, he repayred at the length vnto *Cimon*, & brought him home to his owne dore two bowles, thone full of darickes of gold, and the other of darickes of ſiluer, which be peeces of money ſo called, bicauſe that the name of *Darius* was written vpon them. *Cimon* ſeeing this offer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the two he would rather chooſe: to haue him his frende, or his hierling. The barbarous noble man aunſwered him, that he had rather haue him his frend. Then ſayd *Cimon* to him againe, away with thy golde and ſiluer, and get thee hence: for if I be thy frend, that gold and ſiluer ſhall euer be at my commaundement, to take and diſpoſe it as I haue neede. About that time beganne the confederates of the ATHENIANS to be weary of the warres againſt the barbarous people, deſiring thenceforth to liue quietly, and to haue leaſure to manure and husband their grounds, and to trafficke alſo, conſidering that they had driuen their enemies out of their contrie, and that now they did them no more hurte: by reaſon whereof they payed the money they were ſeſſed at, but they would furniſh no moe men nor ſhippes as they had done before. But the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS compelled them to it by all the meanes they could, and proſecuted law againſt them that failed payment, condemning them in great fines, and that ſo cruelly, that they made the ſeigniorie and dominion of the ATHENIANS hatefull vnto their confederates. Howbeit *Cimon* tooke a contrary courſe to them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take money and voyde ſhips of thē that would not, or could not ſerue in their perſons, being very glad to ſuffer them to become ſlothfull mongrells in their houſes, by too much reſt, and to tranſpoſe them ſelues from good ſouldiers which they had bene, to laborers, marchauntes, and farmers, altogether altered from armes and warres, through the beaſtly ſlothfull deſire they had, to liue pleaſauntly at home. And contrarily, cauſing a great number of the ATHENIANS one after an other to ſerue in gallies, he ſo acquainted them with continuall paines in his viages: that he made them in ſhorte ſpace become Lordes and maſters ouer them, that gaue them pay, and entertainment. For they beganne by litle and litle to flatter and feare the ATHENIANS, whom they ſaw trained continually in the warres, euer bearing armor, & carying their weapons in their hands, becomming expert ſouldiers at their charge, by reaſon of the pay they gaue them: ſo that in the end, they became ſubiects & contributaries as it were vnto thē, where before they were their frendes & cōpanions. So as there neuer was GREECIAN Captaine that brideled more the crueltie and power of that mightie PERSIAN king, then *Cimon* did. For, after he had driuen him out of all GREECE, he left him not ſo, but following him foote hotte, as we cōmonly ſay, before the barbarous people could take breath, or geue wiſe and direct order for their doinges: he made ſo great ſpeede, that he tooke ſome of their cities from them by force, and other ſome by practiſe, cauſing them to rebell againſt the king, and turne to the GREECIANS ſide. Inſomuch as there was not a man of warre left

Cimons integrity and cleane hands. Reſaces attempted to bribe Cimon.

Darickes, whereof ſo called.

A noble ſaying of Cimon.

The benefit of paines & ſeruice: and the diſcommodity of eaſe and idlenes.

Cimō plagued the Perſians.

for

A for the king of PERSIA, in all ASIA, from the contrie of IONIA, directly downe to PAMPHYLIA. And furthermore, being aduertised that the kinges Captaines were vppon the coast of PAMPHYLIA with a great armie by sea, bicause he would feare them in such sorte, that they should not braue any more to shewe them selues apon the sea, on this side of the Iles of the CHELIDONIANS: he departed from the Ile of GINDOS, and from the citie of TRIOPIVM, with two hundred gallies, the which at the first had bene excellently well made and deuised by *Themistocles*, as well for swift sayling, as for easie turning. Howbeit *Cimon* made them to be enlarged, to the end they might carie the greater number of men of warre in battell, to assault the enemies. And so went first against the PHASELITES, who were GREECIANS borne, and yet notwithstanding would neither take the GREECIANS parte, nor receiue their armie into

B their hauens: landed there, destroyed all the contrie, and then came and camped with his armie hard at their walles. But the men of CHIO being auncient frendes of the PASELITES, and *Chio an Ile.*
in *Cimons* armie at that iorney: did somewhat pacifie his anger, and gaue aduertisement to them of the citie of their doinges by letters, which they tyed to their arrowes, and shotte ouer the walles. So as in the end they procured their peace with condicion, that the PASELITES *Cimon wanne the city of Paselis.*
should pay ten talentes for a fine: and furthermore should also follow the armie of the GREECIANS, and from thencefoorth fight with them, and for them, against the barbarous people. Now *Ephorus* sayth, that the PERSIAN Captaine that had charge of the armie by sea, was called TITHRAVSTES, and the Captaine of the armie by lande, PHERENDATES. But *Callisthenes* wryteth, that *Ariomandes* the sonne of *Gobrias*, was the kinges Lieutenaunt, hauinge chiefe

C authority ouer the whole armie that lay at ancker, before the riuer of Eurymedon, & had no *Ariomandes the kinges Lieutenant of his whole army by sea, ryding at ancker before the riuer of Eurymedon.*
desire to fight, bicause they looked for a new supply of foure score sayle of the PHENICIANS, that should come to them from CYPRVS. But *Cimon* contrarily, sought to fight before these gallies of the PHENICIANS came to ioyne with them, and put his gallies in order of battell, determininge to geue a charge, and compell them to fight, would they, or would they not. Which the barbarous people perceiuing, drew neerer into the mouth of the riuer Eurymedon, bicause they should not compasse them in behinde, nor force them to come to battell against their willes. Which notwithstanding, when they saw the ATHENIANS come to set apon them where they lay, they made out against them, a fleete of sixe hundred sayle, as *Phanodemus* declareth: or as *Ephorus* wryteth, three hundred and fifty sayle only. But they did no-

D thinge worthie of so great a power, at the least touchinge the fight by sea, but turned their *Cimons victory of the Persians both by sea and land.*
proues streight to the riuer: where such as coulde recouer the mouth thereof in time, saued them selues, flying to their armie by lande, which was not farre from that place set also in order of battell. But the rest that were taken tardy by the way, they were slaine, and their gallies sonke or taken: whereby we may know that there were a great nũber of them, for many were saued as it is likely, and many also were splitted to peeces, and yet the ATHENIANS tooke two *Cimon tooke two hundred sayle prisoners at the battell fought by the riuer of Eurymedon.*
hundred of them prisoners. In the meane season, their armie by lande came neerer to the sea side: which *Cimon* perceiuing, stoode in some doubt whether he should lande his men or not, bicause it seemed a hard & daungerous thing vnto him, to land in spight of his enemies: and to put forth the GREECIANS already wearied with the first battell against the barbarous peo-

E ple, who were altogether whole, freshe, and lustie, and withall many in number against one. Neuertheless, perceiuing that his men trusted in their force, besides the corage which the first victorie gaue them, and that they desired none other thing but to fight with the enemies: he put them a lande while they were whotte yet with the first battell. And so with great furie and lowde cries they ranne immediatly against the barbarous people, who stoode still & sturred not, & receiued their first charge very valliantly: by reason wherof, the battell grew sharpe and bloody, insomuch as there were slaine all the greatest personages & men of best accompt of all the ATHENIANS armie. But the other fought it out so valliantly, that in the ende they wanne the field, and with maruelous difficultie made the barbarous people flye, whereof they slue a great number in the place, and tooke the rest prisoners with all their tents & pauilions, *Cimon ouercame the battell of the barbarous people also by lande.*

F which were full of all sortes of riches. Thus *Cimon* like a valliant champion of the holy games, hauing in one selfe day wonne two victories, and hauing excelled the battell by sea also which the GREECIANS had wonne within the channell of SALAMINA, with that which he wanne

mirt

then vpon the lande: and the battell which the GRÆCIANS wanne by lande before the cities of PLATEES, with that which he wanne the day before on the sea: yet he was not contented with all this. For, after two so famous victories obteined, he would once againe fight for the name nor of the tokens of triumphe: and being aduertised that the foure score sayle of the PHOENICIANS (comming too late to be present at the first battell by sea) were arriued at the head of *Hydra*, he sayled thither with all possible speede. Now the Captaines of this fleete, knewe no certainty of the ouerthrow of their chiefest armie, but stoode in doubt of it, and would not be perswaded that it was ouerthrowen in that sorte: and therefore were they so much the more affrayed, when they descried a farre of the victorious armie of *Cimon*. To conclude, they lost all their shippes, & the greatest parte of their men, which were either drowned or slaine. This victorie against the PERSIANS did so dawnte and plucke downe the pride and loftie minde of the barbarous PERSIAN king, as he made that condicion of peace so much spoken of in ancient histories, in the which he promised and sware, that his armies thenceforth should come no neerer to the GRÆCIAN sea, then the carrere of a horse, and that he would sayle no further forward, then the Iles CHELIDONIANS, and CYANEANS, with any gallies or other shippes of warre. Howbeit the historiographer *Callisthenes* wryteth, that it was no parte of any article cõprised within the condicion of peace, but that the king kept it for the feare he had of this so great an ouerthrow: and that afterwardes he kept so farre from the GRÆCIAN sea, that *Cimon* with fiftie saile, and *Ephialtes* with thirty only, did sayle beyonde the Iles CHELIDONIANS, and no barbarous fleete euer came against them. Yet notwithstanding all this, amongest the common actes of ATHENS, which *Craterus* hath gathered together, the articles of this peace are found wrytten at large, as a thing that was true in deede. And it is sayd, that for this occasion the ATHENIANS built an aulter of peace, and that they did *Callias* great honor, for that he was sent Ambassador vnto the king of PERSIA to take his othe for confirmation of this peace. So whē all these spoiles of the enemies were sold to thē that would geue most, there was such store of gold and siluer in the sparing cofers of their treasurie, that there was enough to serue their turne for any seruice they would employ it to, & besides that, they had sufficient to build vp the side of the wall of the castell which looketh towardes the south, this voyage and great spoyle did so enrich them. And it is sayd moreouer, that the building of the long walles that ioyne to the citie with the hauen, which they call the legges, was built & finished afterwardes: howbeit the first fundacions thereof were built with the money *Cimon* gaue towardes it, for that the worke met with moorish and watery places, by meane whereof they were driuen to fill vp the marisses, with force of flyntes & great logges, which they threw vnto the bottome. It was he also that first did beawtifie and set forth the citie of ATHENS, with places of liberall exercise and honest pastime, which shortly after were much esteemed. For he caused plane trees to be set in the market place: and the Academie which before was very drye and naked, he made it now a pleasaunt groue, and full of goodly springes which he brought into it, and made fine couered arbors to walke in, and goodly long smooth allies to runne a good course in. On a time he had newes brought him, that certaine PERSIANS dwelling in CHERRONESVS, (to say a demy Ile of the contrie of THRACIA) would not be gotten out, but sent to the people of high THRACIA, to pray their aide to defend them selues against *Cimon*: of whome they made but litle accompt, bicause he was departed from ATHENS with a very few shippes, who set vpon them only with foure gallies, and tooke thirteene of theirs. And so hauing driuen the PERSIANS out of CHERRONESVS, and subdued the THRACIANS, he conquered all the contrie of CHERRONESVS, from THRACIA vnto his owne contrie. And departing from thence went against them of the Ile of THASOS, that had rebelled against the ATHENIANS: and hauing ouercome them in battell by sea, he wanne three and thirtie of their shippes, and besides that tooke their citie by siege, and wanne the mynes of golde lying beyonde the same to the ATHENIANS, with all the lands that belonged vnto them. This conquest made his way open into MACEDON, and gaue him great oportunitie to haue taken the best parte thereof at that present time. But bicause he let it alone, and followed not that oportunitie, he was suspected to haue taken money, and to haue bene bribed by presentes of king *Alexander*: whereupon, his secret enemies layed their heades together, and accused him. But *Cimon* to clere him

Cimon brought the king of Persia to condicio of peace.

Callias sent Ambassador to take the othe of the king of Persia.

Cimon was at the charge of certaine commō buildings.

Cimon draue the Persians out of Thracia.

Cimon accused and discharged.

A him selfe before the iudges of this accusation, sayd vnto them: I haue practised frendshippe neither with the IONIANS, nor yet with the THESSALIANS, both which are very riche and wealthie people: neither haue I taken their matters in hand, as some other haue done, to receiue both honor and profit by them. But in deede I am a frende to the LACEDÆMONIANS, for I confesse I loue them, and desire to followe their sobrietie, and temperaunce of life, the which I preferre and esteeme aboue any riches or treasure: although I am very glad notwithstandinge to enrich our state and common wealth with the spoyles of our enemies. *Stesimbrotus* reporteth this accusation, and sayth: that his sister *Elpinice* went to *Pericles* house, (who was the sharpest and straighteste accuser of his) to pray him not to deale so extreamely with her brother: and that *Pericles* laughing on her, sayd, alas, thou art too old, *Elpinice*, thou, now to ouercome these matters. Yet for all that, when *Cimons* cause came to hearinge, he was a more gentle aduersarie, then any other of his accusers, and rose vp but once to speake against him, and that for manners sake only: so that *Cimon* thereby escaped, and was cleared of this accusation. And furthermore, so long as he was present in ATHENS, he alwayes kept the seditious people in obedience, who would euer crosse and thwart the authoritie of the nobilitie, bicause they would haue all the sway and rule in their owne handes. But when *Cimon* was sent abroade any whither to the warres, then the common people hauing no bodie to gainesay them, turned, and altered the gouernment of the citie topsie turuey, and confounded all the auncient lawes and customes which they had obserued of long time, and that by the procurement and setting on of *Ephialtes*. For they tooke away all hearing of causes in maner from C the court of * *Areopagus*, & put all authoritie of matters iudiciall into the handes of the people, and brought the state of the citie into a pure Democratia, to say: a common weale ruled by the sole and absolute power of the people, *Pericles* being then in great credit, who altogether fauored the peoples faction. Wherefore *Cimon* at his returne, finding thauthority of the Senate and counsell so shamefully defaced and troden vnder foote, was marueilously offended withall, and sought to restore thauncient state of iudgement againe as it was before, and set vp the gouernment of the nobility (called Optimacia) that was established in the time of *Clisthenes*. But then beganne his enemies againe with open mouth to crye out vpon him, reuiuing the olde former naughty rumor that ranne of him before, that he kept his owne sister: & furthermore accusing him, that he did fauor the LACEDÆMONIANS. And amongest other D thinges there ranne in the peoples mouthes the verses of the Poet *Eupolis*, which were made against *Cimon*.

No vvicked man he vvas, but very negligent,
And therevvithall to vvyne much more, then vnto money bent.
He stale somtimes avvay, at Sparta for to sleepe:
And left poore Elpinice his vvife, at home alone to vweepe.

And if it be so, that being thus negligent & geuen to wyne, he haue gotten so many cities, and wonne such sundry great battells: it is out of doubt then that if he had bene sober & carefull, there had neuer bene before him nor since any GRÆCIAN Captaine, that had passed him in glorie of the warres. In deede it is true, that from the beginning he euer loued the manner E of the LACEDÆMONIANS: for of two twynnes which he had by his wife *Clitoria*, he named thone of them *Lacedæmonius*, and thother *Eleus*, as *Stesimbrotus* wryteth, saying that for that cause *Pericles* did euer twit them in the teeth with their mothers stocke. Howbeit *Diodorus* the Geographer wryteth, that both those two, and an other third called *Thessalus*, were borne of *Isodice*, the daughter of *Euryptolemus*, the sonne of *Megacles*. How soeuer it was, it is certaine that *Cimons* credit grew the greater, by the fauor and countenaunce which the LACEDÆMONIANS gaue him, who had hated *Themistocles* of long time, and for the malice they bare him, were glad that *Cimon* being but a yoūg man, did beare more sway in ATHENS then he. Which the ATHENIANS perceiued well enough, and were not offended withall at the beginning: bicause the goodwill of the LACEDÆMONIANS towardes him, did bring them great commo- F dity. For when the ATHENIANS beganne to growe of great power, and to practise secretly that the confederats of the GRÆCIANS should forsake the LACEDÆMONIANS to ioyne with them: the LACEDÆMONIANS were not angrie withall, for the honor and loue they bare vn-

Cimō praiseth the temperate life of the Lacedæmonians.

Stesimbrotus the historian.

* *Areopagus was a village of Mars by Athens, where the iudges called Areopagitæ did sit to iudge causes of murder, and other waighty matters concerning the common wealth.*

Democratia rule of communalty.

Pericles in Cimons absence reduceth the common wealth vnto the state Democratia.

Optimacia the gouernment of the nobility.

Cimō followed the Lacedæmonian maner.

to *Cimon*, who did alone in maner manedge all thaffayres of GRÆCE at that time, bicause he was very curteous vnto the confederates, and also thankefull vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. But afterwardes when the ATHENIANS were aloft and of great power, and that they saw *Cimon* stucke not for a litle matter with the LACEDÆMONIANS, but loued them more then they would haue had him: they beganne then to enuy him, bicause in all his matters he had to do, he euer highly praised and extolled the LACEDÆMONIANS before them. But specially, when he would reproue them of any fault they had committed, or that he would perswade them to do any thing: the LACEDÆMONIANS, sayd he, I warrant ye do not so. That, as *Stesimbrotus* sayth, made him maruelously to be maliced of the people. But the chiefest thing they accused him of, and that most did hurt him, fell out vpon this occasion. The fourth yeare of the raigne of *Archidamus*, the sonne of *Zeuxidamus* king of SPARTA, there fortuned the wonderfullest and most fearefull earthquake in the citie of LACEDÆMON, and thereabouts, that euer was heard of. For the earth in many places of the contrie opened, and fell as into a bottomlesse pit. The mountaine Taygetum shooke so terribly, that points of rockes fell downe from it. All the citie was layed on the ground and ouerthrowen, fiue houses only excepted, the rest being wholy destroied. And it is said also, that a litle before this earthquake came, the young men of that citie were playing with the young boyes exercising thē selues starke naked vnder a great galery couered ouer: & as they were sporting together, there started vp a hare hard by them. The young men spying her, ranne after the hare starke naked and oyled as they were, with great laughter. They were no sooner gone thence, but the top of the gallery fell downe apon the boyes that were left, and squashed them all to death. And in memorie of the same, the tombe where they were afterwardes buried, is called vnto this day Sismatias, as much to say, as the tombe of those which the earthquake had slaine. But king *Archidamus* foreseeing straight vppon the sodaine the daunger that was to come, by that he saw present, perceiuing his citizens busie in sauing their householde stuffe, and that they were running out of their houses: made the trompetters to sound a hotte alarome vpon it, as if their enemies had come stealingly vpon them to take the citie, to thende that all the inhabitantes should presently repayre vnto him (settinge all busines aparte) with armor and weapon. That sodaine alarome doubtlesse saued the citie of SPARTA at that time: for the ILOTÆ, which are their slaues and bondmen in the contrie of LACONIA, and the contrie clownes of litle villages thereaboutes, came running armed out of all partes, to spoyle and robbe them vpon the sodaine, that were escaped from this earthquake. But when they found them well armed in order of battell, they returned backe againe as they came: and then beganne afterwardes to make open warres vpon them, when they had drawen certaine of their neighbors vnto their confederacie, & specially the MESSENIANS, who made hotte warres vpon the SPARTANS. Whereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS sent *Periclidas* vnto ATHENS to demaunde ayde: whome *Aristophanes* the Poet mocking, sayed.

A maruelous great earthquake in Lacedæmon.

Taygetum mons.

Archidamus sodaine policy saued the city.

Ilotæ slaues & bondmen to the Lacedæmonians.

With visage pale and vvanne, he on the aulter sate,
In skarlet govvne requiring ayde, to succor their estate.

Against whom *Ephialtes* also spake very much, protesting that they should not ayde nor relieue a city that was an enemy vnto ATHENS, but rather suffer it to fall to the ground, and to spurne the pride and arrogancy of SPARTA vnder their feete. But *Cimon* (as *Critias* saieth) being more carefull for the benefit of SPARTA, then for thenlarging and encreasing of his contry: brought it to passe by his perswasion, that the ATHENIANS sent him thither with a great power to helpe them. And furthermore *Ion* rehearseth the very selfe wordes that *Cimon* spake to moue the people to graunt his request. For he besought them that they woulde not suffer GRÆCE to halte, as if LACEDÆMON had bene one of her feete, and ATHENS the other: not to suffer their citie to lose an other citie their frend, and subiect to the yoke and defence of GRÆCE. Hauing therfore obteyned ayde, to leade vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, he went with his army through the CORINTHIANS contry: wherwith *Lachartus* a Captaine of CORINTHE was maruelously offended, sayinge, that he should not haue entred into their contrie with an armie, before he had asked licence of them of the citie. For sayd he, when one knocketh at a mans dore or gate, yet he commeth not in, before the master of the house commaundeth him.

Cimon procured ayde for the Lacedæmonians.

A him. But ye CORINTHIANS (ſayed *Cimon* to him againe) haue not knocked at the gates of the CLEONÆIANS, nor of the MEGARIANS, to come in, but haue broken them open, and entred by force of armes, thinkinge that all ſhould be open vnto them that are the ſtronger. Thus did *Cimon* ſtowtely aunſwere the CORINTHIAN Captaine againe, bicauſe it ſtoode him vppon, and ſo went on with his armie through the contrie of CORINTHE. Afterwardes the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent againe vnto the ATHENIANS, to require ayde againſt the MESSENIANS and the ILOTES, (which are their ſlaues) who had wonne the citie of ITHOME. But when the ATHENIANS were come, the LACEDÆMONIANS were afrayed of the great power they had brought, and of their boldnes beſides: wherefore they ſent them backe againe, and would not imploy them of all other their confederats that came to their ſuccor, bicauſe they B knew them to be men very tickle, deſiring chaunge and alteracions. The ATHENIANS returned home, miſliking much that they were ſent backe againe: inſomuch as euer after they hated them that fauored the LACEDÆMONIANS in any thing. And for the LACEDÆMONIANS ſake therefore, taking a ſmall occaſion of offence againſt *Cimon*, they baniſhed him out of their contrie for tenne yeres: which was the full terme appointed and limited vnto them that were baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon baniſhment. Now within the terme of theſe ten yeares, the LACEDÆMONIANS fortuned to vndertake the deliuery of the citie of DELPHES, from the ſeruitude and bondage of the PHOCIANS, and to put them from the cuſtodie and keeping of the temple of *Apollo*, which is in the ſayd city. Wherfore, to obtaine their deſire and purpoſe, they came to plante their campe neere vnto the citie of TANAGRE in PHOCIDE, where the C ATHENIANS went to fight with them. *Cimon* vnderſtanding this, although he was in exile, came to the ATHENIANS campe armed, with intent to do his duety to fight with his contrie men againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, and ſo went into the bandes of the tribe Oeneide, of the which he was him ſelfe. But his owne contry enemies cried out againſt him, and ſayd, that he was come to none other ende, but to trouble the order of their battell, of intent that he might afterwardes bring them to the city ſelfe of ATHENS. Whereuppon the great counſell of the fiue hundred men were afrayed, and ſent to the Captaines to commaunde them they ſhould not receiue him into the battell: ſo that *Cimon* was compelled to departe the campe. But before he went, he prayed *Euthippus* ANAPHLYSTIAN, and his other frendes that were ſuſpected as him ſelfe was, to fauor the LACEDÆMONIANS doinges: that they ſhould doe their D beſt endeuor to fight valliantly againſt their enemies, to thintent their good ſeruice at that battell might purge their innocencie towardes their contry men: and ſo they did. For the ATHENIANS keeping the ſouldiers *Cimon* had brought with him, which were a hundred in all, they ſet them aparte by them ſelues in a ſquadron, and fought it ſo valliantly and deſperatly, that they were ſlaine euery man of them in the field, leauing the ATHENIANS maruelous ſory for them, and repenting them that they had ſo vniuſtly miſtruſted them as traitors to their contrie. Wherefore they kept not their malice long againſt *Cimon*, partely as I am perſwaded, bicauſe they called his former good ſeruice to minde which he had done to their contrie aforetime, and partely alſo, bicauſe the neceſſitie of the time ſo required it. For the ATHENIANS hauing loſt a great battell before TANAGRE, looked for no other about the ſpring of the E yeare, but that the PELOPONNESIANS would inuade them with a great power: wherefore, they reuoked *Cimons* baniſhment by decree, whereof *Pericles* ſelfe was the only author & procurer. So ciuill and temperate were mens enmities at that time, regarding the common benefit of their publicke ſtate and weale: and ſo much did their ambition (being the moſt vehement paſſion of all other, and that moſt troubleth mens mindes) geue place, and yeelde to the neceſſities and affayres of the common weale. Now when *Cimon* was againe returned to ATHENS, he ſtraight pacified the warre, & reconciled both cities together. And when he ſaw that the ATHENIANS could not liue in peace, but woulde be doing ſtill, and enlarge their dominions by warre, for lukers ſake: to preuent them that they ſhould not fall out with any of the GRÆCIANS, nor by ſcowring and coaſting vp and downe the contrie of PELOPON- F NESVS, and the Iles of GRÆCE, with ſo great a nauie, ſhould moue occaſion of ciuill warres amongeſt the GRÆCIANS, or of complaintes vnto their confederates againſt them: he rigged & armed out two hundred gallies to go againe to make warre in CYPRVS, & in EGYPT,

Cimon baniſhed for 10. yeares.

Cimon called from exile.

bicauſe he would acquaint the ATHENIANS with the warres of the barbarous people, and thereby make them lawfull gainers by the ſpoyles of thoſe their naturall borne enemies. But when all things were in readines to departe, and the armie preſt to ſhippe and ſayle away: *Cimon* dreaming in the night had this viſion. It ſeemed vnto him that he ſaw a bitch angrie with him, and barking earneſtly at him, & that in the middeſt of her barking, ſhe ſpake with a mans voyce, and ſayd vnto him:

Cimons dreame.

Come hardily, ſpare not: for if thou come by me,
My vvhelpes, and I vvhich here do ſtand, vvill quickely vvelcome thee.

This viſion being verie hard to interpret, *Aſtyphilus* borne in the citie of POSIDONIA, a man expert in ſuch coniectures, and *Cimons* familiar frende, tolde him that this viſion did betoken his death, expounding it in this ſorte. The dogge commonly is an enemie to him he barketh at. Againe, nothing gladdeth our enemie more, then to heare of our death. Furthermore, the mingling of a mans voyce with the barking of a bitche, ſignifieth nothing els, but an enemie of the MEDES: bicauſe the armie of the MEDES is mingeled with the barbarous people and the GRÆCIANS together. Beſides this viſion, as he did ſacrifice to the god *Bacchus*, the Prieſt opening the beaſt after it was ſacrificed, about the blood that fell to the grounde, there aſſembled a ſwarme of antes, which caried the congealed blood of from the grounde by litle and litle, and layed it all about *Cimons* great toe, a great while together before any man marked it: *Cimon* at the laſt ſpied it by chaunce, and as he was looking of them to marke what they did, the miniſter of the ſacrifice brought the beaſtes liuer that was ſacrificed, to ſhew him, whereof the biggeſt end that they call the head was lacking, and this they iudged for a very ill token. Notwithſtanding, hauing all things readie for preparation of this iorney, ſo as he could not well goe backe, he launched into the ſea, and hoyſed ſayle, and ſending three ſcore of his gallies into EGYPT, ſayled with the reſt vpon the coaſt of PAMPHYLIA. Where he wanne a battell by ſea of the king of PERSIA, ouercomming the gallies of the PHENICIANS and the CILICIANS, and conquered all the cities thereabouts, making the way very open to enter into EGYPT. For he had no ſmall thoughtes in his minde, but reached to high enterpriſes, and determined vtterly to deſtroy the whole Empire of the mighty kinge of PERSIA, and ſpecially for that he vnderſtoode *Themiſtocles* was in maruelous credit and reputacion amõgeſt the barbarous people, bicauſe he had promiſed the king of PERSIA to lead his armie for him, and to doe him notable ſeruice whenſoeuer he ſhoulde haue occaſion to warre with the GRÆCIANS. It is thought this was the chiefe cauſe that made *Themiſtocles* poiſon himſelfe, bicauſe he diſpaired that he could not performe that ſeruice againſt GRÆCI which he had promiſed: aſſuring him ſelfe that it was no eaſie matter to vanquiſhe *Cimons* corage, and good fortune, who lay at that time with his armie all alongeſt the Ile of CYPRVS, promiſing him ſelfe great matters at that inſtant. But in the meane ſeaſon, *Cimon* ſent certaine of his men vnto the oracle of *Iuppiter Ammon*, to aske him ſome ſecret queſtion: for no man euer knew neither then nor ſince, for what cauſe he had ſent them thither, neither did they alſo bring backe any aunſwere. For they were no ſooner come thither, but the oracle commaunded them ſtraight to returne: ſaying vnto them, that *Cimon* was then comming to him. So *Cimons* men receiuing this aunſwere, left the oracle, and tooke their iorney backe to the ſeawardes. Now when they were commen againe to the GRÆCIANS campe, which at that preſent lay in EGYPT, they heard that *Cimon* was departed this worlde: and reckoninge the dayes ſence his death, with the inſtant of their aunſwere receiued by the oracle, that *Cimon* was then comming vnto him: they knew ſtraight that darkely he had ſignified his death vnto them, and that, at that very time he was with the goddes. He dyed at the ſiege of the citie of CITIVM in CYPRVS, as ſome reporte, or elſe of a hurte he receiued at a skirmiſhe, as other holde opinion. When he dyed, he commaunded them that were vnder his charge, to returne into their contry againe, and in no caſe to publiſhe his death: which commaundement was ſo wiſely and cunningly handeled, that they all came home ſafe, and not an enemie, nor any of their confederates that once vnderſtoode any thing of it. So was the armie of the GRÆCIANS gouerned and led by *Cimon*, though him ſelfe was dead, the ſpace of thirtie dayes, as *Phanodemus* wryteth: But after his death, there was no GRÆCIAN Captaine

The interpretation of the dreame.

Cimons death prognoſticated.

The cauſe of Themiſtocles willing death.

The death of Cimon.

Cimons death kept very ſecret.

A raine that did any notable thing worthie of fame against the barbarous people, bicause the Orators and gouernors of the chiefest cities of GRÆCE stirred them vp one against an other, and there was no man that would once steppe in as a mediator to make peace betwene them. And thus the GRÆCIANS now did one destroy and spoyle an other by ciuill warre amongest them selues: which happely gaue the king of PERSIA leasure and time to restore him selfe againe, and contrarily was cause of such vtter ruine and destruction of the whole power and force of GRÆCE, as no tongue can well expresse. In deede a long time after, kinge *Agesilaus* came with an armie of the GRÆCIANS into ASIA, and beganne a small warre against the Lieutenauntes of the king of PERSIAES gouernors of the lower contries of ASIA. But before he could doe any notable exployte, he was called home againe by occasion of newe troubles B and ciuill warres risinge amonge the GRÆCIANS, and compelled to returne into his contrie, leauing the treasorers of the king of PERSIA, raising of subsidies and taxes vpon the cities of the GRÆCIANS in ASIA, although they were confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereas in the time that *Cimon* gouerned, they neuer sawe any of the kinges sergeauntes at armes, or commissioner, that brought any letters pattentes or commaundement from the king, or any souldier that durst come neere the sea, by fortie furlonges. The tombes which they call vnto this present day Cimonia, doe witnesse that his ashes and bones were brought vnto ATHENS. Neuertheless, they of the citie of CITIVM doe honor a certaine tombe, which they say is *Cimons* tombe: bicause that in a great dearth and barrennes of the earth, they had an oracle that commaunded them, not to neglect *Ciman*, as the Orator *Nausicrates* writeth it, but to honor and reuerence him as a god. Such was the life of this GRÆCIAN Captaine.

No famous act done by any Græcians to the barbarous people, after Cimons death.

Cimons monuments at Athens.

C

The end of Cimons life.

THE LIFE OF *Lucius Lucullus.*

Lucullus parentes.

AS for *Lucullus*, his grandfather was a Conſull, and ſo was *Metellus* (ſurnamed *Numidicus*, bicauſe of his conqueſt of NVMIDIA) his vncle by the mothers ſide. His father notwithſtanding was conuict of fellony, for robbing the treaſure of the ſtate whileſt he was officer: and *Cæcilia* his mother was reported to haue led an vnchaſt life. But for *Lucullus* ſelfe, before he bare office, or rule in matters of ſtate: the firſt thing he towched and tooke in hande for the cauſe of his contrie was, thac-

Lucullus accuſeth Seruilius the Soothſayer.

cuſation of *Seruilius* the ſoothſayer (who before had accuſed his father) for that he alſo had delt falſely in his office, and deceiued the common wealth. And this the ROMANES thought very well handled of him, inſomuch as a pretie while after there was no other talke in ROME but of that matter, as though it had bene a notable valliant acte done by him. For otherwiſe, though priuately they had no iuſt occaſion, yet they thought it a noble deede to accuſe the wicked, and it pleaſed them as much to ſee the young men put lawe breakers in ſute, as to ſee a notable good courſe of a dogge at a hare. Howebeit there followed ſuch ſturre and bandinge vppon this ſute, that ſome were verie ſore hurte, and other ſlaine in the market place: but in fyne, *Seruilius* was cleared and quite diſmiſſed. *Lucullus* was verie eloquent, well ſpoken, and excellently well learned in the Greeke and Latin tongue: inſomuch as *Sylla* dedicated vnto him the commentaries of all his doings which himſelfe had collected, as to one that could better frame a whole hiſtorie thereof, and cowche it more eloquētly together in wryting. For he had not only a ready tongue to vtter that he would ſpeake, and pleade his matters with great eloquence, as other be ſeene to doe, hauing matters of ſute or open audience.

The Romanes thought it a noble dede to accuſe the wicked.

Lucullus eloquence.

Like tonny fiſhe they be, vvhich ſvviftly diue and doppe,
Into the depth of Occean ſea, vvithouten ſtay or ſtoppe:

But afterwardes alſo when ye take them out of their common practiſe and pleadinges,

Then are they graueld ſtraight vvithouten grace or skill,
Their eloquence lyes then in dyke, and they themſelues be ſtill.

For *Lucullus* had ſtudied humanitie from his youth, and was well learned in all the liberall ſciences: but when he came to elder yeares, to refreſhe his witte (after great troubles) he

A he fell to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, which quickened the contemplatiue parte of his ſoule, & mortified, or at the leaſt betimes brideled the ambitious and actiue parte, ſpecially after the diſſention betwixt him and *Pompey*. But to acquaint you better with his learning yet, it is ſaid, that when he was a young man, he layed a great wager with *Hortenſius* the Orator, and *Sylla* the hiſtoriographer (in ieſt as it were at the firſt, but afterwardes it fell to good earneſt) that he would write the breuiary of the warres of MARSICVM in verſe or proſe, in the Latin or Greeke tongue, which ſoeuer fell to his lotte: and I thinke his happe was to doe it in proſe in the Greeke tongue, bicauſe we finde a litle Greeke ſtorie extant of the warres of the ROMANES againſt the MARSIANS. He dearely loued his brother *Marcus Lucullus*, as appeared by many manifeſt proofes: but the chiefeſt and moſt noted proofe among the ROMANES was B this. Him ſelfe was elder then his brother *Marcus*, and yet for all that would neuer ſue to beare office in the common wealth, nor accept any before his brother, but taried alwayes till he ſhould be choſen, and let his owne time paſſe ouer. This great curteſie to his brother ſo wanne the peoples hartes, as *Lucius* being abſent, they choſe him Ædilis, and his brother *Marcus* with him for his ſake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of the MARSIANS warres, wherein he did many wiſe and valliant deedes. The cauſe notwithſtanding that moued *Sylla* to make choyce of him, was rather for his conſtancy, & good curteous nature, then for any other reſpect. For when *Sylla* had once wonne him, he euer after employed him continually in his moſt weightie cauſes: as in a commiſſion ſpecially, he gaue him to coyne money. For in deede parte of the money that *Sylla* ſpent in the warres againſt king *Mithridates*, was coyned C by *Lucullus* commaundement within the contrie of PELOPONNESVS: whereupon they were called *Lucullian* peeces, and were currant a longe time amongeſt the ſouldiers, to buy ſuch things as they ſtoode in nede of, and neuer refuſed by any. *Sylla* being afterwards at ATHENS, the ſtronger by land, but the weaker by ſea, ſo as his enemies cut of his vittells from him: ſent *Lucullus* into EGYPT and LIBYA to bring him ſuch ſhippes as he found in thoſe partes. It was in the deepe of winter, and yet he ſpared not to ſayle with three brigantines of GREECE, and as many galliots of the RHODIANS, putting him ſelfe not only to the daunger of the ſea in ſo long a voyage, but of his enemies in like maner: who knowing them ſelues to be the ſtronger, went ſayling euery where with a great nauie. But for all theſe daungers, he firſt arriued in the Ile of CRETA, and wanne their goodwilles. From thence went to the citie of CYRENE, where D he found the inhabitaunts turmoyled with ciuil warres, and continuall oppreſſions of tyrans: from which troubles he deliuered them, and gaue them lawes to eſtabliſhe gouernment amongeſt them, putting them in remembraunce of *Platoes* wordes ſpoken to their anceſters in old time, in the ſpirite of a prophecie. For when they prayed *Plato* to write them lawes, and to appoint them ſome forme of gouernment for their common wealth, he made them anſwere: it was a hard thing to geue lawes to ſo riche and fortunate people as they were. For to ſay truely, as nothing is harder to be ruled, then a rich man: ſo contrarily, nothing readier to receiue counſell and gouernment, then a man in aduerſity. This leſſon framed the CYRENIANS at that time to be more ciuill and obedient to the lawes *Lucullus* gaue them. When he departed thence, he coaſted towardes EGYPT, where he loſt the moreparte of his ſhippes by E pyrates: but for his owne perſon, ſcaping their handes, he was very honorably receiued in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. For all the kinges armie came to meete him at ſea, gallantly trimmed and appointed, as they were wont to welcome home the kinge when he returned from any voyage by ſea: and king *Ptolomye* him ſelfe being very young at that time, gaue him as honorable entertainment as he poſſible could. For amongeſt other honors that he did him, he lodged him in his courte, and defrayed his ordinarie dyet, where neuer ſtraunge Captaine was lodged before: and did not only ſpend the ordinary allowance in feaſting of him which he vſed vnto others, but commaunded foure times as much prouiſion more to be made as he had before. Notwithſtanding, *Lucullus* tooke no more then reaſonable was for his perſon: nor yet would he receiue any maner gift althogh the king had ſent him preſents to the value of foure F ſcore talentes. And which more is, would not ſo much as go ſee the citie of MEMPHIS, nor any other of the famous monumentes and wonderfull ſightes in EGYPT, ſaying: that it was for a man that trauelled vp and downe for his pleaſure, and had leaſure withall, to ſee ſuch

Lucullus ſtudied Philoſophy in his latter time.

Lucullus booke of the warre of the Marſians, in Greeke.

Lucullus loue to his brother Marcus.

Lucius, & M. Luculius both choſen AEdiles.

Sylla gaue Luculius commiſſion to coyne money in Peloponneſus.

Lucullus geueth lawes to the Cyrenians.

A notable ſaying of Plato.

Lucullus iorney into Egypt.

thinges, but not for him that had left his Captaine in the field, at the siege of the walles of his enemies. To conclude, this young king *Ptolomye* would in no case fall in frendshippe with *Sylla*, fearing least he should thereby put him selfe into warres: but gaue him men and shippes to bring him into CYPRVS. And as he was ready to imbarke, the king bidding him farewell, and embracing him, gaue him a goodly rich emerod set in gold, which *Lucullus* at the first refused vntill the king shewed him his picture grauen in it: and then accepted the gift, fearing least the vtter refusall might cause the king thinke he went away discontented, and should perhaps therefore lay an ambushe by sea for him. Thus hauing gotten a certaine number of shippes together of the porte townes thereaboutes, ouer and besides such as the pyrates and sea rouers had hidden, being parte of their spoyles, and bestowed with their receitors: went on with them into CYPRVS, where he vnderstoode that his enemies lay close in certaine creekes vnder the foreland, watching to bourde him as he sayled by. Whereuppon he vnrigged and bestowed his shippes in docks, and sent worde to all the porte townes thereabouts, that he was determined to winter there: and therefore willed them to prouide him vittells & other necessarie munition to be in readines against the spring. But in the meane while, when he saw time conuenient, he put his whole fleete againe to the sea with all possible speede, went him selfe away, and in the day time caried a lowe sayle, but in the night packt on all the cloth he could for life: so that by this craftie fetche, he wanne RHODES, and lost not one shippe. The RHODIANS they also furnished him with shippes: & besides thē, he so perswaded the GNIDIANS and the inhabitantes of the Ile of CO, that they forsooke king *Mithridates*, and went to make warres with him against them of the Ile of SAMOS. But *Lucullus* him selfe alone draue kinge *Mithridates* men out of CHIO, restored the COLOPHONIANS againe to libertie: and tooke *Epigonus* the tyranne prisoner, who had kept them in bondage. Now about that time, *Mithridates* was compelled to forsake the citie of PERGAMVM, and to retyre to the citie of PITANE, within the which *Fimbria* kept him besieged very straightly by lande. Wherefore *Mithridates* hauing the sea open vpon him, sent for his force and nauy out of all partes, not daring to hazard battell against *Fimbria*, who was very valliant, of a venturous nature, & at that time moreouer was him selfe a conqueror. *Fimbria* perceiuing what *Mithridates* ment, and hauing no power by sea of his owne: sent straight to *Lucullus* to request him to come with his nauie into those partes to his ayde, for thouercomming of this king, the greatest and most cruell enemie that euer the ROMANE people had. Bicause that so notable a praye, which they followed with such daunger and trouble, should not escape the ROMANES, while they had him in their handes, and was come him selfe within their daunger: and that therefore he should so much the more harken vnto it, bicause that if it fortuned *Mithridates* to be taken, no man shoulde winne more honor and glorie by his takinge, then he that had stopped his passage, and layed handes on him, euen as he thought to haue fled. And thereby should the praise of this noble victorie runne in equalitie betwene them both: the one that had driuen him from lande, and the other that had stopped his passage by sea. And furthermore, that the ROMANES would nothinge regard all the famous battells and victories of *Sylla* in GREECE, which he had wonne before the cities of CHÆRONEA and ORCHOMENE: in comparison of taking the king. This was the effect of *Fimbriaes* message sent vnto *Lucullus*, wherein there was nothing, in the which there was not great likelyhoode. For there is no man that can doubt of it, but if *Lucullus* would haue beleued him at that time (and haue gone thither with his shippes to stoppe the hauens mouth of the citie, in the which *Mithridates* was besieged, considering also that he was so neere at hande) this warre had taken ende there, and the worlde besides had then bene deliuered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwardes. But, whether *Lucullus* preferred the consideration and respect he had vnto *Sylla*, whose Lieutenaunt he was, before all other due regarde of priuate or common benefit: or that he detested and abhorred *Fimbria* as a cursed persone, who not long before had through his wicked ambition imbrued his hands in the blood of his Captaine: or else that it was through the secret prouidence and permission of the goddes that he spared *Mithridates* at that time, to the end he might be reserued as a worthie enemie, against whom he might afterwardes shew his valure: howsoeuer it was, it so fell out that he harkened not vnto *Fimbriaes* message, but gaue *Mithridates* time

and

A notable rich emerod geuen Lucullus by kinge Ptolomye.

Lucullus doinges vnder Sylla by sea.

Lucullus stratageame.

Fimbria besieged Mithridates in Pitane.

A and leasure to flye, and finally to scorne all *Fimbriues* force and power. But *Lucullus* selfe alone afterwardes ouercame the kinges armie by sea, once neere vnto the head of Lectum, which is on the coast of TROADE: and an other time neere vnto the Ile of TENEDOS, where *Neoptolemus*, *Mithridates* Lieutenaunt by sea, lay in wayte for him with a farre greater number of shippes then he had. And yet so soone as *Lucullus* had discried him, he sayled before all his naue being Admirall, in a galley of the RHODES, at fiue ores to a bancke, whereof one *Demagoras* was master, a man well affected to the seruice of the ROMANES, and very skillfull in battell by sea. And when *Neoptolemus* on the other side rowed against him with great force, commaunding his pylot that he should so order his galley, that he might stemme him right in the prowe: *Demagoras* fearinge the full meetinge of the kinges galley which was very strong and

B heauie, and furthermore well armed with poyntes and spurres of brasse before, durst not encounter her with his prowe, but nimbly made his gallie to winde about, & turned his poupe towardes him. Whereby the galley being low at that end, receiued the blow without hurte, considering that they hit vppon the dead workes, and those partes which are alwayes aboue water. In the meane time *Lucullus* other shippes were come, who commaunding his master to turne the beakehead of his gallie forward, did many famous actes: so that he made his enemies flye, and draue *Neoptolemus* away. And departing from thence, went to seeke out *Sylla* euen as he was readie to passe ouer the seas, about CHERRONESVS: holpe him to waft his armie, and so passed him ouer with safety. Afterwardes when peace was concluded, and that king *Mithridates* was comen into his realme and contries againe, which lye vpon the sea Ma-

C ior: *Sylla* condemned the prouince of ASIA to pay the summe of twenty thowsand talentes for a fyne, by reason of their rebellion. And for leauying of this fyne, left *Lucullus* there with commission to coyne money: which was a great comforte and hartes ease vnto the cities of ASIA, considering the extreamitie that *Sylla* had vsed towardes them. For in so grieuous and odious a commission vnto them all, as that was: *Lucullus* did not only behaue him selfe vprightly and iustly, but also very fauorably and curteously. For, as touching the MITYLENIANS that were openly in armes against him, he was very willing they should know their fault, and that for satisfaction of thoffence they had committed takinge *Marius* parte, they should suffer some light punishment. And seeing that they were furiously bent to continewe in their naughtines, he went against them, and hauing ouercome them in battell, compelled them

D to keepe within their walles, and layed siege vnto their citie, where he vsed this policy with them. At none dayes he launched into the sea, in the view of all the MITYLENIANS, and sayled towardes the citie of ELEA: howbeit in the night time secretly returned backe, and making no noyse, layed an ambushe nere vnto the citie. The MITYLENIANS mistrusting nothinge, went out the next morning very rashly without order, & without any maner watche or ward, to spoyle the campe of the ROMANES, supposing euery man had bene gone: but *Lucullus* comming sodainly vpon them, tooke a great number prisoners, slue about fiue hundred such as resisted, and wanne sixe thowsande slaues, with an infinite quantitie of other spoyle. Now did the goddes happely preserue *Lucullus*, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderfull miseries and troubles, which *Sylla* and *Marius* made poore ITALIE suffer, euen then when he

E was occupied in the warres of ASIA: and yet notwithstanding his absence, he was in as good credit and fauor with *Sylla*, as any of his frendes about him. For as we haue sayd before, he dedicated his commentaries vnto him, for the goodwill he bare him, and by his last will and testament appointed him Tutor vnto his sonne, leauing *Pompey* out: which seemeth to be the first occasion of the quarrell and grudge that fell out afterwardes betwene them, bicause they were both young men, and vehemently desirous of honor. Shortly after the death of *Sylla*, *Lucullus* was chosen Consull with *Marcus Cotta*, about the three score Olympiade: and then they began to reuiue the matter againe, that it was very needefull to make warres against *Mithridates*, and specially *Marcus Cotta*, who gaue out that it was not ended, but only slept for a while. Wherefore, when the Consulls came to draw lottes what prouinces they should take

F charge of, *Lucullus* was maruelous sorie that the prouince of GAVLE, lying betwene the Alpes and ITALIE, fell to his lotte: bicause he thought it no contrie wherein any great exployte were to be done, and againe, the glorie of *Pompey* grieued him greatly, whose honor dayly in-

Lucullus would not aide Fimbria in besieging Mithridates.

Neoptolemus king Mithridates Lieutenant by sea.

Lucullus put to flight Neoptolemus Mithridates Lieutenaunt by sea.

Lucullus stratageme at the siege of the Mitylenians.

Lucullus honored of Sylla.

The first occasion of quarrell betwixt Pompey and Lucullus.

Lucullus, M. Cotta Consuls.

creased by the famous battells he wan in SPAINE. So that it was most certaine, that so soone as *Pompey* had ended the warres there, they would haue chosen him generall in the warres against *Mithridates*. Wherefore, when *Pompey* sent to ROME in earnest maner, to require money to make pay to his souldiers, wryting to the Senate, that if they did not send him money the sooner, he would leaue *Sertorius* there, SPAINE behinde him, and bring his army backe into ITALIE: *Lucullus* made all the meanes he could to haue it quickely sent him, fearing least he should returne into ITALIE vpon any occasion, while he was Consul. For he thought that if he returned againe to ROME with so great an armie, he would easily do what him list: and the rather, bicause that *Cethegus* and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the sway and rule at ROME, bicause he spake and did all that pleased the common people, being a vitious liuer, and dissolutely geuen, for which cause *Lucullus* hated him. But there was an other common Orator among the people called *Lucius Quintius*, and he would haue had all *Sylas* doinges reuoked and broken: a matter to alter euen the whole state of the common wealth, and to turmoyle the citie of ROME againe with ciuill dissention, which then liued quietly and in good peace. This *Lucius Quintius Lucullus* talked withall a parte to perswade him, and openly reproued him with such words, that he was disswaded from his euell purpose, & by reason ruled his rash ambition, handling it both wisely and as cunningly as he could possible (for the safety of the common wealth) bicause it was the beginning of a disease, from whence infinite troubles were like to growe. While these thinges were thus in hande, newes came that *Octauius* the gouernor of CILICIA was dead. Straight whereuppon many put forward themselues to sue for this charge, & to courte *Cethegus*, as the only man who aboue all other might make any man officer whom he thought good. Now for *Lucullus*, he made no great reckening of the gouernment of CILICIA in respect of the contry, but bicause CAPPADOCIA was hard adioyning to it, and perswading him selfe that if he could obtaine the gouernment thereof, they would geue none other (but him selfe) the authoritie to make warres with *Mithridates*: he determined to procure all the meanes he could, that none should haue it but him selfe. And hauing proued sundry wayes, was compelled in the ende, against his owne nature, to practise a meane neither comely nor honest, and yet the readiest way he could possibly deuise to obtaine his desire. There was a woman in ROME at that time called *Praecia*, very famous for her passing beawty, and also for her pleasaunt grace in talke and discourse, howbeit otherwise vnchast after curtisan manner. But bicause she employed the credit & fauor of them that frequented her companie, to the benefit and seruice of the common wealth, and of them that loued her: she wanne the reporte (besides her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very louinge woman, and readie to fauor and further any good enterprise, and it wanne her great fame and reputacion. But after she had once wonne *Cethegus*, (who ruled all the common wealth at his pleasure) and brought him to be so farre in fancie with her, that he could not be out of her sight: then had she all the whole power & authority of ROME in her hands, for the people did nothing but *Cethegus* preferred it, and *Cethegus* did what euer *Praecia* would will him to. Thus *Lucullus* sought to come in fauor with her, sending her many presentes, and vsing all other curtesies he could offer vnto her: besides that it seemed a great reward for so prowde & ambitious a woman as she, to be sued vnto by such a man as *Lucullus* was, who by this meanes came to haue *Cethegus* at his cõmaundement. For *Cethegus* did nothing but commend *Lucullus* in all assemblies of the people, to procure him the gouernment of CICILIE who after it was once graunted him, had then no neede of the helpe neither of *Praecia*, nor yet of *Cethegus*. For the people wholly of them selues with one cõsent did graunt him the charge to make warre with *Mithridates*, bicause he knew better how to ouercome him, then any other Captaine, and bicause that *Pompey* was in the warres with *Sertorius* in SPAINE, and *Metellus* also growen too olde, both which two were the onely men that could deseruedly haue contended for this office with him. Neuertheles, *Marcus Cotta* his fellow Consull, made such suite to the Senate, that they sent him also with an armie by sea, to keepe the coastes of PONTIDE, and to defende the contrie of BITHYNIA. Thus, *Lucullus* hauing his commission, went into ASIA with one legyon only, the which he leauied a new at ROME: & when he was come thither, he tooke the rest of the strength he founde there, which were men marred and cor-

Cethegus a vitious liuer.

Lucius Quintius, a seditious Orator at Rome.

Lucullus ambition to make warres against king Mithridates.

Praecia a famous curtisan of Rome.

Cethegus ruled all Rome.

The gouernment of Cilicia & the warres against king Mithridates were geuen to Lucullus.

A corrupted altogether of long time, through couetousnes and delicacie of the countrie. For amongest others, were the bandes which they called the *Fimbrian* bandes, men geuen ouer to selfe will, and very ill to be ruled by marshall discipline, bicause they had lined a long time at their owne libertie, without all obedience to any man. They were those selfe souldiers that together with *Fimbria*, slue their generall *Flaccus*, Consull of the ROMANE people, and that afterwardes betrayed *Fimbria* him selfe, and forsooke him, leauing him vnto *Sylla*, being mutiners, traitors, and wicked people: howbeit otherwise very vallyant, well trayned, and painefull souldiers. Notwithstanding, *Lucullus* in shorte time brideled their boldnes meetely well, and reformed the others also, who before had neuer proued (in my opinion) what the value of a good Captaine and Generall ment, that knew how to commaund: but were vsed to flat- B tering leaders, that commaunded the souldiers no more then they them selues liked of. Now concerning the state of the enemies, thus it was with them. *Mithridates* that in the beginning was very braue and bolde (as these florishing Sophisters commonly are) vndertaking warre against the ROMANES, with a vaine vnprofitable armie, but passing fresh and sumptuous to the eye: but after that he was once foyled and ouercome with no lesse shame then losse, when he came to make this second warre, he cut of all superfluous pompe, and brought his armie into a conuenient furniture to serue for warres at all assayes. For he put by the confused multitude of sundrie nations, the fierce threatninges of the barbarous people in so many sundrie tongues, and clearely banisht also the riche grauen armors with goldesmythes worke, and set with precious stones, as thinges that more enriched the enemies that wanne them, then gaue C strength or corage to those that ware them. And contrariwise, caused long stiffe swords to be made after the ROMANE facion, and great heauy shields, and brought to the field a maruelous number of horse, more ready for seruice, then riche in furniture. Then he ioyned fiue score thowsand footemen together, appointed & set in order like vnto the battell of the ROMANES, with sixteene thowsand horse of seruice, besides those that drue his armed cartes with sithes about, which were in all to the number of a hundred. And besides all this land preparation, he brought also a great number of shippes and gallies together, which were not decked with goodly golden pauilions, as at the first, neither with stooues nor bathes, nor with chambers and cabbons, curiously hanged for Ladies and gentlewomen: but furnished full of armor, artillerie, and slinges, and with money also to pay the souldiers. With all this armie and pre- D paration, he went first to inuade BITHYNIA, where the cities receiued him very gladly, & not those only, but all the other cities of ASIA wholly: the which were fallen againe into their former miseries and diseases, by the crueltie of the ROMANE farmers and vserers, who raising taxes and impostes vppon them, made them abide vntollerable thinges. It is true that *Lucullus* draue them away afterwardes, like the *Harpyæ*, which tooke the meate out of the poore mens mowthes: howbeit at that time he did no more, but brought them to be more reasonable by the perswasions he vsed vnto them, and qualified a litle the inclination of the people vnto rebellion, being euery one of them in manner willing to reuolt. Now *Lucullus* being busie about these matters, *Marcus Cotta* the other Consull (and his companion) supposing that the ab- E sence of *Lucullus* was a fit occasion offered him to doe notable seruice, prepared to fight with *Mithridates*. And although he had newes brought him from sundrie places, that *Lucullus* was with his armie in PHRYGIA, and comming towardes him: yet notwithstanding, imagining that he had the honor of triumphe assured alreadie in his handes, and bicause *Lucullus* should be no partaker of it, he aduaunced forwardes to geue battell. But *Mithridates* ouercame him both by sea and by lande: so that *Cotta* by sea lost three score of his shippes with all the men in them, foure thowsand footemen by lande, and was after with shame shut vp and besieged in the citie of CHALCEDON, remaining there hopelesse to escape, but by *Lucullus* onely ayde and meanes. Howbeit there were in *Lucullus* campe, that were very earnest with him to leaue *Cotta*, and to go further, assuring him that he should finde the realme of *Mithridates* both without men of warre, or any defence at all: so that he might easily be Lord of the F whole. And these were the wordes of the souldiers that spyted *Cotta*, bicause his foolishe rashnes and fonde imagination had not only brought those men to the shambles to be slaine and cast away, whom he had the leading of: but had lost them also, that they could not ouer-

Fimbria's souldiers very dissolute and corrupted.

Mithridates armie against Lucullus.

Mithridates armie.

Asia fell into former miseries by the Romane vserers.

Cotta the Cõsull ouercome by Mithridates in battell.

come him, and ende this warre without blowes, for that they were driuen to go to his helpe. Howbeit *Lucullus* making an Oration vnto them, aunſwered, that he had rather ſaue the life of one ROMANE citizen, then winne all that his enemies had in their power. And when *Archelaus*, (who had bene *Mithridates* Lieutenaunt in BOEOTIA in the firſt warres againſt *Sylla*, and now in this ſeconde warre tooke parte with the ROMANES) aſſured him that ſo ſoone as they ſawe him in the realme of PONTVS, they would all riſe againſt *Mithridates*, and yeelde them ſelues vnto him: *Lucullus* aunſwered him thus, that he would not ſhewe him ſelfe more fearefull, then the good hunters which neuer ſuffer the beaſt to recouer his denne. And when he had ſo ſayd, he marched with his armie towardes *Mithridates*, hauing in all his campe thirtie thowſand footemen, and two thowſande fiue hundred horſe. When he came ſo neere vnto his enemies, that he might eaſily at eye diſcerne all their hoaſt, he wondered at the great multitude of ſouldiers that were in their campe, and was in minde to geue battell, ſuppoſing yet that the better way was to prolong time, and drawe theſe warres out in length. But one *Marius* a ROMANE Captaine, whom *Sertorius* had ſent out of SPAYNE vnto *Mithridates* with a certaine number of ſouldiers: came forwardes, and prouoked him to battell. *Lucullus* for his parte did put his men alſo in a readineſſe to fight. But euen as both battells were prepared to ioyne, the element opened vpon the ſodaine, without any ſhewe of chaunge of weather decerned before, and they plainly ſaw a great flake of fire fall betwene both armies, in forme and ſhape much like to a tonne, and of the colour of molten ſiluer. This celeſtiall ſigne put both tharmies in ſuch a feare, as they both retyred, and fought not a ſtroke: and this wonderfull fight fortuned (as it appeared) in a place of PHRYGIA, called Otryes. Nowe *Lucullus* afterwards conſidering with himſelfe, that there was no riches nor prouiſion ſo great in the world, that could ſuffice to vittell ſo many thowſandes of people as *Mithridates* had in his campe a-ny long time together, hauing his enemies campe ſo lying before them: willed that one of the priſoners ſhould be brought into his tent, and firſt of all he enquired of him, how many of them lay together in a cabin, then what corne he had left in their cabbin. And when the priſoner had aunſwered to all his demaundes, he returned him to priſon, and ſent for an other: then for a third, and queſtioned with them all as he had done with the firſt. Then comparing the ſtore of their corne, and other proportion of vittells they had, with the number of men the ſame ſhould maintaine: he founde that all would be ſpent in three or foure dayes at thutmoſt. Whereupon he relied on his firſt determination, to delay time without hazard of battell. So he cauſed a maruelous deale of wheate to be brought into his campe out of euerie quarter, that the ſame being throughly vittelled, he might eaſily tary the occaſion which his enemies neceſſitie ſhould offer him. *Mithridates* in the meane time, ſought which way he might take the citie of the CYZICENIANS, who had bene ouerthrowen before with *Cotta* at the battell of CHALCEDON, where they had loſt three thowſande men, and tenne of their ſhippes. And bicauſe that *Lucullus* ſhould not vnderſtand of his enterpriſe, *Mithridates* ſtale away by night after ſupper, taking the oportunity of a darke rainy night, and marched thitherwardes with ſuch ſpeede, that he was before the city of CYZICVS by breake of day, and pitched his campe, where the temple of the goddeſſe *Adraſtia* ſtandeth, which is the goddeſſe of fatall deſtinie. *Lucullus* receiuing intelligence of *Mithridates* departure from his campe, followed him ſtraight wayes ſteppe by ſteppe, and being glad that he was not met withall of his enemies in diſorder, lodged his armie in a village called THRACIA, in a place of great aduantage for him, and commodiouſly ſeated alſo vppon the high wayes, and through fare of the neighbors therabouts, by the which they muſt come of neceſſity to vittel *Mithridates* campe. Wherefore *Lucullus* wiſely foreſeing what would follow: would not keepe his purpoſe ſecret from his ſouldiers, but after he had well trenched and fortified his campe, called them to counſell, and there making an oration vnto them, tolde them openly by manifeſt demonſtration of aſſured hope, that ere many dayes paſſed, he would geue victorie into their handes, and that without loſſe of one droppe of blood. In the meane ſeaſon, *Mithridates* enuironned the GRÆCIANS round about by lande, hauing deuided his armie into tenne campes, & ſtopped vp the mouth of the arme of the ſea, which deuideth the citie from firme lande, with his ſhippes from one ſide to an other. Now the CYZICENIANS were valliant men, and determined

The godly ſaying of Lucullus for the ſauing of a citizen.

Lucullus army.

A flame of fire fell betwene both armies, out of the elements.

Lucullus politicke conſideration to diſſipher the enemy.

Mithridates beſiegeth Cyzicus.

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A ned to abide all extreamity for the ROMANES ſakes: but one thing only troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of *Lucullus*, neither could they heare any newes of him, though his campe ſtoode in ſuch a place, where they might eaſily decerne it from the citie. But *Mithridates* ſouldiers deceiued them, for ſhewing them the ROMANES campe that lay aboue hard by them, ſayd vnto them: doe ye ſee yonder campe there? They are the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS, whom *Tygranes* hath ſent to the ayde of *Mithridates*. Theſe wordes put the CYZICENIANS in a maruelous feare, ſeeing ſuch a multitude of enemies diſperſed round about them: that when *Lucullus* ſhould come to their aide, he could not well tell which way to paſſe. Yet at the length they heard of *Lucullus* approach, by one called *Demonax*, whom *Archelaus* ſent vnto them, but they would not beleue him at the firſt, taking it for a tale, only B to make them be of good corage, and valliantly abide the furie of the ſiege: vntill ſuch time as a litle boy of theirs, eſcaped from the enemies that before had take him priſoner, was come againe vnto them. Of whome they inquired where *Lucullus* was: the boy laughed at them, thinking they teaſted to aske that queſtiō of him. But when he ſaw they were in good earneſt, he ſhewed them the ROMANES campe with his finger: then they beleued it in deede, and were coragious againe. There is a lake neere vnto the citie of CYZICVS called Daſcylitide, and it is nauigable with conuenient bigge boates. *Lucullus* tooke one of the greateſt of them, put it in a carte, and ſo caried it to the ſea, and there put as many ſouldiers in her as ſhe could well carry, who by night entred into the citie, the skowte of the enemies neuer diſcoying them. This ſmall ſupply did maruelouſly comforte the beſieged CYZICENIANS: and it ſeemeth that the C goddes, deliting to ſee their noble corage, would further increaſe and aſſure the ſame, by many manifeſt tokens which they ſent from heauen, and ſpecially by one which was this. The day of the feaſt of *Proſerpina* was at hand, and the citizens had neuer a blacke cowe to offer in ſolemne ſacrifice, as their aunciēt ceremonies required: ſo they made one of paſte, & brought it hard vnto the aulter. Now, the cowe that was vowed to this ſacrifice, & which they reered vp of purpoſe to ſerue for that day, was feeding amongeſt the heard of the citie in the fieldes, on thother ſide of the arme of the ſea. But that day ſhe kept alone from all the reſt of the heard, and ſwamme ouer the arme of the ſea, and came into the citie: where ſhe went of her ſelfe vnto the place of the ſacrifice. Furthermore, the goddeſſe *Proſerpina* her ſelfe appeared vnto *Ariſtagoras* in his dreame, ſecretary of the ſtate and common wealth of the CYZICENIANS, and D ſayd vnto him: I am come hither to bring the flute of LIBIA, againſt the tromper of PONT, and therefore tell the citizens from me, that I will them to be of good corage. The next morning when the ſecretarie had tolde them his viſion, the CIZICENIANS maruelled much at the goddeſſes wordes, and could not imagine what they ment. Howbeit at the breake of day there roſe a great whiſtling winde, that made the ſea billowes riſe very high: and the kings engines of batterie which were brought to the walles of the citie to plucke them downe (being wonderfull workes that one *Niconides* a THESSALIAN enginer had made and deuiſed) began to make ſuch a noyſe, and to breake in peeces by the roughnes of the winde, that a man might eaſily iudge what would follow vpon it. Then all at one inſtant, the ſouthwinde was become ſo vehement bigge, that in a moment it burſt all theſe engines aſunder, and ſpecially a tower E of wodde of the height of a hundred cubittes, which the winde ſhooke ſo vehemently, that it ouerthrewe it to the ground. And it is ſayd furthermore, that in the citie of ILIVM the goddeſſe *Minerua* appeared vnto diuerſe in their ſleepe, all in a ſweat, and ſhowing parte of her vaile torne, as if ſhe had bene newly returned from geuing ayde vnto the CYZICENIANS: in confirmacion whereof, the inhabitantes of ILIVM haue a piller yet vnto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetuall memorie. Now was *Mithridates* maruelous ſory for the breaking & loſſe of his engines, by meanes wherof, the CIZICENIANS had eſcaped the daunger of aſſaulte, & of the ſiege in like maner, vntill he truly vnderſtood of the great famine that was in his campe, and the extreame dearth to be ſuch, as the ſouldiers were compelled to eate mans fleſhe, which (his Captaines abuſing him) had for a time kept ſecret from his know- F ledge. But when he was enformed of the troth in dede, he left of his vaine ambition obſtinately to continewe ſiege: knowing well that *Lucullus* made not warres with threats and braūery, but (as the common prouerbe ſayth) lept on his belly with both his feete, that is to ſay, he did

The ſtrategeame of Mithridates ſouldiers.

A wonderfull token of a cow that came to offer her ſelfe to the Cizicenians to be ſacrificed.

Ariſtagorās viſion.

Extreame famine in Mithridates campe.

Proverbe: He lept on his belly with both his feete.

what he could possible to cut of all the vittells from him. And therefore one day when Lucullus was gone to assault a castell that troubled him very neere vnto his campe: *Mithridates* because he would not lose that oportunity, sent the most parte of his horsemen to get vittels in BITHYNIA, with all his cartes, and beastes of cariage, and his most vnprofitable footemen. *Lucullus* hearing thereof, returned againe the selfe same night vnto his campe, and the next morninge betimes being in the winter season, followed them by the tracke with ten ensignes of footemen only and all his horsemen. But the snow was so deepe, the cold so terrible sharp, and the weather so rough, that many of his souldiers not being able to abide it, dyed by the way. For all that he marched on still, till he ouertooke his enemies about the riuer of Rindacus, where he gaue them such an ouerthrowe, that the very women came out of the citie of APOLLONIA, and went to steale the vittells they had loden, and strippe the dead, which were a maruelous great number, as a man may iudge in such a case: and neuertheless there were taken sixe thowsande horse of seruice, an infinite number of beastes for cariage, and fifteene thowsande men besides, all which spoyle he brought to his campe, and passed hard by the campe of his enemies. But I wonder much at the historiographer *Salust*, who wryting of this matter sayth, that here was the first time that euer the ROMANES saw any camells. Me thinkes it straunge how he should thinke so, that they who long before had ouercomen *Antiochus* the great vnder *Scipio*, and thothers that a litle before had fought against *Archelaus*, neere vnto the cities of ORCHOMENE and CHÆRONEA, should not haue seene camells. But to returne againe to our matter. *Mithridates* being feared with this ouerthrow, resolued with him selfe immediatly to flie, with all the speede he could possibly make: and to entertaine and stay *Lucullus* for a time behinde him, determined to sende *Aristonicus* his Admirall with his army by sea, into the sea of GRÆCE. But as *Aristonicus* was ready to hoyse sayle, his owne men betraied him, and deliuered him into the handes of *Lucullus*, with tenne thowsand crownes which he caried with him, to corrupt if he could parte of the ROMANES army. *Mithridates* hearing of this, fled by sea, leauing the rest of his armie by lande in the handes of his Captaines, to be brought away by them as well as they could. *Lucullus* followed vnto the riuer of Granicus, where he set apon them, and after he had slaine twenty thowsande of them, tooke an infinite number prisoners. And they say there dyed in that warres, what souldiers, what slaues, what lackeis, and other straggelers that followed the campe, about the number of three hundred thowsand people. This done, *Lucullus* returned to the citie of CYZICVS, where after he had spent some dayes, enioying the glorie due vnto him, and receiued the honorable entertainment of the CYZICENIANS: he went to visite the coast of HELLESPONT, to get shippes together, and to prepare an armie by sea. And passing by TROADE, they prepared his lodging within the temple of *Venus*: where, as he slept in the night, it seemed to him he saw the goddesse appeare before him, which sayd these verses vnto him.

Rindacus fl.

Lucullus ouerthrew Mithridates horsemen.

Mithridates fled by sea.

Granicus fl.

Lucullus ouerthroweth Mithridates footemen by the riuer of Granicus.

Lucullus dreame.

O Lyon fierce, and stowte: vvhy sleepest thou so sounde?
Since at thy hande so fayre a praye, is ready to be founde.

Herewith he rose incontinently out of his bed, being yet darke night, and calling his frends to him, tolde him the vision he had in his dreame: and about that very time also there came some vnto him from the citie of ILIVM, that brought him newes of fifteene gallies of kinge *Mithridates*, hauing fiue ores to euery bancke, that were seene in the hauen of the ACHAIANS, and that sayled towards the Ile of LEMNOS. Whereupon *Lucullus* tooke shippe straight, went and tooke them euery one: for at his first comming he slue the Captaine called *Isidorus*, and went afterwardes to the other mariners that lay at ancker on the coast side, who seeinge him come, drew towardes land with their shippes, in purpose to runne them all a shore, and fighting aboue hatches, hurt many of *Lucullus* souldiers, bicause they could not compasse them in behinde, and for that also the place where they had layed their shippes was such, as there was no way to force them before, their gallies floting in the sea as they did, and the others being fastned to the land as they were. *Lucullus* with much a do all this notwithstanding, found meanes in the end to put a shore certaine of the best souldiers he had about him, in a place of the Ile where they might easily lande. These souldiers went straight and set vpon the enemies behinde, slue some of them euen at their first comming, & compelled the rest to cut a sunder

the

A the cables that fastned the gallies to the banckes. But when they thought to flie from lande, the gallies brused and brake one an other: and that worst of all was, ranne vpon the poyntes and spurres of *Lucullus* gallies. And so many of them that stoode aboue hatches were slaine, the rest taken prisoners: amongest whom, *Marius* the ROMANE Captaine was brought vnto *Lucullus*, whom *Sertorius* had sent out of SPAINE vnto *Mithridates*. He had but one eye, and *Lucullus* had commaunded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his enemies that had but one eye: bicause *Marius* should not dye so happy a death, as to be slaine, but that he should dye some shamefull death, and be condemned by order of lawe. That done, *Lucullus* went in persone with all the speede he could possible to follow *Mithridates*, hoping to finde him yet vpon the coast of BITHYNIA, where *Voconius* should haue stayed him: for he had sent B this *Voconius* before with a certaine number of shippes vnto the citie of NICOMEDIA, to stop him from flying. But he taried so long in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA sacrificing to the goddes of the same, and to be receiued into the fraternitie of their religion, that he could neuer after come neere *Mithridates* to stoppe him from flying: hauing alreadie made sayle with all the whole fleete, and hasting with all possible speede to recouer the realme of PONTVS, before *Lucullus* could returne from whence he went. But in sayling thitherwardes, he met with such a terrible storme, that caried parte of his shippes so away, that they ranne stragling to seeke their fortune, and parte of them splitted and drowned outright: so that all the coastes and riuers thereabouts, for many dayes after, were full of dead bodies and shippewrackes cast a shore by waues of the sea. Nowe for *Mithridates* owne persone, he was in a shippe of great C burden, the which for her greatnes could not sayle neere the shore, nor recouer land, she was also very euill to be guided by the pylots in so boysterous a storme: the mariners besides were put out of all their skill and knowledge, and the shippe her selfe moreouer tooke in such store of water, and was so heauely charged withall, that they durst no more put her out to the sea. By reason whereof *Mithridates* was compelled to goe abord a litle pinase of pyrates, and to put him selfe and his life into their handes, by whose helpe in the ende, (beyond all expectation, but not without great daunger) he got to lande, and recouered the citie of HERACLEA in the realme of PONTVS. Now here is to be noted, that the great brauerie *Lucullus* shewed vnto the Senate of ROME, fell out according to his imagination by the fauor of the goddes. For when the Senate had appointed for ending of these warres to prepare a great nauie of D shippes, and therewithall had geuen order also for three thowsande talentes: *Lucullus* stayed them by letters that they should not doe it, wryting brauely vnto them, that without all this charge and great preparation he would be strong enough to driue *Mithridates* from the sea, with the onely shippes he would borrowe of their frendes and confederates. And in deede, through the speciall fauor of the goddes, he brought it so to passe: for they say, that this terrible storme that destroyed the armie of *Mithridates*, was raised vp by *Diana*, being offended with the men of the realme of PONTVS, bicause they had destroyed her temple in the citie of PRIAPOS, and had caried away her image. Now there were diuers that counselled *Lucullus* to deferre the rest of this warre, vntill an other season: but notwithstanding all their perswasions, he went through the contrie of GALATIA and BITHYNIA to inuade the realme of *Mi-* E *thridates*. In the which voyage, at the first beginning he lacked vittells, so that there were thirty thowsand men of GALATIA following his campe, that caried euery one of them a bushell of wheate on their shoulders: howbeit entring further into the contrie, and conquering the whole, there was such exceeding plenty of all thinges, that an oxe was sold in his campe but for a Drachma, & a slaue at foure times as much. And of all other spoyle there was such great store, that either they made no reckening of it, or else they made hauoke of it, bicause there was no man to sell it vnto, euery man hauing so much of his owne. For they ranne ouer all the contrie vnto the citie of THEMISCYRA, and to the vallies that lay apon the riuer of Thermodon, and stayed no where lenger then they were a spoyling. Thereupon the souldiers be- F ganne to murmure at *Lucullus*, bicause he assured all the cities vpon composition, and neuer tooke any of them by force, nor gaue them any meanes to enrich them selues by spoyle: and yet sayd they, he would make vs now go further, and leaue AMISVS a great rich citie which we might easily take by force, if it were but a litle straightly besieged, and lead vs into the de-

Lucullus ouercame Mithridates nauy by sea.

Mithridates in great daunger apon the seaby tempest.

Lucullus ambition commendable.

Lucullus iorney into Pontus.

An oxe bought for a Drachma.

The mutiny of Lucullus souldiers.

sertes of the TIBARENIANS and the CHALDÆIANS to fight against *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* pas- A
sed ouer all these complaints, and made no reckening of them, bicause he would neuer haue
thought that they would haue fallen into such mutinie and furie, as afterwards they did: and
Lucullus oration & excuse to his souldiers. contrarily excused him selfe the more carefully to them that blamed & reproued him, for his
long tarying vpon townes and villages that were not worth the reckening, and suffering *Mi-*
thridates in the meane time to gather a new force and armie together at his pleasure. For, said
" he, that is the marke I shotte at, and that maketh me linger time vp and downe as I doe, wi-
" shing nothing more, then that he might once againe make him selfe strong, and bring a se-
" cond armie to the field, that might embolden him to come eftsoones to the fight with vs, and
" runne away no more. Doe you not see, sayd he, that at his backe he hath an infinite number
" of desert contries, where it is vnpossible euer to follow him by the tracke: and hard by him al- B
" so the mounte Caucasus, and many other vnpassable places, which are sufficient not only to
" hide him alone, but infinite number of other princes and kings besides that would flie battell,
" and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a litle way from the contrie of the CABIRENI-
" ANS vnto the realme of ARMENIA, where *Tigranes* the king of kinges inhabiteth, whose po-
" wer is so great, that he driueth the PARTHIANS out of ASIA, and carieth whole townes and
" cities of GRÆCE vnto the realme of MEDIA, who hath all SYRIA and PALÆSTINE in his
" handes, and hath slaine and rooted out the kinges and successors of the great *Seleucus*, and
" hath caried away their wiues and daughters prisoners by force. This great and mightie kinge
Tigranes, king of Armenia, maried Mithridates daughter. is allyed vnto *Mithridates*, for he maried *Mithridates* daughter: and it is not likely that when C
Mithridates shall come and intreate him to helpe him in his distresse, that *Tigranes* will re-
fuse him, but rather we must thinke certainly that he will make warres vpon vs in his defence.
And thus, in making hast to driue out *Mithridates*, we shall bring our selues into great daun-
" ger, to prouoke a new enemie, euen *Tigranes* against vs, who of long time hath lurked for a
" iust occasion to make warres with vs: and he can haue no honester cause to take armes, then
" to defend and kepe a king his neighbour, and so neere a kinseman, from vtter destruction, and
" one that is compelled to seeke vpon him for succor. What needs we then to prouoke him to
" procure it, and teache *Mithridates* (which he purposeth not) to whom he should repayre for
" aide, to make warres against our selues, and pricke him forward, or to say better, put him with
" our owne handes into the way to go seeke aide of *Tigranes*: which of him selfe he will neuer
" doe, (thinking it a dishonor vnto him) onlesse we driue him to it for very necessitie. Is it not D
" better for vs to geue him leasure and time, to gather a second force againe of him selfe, and
" his owne people, that we might rather fight with the COLCHIANS, TIBARENIANS, CAP-
" PADOCIANS, and with such other people whome we haue so many times ouercome: then
" with the MEDES and ARMENIANS? With this determination *Lucullus* taried a great while
before the citie of AMISVS, continuing this siege of purpose, without distressing them at all.
Afterwardes when winter was past, he left *Murena* there to continue the siege, and him selfe
Mithridates camped at Cabira. with the rest of his armie went to meete *Mithridates*: who had planted his campe neere vnto
Mithridates army. the citie of CABIRA, determining to tarie the ROMANES comming, hauing gathered toge-
Lycus fl. ther againe a new armie of fortie thowsand footemen, and foure thowsand horsemen, in the
which he put his most confidence and trust, so that he passed ouer the riuer of Lycus, & went E
and presented battell to the ROMANES in the plaine field. There the horsemen skirmished, &
the ROMANES had the worse: for there was one *Pomponius* a ROMANE taken, of great estima-
cion, who was brought vnto king *Mithridates* hurt as he was. *Mithridates* asked him, if in sa-
uing his life, and healing his woundes, he would become his seruaunt and frend. Straight re-
The constancy of a Romane souldier. plyed *Pomponius*, with all my hart quod he, so that thou make peace with the ROMANES: if
not, I will euer be thine enemie. The king esteemed his corage much, and would doe him no
Lucullus flieth Mithridates horsemen. hurt. And as for *Lucullus*, he was affrayed to come into the plaine, bicause his enemie was the
stronger of horsemen: and he doubted also on thother side to take his way by the mountaine,
bicause it was very high, vneasie to clime, and full of woddes and forrestes. But as he stoode
thus doubtfull, they tooke certaine GRÆCIANS by chaunce that were fled, and hidden in a F
caue hard by, among the which there was an old man called *Artemidorus*, who promised *Lu-*
cullus if he would beleue and follow him, he would bring him into a sure strong place to lodge
his

A his campe, where was a castell aboue the citie of CABIRA. *Lucullus* beleued the olde mans wordes, wherefore so soone as night came, he raised great fires in his campe, and went his way: and after they had passed certaine straight and daungerous wayes of the mountaines, he came in the morning vnto the place which *Artemidorus* had promited to bring him. Now the enemies were maruelously amazed when day light came, to see him there ouer them, in a place where if he list to fight, he might come apon them with aduantage: and if he liked not to sturre, it was vnpossible to compell him. For he stoode indifferent then to hazard battell or not. But in the meane season, they say certaine of the kinges campe by chaunce were a hunting the harte. The ROMANES perceiuing that, fell vpon them to cut them of by the way: and they began by this meanes one to charge an other in such sorte, reliefe growing still from ei-
B ther side, as *Mithridates* men grew the stronger. But the ROMANES seeing their men flie from the trenches of their campe aboue, were in such a rage, that they all ranne in a choller to *Lucullus* to pray him he would leade them to battell, and geue them a signall to fight. *Lucullus*, bicause he would shew them by experience how much the presence & eye of a good wise Captaine in time of neede was worth: commaunded them they should not once sturre, and he him selfe in persone went downe into the valley, where he commaunded the first of his men he met withall flying, to stay, and returne to the fight againe with him. Which they presently did, and all the other in like case: and thus gathering them together againe, did easily make their enemies returne, that before had them in chase, and draue them backe, fighting with them euen hard to their owne forte. Afterwardes vppon his returne againe to his campe, he
C sette his souldiers that fled, vnto a certaine peece of worke to shame them withall, which the ROMANES are wont to vse in such a case: & that is, that he made them digge a ditch of twelue foote longe, being in their shirtes, all vntrussed, and their other companions present seeinge them doe it. Now there was in king *Mithridates* campe, one *Olthacus*, prince of the DARDARIANS (which are certaine barbarous people dwelling vpon the marishes of Mæotin) a noble gentleman of his persone, vallyant, and skilfull in warres, and a man of very good iudgement to doe any great enterprise as any that was in all the armie, and furthermore a prince of great good grace and entertainment in companie, knowing how to facion him selfe with all men. This prince, being alwayes at strife with other Lordes of his contrie, and contending who should haue the first place of honor and fauor about the king: went vnto *Mithridates*, &
D promised him that he would do him notable seruice, and that was, that he would kill *Lucullus*. The king was very glad of this promise, and praised him maruelously in secret: howbeit openly of purpose he did him many iniuries, bicause he might haue some colour to counterfeate anger and displeasure, and to geue way for him to goe yelde him selfe vnto *Lucullus* as he did. *Lucullus* was maruelous glad of him, bicause he was one of the chiefest men of name in all his campe, and to proue him withall, gaue him charge immediatly: in the which he behaued him selfe so well, that *Lucullus* greatly esteemed his wisedome, and commended his diligence, in such sorte that he did him this honor, to call him somtimes vnto the counsell, and make him sit at his borde. One day when this DARDARIAN prince *Olthacus* thought to haue found fit occasion to execute his enterprise, he commaunded his footemen to be ready with his horse
E out of the trenches of the campe: and at none dayes when the souldiers tooke rest, and slept here and there in the campe, he went vnto *Lucullus* tent, thinking to haue found no body there to kepe him from comming in, considering the familiaritie *Lucullus* shewed him, saying also he had matters of great importance to talke with him of: and sure he had gone in immediatly vnto him, if sleepe that casteth away so many other Captaines, had not at that time preserued & saued *Lucullus* that slept. For one of the groomes of his chamber called *Menedemus*, who by good fortune kept the dore of the tent, told him that he came in very ill time, bicause *Lucullus* being wearied with trauell and lacke of sleepe, was but then newly layed downe to rest. *Olthacus* whatsoeuer the other sayd to him, would not be so aunswered, but tolde him he would come in whether he would or not, for he must nedes speake with him in a matter of great im-
F portaunce. *Menedemus* aunswered him againe, that nothing could be of greater importance, nor more necessarie, then the preseruation of his masters life and health, who had neede to take rest: and with these words, he thrust him backe with both his hands. *Olthacus* was affrayed

The fight of a Generall in a battell is of maruelous force.

A politicke deuise of the Romanes to punishe cowardly souldiers.

The Dardarians what people they be.

Lucullus danger by Olthacus conspiracy.

Olthacus prince of the Dardarians.

Lucullus life saued by sleepe.

then, and withdrew him selfe secretly out of the trenches of the campe, tooke his horse, and rode straight to *Mithridates* campe without his purpose he came for, which was to *Lucullus*. And thus it plainly appeareth, that occasion, and oportunity of time, euen in great matters deliuereth meanes, to saue or destroy the life of man, like as drugges and medicines geuen vnto the sicke and diseased persones. Shortly after, *Lucullus* sent one of his Captaines called *Sornatius* to get vittells, with tenne ensignes of footemen. Whereof *Mithridates* being aduertised, sent presently at his tayle one of his Captaines also, called *Menander*, vnto whom *Sornatius* gaue battell, and slue him with great slaughter of his men beside. And afterwards *Lucullus* sent an other of his Lieutenauntes called *Adrianus* with a great companie of souldiers, to get vittells into his campe more then he should neede. *Mithridates* did not let slippe this occasion, but sent after him two of his Captaines also called *Menemachus* and *Myro*, with a great number of men, as well footemen as horsemen: all which were slaine, two only excepted, that brought newes backe to *Mithridates* campe: the which he sought to saue as well as he could, saying that the losse was much lesse then it was thought for, and that it fortuned through the ignoraunce and rashnes of his Lieutenauntes. But *Adrianus* at his returne, passed by *Mithridates* campe with great pompe and maiestie, carying a huge number of carts loden with corne and spoyles he had wonne: which draue *Mithridates* selfe into so great a despaire, & all his people into such a feare and trouble, that he presently determined to remoue thence. Whereupon, the nobility and such as had place of credit about him, beganne to send before, and secretly to conuey their stuffe out of the campe, but vtterly prohibiting others to doe the same. The rest of the souldiers seing the stowtnes of the kinges minions, beganne to set vpon them with open force, not suffering them on the other side once to issue out of the campe. This mutinie grewe to such a fury, that they ouerthrewe their cariages and sumpter moyles, and slue them presently downe. Amongest others there was slaine *Dorylaus*, one of the chiefest Captaines of all their campe, who had nothing about him but a purple gowne, for the which they killed him: & *Hermæus* the Priest of the sacrifices was troden vnder foote, and smoothered at the campe gate, by reason of the multitude of those that fled in so great disorder. The king him selfe amongest others fled, but hauing neuer a one of his garde about him, nor any of the quiries of his stable to bring him a horse: *Ptolomy*, one of the groomes of his chamber, perceiuing him in the company of them that fled, lighted of his owne horse, and gaue him the king, but euen in manner too late. For the ROMANES that followed him were then euen hard at his tayle: and it was not for lacke of speede they missed the taking of him, for they were very neere him: but the couetousnes of the souldiers was the losse of the praye they had so long sought for, with so great paine and hazard of battells, and depriued *Lucullus* of the honor and reward of all his victories. For they were so neere vnto him, that if they had but followed *Mithridates* neuer so litle further, they had out of doubt ouertaken him, and his horse that caried him away. But one of the moyles that caried his gold and siluer (whether by chaunce, or of pretended policie of *Mithridates*, as a matter purposely habandoned to them that pursued him) was found in the middest of the high way betwixt him that fled, & the ROMANES that followed: who stayed there to robbe the gold & siluer, fighting about it, that *Mithridates* by that meanes wanne ground so farre before them, as they could neuer after come neere him againe. And this losse was not all which the couetousnes of the souldiers made *Lucullus* to lose. For, one of the chiefest secretaries of the king being taken, called *Callistratus*, whom *Lucullus* commaunded to be brought vnto him to his campe: they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had fiue hundred crownes in a girdle about him, for greedines of them, slue him by the way, and yet notwithstanding *Lucullus* suffered them to spoyle and destroy the whole campe of their enemies. After *Mithridates* flight, *Lucullus* tooke the citie of CABIRA, and many other castells and strong places, where he founde great treasure, and the prisons full of poore prisoners of the GRÆCIANS, & many Princes a kinne vnto the king him selfe, which were thought to be dead long before: and then seeing them selues deliuered from this miserable bondage, by the grace and benefit of *Lucullus*, thought with them selues they were not only taken out of prison, but reuiued & turned againe vnto a second life. There was also taken one of king *Mithridates* sisters called *Nissa*, whose taking fell out profitable for her: bicause

Lucullus victory of certaine of Mithridates Captaines.

Mithridates noble men & familiars, cause of mutiny & ouerthrowe of his whole army.

Mithridates flieth.

Couetousnes, the ouerthrow of souldiers.

A stratageame of Mithridates.

A bicause all *Mithridates* other wiues and sisters, whome they placed furthest of, as out of all daunger (and sent into a contrie of greatest safety, neere vnto the citie of Pantecapæa) dyed pitiefully, and were miserably slaine. For *Mithridates* sent one of the groomes of his priue chamber vnto them called *Bacchides*, to bring them word that they must all dye. Amongest many other noble Ladies, there were two of the kinges sisters, called *Roxane* & *Statira*, which were forty yeres old a peece, & yet had neuer bene maried: & two of his wiues also whom he had maried, both of the contrie of Ionia, the one called *Berenice*, borne in the Ile of Chio, and the other *Monime*, in the citie of Miletvm. *Monime*, she was very famous amongest the Græcians: for notwithstanding king *Mithridates* importunate dealing, being farre in loue with her, insomuch as he sent her fifteene thowsand crownes at one time, yet she would neuer *Mithridates slue his sisters and wiues.*

B geue eare vnto his sute, vntill such time as the mariage was agreed vpon betwene them, and that he had sent her his Diadeame or royall bande, and called her by the name and title of Queene. This poore Ladie after the mariage of this barbarous king, had long liued a woefull life, bewailing continually her accursed beauty, that in steade of a husband, had procured her a master: and in steade of the matrimoniall companie which a noble woman should enioy, had gotten her a gard and garrison of barbarous men, that kept her as a prisoner, farre from the sweete contrie of Græce: in chaunge whereof, she had but a dreame and shadow of the hoped goods she looked for, hauing vnfortunately left the within her owne contry she happely enioyed before. Now when this *Bacchides* was come vnto them, & had commaunded them from the king to choose what maner of death they would, & which euery one of the thought

C most easiest, and least painefull: *Monime* pluckt of the royall bande from her head, and tying it on a knot aboue her necke, hung her selfe, but the band not being strong enough, brake incontinently. Whereupon she cried out: O cursed and wicked tissue, wilt thou not yet serue me to end my sorowfull dayes? And speaking these wordes, cast it on the grounde and spit apon it, and held out her throte to *Bacchides* to be cut a sunder. The other, *Berenice*: she tooke a cuppe full of poyson her mother being present, who prayed her to let her haue halfe, the which she did, and they dranke it of betwene them. The force of the poyson was stronge enough to kill the old mother weake with age, but not so quickely to destroy the daughter: bicause she had not taken that proportion which would haue serued her turne, but drue out the paines of her death in length, vntill such time as *Bacchides* hasting to dispatch her, she in the

D end did strangle her self. As for the kings two sisters, *Roxane* & *Statyra*, which were virgines yet vnmaried, they say, that one of them also dranke poison, cursing & detesting the cruelty of her brother: howbeit *Statira* gaue neuer an euill word, not was fainte harted or sorowfull to dye, but contrarily did commend and thanke her brother highly, that seeing him selfe in daunger, had not yet forgotten them, but was carefull to cause them dye, before they shoulde fall as slaues into the handes of their enemies, and before they could come to dishonor them, or do them villany. These pitiefull misfortunes went to *Lucullus* hart, who was curteous and gentle of nature: neuertheless he went on further, still following *Mithridates* at the heeles, vnto the city of Talavra. And there vnderstanding that he was fled foure dayes before vnto *Tigranes* in Armenia, returned backe againe, hauing first subdued the Chaldeans, and the Tibe-

E renians, taken Armenia the lesse, and brought the cities, castells, and strong places vnto his obedience. That done, he sent *Appius Clodius* vnto king *Tigranes*, to summon him to deliuer *Mithridates* vnto him: & him selfe tooke his iorney towards the citie of Amisvs, which was yet besieged. The cause why this siege continued long, was the sufficiencie and great experience of the Captaine that kept it for the king, called *Callimachus*, who vnderstoode so well how all sortes of engines of batterie were to be vsed, and was so subtill besides in all inuentions that might serue to defende a place besieged, as he troubled the Romanes much in this attempt: but afterwardes he was not only met withall, and payed home for all his labor, but also outreached by *Lucullus* for all his finenesse. For where before he had alwayes vsed to sound the retreate at a certaine hower, & to call his men backe from the assaults, to rest them;

F one day he brake that order on the sodaine, and commaunded to assaulte the walles, at the first charge wanne a peece of it, before those within could come in time to resist them. *Callimachus* seeing that, and knowing it was now impossible to keepe the city any longer, forsooke it.

The corsage of Monime Mithridates wife.

Monime her throte was cut.

Berenice slue her selfe.

The corsage of Statira Mithridates sister.

Appius Clodius sent vnto Tigranes from Lucullus.

Callimachus gouernor of Amisus.

Lucullus wan Amisus.

Callimachus setteth fire of Amisus, and flieth.

But before his departing he set the citie a fire, either for the malice to the ROMANES, because he would not they should enriche them selues with the sacke of so great a citie: or else for a policy of warre to haue the more leasure to saue him selfe, and flie. For no man gaue eye to them that fled by sea, bicause the flame was so great, that it dispersed it selfe euen to the very walles, and the ROMANE souldiers; they only prepared to spoyle. *Lucullus* seeing the fire without, had compassion of the citie within, and would gladly haue holpen it, and for the purpose prayed the souldiers quickely to quench it: but not a man would harken to him, euery one gaping after the spoyle, making great noyse with classhing of harnesse, and being very lowde besides otherwise, till at the length enforced thereunto, he gaue the city wholly to spoyle, hoping thereby to saue the houses from fire, but it fell out cleane contrary. For the soldiers themselues in seeking all about with torches & linckes lighted, to see if any thing were hidden: they set a number of houses a fire. So as *Lucullus* comming into the citie the next morning, and seeing the great desolacion the fire had made, fell of weeping, saying vnto his familiar friends about him: he had oftentimes before thought *Sylla* happy, howbeit he neuer wondred more at his good fortune, then that day he did. For, *Sylla* sayd he, desiring to saue the citie of ATHENS, the goddes graunted him that fauor that he might do it: but I that would faine follow him therein, and saue this citie, fortune thwarting my desire, hath brought me to the reputacion of *Mummius*, that caused CORINTHE to be burnt. Neuertheless he did his best endeuor at that time to helpe the poore citie againe. For touching the fire, euen immediatly after it was taken, by Gods prouidence there fell a shower of raine as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and *Lucullus* selfe before he left the citie, made a great number of the houses which were spoyled by fire, to be built vp againe, and curteously receiued all the inhabitauntes that were fled, besides them he placed other GRÆCIANS there also, that were willing to dwell amongest them, and increased the boundes and confines of the citie which he gaue them, one hundred and twenty furlonges into the contrie. This citie was a colony of the ATHENIANS, who had built and founded it, in the time that their Empire florished, and that they ruled the seas: by reason whereof, many flying the tyranny of *Aristion*, went to dwell there, and were made free of the city, as the naturall inhabitants of the same. This good happe fell vpon them, that forsaking their owne goodes, they went to possesse and enioy the goodes of other men: but the very citizens of ATHENS it selfe that had escaped from this great desolation, *Lucullus* clothed them well, and gaue them two hundred Drachmas a peece, and sent them againe into their contrie. *Tyrannion* the grammarian was taken at that time, whom *Murena* begged of *Lucullus*: and *Lucullus* hauing graunted him vnto him, he made him free, wherein he dealt very discourteously, and did much abuse *Lucullus* liberality and gift vnto him. For in bestowing this prisoner vppon him, who was a famous learned man, he did not meane *Murena* should take him for a bondeman, whereby he should neede afterwardes to make him free. For seeming to make him free, and restore him to libertie: was no more but to take that freedome and liberty from him, which he had from his birth. But in many other thinges, and not in this only, *Murena* layed him selfe open to the world, that he had not all the partes a worthy Captaine should haue in him. When *Lucullus* departed from AMISVS, he went to visite the citie of ASIA, to thend that whilest he was not now occupied with warres, they might haue some refreshing of lawes and iustice. For, by reason that law was not executed of long time in ASIA, the poore contry was so afflicted, and oppressed with so many euills and miseries: and man liuing would scant beleue, nor any tongue can well declare. For, the extreame and horrible couetousnes of the farmers, customers, and ROMANE vserers did not only deuoure it, but also kept it in such bondage and thraldome, that particularly the poore fathers were driuen to sell their goodly young sonnes and daughters in mariage, to pay the interest and vsery of the money which they had borowed to discharge their fines withall: & publikely the tables dedicated vnto the temples, the statues of their goddes, and other church iuells: and yet in the end they them selues were also iudged to be bondmen & slaues to their cruell creditors, to weare out their dayes in miserable seruitude. And yet the worst of all was, the payne they put them to before they were so condemned: for they imprisoned them, set them on the racke, tormented them vppon a litle brasen horse, fette them in the stockes, made them stande naked in the

Lucullus curtesie towardes the citie of Amisus.

Lucullus gentle saying.

Tyrannio the grammarian taken.

Lucullus releeueth Asia from extreame vsery.

greatest heate of sommer, and on the ice in the deepest of winter, so as that bondage seemed vnto them a releise of their miseries, and a rest of their tormentes. *Lucullus* found the cities of ASIA full of such oppressios, but in a shorte time after he deliuered them all that were wrongfully tormented. For first he tooke order, they should accompte for the vsery that was payed monethly, the hundred parte of the principall der onely, and no more. Secondly he cut of all vseries that passed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greatest matter of all, he ordained that the creditor & vserer should enioy the fourth parte of the profites & reuenues of his dettes. And he that ioyned vsery with the principall, that is to say, tooke vsery vpon vsery: should lose the whole. So that by this order, all dettes were payed in lesse then foure yeares, and the owners landes and reuenues set clere of all maner payments. This surcharge of vseries, came of the twenty thowsande talentes, wherein *Sylla* had condemned the contrie of ASIA: the which summe they had payed twise before vnto the farmers and collectors of the ROMANES, who had raised it, still heaping vsery vpon vsery, to the summe of sixe score thowsand talents. Wherefore these collectors and farmers ranne to ROME, and cried out vpon *Lucullus*, saying, that he did them the greatest wrong that could be, and by meanes of money, they procured certaine of the common counsellers to speake against him: which they might easily doe, because they had diuerse of their names in their bookes that delt in thaffaires of the common wealth at ROME. But *Lucullus* was not only beloued of those contries whom he did good vnto, but was wished for and desired also of others, who thought the contries happy that might haue such a gouernor. Now for *Appius Clodius*, whom *Lucullus* had sent before from PALAVRA vnto king *Tigranes* in ARMENIA, and whose sister at that time was *Lucullus* wife: he first tooke certaine of the kings men for gindes, who of very malice guided him through the high contry, making him fetch a great compasse about, by many dayes iorneys spent in vaine: vntill such time as one of his infranchesed bondmen that was borne in SYRIA, taught him the right way. Whereupon he discharged these barbarous guides, and leauing the wrong wayes they had led him, within fewe dayes past ouer the riuer of Euphrates, and arriued in the citie of ANTIOCH, surnamed EPIDAPHNE. Where he had commaundement to abide *Tigranes* returne, who was then in the contry of PHENICIA, where he subdued certaine cities, & had some other yet to conquer. *Appius* in the meane time wanne secretly diuers of the princes and noble men, that obeyed this ARMENIAN king but for feare, by force, and against their willes, amongest whom was *Zarbienus*, king of the prouince of GORDIENA: & promised the aide of *Lucullus* also to many the cities that sent vnto him, (which had not long before bene subdued & brought into bondage) to whom neuertheles he gaue in expresse charge, that for the time they should not once sturre, nor alter any thing. For, the rule of these ARMENIANS was intollerable to the GRÆCIANS, and specially the pride and arrogancie of the king. Who, by reason of his great prosperitie, was growen to such pride and presumption, that whatsoeuer men did commonly esteeme best, & make most reckoning of, he would not only haue it, and vse it as his owne, but also tooke it that all was made for him selfe whatsoeuer: and this great ouerweening grew, by reason of fortunes speciall grace and fauor towardes him. For at the beginning he had but very litle, and yet with this litle (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great nations, and plucked downe the power of the PARTHIANS as much as any man that euer was before him. He replenished the contry of MESOPOTAMIA with GRECIAN inhabitaunces, which he brought by force out of CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA, compelling them to inhabite there. He made the ARABIANS chaunge their maner of liuing, who are otherwise called the SCENITES, as much to say, as tent dwellers, bicause they are vagarant people that dwell in no other houses but tentes, which they euer vse to carie with them, and brought them out of their naturall contrie, and made them followe him, vsing them for his commodity in trade of marchaundise. There were euer many kings in his courte that waited on him: but amongest others, he had foure kinges that waited continually on his person, as his footemen: for when he rode abroade any whether, they ranne by his stirroppe in their shirtes. And when he was set in his chaire of state to geue audience, they stoode on euery side about his chaire holding their handes togeather, which countenance shewed the most manifest confession and tokens of bondage that they could do vnto him: as if they had shewed

That is after the rate of 1. in the hundred for the yeare. Lawes set downe for vsurers.

Appius Clodius, Lucullus wines brother.

Euphrates fl.

Zarbienus king of Gordiena.

Tigranes pride and power.

thereby that they resigned all their libertie, and offered their bodies vnto their Lord and ma-
ster, more ready to suffer, then any thing to doe. Notwithstanding, *Appius Clodius* being no-
thing abashed nor feared with all this tragicall pompe, when audience was geuen him: tolde
king *Tigranes* boldly to his face, that he was come to carie king *Mithridates* away with him,
who was due to the triumphe of *Lucullus*: & therefore did summone him to deliuer that king
into his handes, or else that he proclaimed warres vpon him selfe. They that were present at
this summons, knew well enough that *Tigranes* (although he set a good countenaunce of the
matter openly with a fainte counterfeate laughing) yet hearing these wordes so boldly & gal-
lantly spoken out of this young mans mowth, was galled to the quicke, and hitte at the harte.
For *Tigranes* hauing reigned, (or to say better tyrannically gouerned) fiue and twenty yeares
space, had neuer heard any bold or francke speache but that. Notwithstanding, he aunswered
Appius, that he would not deliuer *Mithridates*: and if the ROMANES made warres with him,
that he would defende him selfe. And being greatly offended that *Lucullus* in his letters gaue
him not the title, king of kinges, but only king simply: in the letters he wrote backe to *Lucul-
lus* againe, he did not so much as vowchesaue to call him Captaine onely. But when *Appius*
tooke his leaue, he sent him goodly riche presentes which he refused. Whereupon the king
sent others againe vnto him, of the which *Appius* tooke a cuppe only, bicause the king should
not thinke he refused ought of anger, or ill will: and so sending all the rest againe vnto him,
made great hast to returne to his Captaine *Lucullus*. Nowe *Tigranes* before that time would
not once see king *Mithridates* his so neere kinseman, who by fortune of warres had lost so pu-
issant and great a kingdome, but prowdly kept him vnder in fennie, marrishe, and vnhollsome
grounds, without any honor geuen vnto him, as if he had bene a very prisoner in deede: how-
beit then he sent for him honorably, and receiued him with great curtesie. When they were
neere together in the kinges palace, they talked secretly one with an other, & excusing them-
selues, clearing all suspicions conceiued betwene them, to the great hurt of their seruauntes
and frendes, whom they burdened with all thoccasion of vnkindnes betwene them: amongst
which number *Metrodorus* SCEPSIAN was one, a man excellently well learned, eloquent in
speache, and one whome *Mithridates* so much loued and esteemed, that they called him the
kinges father. *Mithridates* at the beginning of his warres had sent him Ambassador vnto *Ti-
granes*, to pray ayde of him against the ROMANES. At which time *Tigranes* sayd vnto him: but
what sayest thou to it *Metrodorus*: what aduise wilt thou geue me? *Metrodorus* either bicause
he had regard vnto *Tigranes* profit, or else bicause he was loth *Mithridates* should escape, an-
swered him againe. As Ambassador, O king, I would wish you should do it: but as a counsel-
lor, that you should not do it. *Tigranes* now reported this speache vnto *Mithridates*, not thin-
king he would haue hurt *Metrodorus* for it, though in deede he presently put him to death vp-
on it. Whereat *Tigranes* was hartely sorie, and repented him greatly to haue tolde him so
much, although he was not altogether the occasion of his casting away, hauing but only re-
uiued *Mithridates* euill will before conceiued against him. For he had borne him displeasure
of a long time, as appeared amongst his secret papers and writings that were taken from him,
where he had ordained that *Metrodorus* should be put to death: but in recompence thereof
Tigranes buried his body honorably, sparing no cost at all vnto the dead body of him, whom
liuing he had betrayed. There dyed in king *Tigranes* courte also, an Orator called *Amphicrates*,
if he deserue that mention should be made of him, for the citie of ATHENS sake whereof he
was borne: for it is sayd, that when he was banished out of his contrie, he fled into the citie of
SELEVCIA, which standeth vpon the riuer of Tigris. When the inhabitāts of the same praied
him to teache them the arte of eloquence in their contrie, he would not vowchesaue it, but
aunswered them prowdly: that a platter was too litle to holde a Dolphine in, meaning that
their citie was too small a thing to containe it. From thence he went vnto *Cleopatra*, *Mithri-
dates* daughter, and king *Tigranes* wife, where he was quickely suspected and accused so that
he was forbidden to frequent the GRAECIANS cōpany any more, which grieued him so much,
that he famished him selfe to death, and would eate no meate. And that man was also very ho-
norably buried by the Queene *Cleopatra*, nere vnto a place called Sapha, as they call it in that
contry. Now when *Lucullus* had quieted all thinges in ASIA, and had established good lawes
among

The boldnes of Appius Clodius, Lucullus Ambassador vnto Tigranes.

Appius abstinēce from taking of gifies.

Tigranes and Mithridates meeting.

Metrodorus praise, and death.

Amphicrates an Orator of Athens, dyed inking Tigranes courte.

Seleucia a citty standing apon Tigris fl.

A platter too lisle to holde a Dolphin in, prou.

A among them, he was not careleſſe alſo of games and pleaſaunt paſtimes, but while he was at leaſure in the city of Ephesvs, he made many games, feaſtes, wreſtlinges and fence playes at the ſharpe for ioy of his victory, delighting all the cities of Asia with them, the which in recompence therof did inſtitute a ſolemne feaſt alſo in the honor of him, which they called Lucolles, and did celebrate it with great ioy, ſhewing a true and no fained frendſhippe and good will towardes him, which pleaſed him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the honor they could deuiſe to geue him. But after that *Appius Clodius* was returned from his Ambaſſade, and had tolde *Lucullus* that he muſt make warres with *Tigranes*: *Lucullus* went backe againe vnto the realme of Pontvs, where he tooke his armie which he had left in garriſon, and brought it before the city of Sinope to lay ſiege vnto it, or rather to beſiege certaine Ci-

B licians that were gotten into the city in the behalfe of *Mithridates*. But when they ſawe *Lucullus* come againſt them, they flue a great number of the citizens, and ſetting fire on the city, fled their way by night. *Lucullus* being aduertiſed of it, entred the citie, put eight thouſande of the Cilicians to the ſword which he found there, and reſtored the naturall citizens and inhabitantes thereof to all that was theirs. But the originall cauſe that made him to be carefull to preſerue the city, was this viſion he had. He thoughe in his nightes dreame that one came to him, and ſayd: goe a litle further *Lucullus*, for *Autolycus* commeth, who is deſirous to ſpeake with thee. This dreame awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the viſion ment. It was the ſelfeſame day on the which he tooke the city of Sinope, where follow-

C ing the Cilicians that eſcaped by flying, he found an image lying on the ground vpon the ſea ſide, which the Cilicians would haue caried away: but they were taken and followed ſo neere, that they had no leaſure to ſhippe it. This ſtatue (as it is reported) was one of the goodlieſt and notableſt workes of *Sthenis* the Image grauer. And ſome ſay that it was the image of *Autolycus* who founded the city of Sinope. For *Autolycus* was one of the princes that went out of Thessalie with *Hercules* to go againſt the Amazones, and he was the ſonne of *Deimachus*. And they reporte that at the returne from this voyage, the ſhippe in the which *Autolycus* was imbarked, with *Deimoleon* & *Phlogius*, made ſhippewracke vpon a rocke on the coaſt of Cherronesvs, where ſhe was caſt away: howbeit that he & his mē eſcaping with all their furniture, came to the city of Sinope, which he tooke from certaine Syrians, who came (as

D they ſay) of one *Syrus* the ſonne of *Apolla*, and of the nimphe *Sinope* Aſopus daughter. *Lucullus* vnderſtanding this matter, called a ſaying of *Sylla* to minde, which he wrote in his commentaries: that nothing is more certaine, nor that we may geue more credit vnto, then that which is ſignified to vs by dreames. In the meane ſeaſon he was aduertiſed, that *Tigranes* & *Mithridates* were ready to come downe into Lycaonia, and Cilicia, becauſe they might firſt enter Asia. *Lucullus* marueled much at *Tigranes* counſell, that ſithence he was minded to warre with the Romanes, he did not vſe *Mithridates* ayde in his warres at ſuch time, as when he was in his beſt ſtrength and force: and that he did not then ioyne his power with *Mithridates*, rather then ſuffer him to be deſtroyed and ouerthrowen, and afterwards with a cold hope go now to begin a new warre, hazarding himſelfe with thoſe, that could not helpe themſelues.

While theſe thinges paſſed in this ſorte, *Machares* king *Mithridates* ſonne, that kept the

E realme of Bosphorvs, ſent a crowne of golde vnto *Lucullus*, of the waight of a thouſande crownes, praying him that he would name him a frende and confederate of the Romanes. Whereupon *Lucullus* thought he was then at the very laſt ende of his firſt warre, and leauing *Sornatius* with ſixe thouſand men to keepe the realme of Pontvs, he departed with twelue thouſand footemen, and leſſe then three thouſand horſemen to go to the ſecond warres. And herein all the world condemned him, and thought it too raſh and light a parte of him to goe with ſo ſmall a company to fight with ſo many warlike nations, and to put himſelfe vnto the hazard of ſo many thouſandes of horſemen, in a maruelous large contry, and of a wonderfull length, enuironned round about with deepe riuers, and mountaines, couered with ſnowe all the yeare through: ſo that his ſouldiers, which otherwiſe were no ſpeciall well trained men,

F nor obedient to their Captaine, followed with an euill will, and did ſtubbornly diſobey him. And on thother ſide, the common counſellers at Rome cried out on him continually, and openly proteſted before all the people, that out of one warre he ſowed an other, which the

Lucullus taketh Sinope in Pontus.

Lucullus dreame.

A ſtatue made by Sthenis.

Autolycus founder of the city of Sinope.

The Syrians why ſo called.

Sylles note for dreames.

Machares Mithridates ſonne enioyeth frendſhippe of Lucullus.

Lucullus goeth againſt Tigranes with a ſmall company.

The quarrellings counſellers at Rome, enuy Lucullus proſperity.

common wealth had nothing to doe withall, and that he looked after none other thinges but
ſtill to raiſe newe occaſions of warres, to the ende he might alwayes haue armies at his
maundement, & neuer leaue the warres, bicauſe he would make him ſelfe great with the loſſe
and perill of the common wealth. Theſe crying counſellers in the end obtained their purpoſe,
which was: to call home *Lucullus* againe, and to ſubſtitute *Pompey* in his place. But *Lucullus* for
all that, marched on with his army with all the poſſible ſpeede he coulde, ſo that he came in
few dayes vnto the riuer of Euphrates, the which he found very high and rough by reaſon of
the winter ſeaſon: which troubled him marueloufly at that preſent, doubting leaſt it would
hold him there a long time in finding out of boates, & making of poſtes and planckes to build
a bridge to paſſe ouer his army. But towardes night the water beganne to fall a litle, and in the
night fell ſo much, that the next morning the riuer was comen to her ordinary ſtreames: and
moreouer, the contrie men them ſelues decerning certaine litle Ilandes that appeared vnto
them in the middeſt of the water courſe, and the riuer very calme as a marriſhe rounde about
them, did honor *Lucullus* as a god, bicauſe it was a thing they had neuer ſeene chaunce before,
as though at his comming the riuer had ſodainly yeelded vnto him, and was become gentle
to geue him ſafe and eaſie paſſage. And bicauſe he would not looſe that oportunitie, he paſ-
ſed ouer his army immediatly: and was no ſooner on thother ſide, but he met with a happie
token of good lucke, which was this. On thother ſide of the riuer, there was a certaine num-
ber of kyne conſecrated to *Diana Perſica*, whom the barbarous people inhabiting beyonde the
riuer of Euphrates, do reuerence and honor aboue all the other goddes: and theſe kyne they
employ to none other vſe, but only to ſacrifice them vnto this goddeſſe. They wander all a-
bout the contry where they will, without any maner of tying, or ſhackling otherwiſe, hauing
only the marke of the goddeſſe, which is a lampe printed vpon their bodies, and they are not
eaſie to be taken when one would haue them, but with great a doe. One of theſe conſecrated
kyne, after that *Lucullus* army was paſſed ouer Euphrates, came to offer her ſelfe vpon a rock
which they ſuppoſe is hallowed or dedicate vnto this goddeſſe, bowing downe her head, and
ſtretching out her necke, like thoſe that are tyed ſhorte, as if ſhe had comen euen of purpoſe
to preſent her ſelfe to *Lucullus*, to be ſacrificed as ſhe was. And beſides her, he ſacrificed a bull
alſo vnto the riuer Euphrates, in token of thankes for his ſafe paſſage ouer. *Lucullus* the firſt
day did nothing but encampe him ſelfe only, on the other ſide of the riuer: but the next mor-
ning, and the other dayes following, he went further into the contry by the way of Sophene,
hurting none that came and yeelded vnto him, or that willingly receiued his army. For when
his men would haue had him to haue take a caſtell by force, where they ſaid was great ſtore of
gold and ſiluer: he ſhewed them mownte Taurus a farre of, and told them it is that which we
muſt rather go to take. As for the thinges which be in this caſtell, they be kept for them that
vanquiſhe: and going on ſtill with great iorneys, paſſed ouer the riuer of Tigris, and ſo entred
the realme of Armenia with a maine armie. Now for *Tigranes*, the firſt man that ventured
to bring him newes of *Lucullus* comming, had no ioy of it: for he cut of his head for his labor.
And therefore from thenceforth there durſt no man ſay any thing vnto him, vntill ſuch time
as he was at the laſt enuironned rounde with fire, which *Lucullus* army had raiſed about him,
before he could heare any thing thereof. For he was ſporting and gauding with his familiars,
hearing their flattering tales, that *Lucullus* in deede were a noble Captaine, if he durſt but ta-
ry *Tigranes* comming downe in the citie of Ephesvs only, and howe he would ſtraight flie
out of all Asia, ſo ſoone as he might but heare tell of his comming againſt him with ſo tri-
umphing an army of ſo many thowſand men. And thus may we ſee, that like as all bodies and
braines, are not a like ſtrong nor able to cary much wine: ſo in like caſe all wittes be not reſo-
lute and conſtant, neuer to doe amiſſe, nor to ſwarue from reaſons bandes in great proſperity.
Howbeit in the end, *Mithrobarzanes*, one of *Tigranes* familiars, was the next man that enter-
priſed to tell him the troth: whoſe boldnes had litle better reward for his newes, then the firſt
that was beheaded. For *Tigranes* ſent him immediatly with three thowſand horſe, and a good
number of footemen, commaunding him that he ſhould bring *Lucullus* aliue vnto him, and
that furthermore, he ſhould marche vpon the bellies of his men. Now was *Lucullus* alreadie
camped with parte of his army, & the other parte comming after, when his skowtes brought
him

Lucullus came to the riuer of Euphrates, & found it very high, and rough.

The ſtraunge and ſodaine fall of the riuer of Euphrates from her great ſwelling.

Diana Perſica.

Kyne conſecrated to Diana Perſica.

A ſtraunge thing of a cow that came to offer her ſelfe to Lucullus to be ſacrificed.

The contry of Sophene.

Tigris fl.

Tigranes ſlue the firſt meſſenger that brought the newes of Lucullus approach.

Tigranes ſendeth Mithrobarzanes againſt Lucullus.

A him newes of the barbarous Captaines approache: which at the firſt put him in feare, that if the enemy ſhould come and aſſaile them thus ſcattered in companies, & not ranged in battell, and ready to fight, he might ouerthrow them whiles they were in diſorder. And therefore he remained within his campe to fortifie the ſame, and ſent *Sextilius* one of his Lieutenaunts, with a thowſand ſixe hundred horſe, and as many footemen (or a few more) as well naked as armed: commaunding him to approach as neere to his enemy as he could without fighting, only to ſtay him there, vntill ſuch time as he heard newes that all his army was come together into his campe. *Sextilius* went to doe his commaundement, but he was compelled to fight, (though againſt his will) *Mithrobarzanes* came ſo brauely & luſtely to aſſayle him. So was the battell ſtriken betwene them, in the which *Mithrobarzanes* was ſlaine valliantly fighting, & all B his men either broken or killed, fewe excepted, that onely by flying ſaued them ſelues. After this ouerthrow, *Tigranes* forſooke his great royall citie of TIGRANOCERTA that he built him ſelfe, & went to mownt Taurus, where he aſſembled a great number of men out of all partes. But *Lucullus* would geue him no leaſure to prepare him ſelfe, but ſent *Murena* on the one ſide to cut them of by the way, and to ouerthrowe thoſe that were aſſembled about him: and on the other ſide *Sextilius* to ſtoppe a great company of the ARABIANS that were comming to *Tigranes*, whom *Sextilius* ſet apon as they were ready to lodge, and ouerthrew them in maner euery man. And *Murena* following king *Tigranes* at the heeles, ſpyed an occaſion to geue the charge as he paſſed a long and narrow valley, in the bottome wherof the way was very ill, and ſpecially for an armie of ſuch a length: & taking the oportunity, ſet apon the rereward, which C *Tigranes* perceiuing, fled ſtraight vpon it, making all his cariage to be throwen downe in the way before the enemies to ſtay them. There were a great number of the ARMENIANS ſlayne in this ouerthrow, and moe taken. Thoſe thinges hauing this ſucceſſe, *Lucullus* went to the citie of TIGRANOCERTA, the which he beſiegeth round. In that citie were a maruelous number of GRÆCIANS that had bene brought thither by force out of CILICIA, and many of the barbarous people alſo whom they had vſed in the like forcible maner, as they had done the ADIABENIANS, the ASSYRIANS, the GORDIÆNIANS, and the CAPPADOCIANS, whoſe townes and cities *Tigranes* had deſtroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabite there. By reaſon whereof, this city of TIGRANOCERTA was full of golde and ſiluer, of mettells, ſtatues, tables and pictures, bicauſe euery man (as well priuate, as Princes and Lords) ſtudied to pleaſe D the king, to enrich and beawtifie this city, with all kindes of furniture and ornamentes fit for the ſame. And hereuppon *Lucullus* ſtraighted the ſiege as much as he could, perſwading him ſelfe that *Tigranes* would neuer ſuffer, that it ſhould be taken, but (though he had otherwiſe determined) yet for very anger would preſent him battell, thereby to enforce him to raiſe his ſiege. And ſurely he geſſed right, had it not bene that *Mithridates* had diſſwaded him by expreſſe letters and meſſengers that he ſhould in no caſe hazard battell, and perſwaded him rather to cut of the vittells on all ſides from the ROMANES with his horſemen. The ſelfe ſame counſell and aduiſe did *Taxiles* (the Captaine whom *Mithridates* ſent) geue him in his campe, and prayed him very earneſtly, that he would not proue the inuincible force of the ROMANES. *Tigranes* pacientlie harkened to their reaſons at the firſt. But when the ARMENIANS were E come, and all the force of the contry beſides, and the GORDIÆNIANS, and that the kinges of the MEDES and of the ADIABENIANS were commen alſo with all their power, and that on thother ſide there came a maruelous great hoſt of the ARABIANS that dwell apon the ſea of BABYLON, and a multitude of the ALBANIANS from the CASPIAN ſea, and of the IBERIANS their neighbors, beſides a great company of free people liuing without a king, that dwell by the riuer of Araxes, ſome comming freely to doe him pleaſure, other for their penſions and pay which he gaue them: then was there none other talke neither at his table nor in counſell, but of aſſured hope of victorie, and of great bragges and barbarous threatninges, ſo that *Taxiles* was in great daũger of him ſelfe, bicauſe he was againſt the determination taken in counſell for geuing of the battell. Now was it thought that *Mithridates* did enuy the glory of king F *Tigranes*, and therefore did thus diſſwade him from battell. For which reſpect *Tigranes* would not ſo much as tary for him, and bicauſe alſo *Mithridates* ſhould haue no parte of the honor of his victory: but went into the fielde with all this great army, vaunting amongeſt his fami-

Lucullus ſendeth Sextilius againſt Mithrobarzanes.

Sextilius ſlue Mithrobarzanes and ouerthrewe his force.

The citie of Tigranocerta, built by Tigranes.

Lucullus beſiegeth Tigranocerta.

Taxiles perſwadeth Tigranes not to fight with the Romanes.

liars as they reporte, that nothing grieued him but one, that he ſhould fight with Lucullus alone, and not with all the other ROMANE Captaines. Now this brauery was not ſo fond, nor ſo farre out of ſquare, but that there was great likelyhoode of it when he ſaw ſo many ſundrie nations about him, ſo many kinges that followed him, ſo many battells of armed footemen, and ſo many thowſande of horſemen. For he had in his army of bowmen and ſlinges onely, twenty thowſand: fiue and fifty thowſand horſemen, whereof ſeuenteene thowſande men of armes, armed from toppe to toe, as *Lucullus* him ſelfe wrote vnto the Senate: and a hundred and fifty thowſand armed footemen, deuided by enſignes and ſquadrons: of pyoners, carpinters, maſons, and ſuch other kinde of handy craftes men, to plaine wayes, to make bridges to paſſe ouer riuers, to ſtoppe ſtreames, to cut wodde, and to make ſuch kinde of workes, of this ſorte of people, the number of fiue and thirty thowſand, who followed in battell ray in the rereward of the army, making their campe ſeme farre greater, & by ſo much the more ſtronger. When *Tigranes* ſhewed on the toppe of mownt Taurus, and that they might plainly ſee his whole army from the city, and that him ſelfe alſo might eaſily decerne *Lucullus* armie that beſieged TIGRANOCERTA: the barbarous people that were within the citie were ſo glad of this ſight, that they made wonderfull ſhowtes of ioy, and great clapping of handes, threatning the ROMANES from their walles, and ſhewing them the army of the ARMENIANS. *Lucullus* in the meane time ſate in counſell to conſider what was to be done: wherein ſome were of opinion that he ſhould raiſe his ſiege, and goe with his whole armie vndeuided againſt *Tigranes*. But others liked not that he ſhould leaue ſo great a number of enemies at his backe, neither that he ſhould raiſe his ſiege. *Lucullus* made them aunſwere, that neither of them both did counſell him well, but both together did counſell him right. Whereuppon he deuided his armie, and left *Murena* at the ſiege of TIGRANOCERTA with ſixe thowſand men: and he with foure and twenty cohortes (in the which were not aboue tenne thowſand armed footemen) and all his horſemen, with a thowſand bowmen and ſlinges or thereabouts, went towardes *Tigranes*, and camped in a goodly broade fielde by the riuers ſide. The ROMANES ſeemed but a handfull to *Tigranes* campe, ſo that for a while *Tigranes* paraſyts made but a may game of them to ſporte withall. For ſome mocked them to ſcorne, other drewe lottes, and played away their parte of the ſpoyles, as if they had already wonne the fielde: and euery one of the kinges and Captaines came and offered them ſelues to *Tigranes*, and beſought him euerie man for him ſelfe, that he would geue him the honor alone to leade this battell, & that it would pleaſe him to ſit by in ſome place to ſee the ſporte. *Tigranes* then, bicauſe he would ſhewe that he could be as pleaſaunt as the reſt, ſpake a thing knowen to euery man. If they come as Ambaſſadors, quod he, they are very many: but if they come as enemies, they be but fewe. And thus they played vpon the ROMANES, and tooke their pleaſure of them at that time: but the next morning by breake of day, *Lucullus* brought all his men armed into the fielde, and put them in order of battel. Now the campe of the barbarous people lay on thother ſide of the riuer towards the Eaſt, and by chaunce the ſtreame of the riuer turned ſodainly towardes the Weſt, where there was a better ford to paſſe ouer. Wherfore *Lucullus* marching with his army by the riuers ſide, following the ſtreame to meete with ſome forde, haſting to get ouer, *Tigranes* thought he had marched away, and called for *Taxiles*, and ſayd vnto him, laughing. Doeſt thou ſee *Taxiles*, thoſe goodly ROMANE legyons, whom thou praiſeſt to be men ſo inuincible: howe they flie away now? *Taxiles* aunſwered the king againe. I would your good fortune (O king) might worke ſome miracle this day: for doubleſſe it were a ſtraunge thing that the ROMANES ſhould flie. They are not wont to weare their braue cotes and furniture vppon their armor, when they meane onely but to marche in the fieldes: neither doe they carie their ſhieldes and targets vncaſed, nor their burganets bare on their heades, as they doe at this preſent, hauing throwen away their leather caſes and coueringes. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we ſee ſo bright and gliſtering in our faces, is a manifeſt ſigne that they intend to fight, and that they marche towardes vs. *Taxiles* had no ſooner ſpoken theſe wordes, but *Lucullus* in the view of his enemies, made his enſigne bearer turne ſodainly that caried the firſt Eagle, & the bands tooke their places to paſſe the riuer in order of battell. Then *Tigranes* ſecretly comen to him ſelfe, as out of dronkennes: cried out alowde twiſe, or thriſe, come they then to vs? But then

The prowde ſaying of Tigranes.

Tigranes whole armie: two hundred three ſcore thowſand men.

Lucullus army againſt Tigranes.

was

A was there no ſmall ſturre and tumult, to put ſuch a world of people into battell. The king *Tigranes* him ſelfe vndertooke to leade the midle battell, gaue the left wing vnto the king of the ADIABENIANS, and the right vnto the king of the MEDES: in the which were the moſt parte of the complete armed men, who made the firſt front of all the battell. But as *Lucullus* was ready to paſſe the riuer, there were certaine of his Captaines that came vnto him, to wiſh him to take heede that he fought not that day, bicauſe it was one of thoſe which the ROMANES thought vnfortunate, and call them Atri, to ſay, blacke: for vpon one of thoſe dayes, one *Capio* was ouerthrowen in a ſet battell with all his army by the CIMBRES. But *Lucullus* gaue the a prety aunſwere againe, which is not forgotten to this day: I will make this a happy day (ſayd he) for the ROMANES. It was the ſixteenth day of the moneth of October. And ſo with thoſe B wordes encoraging his men, paſſed ouer the riuer, and went him ſelfe the foremoſt man, and marched directly towardes his enemy, armed with an anima of ſteele, made with ſcalloppe ſhelles, ſhining like the ſunne, & vpon that an arming coate fringed round about, holding his ſword drawen in his hand: to let his men vnderſtand, that they muſt ſodainly ioyne with their enemies, and fight at the ſwordes pointe, that were not acquainted to fight but a farre of with ſhotte and ſlinges, and that he would ſo quickely winne the diſtaunce of grounde they had to marche ere they could ioyne, that they ſhould haue no leaſure to ſhoote. And furthermore, perceiuing that the ſtrength of their men of armes (wherof they made ſo great accompt) was ranged in battell vnder a hill, the toppe whereof was very plaine and euen, and the way vp the hill not paſſing foure furlonges trauaill, and not very hard nor ſteepe to clime: he ſent thither C certaine horſemen of the THRACIANS and GAVLES which he had in pay, and commaunded them to geue a charge on the flancke to diſorder them, & aſſay to cut their launces, with their ſwordes. For all the ſtrength of theſe men of armes conſiſteth in their launces, and they can do nothing for them ſelues, nor againſt their enemies, they are ſo heauely armed and loden: ſo as it ſeemeth they are locked vp in their armor, as in an iron priſon. And he him ſelfe therewithall taking two enſignes of footemen, ſtroue alſo to gaine the toppe of the hill, his ſouldiers following him hard at the heeles with a notable corage, bicauſe they ſaw him the formoſt man trauailing a foote, and digging againſt the height of the hill. When he had gotten vp to the toppe, he ſtayed a litle in the higheſt place he could finde, and then cried out with a lowd voyce: oh companions, the victory is ours. And as he ſpake thoſe wordes, he ledde them a- D gainſt theſe men of armes, commaunding them they ſhould not medle with throwing of their dartes, but taking their ſwordes in their handes they ſhould ſtrike at their thighes and legges, bicauſe they haue no other partes of their bodies naked. Howbeit there was no neede of ſuch fight, for they taried not the ROMANES, but with great crying out turned their horſe heades immediatly, and ranne cowardly (them ſelues and their horſes, heauie armed as they were) through the middeſt of the bandes of their footemen, before they had ſtriken a ſtroke. And thus were ſo many thowſandes of men broken without any ſtroke ſtriken, or any man hurt, or one droppe of blood ſeene to be ſpilt. But the great ſlaughter was, when they beganne to flie, or (to ſay better) when they thought to flie: for they could not flie, they ranne ſo one apon an others necke by reaſon of the maruelous length and bredth of their battells. *Tigranes* a- E mongeſt the reſt was one of the firſt that diſlodged with a ſmall company, & ſeeing his ſonne running the ſame fortune, flying as him ſelfe did, tooke of his diadeame or royall bande from his head, and gaue it him weeping, commaunding him to ſaue him ſelfe as well as he could by ſome other way. But the young prince durſt not put it on his head, but gaue it to one of his truſty ſeruauntes to keepe, who by chaunce was taken and brought vnto *Lucullus*: ſo that amongeſt the other ſpoyle and priſoners, there was taken *Tigranes* diadeame. It is thought that there were ſlaine at this ouerthrow, aboue a hundred thowſand footemen, and very few of all the horſemen ſaued. On the ROMANES ſide, there were about a hundred hurt, and fiue ſlaine. *Antiochus* the Philoſopher ſpeaking of this battell in a treatiſe he made of the gods, wryteth that the ſunne neuer ſaw the like ouerthrowe. And *Strabo* an other Philoſopher in a certaine F abridgement he made of ſtories ſayd, that the ROMANES were aſhamed, and laughed at them ſelues that they had drawen their ſwordes againſt ſuch daſtardly ſlaues. And *Titus Liuius* declareth alſo, that the ROMANES were neuer in any battell with ſo ſmall a number of fighting

The ordering of Tigranes battell.

Atri blacke or vnfortunate dayes.

Lucullus battell with Tigranes.

Lucullus armor.

Lucullus famous victorie of Tigranes.

Tigranes flight.

Tigranes diadeame taken by Lucullus.

men, against so great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerers were not in all the world the twentith parte (nothing like) of those that were ouercome. Wherefore the oldest and best experienced Captaines of the ROMANES did highly commende *Lucullus*, bicause he had ouercome two of the greatest & most mighty Princes of the world, by two sundry cōtrary meanes: the one by tract and delay, and the other by spede and swiftnes. For he vndermyned and consumed *Mithridates*, by holding backe, & delaying, at that time when all his stregth was whole: and to the contrary he destroyed *Tigranes* with great speede and haste. And thus did he that which few Captaines could euer do: that is, vsed delay of time to execute, and valliant expedition to winne the victory. This was the cause why *Mithridates* made no hast to come to the battel, thinking still that *Lucullus* had vsed his wonted policy, to delay and geue backe alwaies: and therefore he came by small iorneys vnto *Tigranes* campe. But meeting at the first with a fewe of the ARMENIANS that fled as he came on his way, like men that had bene frayed, he straight mistrusted the ouerthrow: but afterwards meeting greater troupes of them naked, & sore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to seeke out *Tigranes*, whom he found alone, forsaken of his men, and in very poore estate, yet did not he requite *Tigranes* in aduersity with that pride and disdaine he had vsed him before in his miserie: but lighted of his horse, to bewaile with him their common misfortune, and gaue him all his officers, and traine of a kings court that followed him to serue him, comforting him, & exhorting him to plucke vp his hart againe, and to be coragious thenceforth. Hereupon they both leauied a freshe the whole force & power they could from all the partes of their dominions. In the meane season there fell out great sedition in the city of TIGRANOCERTA, betwene the GRÆCIANS and the barbarous people: for the GRÆCIANS, they would haue yeelded vp the towne into *Lucullus* hands. Whereupon, *Lucullus* geuing an assault to the city at that very instant, wanne it, & seased vpon the kings treasure there, leauing all the rest to the spoile of the souldiers: in the which, besides all other riches, there was eight thowsand talents in ready money. And yet besides all that, he gaue of the spoile that was won ap[illegible] the enemies, eight hūdred Drachmas vnto euery souldier. And vnderstanding that there were diuers musitians, common players, minstrels, and such kinde of people meete for feastes and sporte, whom *Tigranes* had sent for thither from all partes, to dedicate the Theater he had made in his city: he caused all thē to serue at the sportes and feastes of this victory. After the solempnization whereof, he sent the GRÆCIANS home againe vnto their contry, and gaue them money to defraye their charges by the way, and the barbarous people also that were brought thither by force from their natiue contries. And so it fortuned, that by the desolation and destruction of a city forsaken, many others were built againe, and stored with people: bicause those cities had thereby recouered their naturall inhabitants againe, who euer after did loue & honor *Lucullus*, as their benefactor and founder. All other things prospered also, according to his vertue and merites. For *Lucullus* liked better the praise that came of bounty, of iustice, and of clemencie: then that that came by force of marshall prowes & cheualry. For in deedes of armes, he sayd his army partly deserued praise, and fortune also caried the best parte away: but the praise of the other, were onely due vnto him selfe. Whereby he shewed the valor of an excellent good man, well taught and trained vp in vertue: and so reaped the frute of his worthy deserts. For by those good partes, he wanne the hartes of the barbarous people in such sorte, that the kinges of the ARABIANS came of good will to put them selues and their goods into his hands. So did the nation of the SOPHENIANS also yeld them selues vnto him. The GORDIÆNIANS in like maner, they liked *Lucullus* so well, that they would willingly haue forsaken their cities, houses & contry, to follow him with their wiues & children vpon this occasion. *Zarbienus* king of these GORDIÆNIANS, as we haue recited before, had priuily entred amity with *Lucullus*, by meanes of *Appius Clodius*, who could no lenger away with the tyranny of *Tigranes*. This practise was bewrayed vnto *Tigranes*, who put *Zarbienus*, his wife, & children to death, before the ROMANES mane army came into the contry of ARMENIA. Howbeit *Lucullus* did not forget it, but passing through his realme, gaue him very royall funeralles. For hauing heaped vp a huge pyle of wodde, sumptuously set out with cloth of gold and siluer, & other rich spoiles of *Tigranes*: he him selfe in person, would needes set it a fire, and made the funerall effusions and accustomed sprincklinges at burialles, with his frends

Lucullus praise. Two puysant kinges ouercome by contrary meanes.

Lucullus tooke Tigranocerta.

Lucullus iustice and clemency.

Zarbienus king of the Gordiænians slaine by Tigranes.

A frendes and kinſemen, doing him this honor, as to call him frend and confederate of the Romane people, & appointed alſo a great ſumme of money beſides to erect a ſumptuous tombe for him. For they found great ſtore of gold and ſiluer in the kinges caſtell, and there was plenty of prouiſion alſo of three hundred thowſand buſhells of wheate: the which did enriche his ſouldiers maruelouſly, and made *Lucullus* to be wondered at, that hauinge receiued not one Drachma from the ſparing coffers at Rome, he had notwithſtanding made the warre entertaine it ſelfe. About the ſelf ſame time alſo, the king of the Parthians ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him to offer him his frendſhippe and allyance: which *Lucullus* willingly accepted, and ſent Ambaſſadors frō him alſo of acceptation, who made reporte to *Lucullus* at their returne, that the king of the Parthians ſtoode doubtfull how to reſolue which parte he ſhould take, and
B that ſecretly he ſent vnto *Tigranes*, to aske the realme of Mesopotamia for his reward to aide him againſt the Romanes. *Lucullus* being truly enformed of the king of Parthiaes' double dealing, determined to leaue *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, as two enemies wearied & ouercome, & a litle to proue the force & power of the Parthians by making warres vpon thē, thinking it great honor vnto him, if he might diſcomfit and ouerthrow three ſo mighty kings one after an other, like a valliant conqueror that had ouercome three famous Captaines togither, and had paſſed through the contries of three of the greateſt Princes vnder the ſunne, alwayes a conqueror, and neuer conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediatly vnto *Sornatius* and other of his Captaines which he had left to keepe the realme of Pontvs, that they ſhould repayne to him with all ſpeede with the bandes they had vnder their charge, for that he was determi-
C ned to departe out of the contry of Gordiæna, to go againſt the Parthians: howbeit his purpoſe altered by occaſion. For his Lieutenauntes that had many times before founde their ſouldiers mutinous, and rebelling at their commaundements, knew plainly then their cancred ſtomakes & incorrigible diſobedience. For they could not poſſibly get them from thence, by any compulſion or perſwaſions they could vſe: but contrarily they cryed out, and tolde them plainly, that they would no lenger tary where they were, but would goe home to their contry, and leaue the realme of Pontvs without gard or garriſon at all. And further, that worſt of all was, when theſe newes were brought to *Lucullus* campe, they gaue a full example of boldnes to his ſouldiers there, to mutiny in ſuch ſorte, hauing good will and diſpoſition thereunto of themſelues before. For their purſes being full, and they acquainted with finenes, were become
D ſo dull and laſie, that they could endure no paines nor hardnes of warres, but deſired to liue in all idlenes and eaſe. And hearing the reporte of their fellowes ſtowteneſſe, called them luſtie laddes, ſaying, they muſt needes take the like courſe, and doe as they taught them, vaunting of their good ſeruice of long time done, which well deſerued leaue nowe to departe home with ſafety, and thenceforth take their reſt. *Lucullus* hearing of this their talke, & many other their words worſe, and fuller of ſedition then theſe: brake of his enterpriſe againſt the Parthians, and went againe in the middeſt of ſommer to meete with *Tigranes*. But when he was come to the top of mount Taurus, it grieued him to ſee the fields ſo full of wheate yet ſtanding, which came by the ſeaſon of the yeare, and coldnes of the ayer, being ſo ſlacke and ſlowe in all thoſe partes. Neuertheles, he came downe into the valley, and at two or three skirmiſhes ouerthrew
E the Armenians, that ventered to abide his comming downe. And ranne ouer all the valley, and deſtroyed the whole contry, without let or ſtoppe of any man, taking away the prouiſion of corne that was made for *Tigranes* campe: wherby he ſtraighted his enemies vnto that nede and neceſſity of vittells which him ſelfe feared, & yet ceaſed not to prouoke them (by all other meanes) to come to battell. Somtime encloſing their cāpe with trenches about, as if he ment to famiſh them: ſomtime againe deſtroying and ſpoyling the whole contry before their face. But bicauſe they had ſo ofte bene diſcomfited, they would no more ſtirre, nor once mone againſt him. *Lucullus* perceiuing that, in the end raiſed his campe, & went and layed ſiege vnto
F Artaxata, the chiefe city of the kingdom of Armenia, in the which were *Tigranes* lawfull wiues & young children, hoping that *Tigranes* would rather hazard an other battell, then ſuffer that city to be loſt. It is ſayd that *Hannibal* of Carthage (after king *Antiochus* was ouerthrowen in battell by the Romanes) went vnto king *Artaxes*, whom he taught many neceſſary and profitable things for his realme: & amongeſt others, conſidering that one of the good-

Lucullus prepareth to goe againſt the Parthians.

Lucullus ſouldiers fall to mutiny.

Full purſes, & eaſe: maketh mutinous ſouldiers.

Lucullus beſiegeth Artaxata, the chief city of Armenia.

Artaxes king of Armenia.

lieſt and pleaſaunteſt places of all his kingdom lay waſt, and no reckoning made of it, drewe A
plat of a city, brought the king thither, and cauſed it to be built and inhabited. The king liked
his deuiſe maruelous well, and prayed him to take the charge vpon him to ſee the worke finiſhed. And thus was this noble and famous city built, and called after the kings name, *Artaxata:* and held euer after the reputacion of the chiefeſt place of the whole realme of ARMENIA. *Tigranes* being aduertiſed that *Lucullus* went to laye ſiege thereunto, could not endure it, but went with all his army to follow the ROMANES, and the fourth day came and camped hard by them: inſomuch as there was but the riuer of Arſanias betwene them, which the ROMANES of neceſſitie muſt paſſe ouer to goe to ARTAXATA. *Lucullus* hauinge firſt ſacrificed vnto the goddes, aſſuring him ſelfe of the victorie, as if he had it already in his handes: made his armie paſſe ouer in order of battell, putting twelue cohortes in the fronte, and the other behinde, B
fearing leaſt the enemies hauing a great number of men of armes ſhoulde enuironne them at their backes. They had againſt them alſo the MARDIAN bow men a horſe backe, and the IBERIANS with their lances, in whom *Tigranes* truſted more then in any other, as in the beſt ſouldiers he had in pay: and yet for all that they did no notable ſeruice. For when they had skirmiſhed but a litle with the horſemen of the ROMANES, they durſt not tarie the legyonaries or footebands that came behinde them, but diſperſed them ſelues, ſome flying one way, ſome an other, which intiſed the ROMANE horſemen to follow the chaſe. But when the men of armes that were about *Tigranes* perſon, ſawe the horſemen ſo ſcattered abroade, they began ſtraighe to breake vpon the footemen. *Lucullus* ſeeing the great multitude of them, and how paſſingly they were armed and appointed, being ſomewhat affrayed thereof: ſent in haſt to call in his C
horſemen that followed the chaſe, and in the meane time him ſelfe marched foremoſt, againſt theſe Lordes and Satrapes, which were in the fronte before him with all the nobility of their hoaſt, whom he put in ſuch a feare, that before he could come to hand ſtrokes, they all turned taile and fled. There were three kinges ranged in battell one hard by an other, howbeit of the three, he that fled moſt ſhamefully and cowardly, was *Mithridates* king of PONTVS, who had not the hart ſo much as to abide the cries of the ROMANES. The chaſe was very long: for it continued all night vntill ſuch time as the ROMANES were wearied with killing, taking of priſoners, and packing vp of all kindes of ſpoyles. *Titus Liuius* ſayeth, that there were ſlaine moe men in the firſt battell: but greater perſonages in the ſeconde, and the chiefeſt of the enemies were all taken. After this battell *Lucullus* hart being bigge, and fearing nothing, determined to D
goe further into the contry, euen vtterly to deſtroy this barbarous king. But in the time of the equinoctiall autumne, (when the weather waxed more bitter then any man would in that ſeaſon haue thought) there fell out ſo great a cold, that for the moſt part it did nothing but ſnow: and if the element did any thing cleere, then froſe it ſo hard, that the horſe could come by no water, the riuers were ſo extreamely congealed with iſe. And there could no man paſſe ouer by forde: for they did not ſo ſoone enter, but the iſe brake, and cut the vaines & ſinewes of the horſe legges a ſunder, they were ſo hard and thicke withall. And furthermore, the contry being full of trees, woddes and forreſtes, and the wayes very narrowe, not being able to paſſe by the fieldes, they were through wet with ſnow that fell vpon them: & when they came to their lodging, then it was worſe, for there were they conſtrained to lye in ſoft & moyſt places. And E
therefore the ſouldiers had followed but few dayes after this battell, but they refuſed to goe any further. And firſt they ſent their Collonells and Captaines to intreate *Lucullus* to leaue of this iorney. Afterwards they gathered together more boldly in trowpes, and in the night time beganne to murmure and groyne in their tents (which is a certaine ſigne and token of a mutinous armie, that hath a minde to rebell againſt their Generall) although that *Lucullus* vſed all gentle perſwaſions to winne them with pacience to abide this iorney, at the leaſt, till time they might take the citie of CARTHAGE in ARMENIA: to thende they might there deſtroy the worke and memory of the greateſt enemy that euer the ROMANES had in this world, meaning *Hannibal*. But when he ſaw all this would not preuaile, he brought them backe againe, & paſſed ouer mount Taurus an other way, and came downe into the contry called MYGDONIA, a F
very hotte and fertile ſoyle, where there is a great city, and maruelouſly repleniſhed with inhabitauntes: who call it NISIBIS, and the GRÆCIANS call it ANTIOCH, of MYGDONIA. In

that

Hannibal builded Artaxata.

Arſanias fl.

Lucullus order of his army.

Other do read in this place againſt the Atropatenians, which are people of Media.

Three kings ranged in battell.

Lucullus maketh Tigranes flye againe.

The contry of Mygdonia.

Niſibis, alias Antiochia, a city of Mygdonia.

A that city *Gouras* was Gouernor, who was *Tigranes* owne brother: but for experiẽce in engines of battery, and for sufficiencie and skill in such matters, there was *Callimachus* also, he that so maruelously troubled *Lucullus* before at the siege of the city of AMISVS. *Lucullus* placing his campe before this city, besieged the same by all such meanes as might enforce it, and that so valliantly, that in very shorte time he tooke it by assault. And as for *Gouras*, who submitted him selfe to *Lucullus* mercie, he was very curteously intreated. But for *Callimachus*, he would not once heare him speake, notwithstanding that he promised, if they would saue his life, he would tell them of coffers full of great treasure hidden, which no man knew but him selfe onely. But *Lucullus* commaunded them to bring him with gyues to receiue the punishment he had iustly deserued, for setting the city of AMISVS a fire, and taking from him the meane to shewe the

Lucullus winneth Nisibis by assault.

Callimachus did set the city of Amisus a fire.

B GRÆCIANS his goodnesse, affection and liberality towardes them. Vntill this present time, it might be truely sayd, that good fortune euer fauored & followed *Lucullus* in all his enterprises and affayres: but from that time forwards, it was quickely seene that the fauorable blast of fortune failed him, he did all his things with so great payne, and all that he did fell out contrarie vnto him, and to very ill purpose. In deede he did euer shew the valiancy, pacience, and great corage that should be in a valliant Generall, or Lieutenaunt of an armie. But his exployts and doinges had neuer after that easie grace, nor shining glory they were wont to haue: but to the contrary, he was like to haue lost all that he had wonne before, through the misfortunes that fell vpon him, and for the brawles and vaine contention he had with his people to no purpose. But the worst was, that they make him selfe thonly author of all these euills, bicause he could

Thalteracion of Lucullus good fortune.

Lucullus cause of all his misfortune.

C not, or would not entertaine the goodwill of the multitude of his souldiers: thinking that whatsoeuer a Generall, or any other officer of state or calling doth to please and content them he hath vnder his charge, is to dishonor him selfe, and to geue cause vnto his souldiers to despise his authoritie. But that which made most against him was this: that he gaue no estimacion to gentlemen, and men of like quality to him selfe, but disdained them, and thought them vnworthy to be equall with him. For these they say were his faultes and imperfections, but otherwise that he wanted no vertues, nor naturall giftes & good condicions that could be possibly wished for, or desired. For he was a talle gentleman, of goodly presence, well spoken, wise and discreete, as well in matters of gouernment, as in warres: and as well to perswade the people in peace, as to encorage his souldiers in warre. *Salust* wryteth of him, that his souldiers be-

Lucullus faultes.

Lucullus vertues.

D gan to mislike with him, euen from the first entry into these warres, bicause he made them lye out two winters together in the field, one after an other: the one before the city of CIZICVS, and the other before the city of AMISVS. And euen as much did the other winters following vexe and trouble them. For either they lay in their enemies contry, or else if they lay in their frendes, yet he made them campe abroade in the field, and shrowd them selues in their tentes: for *Lucullus* neuer entred with his army into any city or confederate towne of GRÆCE. Now if the souldiers of them selues misliked *Lucullus*, the coũsellers at ROME that were his enemies, and enuied his prosperity and glory, gaue them yet greater occasions to mutine against him. For they cõtinually accused him to the people in their orations, that he drew out this warre in length, purposely bicause he would alwayes haue occasion to rule, & meanes to get, hauing in

The cause why Lucullus souldiers misliked with him.

Lucullus army euer lay in the fielde, winter and summer.

E his hands in maner all CILICIA, ASIA, BITHYNIA, PAPHLAGONIA, GALATIA, PONTVS, ARMENIA, and all the prouinces and regions as farre as to the riuer of Phasis: and yet he had not long before spoyled the Princely houses of *Tigranes*, as if he had bene sent thither only to sack and spoyle, and not to destroy & ouercome those kings. And they say that it was *Lucius Quintius*, one of the Prætors, that spake these wordes. It was he also that most moued the people to take order, that *Lucullus* should be called home, & other sent to succeede him in the charge & gouernmẽt of the contries he had subdued. By the selfe same meane, it was also ordained: that diuers which were vnder his charge, should be dispersed with all for their othes, and licenced to leaue the warres when they thought good. But besides those & such like great causes, there was yet an other more daungerous plague, & that most ouerthrew *Lucullus* proceedings, pas-

Phasis ft.

F sing all the other euills being put together: and that was *Publius Clodius*, a wicked, licentious, and a harebrainde man. He was *Lucullus* wiues brother, and she was so light of her body, that *Clodius* her brother was accused of incontinencie with her. This *Clodius* being at that time in

Publius Clodius a wicked man.

Lucullus campe, caried not that eſtimacion and credit he thought him ſelfe worthy of. For he tooke him ſelfe equall with the beſt, and would needes haue bene holden for chiefe: when in deede there were many of farre better deſert, he being noted both for a vitious and ill diſpoſed perſon. Whereupon he beganne for ſpight to ſuborne the bandes called FIMBRIANS, and to ſtirre them vp againſt *Lucullus*, ſowing ſweete and pleaſaunt wordes amongeſt the ſouldiers, which being wonted therunto, looked ſtill to be flattered. For they were thoſe whom *Fimbria* had procured to kill the Conſull *Flaccus*, and chooſe him in his ſteede for their Captaine. By reaſon whereof they gaue good eare to *Clodius* words, and called him a noble Captaine, and a louer of ſouldiers. For when he ſpake vnto them, he made as though he had pittied them, for that they ſhould neuer ſee an end of their great paynes and warres, but ſhould miſerably conſume their dayes in fighting continually, ſometime with one nation, and ſometime with another: and that they wandered through all the contries of the world, receiuing no worthy reward of ſo long and painfull ſeruice, ſeruing only to gard *Lucullus* cartes & camells loden with plate and veſſell of golde, and ſiluer, and other pretious ſtones. Where the ſouldiers that had ſerued vnder *Pompey*, tooke nowe their eaſe at home in their contry with their wiues and children, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly fayer cities, as rich burgeſes and wealthy citizens: and yet they had not driuen *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* out of their kingdomes, into deſert places vnhabitable, nor had deſtroyed the Princely houſes of ASIA, but only made a litle warre in SPAYNE againſt thoſe that were baniſhed, & in ITALIE againſt fugitiue ſlaues. Shall we then ſayd he, cary harneſſe on our backes all the dayes of our life? Is it not better that we which are eſcaped vntil this preſent, reſerue our ſelues, our bodies & liues for that noble Captaine, who eſteemeth the greateſt honor and glory he can atchieue vnto, is to make his ſouldiers rich that ſerue vnder him? *Lucullus* army was ſo ſeduced and corrupted, with theſe mutinous and ſeditious accuſations, that the ſouldiers would no lenger follow him, neither againſt *Tigranes*, nor againſt *Mithridates*: who went preſently out of ARMENIA into his realme of PONTVS, and beganne to conquer it againe, whileſt the ROMANE ſouldiers mutining againſt their General, remained idle in the prouince of GORDIÆNA, excuſing them ſelues by the winter ſeaſon, & tarying vntill *Pompey* or ſome other Captaine ſhould quickely come to raiſe the ſiege, and ſucceede *Lucullus*. Notwithſtanding, when they vnderſtoode that *Mithridates* had ouerthrowen *Fabius*, one of *Lucullus* Lieutenaunts, and that he went againſt *Sornatius* & *Triarius*: they were then aſhamed of them ſelues, and became contented to be led by *Lucullus*. But *Triarius* in a brauery, when he heard that *Lucullus* drew neere, made haſt to winne the victory, as if it had bene cocke ſure before *Lucullus* came: and was him ſelfe ouerthrowen in a great battell, where ſome ſay there dyed aboue ſeuen thowſande ROMANES, amongeſt the which were a hundred and fifty centurions, & foure and twenty Captaines or Collonells of a thowſand men a peece, and yet beſides, *Mithridates* tooke their campe alſo. Shortly after this ouerthrow, *Lucullus* came thither, who hid *Triarius*, whom the ſouldiers ſought in their anger by all the meanes they could to kill. Now when *Lucullus* was come, he prooued ſundrie meanes to procure *Mithridates* to battell: but *Mithridates* would not once ſturre abroade, bicauſe he looked for *Tigranes* that came downe with a mighty power. Whereuppon he determined againe to goe againſt *Tigranes* to fight with him, before *Mithridates* and he ioyned forces together. But as he was in his iorney towardes him, the FIMBRIAN bandes beganne to rebell a new, and would not follow his enſignes, ſaying, and alleaging of them ſelues, that by decree of the people they had leaue to departe, and were diſcharged from their othe: and furthermore that *Lucullus* had no more to do to commaund them, conſidering that the gouernment of the prouinces which he had, was geuen vnto others. *Lucullus* perceiuing this, did ſo humble him ſelfe vnto them, ſuppoſing that way to winne them, as there was no kinde of vncomely humility but he ſubmitted him ſelfe vnto it: inſomuch as he went into their tentes to pray and intreate them one after an other, with water in his eyes, and with ſo great lowlineſſe, as euen to ſhake handes with them. But they fiercely reiected all his curteſies and fayer intreaties, caſting their pennyleſſe purſes before him, and angrily bad him fight with his enemies alone, ſince he had with the ſpoile of them all ſo well enriched him ſelfe alone. Neuertheleſſe, at the interceſſion and earneſt requeſt of the other ſoldiers, theſe FIMBRIAN bands were compelled to promiſe,

Publius Clodius ſtirred vp the ſouldiers againſt Lucullus.

Mithridates victory of Lucullus Lieutenauntes.

Mithridates ouercame Triarius Lucullus Captaine.

The Fimbrian ſouldiers forſooke Lucullus.

Lucullus forced to humble him ſelfe to his mutinous ſouldiers.

A miſs, that they would yet tary all that ſommer, ſo that if no mã in the meane time offred them battell, at the ende of the tearme, they might go where they would. *Lucullus* was forced to accepte this condicion, or elſe to remaine alone, & conſequently to forſake the contry of the barbarous people. With much a do thus he kept them together, but in ſuch ſorte, as he durſt no more venter to compell them to come to battell, contenting him ſelfe that they were willing onely to ſtay with him, being forced to ſuffer *Tigranes* in the meane time to deſtroy and ouerronne the contry of CAPPADOCIA, & *Mithridates* alſo to bragge againe, of whom he had before wrytten to the Senate that he had vtterly ouercome him: inſomuch as there came commiſſioners & deputies from ROME by his owne procurement, to order the ſtate of the realme of PONTVS with him, as of a kingdom already wonne to the ROMANE Empire. But whē they B were comen, they found him not maſter of him ſelfe, & that his owne ſouldiers ſlowted him, and did him all the ſpight and iniury they could. For they were ſo vnruly towardes their Captaine, and did ſo much diſdaine him, that when the end of the ſommer was come, they armed them ſelues with armor and weapon, and drawing out their ſwordes in mockery, challenged their enemies to battell which were gone out of the fielde: and after they had made the noyſe and cryes accuſtomed when they ioyned battel, and made as though they fought, hurling and ſwinging their ſwords in the ayer, they went from the campe, declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promiſed *Lucullus* to tary. On thother ſide *Pompey* had wrytten vnto the other ſouldiers that were yet in campe, to come vnto him: for through the peoples fauor at ROME, the practiſes and flatteries of the common counſellers there, he was ſubſtituted C Generall in *Lucullus* place. Which much miſliked the Senate and nobility: for they thought *Lucullus* greatly wronged to haue a ſucceſſor ſent, not to ſucceede him in troubles and daungers, but in honor and glory of triumphe. And that they ſhould compell him not onely to reſigne vp the office of a Generall to an other, but (for the good ſeruice he long time had done) the reward of his honor due for the ſame: and this alſo more miſliked them, that were then about him. That ſo ſoone as *Pompey* was arriued in ASIA, he tooke all power & authority from *Lucullus*, to puniſhe or reward any man, for good or ill ſeruice done to the common wealth in thoſe warres, & did moreouer prohibite by publicke bills ſet vp in euery common place, that they ſhould no more repayre vnto him, nor obey ought, that he, or any of the ten cōmiſſioners ſent to diſpoſe of the ſtate of the prouinces wonne by him, ſhould commaund or ordaine: and D bicauſe *Pompey* came with a greater power and army then his, he was in ſome feare of him. Their frends thought good neuertheleſſe they ſhould meete together: and ſo they did incontinently, in a village of GALATIA, where at their firſt meeting they ſaluted ech other very curteouſly, reioycing together of the noble victories that either had wonne. *Lucullus* was the elder man, but *Pompey* of greater dignity, bicauſe he had bene Generall of the ROMANE people in many warres, & had already triumphed twiſe. The bundells of roddes which the ſergeaunts caried before them, were wreathed about with lawrell braunches for the victories they had both atchieued: but *Pompeys* bundells were withered away, bicauſe they had comen a longe iorney through hotte and drye contries. *Lucullus* officers ſeeing theirs withered, curteouſly gaue them of theirs freſh and new gathered: which *Pompeys* frendes tooke for a ſigne of good E lucke. For to ſay truely, the thinges that *Lucullus* did in the time of his charge, were cauſe of the honor that *Pompey* afterwardes wanne. Howbeit in the end for all their talke, they were no whit the better frendes: but departed thone from thother more ſtraunge then they met. For *Pompey* by a plaine edict, brake, reuoked, and diſanulled all *Lucullus* ordinaunces, and taking from him all his other ſouldiers, left him but only ſixtene hundred to accōpany his triumphe, and yet they followed him with vnwilling mindes: ſuch was *Lucullus* imperfection & mayme, either by nature, or frowardnes of fortune, that he lacked the chiefeſt thing a Generall ſhould haue, which was, to be beloued of his ſouldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, amongeſt many other his excellent vertues, and magnanimity, wiſedom, iudgement, & iuſtice: the riuer of Euphrates had not bene the vttermoſt confines of the Empire of ROME on ASIA F ſide, but it had extēded as farre as the ſea Hyrcane, yea euen vnto thutmoſt parte of the world. For king *Tigranes* had already conquered the other nations that lye beyonde that, ſauing the contrie of PARTHIA, which then was not ſo great nor ſtronge, as it appeared afterwardes in

The Fimbrian ſouldiers tarie out the ſommer, vpon cōdicion to departe when ſommer was done.

Pompey, Lucullus ſucceſſor in Aſia.

Iniuries offered Lucullus by Pompey.

Lucullus and Pompeys meeting.

Miſlikinges betwene Pompey and Lucullus.

Lucullus not beloued of his ſouldiers.

Craſſus time: nor ſo ioyned and knit together, but (what through ciuill diſſentions amongſt them at home, and forrein warres of their neighbors abroade) was ſo weake, that with great difficulty they could defend themſelues from the ARMENIANS, that continually harried them out of their skinnes. But to take thinges rightly as they be in deede, me thinkes that *Lucullus* did more hurt vnto his contry by other, then he did benefit the ſame by him ſelfe. For the tokens of triumphe and victories which he wanne in ARMENIA ſo neere vnto the PARTHIANS, the cities of TIGRANOCERTA and of NISIBIS which he had ſacked and ſpoyled, the great treaſure that he brought to ROME, and the Diadeame alſo of *Tigranes*, which was ſhewed in triumphe as a priſoner with the reſt: moued *Craſſus* with ſuch a maruelous deſire to paſſe into ASIA, as if all the barbarous people had bene nothing but an aſſured ſpoyle, and a purpoſed pray vnto all thoſe that would come to take them. But *Craſſus* farre otherwiſe, finding himſelfe galled and troubled with the arrowes of the PARTHIANS, knew then by proofe, that *Lucullus* had not ſo much ouercome his enemies for that they wanted skill, or were a cowardly people, as he had done through his wiſedom and valliantnes. But that ſhalbe ſeene hereafter. Furthermore, *Lucullus* being now returned to ROME, found firſt of all his brother *Marcus* accuſed by one *Gaius Memmius*, for that he had done in his office of treaſorer, in *Sylles* time, and by his commaundement, whereof he was cleared by ſentence of the iudges. But *Memmius* of ſpight turned his anger againſt *Lucullus* ſelfe, ſtirring vp the people againſt him, and letting them vnderſtand that *Lucullus* had kept backe and robbed much parte of the treaſure, which ſhould haue comen to the common wealth, and that to worke his feate the better, had prolonged theſe warres as he did: wherefore he perſwaded them flatly to deny him the honor of his triumphe. And truely *Lucullus* was in great daunger to haue loſt it vtterly: but that the noble men of the city, and they that were of greateſt authority, intermedled themſelues with the tribes when they came to paſſe it by voyces of the people, whome they intreated ſo much through ſute and perſwaſion, that in the end, with much a doe, the people ſuffred him to enter the city in triumphe. So *Lucullus* made a triumphant entry, not terrible nor troubleſome for the long ſhewe or ſight thereof, nor for the multitude of thinges that he brought thither with him, as many other Captaines had done before him. For he cauſed the ſhowe place (which they call Circus Flaminius at ROME) to be ſet out and furniſhed chiefly with armor and weapons of the enemies to a maruelous number: and with the kinges engynes and inuentions of battering peeces, which was a pleaſant ſight to behold. And in this ſhow, there was a certaine number of his men of armes brauely armed, tenne cartes of warre armed with ſythes that paſſed by, and three ſcore of the chiefeſt frendes and Captaines of the two kinges that were led priſoners through the city. And there were alſo drawen after them, a hundred and tenne gallies all armed in the prooues with ſtrong ſpurres of copper, and a ſtatue of *Mithridates* all of cleane gold, ſixe foote high, with a rich target ſet with pretious ſtones. Beſides all that, there were twenty cubberds as full of ſiluer plate as could be, and thirty cubberds full alſo of golden veſſell, armor and coyne of gold, caried vpon mens ſhoulders. After them followed eight mules loden with golden beddes, and ſixe and fifty other mules that caried ſiluer bullion, & a hundred & ſeuen other moyles that caried ſiluer coyne, amounting to the ſumme of two hundred three ſcore and tenne thowſand Seſtertios. Furthermore, there were bookes of accompt caried alſo, wherein were particularly wrytten the ſummes of mony which *Lucullus* had deliuered before vnto *Pompey* for the warre againſt pyrates on the ſea, & vnto the treaſorers and high treaſors, to put into the ſparing coffers of the common wealth at ROME. And afterwardes in an article by it ſelfe, that he had geuen nyne hundred and fifty Drachmas to euery ſouldier by the polle. After the ſhewe of this triumphe was ended, he made a generall feaſt, in the which he feaſted all the city and villages thereabouts, which the ROMANES call Vicos. And afterwardes forſooke his wife *Clodia* for her vnchaſt and wanton life, and maried *Seruilia Catoes* ſiſter: howbeit he wanne nothing by thexchaunge, for he ſped as euill with the ſeconde, as he did with the firſt. For, ſauing that ſhe was not ſlaundred with thinceſt of her owne brethren, otherwiſe ſhe was as diſhoneſt and vnchaſt as *Clodia*: and yet he bare withall a while for her brothers ſake, but at the length grew weary of her, and put her away as he had done *Clodia*. Nowe when he had filled the Senate with a maruelous hope and expectation of him,

Craſſus deſire to conquer Aſia apon ſight of Lucullus triumphe.

See the life of Craſſus what ſucceſſe he had.

Lucullus returne to Rome.

Lucullus triumphe.

Lucullus forſaketh Clodia and marieth Seruilia Catoes ſiſter, as vnchaſt as Clodia.

A him (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withstande *Pompeys* tyranny, and to vphold and maintaine the authority of the nobility and Senate against the people, for that by his noble deedes he had atchieued so great fame and reputation) he sodainly gaue ouer all dealinges in thaffayres of the common wealth: either bicause he sawe it so best, being a hard thing now to kepe it from ruine: or else (as other sayd) for that he felt him selfe sufficiently furnished with honor and wealth, and therefore determined from thenceforth to liue quietly all at his ease, after so great paynes, trauailes and troubles, the end whereof fell not out ouer fortunately. And surely some were of his minde, and liked this great chaunge of his maruelous wel: bicause he did not as *Marius* did, neither happened on the ill successe and end that *Marius* had. For *Marius* after the notable victories which he brought from the Cimbres, and af-

Lucullus geueth ouer gouernment of the common wealth.

B ter his valliant actes in warres which had won him great honor, yet would he not so leaue of, when he might haue bene chronicled to his wonderfull glory: but of an vnsatiable minde, and ambitious desire to rule and beare sway, (being withall a very olde man) went and forced him selfe amongest young men desirous of gouernment, who brought him not only to cõmit many outrages, but made him selfe also to suffer greater cruelties. It is thought also that *Cicero* had ended his aged course more happely, if after he had quenched *Catilines* cõspiracy, he had then taken his ease. And so had *Scipio* in like case, if when he had ioyned Numantia vnto Carthage, he would then haue quieted him selfe. And therfore, some say, that there is a certaine reuolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wise man should medle any more with thaffayers of the common wealth: no more then a man whose youth & strength is gone

C and decayed, is any more fit to iust, wrestle, or enter into such exercises of the body. But contrarily, *Crassus* and *Pompey* mocked *Lucullus*, bicause he gaue him selfe so much to pleasure and pastime: as if to liue pleasauntly, & delicatly did not worse become his age, then to cõmaund an army, or to goueme thaffayres of a common weale. And for my parte, reading *Lucullus* life: me thinkes that I read an auncient comedy, the beginning whereof is tedious, & the latter end ioyfull. For at the beginning of his life, you finde notable exployts done by him in warres, and great good gouernment also in peace: but in the end they all turned into feasts, and banckets, and lacking litle of maskes and mommeries, dauncing with torches, and all other silch delights fitte for young men. For I bring within the compasse and reckoning of his finches and

Lucullus buildinges and pleasures.

D pleasures, his sumptuous buildinges, his stately walles and galleries, his home houses and stoues, his tables and pictures, his statues also: and the great workmanshippe and curiositie he had besides of all other cartes by him, gotten together out of all partes to his infinite charge, abusing therein the world of goodes and treasure gotten and wonne in the warres, in time of his charge and office of Generall, and otherwise. Insomuch, that notwithstanding excesse and superfluity hath euer since increased vntil this present time, yet they reckon the gardens *Lucullus* made, to be the most sumptuous and delicatest places that the Emperors haue. And therfore *Tubero* the Stoike Philosopher, hauing seene these stately works which *Lucullus* had caused to be made neere vnto Naples, by the sea side, (where there are mountaines cut through, light as day, and hanged vpon vawtes) and great ditches cast by force to make the sea

Lucullus gardens of great estimacion.

E passe and runne through his houses, to keepe fishe therein, and lodginges also that he built in the sea it selfe: he called *Lucullus*, *Xerxes* the gownman, as if he would haue sayd, *Xerxes* the Romane. For euen so did *Xerxes* in olde time cause the mountaine Athos to be cut in sunder, and a channell to be digged there to passe his shippes through. He had also many other pleasaunt places within the territories of Rome, neere vnto Tusculum, where there were great large halles set vpon tarrasses to see rounde about farre of in the day time. And *Pompey* going thither somtime to see him, reproued him greatly, telling him that he had built a maruelous fayer sommer house, but not to be dwelt in, the winter season. *Lucullus* laughing, answered him: doe ye thinke me to haue lesse wit and reason then storkes or cranes, that I cannot shift houses accordinge to the season? An other time there was a Praetor of Rome, that makinge playes to shewe the people pastime, sent vnto *Lucullus* to borrow certaine purple clokes to set

Lucullus called Xerxes the gowne man.

Xerxes cut through the mountaine Athos, & made a channell for his shippes to passe thorow.

F forth his players: *Lucullus* made him aunswer, that he would cause his folkes to looke if he had any. And the next morning demaunding of him, how many he should neede: the other aunswered, that a hundred would serue his turne. Whereupon *Lucullus* told him againe, he would

furniſh him with two hundred, if his caſe ſo required. And therefore the Poet *Horace* wryting this ſtory, addeth to a notable exclamation againſt ſuperfluity, ſaying: that men thinke them poore houſe, where there is no more riches then neceſſary, and where there is not more then appeareth in ſight, and that the maſter knoweth of. He was a vaine man in his ordinarie ſeruice at his borde, not only in that his beddes whereon he ſedde, were couered with rich carpettes of purple, and him ſelfe ſerued in gold and ſiluer veſſell ſet with pretious ſtones, & that there was dauncing, muſicke, playes, and other ſuch like paſtimes of ordinary: but alſo for that he was continually ſerued with all ſortes of fine dainty diſhes, with workes of paſtry, bancketing diſhes, and frute curiouſly wrought and prepared, which only made him to be wondered at of men of ſimple vnderſtanding and meane condicion. Therefore was *Pompey* marueiouſly eſteemed, and ſpecially for a word he ſpake one day when he was ſicke, and that the Phiſitian had willed him to eate of a thruſhe. For when his ſeruaunts told him they were hard to come by in ſommer, but at *Lucullus* houſe where they brought them vp all the yeare through: he would in no wiſe they ſhould aske any of him, but ſayd vnto his Phiſitian. What if *Lucullus* were not geuen to pleaſure: could not *Pompey* liue? And ſo willed them to get him ſome other ſuch thing, as they might more eaſily come by. *Cato* was *Lucullus* frend & kinſeman both, and yet he ſo much miſliked his maner of liuing and ordinary expence: that one day a young man making a long and tedious Oration in open Senate (out of time, and to no purpoſe) touching meane dyet, ſobriety, & temperaunce of life: *Cato* could no lenger abide him, but roſe vp, and ſayd vnto him. What, wilt thou not leaue babbling to vs all day: thou that art riche as *Craſſus*, that liueſt as *Lucullus*, and ſpeakeſt as *Cato*? Other affirme that theſe words were ſpoken thus, but that it was not *Cato* that ſpake them: neuertheleſſe it is certaine, by the notable ſayinges they haue gathered of *Lucullus*, he did not only delight to liue ſo delicately, but alſo he gloried in it. Some wryte that he feaſted certaine GRÆCIANS many dayes together in his houſe, that were come out of GRÆCE to ROME: and that they being men brought vp with the ſobriety and ſimplicity of GRÆCE, after they had bene feaſted there diuers times, were aſhamed, & refuſed to goe thither any more, being afterwards intreated to come to *Lucullus*, ſuppoſing that he had made them this great chere for their owne ſakes. *Lucullus* hearing of it, told them: my Lords, I pray you refuſe not to come to me for that. In deede I muſt needes graunt that there is ſomewhat more then ordinary, to welcome you with all: but I tell you truly, the moſt parte is for *Lucullus* ſake. An other time when he ſupped all alone, and his men had layed but one bord, and prepared but a reaſonable ſupper for him, he was very angry with them, and called for his ſteward to know why he was ſerued ſo: the ſteward aunſwered him. My Lord, bicauſe I ſawe you ſende for no body, I thought this ſupper ſufficient. What, ſayd he againe: kneweſt not thou that *Lucullus* ſhould ſuppe to night with him ſelfe? In fine, *Lucullus* fare was cõmonly knowen through ROME, that there was no talke but of *Lucullus* noble houſekeping. Whereupon, *Cicero* and *Pompey* being deſirous to ſee the proofe thereof, came one day to him in the market place ſeeing him at pleaſure: (for *Cicero* was *Lucullus* very good frend, and *Pompey* alſo: and though there was ſome iarre betwene them for matters of warres, he did not let for that to come vnto him, and to ſpeake gently one to an other) and *Cicero* after he had ſaluted him, asked him if he would be contented they ſhould come and ſee him. Oh, ſayd he, with all my hart: I pray you come to me. Well then, ſayd *Cicero*, *Pompey* and I will come and ſuppe with you to night, with cõdicion that you prouide no more then your ordinary. *Lucullus* told them againe, they ſhould then fare but badly, and therfore it were better they taried till to morrow. But they would none of that, no nor ſuffer him to ſpeake with his men, for feare he ſhould cõmaund them, to prouide ſomewhat more then for him ſelfe. Neuertheleſſe, at his deſire, they ſuffered him onely in their preſence alowde to tell one of his men, that he would ſuppe that night in *Apollo*: (for ſo was one of his moſt ſtately and ſumpteous halles of his houſe called) and with that word only he finely deceiued them both, and they neuer found him. For euery halle had his certaine ſumme and rate appointed for the charge and expence of euery ſupper they made in them, and the ordinary furniture and ſeruice for the ſame. So that when his ſeruauntes had their watche worde but in what halle he would ſuppe, they knewe ſtraight what charge he would be at for his ſupper, & what orders ſhould be obſerued therin. Now *Lucullus*

Lucullus curioſity & exceſſe in meates and ſeruice.

Catoes ſaying of Lucullus.

Certaine ſayinges of Lucullus.

Lucullus hauing diuers halles, had appointed euery hall his certen rate & charge of dyet.

maner

A manner was to ſpende when he made any feaſt in the hall of *Apollo*, fifty thowſand pence, and
that ſelfe day the ſupper was prepared according to that value: inſomuch as *Pompey* marue-
lled howe it could be poſſible that a ſupper of ſo exceeding great charge could be ſo ſodainly
prepared. In ſuch thinges therefore did *Lucullus* laiſhly and riotouſly ſpend his goodes, like
ſpoyles in deede gotten of ſlaues and barbarous people. But that ſpecially which he beſtowed
vppon bookes, was very commendable and honeſt expence. For he had gathered together a
great number of notable hiſtories, the vſe wherof was more honor to him, then the hauing of
them. For his library was euer open to all comers, and they ſuffred the GRAECIANS to come
into his goodly tarraſſes & fayer walkes, or other pleaſaunt places thereabouts conuenient to
B ſit and reaſon together, and neuer ſhut dore againſt them: where learned men met common-
ly, and oftentimes ſpent the whole day in conference together, as in the houſe of the *Muſes*;
being very glad when other matters were diſpatched, they had ſo much leaſure as but to goe
thither. And *Lucullus* ſelfe would alſo many times be amongeſt them, in thoſe tarraſſes and
pleaſaunt walkes, delighting much to talke with them: and he did euer helpe to diſpatch them
that had any buſines with him, and graunted the thing they requeſted of him. To conclude,
his houſe was a common receite for all them that came from GREECE to ROME. He loued all
C maner of Philoſophy, and refuſed no ſect of the ſame. But from his youth vpward, he euer lo-
ued & eſteemed beſt the ACADEMICKE ſect, not that which they call the new ACADEMICKE
(although it floriſhed at that time through *Carneades* workes, which *Philo* made ſuch eſtima-
cion of) but the old ACADEMICKE, which the Philoſopher *Antiochus* of the city of ASCA-
LON did defende and maintaine at that time, being an eloquent rethoritian and well ſpoken,
whom *Lucullus* ſought to win by all meanes to make him his frende, and to haue him in houſe
with him: bicauſe he might inuey againſt *Philoes* hearers and followers, whoſe ſcholler *Cicero*
among the reſt was, that wrote a notable booke againſt this olde ACADEMICKE ſect. And in
the ſame he reciteth *Lucullus*, maintaining the opinion of the old ACADEMICKES: who hold,
that a man may certainly know, and comprehend ſomething, and called that Catalepſin: but
Cicero defended the contrary. The booke is intituled *Lucullus*: for they were (as we haue re-
hearſed before) very good frendes, and had both one ſelfe deſire for gouernment in the com-
monwealth. For *Lucullus* did not ſo withdrawe him ſelfe from matters of ſtate, that he would
no more medle at all, nor heare ſpeake of them: but he betimes gaue ouer all ambition & con-
D tention, as a thing of no ſmall daunger, & breeding great reproache and diſhonor to *Marcus*
Craſſus, and *Cato*, to be chiefe in authority. And theſe two were they that defended the Senate,
and whom they raiſed vp to withſtand *Pompeys* greatnes, being affrayed of him, after that *Lu-
cullus* had refuſed the chiefe place of authority. But otherwiſe, *Lucullus* would be in the mar-
ket place at courtes and common counſells, to pleaſure his frendes when they requeſted him:
and would goe to the Senate alſo, when there was occaſion to breake any new practiſe, or to
ouerthrowe *Pompeys* ambitious policie. For he ouerthrewe all the orders and conſtitutions
that *Pompey* had made, after he had ouercome the kinges, *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*: and with
the helpe of *Cato* hindered a diſtribution of money which *Pompey* had wrytten for to ROME,
to be beſtowed amongeſt his ſouldiers. Whereupon *Pompey* fell in frendſhippe, (or to ſpeake
E more plainly, in conſpiracy) with *Craſſus* and *Caeſar*, by whoſe helpe and aſſiſtaunce, he filled
ROME with armes and ſouldiers: and made the people by force to paſſe and confirme what he
would haue done, after he had violently expulſed *Lucullus* and *Cato* out of the market place.
Whereat the noble men were much offended, and miſliking the great wrong they had offred
Lucullus & *Cato*, *Pompeys* followers ſuborned a * BRVTIAN, and ſaid he was taken lying in waite
to kill *Pompey*. Whereupon the ſayd BRVTIAN being examined by the Senate, named certaine:
but when he came before the people, he named *Lucullus*, ſaying that he had hyered him to kill
Pompey. But no man beleued him. For they perceiued openly in the market place, that he was
procured by them ſelues falſely to accuſe *Lucullus*, & *Pompeys* other aduerſaries. And this was
proued more plainly within few dayes after, when they threw the body of this BRVTIAN dead
F in the middeſt of the ſtreete, out of the priſone: who they ſay dyed of him ſelfe with ſickenes.
Howbeit the markes being plainly ſeene of the halter wherewith they had ſtrangled him, and
the ſtripes appearing alſo which they had geuen him: did plainly ſhew that they them ſelues

What Lucullus ſupper was in Apollo.

Lucullus his library.

Lucullus loued Philoſophie.

Antiochus of Aſcalon an eloquent rethoritian.

The opinion of the Academickes.

Marcus Craſſus, Cato, Lucullus, againſt Pompey.

Lucullus and Cato againſt Pompey.

Pompey, Craſſus, Caeſar, conſpired together againſt the ſtate.

Cicero calleth him Lucius Veſtius, howbeit it may be that he was a Brutian borne.

did it, whom after they had ſuborned to accuſe *Lucullus*, they ſlue in this maner. This was the cauſe why *Lucullus* did more thē before abſent him ſelfe from medling in publicke cauſes: but after, when he ſawe that they had ſo wickedly exiled *Cicero*, and found meanes alſo to conuey *Cato* farre enough of, vnder pretenced colour to ſende him with charge into the Ile of CYPRVS: then he gaue vp altogether. Some wryte that a litle before his death, he was not perfect in his wittes, decaying through age by litle & litle. Howbeit *Cornelius Nepos* ſayth, that it was not for age, nor ſickenes, that his wittes did alter: but through poyſon which one of his ſeruants had geuen him, whom he had made free, called *Calliſthenes*: who gaue it him, not of any euill intent, but bicauſe his maſter ſhould loue him the more, ſuppoſing that this poyſon had power to make him loue him. But he troubled his wits ſo much with this poyſon, that *Lucullus* while he liued was faine to haue his brother *Marcus* to ouerſee his goods. Notwithſtāding this, when he was dead, he was as much bewayled and lamented of all the people, as if he had dyed in his beſt credit, and greateſt proſperity. For all the people ranne to honor his funeralls, and his bodie was caried to the place, by the young noble men of the citie. The people would in any caſe haue buried him within the field of *Mars*, as they had before buried *Sylla*. But bicauſe no man thought of it before, and alſo for that things neceſſary were not eaſily to be prouided for the place: his brother *Marcus* beſought the people they would be content his funeralls might be at a towne of his owne, neere vnto the city of THVSCVLVM, where his tombe was prepared, and he him ſelfe liued not long time after. For as *Lucullus* both in age, and honor, had not left him farre behinde him: ſo did he not much in his death. For as a brother that had alwayes dearely loued him, he could not then long liue, and ſuruiue him.

Lucullus fell out of his wits before his death.

Calliſthenes poyſoned Lucullus whereof he dyed.

Lucullus death.

THE COMPARISON OF *Lucullus with Cimon.*

NOthing (in my opinion) made *Lucullus* more happy, then to dye when he did, before he ſawe the chaunge & alteracion of the cōmon weale, which the fatall deſtinies plagued the ROMANES withall, with ſedition & ciuill warres: and that he dyed in his contry yet enioying her liberty, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that he was likeſt vnto *Cimon* aboue all other things: who died whileſt the GRÆCIANS were in good loue and peace with other, and not in broyle of diſcorde and ciuill warres. In deede *Cimon* dyed in his campe, being Generall of his contry, at the ſiege of the city of CITIVM in CYPRVS, not withdrawen to his home, as one wearied, liuing idlely, or leading a voluptuous life in feaſtes and bankets, making that the end and reward of his warres, victories and triumphes: but as *Plato* ſaid, (when he wiſely blamed and reproued *Orpheus*, who promiſeth perpetuall dronkenes in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that liued well in this life) merily. And truely it is a great

Lucullus death bleſſed.

A great comfort and contentation of minde, for an old man feebled with age, and compelled by weakenes, to withdraw him selfe from the world, as well in matters of gouernment in peace, as in warres: and quietly to passe his time in studie, where delight is ioyned with honest contemplation. But to finish his vertuous deedes, by referring them to pleasure, a vice to their only end: and moreouer, to grow old by pleasure and vanity, solemnising *Venus* feast all the rest of his life, after he hath made such warres, & commaunded such armies: that me thinkes a thing vnworthy of an honest Academicke, and altogether vnmeete for one professing olde *Xenocrates* doctrine, but fit rather for a man geuen ouer altogether to *Epicurus* discipline. There is a wonderfull thing to be considered of in these two men, that the ones youth was altogether vitious and reproachfull, and the others to the contrary, honest and vertuous. But he is the bet-

B ter that chaungeth for the better: & that nature is alwayes more commendable, in whom vice decayeth, and vertue waxeth young: then that which by continuance of time hath euer bene still the contrary. And furthermore, they both grew rich by one selfe meanes: but they did not both alike vse their riches. For it were to no purpose to compare the buildings of the wall that standeth south within the castell of Athens, which was built with the money *Cimon* brought thither: with the fine built chambers, and high raised turrets to gaze a farre, & enuironned about with conduits of water, which *Lucullus* erected by Naples, with the spoyles of the barbarous people. Neither is *Cimons* table also of moderate fare & dyet, but yet open to euery man, comparable to *Lucullus* borde: which was sumptuously furnished, and shewed the greatnes of his Lord. For *Cimons* bord fed many mouthes dayly with a small charge: and *Lucullus* table exce-

C ded in expence, to feede a few, with superfluous dainties. Onlesse they will say, that time caused this difference betwene them. But who can tell, if *Cimon* had bene at leasure to haue withdrawen him selfe to quiet in age from gouernment, and armes, he also would not haue ledde a more sumptuous & dissolute life, geuen to all pleasure, then *Lucullus* did? For of his owne nature he loued wine, banckets, and playes, and was also geuen to women, as we haue told you before. But prosperity, and fortunate successe of thinges doe bring such delight to ambitious men of nature, and borne to great enterprises: that they make them forget to runne after their other voluptuous vaine desires. And therefore had *Lucullus* dyed abroade in the warres, whilest he commaunded armies: there had not bene that liuing man, how curious soeuer he had bene to reproue other mens faultes, that could haue detected him of any reproacheful vice.

D And thus much for their maner of life. Now furthermore, touching the state of their warres: no doubt both the one and the other were excellent Captaines, as well by sea as by land. And like as in games of prise and exercises of body which are shewed in Grece, they that in one selfe day winne the games at wrestling, and weapons both, are called by a straunge custome, not conquerours only, but victors also, to honor them withall: euen so me thinkes that *Cimon* in like case hauing in one selfe day crowned Grece with two notable markes of triumphe, for two battels he wanne, the one by sea, and the other by lande, deserueth to haue some place and preferment before other Captaines. And moreouer, *Lucullus* receiued the authoritie to commaund, of his contry and common wealth: but *Cimon* gaue his contry both authority & ability to commaund. *Lucullus* found his contry a commaunding people to all their frends and

E confederats: through whose aide he ouercame his enemies. And *Cimon* contrarily, found his contry marching vnder an others ensigne, and through his valliantnes did so behaue him selfe, that he made his city goe before her confederats, and triumphe ouer her enemies: compelling the Persians by force to geue them the rule by sea, and perswading the Lacedæmonians willingly to geue place vnto them by lande. Now if the chiefest thing that can be in an excellent Captaine, is to make him selfe to be beloued of his souldiers, that they may delight to obey him: then was *Lucullus* despised of his souldiers, & *Cimon* esteemed and wondred at, euen of the confederates them selues. For *Lucullus* was forsaken of his owne men: and *Cimon* was followed by very straungers, for the confederates did ioyne together with him. *Lucullus* returned home into his contry, forsaken of those he caried out with him. *Cimon* returned againe,

F commaunding them that were sent out with him to obey others: and had at one time done for his contry three notable things, & hard for them to haue compassed: to wit, made peace with the enemies, geuen them authority & rule of their confederats, and ioyned frendshippe with

A good life decay vice & encreaseth vertue.

Cimons two victories obtained in one day.

Great difference betweene Cimon & Lucullus.

the LACEDÆMONIANS. Both of them vndertooke to destroy great Empires, and conquer all ASIA. But neither of them both could bring their enterprise to passe. The one by reason of his death, which cut him of on the sodaine being Generall, and when his affayres prospered best. The other can hardly be excused, that there was not a great fault in him: either in that he could not, or bicause he would not satisfie the complaints & griefes of his men, which caused them so much to hate and mislike him. And yet it might be layd also, that in this fault he was like vnto *Cimon*: who was oftentimes accused by his citizens, and at the length banished his countrie for the space of tenne yeares, bicause that in tenne yeares space (as *Plato* sayth) they should no more heare him speake. For to say truely, it seldom times happeneth, that the graue wittes of noble men do please the multitude, neither are they acceptable vnto the common people: bicause they striuing continually to reforme them when they go awry, do grieue them as much as surgeons doe their pacients when they binde vp their sores with bandes to cure them. For though by that binding they restore & bring to their natural places againe the broken bones or members out of ioynt: yet put they the pacient to great paine and griefe. And therfore me thinkes neither the one nor the other is to be blamed. Furthermore, *Lucullus* wet a great deale further with his army, then euer *Cimon* did. For he was the first ROMANE Captaine that passed ouer mount Taurus, and the riuer of Tigris with an army. He tooke and burnt almost in sight of both the kinges, the royall cities of ASIA, TIGRANOCERTA, CABIRA, SINOPE, and NISIBIS. Towards the north, he went as farre as the riuer of Phasis: towards the east, into MEDIA and southward, euen to the redde sea, and vnto the realmes of ARABIA, subduing all vnto the ROMANE Empire. And hauing ouerthrowen all the power of these two mighty kinges, he tooke from them all, but their persons only: who fled and hid them selues like wild beastes, in infinite deserts and vnpassable forrestes. Wherin is easily discerned the difference betwixt the doinges of the one, and of the other. For the PERSIANS, as if they had had no hurt nor ouerthrow at all by *Cimon*, fought a battell immediatly after against the GRÆCIANS, & ouerthrew the greatest parte of their army in EGYPT: where *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, after *Lucullus* victories, did neuer any notable act. For the one finding him selfe altogether pulled downe on his knees, and broken by the former battells: durst neuer once only shew his army vnto *Pompey*, out of the strength of his campe, but fled into the realme of BOSPHORVS, where he dyed. And *Tigranes*, he went and humbled him selfe on his knees, vnarmed, and without weapon, vnto *Pompey*: and taking his diadeame of from his head, layed it at his feete, not flattering him for the victories he had won, but for those which *Lucullus* had triumphed for. By reason wherof he scaped good cheape, & thought him selfe happy, when *Pompey* gaue him only the marke and title of a king, the which before had bene taken from him. He therefore is to be thought the more worthy Captaine, & stowtest champion, that leaueth his enemy in weake estate for him that followeth, and shall fight afterwardes with him. And furthermore, *Cimon* found the power of the king of PERSIA ouerharried, the pride and fiercenesse of the PERSIANS layed a grounde, by many great battells they had lost before vnto *Themistocles*, king *Pausanias*, & *Leotychides*, who had ouerthrowen them: and going now againe to fight a fresh with them, it was an easie thing to ouercome the bodies of those, whose harts were already vanquished. Where *Lucullus* to the contrary, assailed *Tigranes*, that had neuer bene ouercome, but bare a maruelous lofty minde with him, for the many great battells and conquestes he had wonne. And for the multitude of enemies, there was no comparison betwene those that *Cimon* ouerthrew, & those that were raunged in battell against *Lucullus*. So that all thinges weyed and considered, it were hard to iudge which of them two proued the worthiest man: for that it seemeth, that the goddes did fauor both the one and the other, telling the one what he should doe, and the other what he should not doe. And thus it appeareth by testimonie of the goddes, they were both good men, and that they both obtained euerlasting glorie.

Graue magistrates resembled by similitude vnto good Surgeons.

Mithridates king of Pontus, dyed in the realme of Bosphorus.

Tigranes king of Armenia, submitteth himselfe to Pompey.

The end of Lucullus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Nicias.*

I Haue reason (as I thinke) to compare *Nicias* with *Crassus*, and the euēts that happened to the one in PARTHIA, with those that befell the other in SICYLE: yet am I to pray them that shall happen to read my wrytinges, not to thinke me in entermeddling with those matters (in the describing and reporting whereof, *Thucydides* hath gone beyond him selfe, both for variety & liuelines of narration, as also in choice & excellent words) to haue the like intent and opinion, that *Timæus* the historiographer had. Who, hoping by the grauety & life of his words and reportes, to darken the glorie of *Thucydides*, and make *Philistus* (in comparison of him selfe) appeare ignoraunt, & without any grace of historicall narration hath in his history of purpose sought occasion to enter into the describing of those battels by sea and by land, and the reporte of those speches and orations, which are deliuered by them with great iudgement and eloquence. Wherein he commeth as neere them whome he contendes to passe, as doth the footeman to the LYDIAN coche, as sayth *Pindarus* and besides he weth him selfe fond and of small iudgement, or as *Diphilus* sayth,

The praise of Thucydides.

Timæus follies.

A lubber laden with Sicylian grease.

And in diuers places, he falleth into *Xenarchus* follies. As where he sayth, that he thinkes it was an euill token for the ATHENIANS, that *Nicias* the Captaine (whose name was deriued of this word Nice, signifying victory) disswaded their attempts against SICYLE: and that by the throwing downe and mangling of the Hermes (to say, the images of *Mercury*) it was foreshewed that they should receiue great ouerthrowes by the General of the SYRACVSANS, called *Hermocrates*, the sonne of *Hermon*. And further, that it was not vnlikely that *Hercules* did fauor the SYRACVSANS, by reason of the goddesse *Proserpina*, (protector and defendor of the citie of SYRACVSA) to requite her for that she gaue him Cerberus the dogge, porter of hell: and that he did malice the ATHENIANS besides, bicause they tooke the EGESTÆANS partes: (who came of the TROYANS, whom he much hated) for breaking their promise and faith with him, whose city him selfe had ouerthrowen in reuenge of the wrong that *Laomedon* king of TROY had offered him. Howbeit *Timæus* shewes as much wit and iudgement, in deliuering vs such toyes in an history: as he doth in correcting the stile of *Philistus*, or in condēning and railing of *Plato* and *Aristotle*. But in my fansie, this ambition & contention to wryte

Timæus reproueth Plato and Aristotle.

or to ſpeake more clerkely then others, ſheweth alwayes a baſe enuious minde, like a ſcholler full of his ſchoole pointes. But when it ſtriueth with thinges that are paſt all chalenge & correcting, then is it extreame follie and madnes. Sence therefore I may not paſſe ouer nor omit certaine thinges, which *Thucydides* and *Philiſtus* haue already ſet downe, and eſpecially thoſe wherein they lay open *Nicias* nature and qualities, which the variety of his ſucceſſes and fortune did couer: I muſt lightly touch them, and reporte ſo much as is neceſſary, & conuenient, leaſt men condemne me, for ſlouth and negligence. And in the reſt I haue endeuored to gather and propounde thinges not commonly marked and knowen, which I haue collected as well out of ſundry mens workes & auncient recordes, as out of many olde antiquities: and of them all compiled a narration, which will ſerue (I doubt not) to decipher the man and his nature. Of *Nicias* therefore may be ſayd that which *Ariſtotle* hath wrytten of him: that there were three famous citizens of Athens, very honeſt men, & which fauored the cōmunalty with a naturall fatherly loue: *Nicias* the ſonne of *Niceratus*, *Thucydides* the ſonne of *Mileſias*, and *Theramenes* the ſonne of *Agnon*. But of the three, this laſt was of ſmalleſt accompt: for he is flowted as a forrenner borne in the Ile of Ceos, and chalenged beſides for inconſtant & inreſolute in matters of ſtate and gouernment: and inclining ſomtimes to one faction, ſometime to an other, he was called *Cothurnus*, a kinde of buskin indifferently ſeruing for both legges, and in old time was vſed of common players of tragedies. Of the other two, *Thucydides* being the elder, did many good actes in fauor of the nobility againſt *Pericles*, who alwaies tooke parte with the inferior ſorte. *Nicias* that was the younger, had reaſonable eſtimation in *Pericles* life time: for he was ioyned Captaine with him, and oftentimes alſo had charge by him ſelfe alone without him. After *Pericles* death, the nobility raiſed him to great authorite, to be as a ſtrong bulwarke for them, againſt *Cleons* inſolency & boldnes: and with all, he had the loue of the people, to aduaunce and preferre him. Now this *Cleon* in troth could do much with the people, he did ſo flatter and dandle them, like an olde man, ſtill feeding their humor with gaine: but yet they them ſelues whome he thus flattered, knowing his extreame couetouſnes, impudency, and boldnes, preferred *Nicias* before him, bicauſe his grauity was not ſeuere nor odious, but mingled with a kinde of modeſty, that he ſeemed to feare the preſence of the people, which made them thereby the more to loue and eſteeme him. For being (as he was) of a fearefull & miſtruſtfull nature & diſpoſition: in warres he cloked his feare with good fortune, which euer fauored him alike in all his iorneys and exploytes that he tooke in hand where he was Captaine. Now being much affrayed of accuſers, this timorous manner of his proceeding in the citie, was founde to be popular, whereby he wanne him the good will of the people: and by meanes thereof roſe daily more and more, bicauſe the people commonly feare thoſe that hate them, & aduaunce them that feare them. For the greateſt honor nobility can doe to the communalty, is to ſhewe that they doe not deſpiſe them. Nowe *Pericles*, who through his perfit vertue only, and force of his great eloquence ruled the whole ſtate & common wealth of Athens, he needed no counterfeate colour, nor artificiall flattering of the people, to winne their fauor and good willes: but *Nicias* lacking that, and hauing wealth enough, ſought thereby to creepe into the peoples fauor. And where *Cleon* would entertaine the Athenians with pleaſaunt toyes and deuiſes, and could feede the peoples humor that way: *Nicias* finding him ſelfe no fit man to worke by ſuch encounter, crept into the peoples fauor with liberality, with charges of common playes, and with ſuch like ſumptuouſnes, exceeding in coſt and pleaſaunt ſportes, not only all thoſe that had bene before him, but ſuch alſo as were in his time. There yet remaine monuments of his conſecrating vnto the goddeſs the image of *Pallas* in the caſtell of Athens, the gilt being worne of: and the chappell which is vnder the feſtiuall table of *Bacchus*: for he many times had the chiefe priſe in *Bacchus* daunſes, & neuer went away without ſome game. And touching this matter, there goeth a reporte that at certaine playes whereof *Nicias* defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth apon the players ſtage before the people, apparelled like *Bacchus*: & being a goodly tall young man, without any heare on his face, the Athenians tooke ſuch pleaſure to ſee him ſo attired, that they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for ioy. Therewithall *Nicias* ſtoode vp, and told them, that it were a ſhame for him to leaue the body of a man in bondage, that openly

Nicias equalls.

Nicias, a timerous man.

The nature of the people.

Nicias liberality & magnificence.

A openly was esteemed as a god: and thereupon foorthwith made this young slaue a free man. Men wryte also of certaine sumptuous and deuout acts he did in the Ile of DELOS, where the daunsers and singers which the cities of GRÆCE sent thither to singe rimes and verses in the honor of *Apollo*, were wont before to arriue disorderly: and the cause was, for the numbers of people that ranne to see them, who made them singe straight without any order, and landing in hast out of their shippes, they left their apparell, and put on such vestements as they should weare in procession, and their garlands of flowers on their heades, all at one present time. But *Nicias*, being commaunded to go thither to present the singers of ATHENS, landed first in the Ile of RENIA, hard adioyning to the Ile of DELOS, with his singers, his beastes for sacrifice, and with all the rest of his traine, carying a bridge with him, which he had caused to be made
B at ATHENS, vpon measure taken of the channell, betwext the one and thother Ile set out with pictures and tables, with gilding, with nosegayes and garlandes of triumphe, and with excellent wrought tapistry: which in the night he set vp vpon the channell, being not very broade, and the next morning by breake of the day caused his singers to passe ouer apon it, singing all the way as they went in his procession so nobly set forth, euen vnto the very temple of *Apollo*. And when the sacrifice, the feast, and games that were to be played were finished, he gaue a goodly palme tree of copper, which he offered vp to *Apollo*, bought landes besides that cost him tenne thowsande Drachmas, which he consecrated also vnto the god Patron of the Ile and ordained, that the profittes of the same should be yearely bestowed by the DELIANS, apon an open sacrifice and feast, in the which they should pray to their god, for the health and
C prosperity of *Nicias*: and so caused it to be wrytten and grauen apon a piller he left in DELOS, as a perpetuall monument and keeper of his offring, and foundation. Afterwards, this copper palme tree being broken by windes, it fell apon the great image of the NAXIANS gift, and threw it downe to the ground. Surely in this ceremony and act of his, there was a maruelous pompe, & great shew of popular ambition: neuertheless, he that shall consider of his life and actions, may easely perswade him selfe that aboue all he did it of very pure zeale & deuotion, and secondly, to geue pleasure and pastime to the people. For by *Thucydides* reporte of him, he was one that feared the gods with trembling, and was wholly geuen to religion. We finde wrytten in one of the dialogues of *Pasiphoon*, that *Nicias* did sacrifice dayly to the goddes, and kept a soothsayer continually in his house, geuing out abroade, that it was to counsayle with
D him what should happen about the affayers of the common wealth: but in troth it was to inquier of his owne busines, and specially of his mynes of siluer. For he had many great mynes about LAVRION side, that were very profitable to him: but withall they digged with great daunger, and he was driuen continually to kepe a maruelous number of slaues at worke there. The most parte of *Nicias* riches was in ready money, and thereby he had many crauers and hangers on him, whome he gaue money vnto: for he gaue as well vnto wicked people that might doe mischiefe, as vnto them that deserued reward, and were worthie of his liberalitie. Thus was his feare a rent to the wicked, as his liberalitie was also a reuenue to the good: and hereof the comicall Poets doe deliuer vs auncient testimony. For *Teleclides* speaking of a certaine informer sayth thus:

Nicias superstitious.

Nicias mynes of siluer.

Nicias for feare gaue to the wicked.

E *Charicles did refuse to geue one Mina for to stay,*
The bruting of his secret birth, conueyed close away:
But Nice, the sonne of Nicerate, did vvillingly bestovv,
A brace of Minaze doble told. And though I vvell doe knovv
The cause of his so doing, yet I vvill not him bevvray:
For vvhy? The man is my good frend, and vvise I dare vvell say.

And he, whom *Eupolis* mocketh in his comedy intituled Maricas, bringing a plaine simple man apon the stage, doth aske him:

The informer.

F *Hovv long is it a goe since thou didst speake vvith Nicias?*

The plaine man.

I savv him standing euen right novv vpon the market place.

The informer.

This man affirms he ſavv him there. And vvherefore should he ſay
He ſavv him, but of ſome intent his levvdnes to bevvray?
Novv ſirs ye ſee hovv Nicias here is taken in the trip,
For all his vvalking cloſe in clovvdes to geue the priuy ſlip.

The Author.

O foolish folke, ſuppoſe ye that ſo good a man as he,
In any fault or shameſull fact vvill tardy taken be?

And *Cleon* threatning in the comedie of *Ariſtophanes*, intituled the Knightes, ſayth these wordes.

The Orators if by the throte I take,
Then ſure I am, that Nicias ſtreit vvill quake.

Phrynichus ſelfe alſo telleth vs glaunſingly, that he was ſo timorous and eaſie to be frayed, when he ſayd ſpeaking of an other man:

A good ſtovvt man (I knovv full vvell) he vvas,
And not a covvard like to Nicias.

Nicias warenes to offende.

Now *Nicias* being thus timerous of nature, and fearing to geue any litle occaſion to the Orators to accuſe him: kept him ſelfe ſo warely, that he neither durſt eate nor drinke with any man in the city, nor yet put foorth him ſelfe in companie to talke, or paſſe the time amongeſt them, but altogether auoyded ſuch ſportes and pleaſures. For when he was in office, he would neuer out of the counſayle houſe, but ſtill buſied him ſelfe in diſpatching cauſes, from morning till night, and was euer the firſt that came, and laſt that went away. And when he had no matter of ſtate in hande, then was he very hardly to be ſpoken withall, and would ſuffer no acceſſe vnto him, but kept cloſe in his houſe: and ſome of his frendes did euer aunſwere them that came to his gate, and prayed them to pardon him, ſaying, that he was buſie then about affayers of the common wealth. One *Hieron*, whom *Nicias* had brought vp in his houſe, and had him ſelfe taught him both learning & muſicke, was his greateſt procurer and inſtrument to keepe him from ſpeech with any man, and brought him to this reputation of greatnes and grauety. This *Hieron* (as it is reported) was the ſonne of *Dionyſius Chalcus*, of whom they finde certaine Poeticall workes at this day: who being Captaine of a certaine number of men that were ſent to dwell in ITALIE, did build there the citie of THVRIES. *Hieron* I ſay did ſerue his turne, and holpe him ſecretly to inquier what he would vnderſtande of the Soothſayers, and gaue out theſe wordes among the people: that *Nicias* led too miſerable and painefull a life, for the ouergreat care he tooke to ſerue the common wealth: inſomuch, as though he were in his hotte houſe to waſh him, or at his table at meate, his minde ranne ſtill of ſome matters about the common wealth, and to ſerue the ſtate, did neglect his owne priuate affayers: ſo that he ſcant beganne to ſleepe & take reſt, when others commonly had ſlept their firſt ſleepe, and that he looked like no body. Furthermore, that he was growen crabbed and vncurteous, euen to ſuch as before had bene his familiar frendes. So that, ſayd he, he loſeth them together with his goodes, and all for ſeruice of the common wealth: where others grow rich, and win frendes, by the credit they haue to be heard of the people, and can make mery among them, and ſporte with the matters of ſtate which they haue in their handes. Now in troth, ſuch was *Nicias* life, that he might truely ſay that which *Agamemnon* ſpake of him ſelfe in the tragedie of *Euripides*, called *Iphigenie* in AVLIDE.

Nicias Hierons ſchoolemaſter.

Dionyſius Chalcus founder of the city of Thuries.

Nicias life.

In outvvard shovv of ſtately pompe all others I exceede,
And yet the peoples vnderling I am in very deede.

And *Nicias* perceiuing that the people in ſome thinges did ſerue their turnes with the experience of them that were eloquent, & wiſer then others, although they yet miſtruſted their ſufficiency, and had a ſpeciall eye to them, plucking downe their corage, by taking their authority from them: as for proofe the condemnation of *Pericles*, the baniſhment of *Damon*, and the miſtruſt they had of *Antiphon* RHAMNVSIAN, and moreouer by that they did vnto *Paches* (that tooke the Ile of LESBOS) who being brought before the iudges in open counſell to geue vp an accompt of his charge, drewe out his ſword, and ſlue him ſelfe in preſence of them all.

Nicias

A *Nicias* I saye, remembring these examples, sought euer to flie from these offices, which were either too great, or too smal, and when he accepted any, had speciall regard to worke surely, & to venture nothing. Whereby all his enterprises that he tooke in hand, as we may easily coniecture, prospered maruelous well: but yet he imputed nothing to his owne wisedom, nor yet to his vertue and sufficiencie, but thanked fortune euer for all, and praying diligently to the goddes, contented him selfe to lessen his glory, and that onely to auoyde enuy. As the euent of thinges falling out euen in his time doe sufficiently witnes vnto vs. For the citie of Athens hauing susteined many great losses and ouerthrowes, he was neuer a party, nor had ought to doe in any of them. As once for example: the Athenians were ouercome in Thracia by the Chalcidonians, howebeit it was vnder the leading of *Callirides* & *Xenophon*, who were B their Captaines. An other time, the losse they had in Ætolia vnder the charge of *Demosthenes*. Moreouer at Delium, a citie of Boeotia, where they lost a thousand men at one conflict, *Hippocrates* then being there Generall. And as touching the plague, the greatest number layed the fault there of to *Pericles*, who by reason of warres kept the men that were out of the contry, within the walles of the citie of Athens: and so by chaunging of ayer, and their wonted maner of life, they fell into it. Now with none of all these great troubles and misfortunes, was *Nicias* euer burdened: but contrariwise he being Captaine tooke the Ile of Cythera, which the Lacedæmonians inhabited, being an excellent place for situation to molest and destroy the contrie of Laconia. He wanne diuers cities againe that had rebelled in Thracia, and brought them once more vnder the obedience of Athens. At his first coC ming, hauing shut in the Megarians within their walles, he tooke the Ile of Minoa: and at his departure thence, shortly after wanne the hauen of Nisæa also. Furthermore, landing in the contry of the Corinthians, he ouercame them that offered him battell, and slue a great number, and among others *Lycophron* the Captaine. At this battell he chaunced to forget to bury two of his men that were slaine, whose bodies could not be found in gathering vp of the rest: howbeit so soone as he heard of it, he caused all his fleete to stay, and sent an Herauld to the enemies, to pray leaue to fetche away those two bodies. Now, though by law of armes they that sent to aske leaue to take away their deade to bury them, did thereby lose the honor of their victory, & were barred to set vp any marke or token of triumphe, bicause it seemed by the sute, that they which had them in their power were conquerors, and not the petiD cioners that made request for them, which otherwise needed not to haue made demaunde of them: *Nicias* notwithstanding was contented rather to forsake the honor of his victory, then to leaue the bodies of two of his contrymen in the field without buriall. So, after he had destroyed all the coast of Laconia, and had ouercomen certaine Lacedæmonians that came against him in battell: he tooke the citie of Thyrea, which the Argiues kept against them, whom he brought prisoners vnto Athens. And when the Peloponnesians had prepared great armies both by sea and by land to besiege the forte of Pylos, the which *Demosthenes* the Captaine had fortified: battell being geuen by sea, it chaunced there remained fourehundred naturall citizens of Sparta, within the Ile of Sphacteria. Now the Athenians thought it a noble exployte of them, (as in deede it was) to take those fourehundred aliue: howbeit the E siege was very sore, bicause they lacked water euen in the middest of sommer, and were forced to fetch a maruelous compasse to bring victells to their campe, which whe winter should be once commen would be very daungerous, and almost an impossible thing to doe. Whereupon, they then became sory, and repented them much that they had sent away the Ambassadors of the Lacedæmonians which came to them to treate of peace, and that they had (through *Cleons* procurement) suffred them to departe in that sorte without resolucion taken: who was against the altogether, only to do *Nicias* a despite, being his enemy, & did earnestly solicite the matter the Lacedæmonians requested. This was the cause why *Cleon* perswaded the Athenians, to refuse their offer of peace. But when the people saw that this siege drewe out in length, and that their campe suffered grieuous wantes and necessities, then fell F they out with *Cleon*, and he againe burdened *Nicias*, saying that through his feare he would let the besieged Spartans escape, and that if he had bene Captaine, they should not haue holden out so long. Thereupon the Athenians sayd a lowde to *Cleon*: and why doest not thou

Notable effect of loyalty in a commaunder.

The lawe of armes.

goe thither yet to take them? Moreouer *Nicias* selfe also rising vp, openly gaue him his authority to take this Pyle, and bad him leauy as many souldiers as he would to goe thither, and not to bragge with such impudent wordes where was no daunger, but to doe some notable seruice to the cõmon wealth. *Cleon* at the first shronke backe, being amased withall, litle thinking they would haue taken him so sodainly at his word. But in the ende, perceiuing the people vrged him to it, and that *Nicias* also was importunate with him: ambition so enflamed him, that he not onely tooke the charge apon him, but in a brauery sayd, that within twenty dayes after his departure he would either put all the SPARTANS to the sword, or bring them prisoners vnto ATHENS. The ATHENIANS hearing *Cleon* say so, had more lust to laugh a good, then to beleue that he spake: for it was their maner euer to laugh at his anger and folly.

A ieast of Cleon.

For it is reported of him, that the people on a time being solẽnly assembled in counsell earely in the morning, to heare what *Cleon* would say, & hauing taried long for him: at the length he came with a garland on his head, and prayed the assemblie to dismisse the courte till the next morning: for, quod he, I shall not be at leasure to day, bicause I haue sacrificed, and doe feast also certaine straungers my frendes that are come to see me. So the people burst out in a laughing, and brake vp thassembly. This notwithstanding, fortune fauored him at that time,

Cleons victory of the Lacedæmonians.

& he hãdled him selfe so well in this charge with *Demosthenes*, that he tooke all the SPARTANS that they besieged, within the time he had appointed, sauing such as were slaine: and hauing made them yeelde, brought them prisoners to ATHENS. This fell out greatly to *Nicias* shame and reproache. For it appeared not only a casting away of his shielde, but worse then that, a voluntary forsaking of his prouince apon a base timerous minde, geuing his enemy occasion thereby to doe some noble exployt, depriuing him selfe of his honorable charge. Wherefore *Aristophanes* mocketh him againe, in his comedy of birdes, saying:

It is no time to slepe and linger still,
As Nicias doth: vvithout good cause or skill.

Also in an other place of his comedy of plowmen he sayth:

I faine vvould follovv husbandry. VVho lets thee? Mary you.
A thovvsand Dragmaze I vvill geue to be discharged novv
Of office in the common vveale. Content, so shall vve haue
Tvvo thovvsand Dragmaze iust, vvith those that Nicias lately gaue.

The immoderate liberty of Cleon.

But herein *Nicias* did great hurt to the cõmon wealth, suffering *Cleon* in that sorte to grow to credit & estimacion. For after that victory, *Cleon* grew to so hautie a minde & pride of him selfe, that he was not to be delt withall: wherupon fel out the occasiõ of the great miseries that happened to the city of ATHENS, which most grieued *Nicias* of all other. For *Cleon* amongst

Cleons lewd and light ieastures in his Orations.

other thinges tooke away the modesty and reuerence vsed before in publicke Orations to the people: he of all other was the first that cried out in his Orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, threw open his gowne, & sloong vp & downe the pulpit as he spake. Of which exãple afterwardes followed all licentiousnes, and contempt of honesty, the which all the Orators & counsellors fell into, that delt in matters of state & cõmon wealth, & was in the end the ouerthrow of all together. In that very time began *Alcibiades* to grow to credit, by practise in the state, who was not altogether so corrupt, neither simply euill: but as they say of the lande of EGYPT, that for the fatnes and lustines of the soyle,

It bringeth forth both holsome herbes, and also noysome vveedes.

Alcibiades diuers wit.

Euen so *Alcibiades* wit excelling either in good or ill, was the cause and beginning of great chaunge and alteracion. For, it fell out, that after *Nicias* was ridde of *Cleon*, he could not yet bring the citie of ATHENS againe to peace and quietnes. For when the common wealth began to grow to some rest and reasonable good order, then was it againe brought into warres, through *Alcibiades* extreame fury of ambition. And thus it beganne. The only peacebreakers and disturbers of common quiet generally throughout GRÆCE, were these two persones,

Cleon & Brasidas the two peacebreakers generally of all Græce.

Cleon and *Brasidas*: for warre cloked the wickednes of the one, and aduaunced the valiantnes of the other, geuing to either occasion to doe great mischiefe, and also oportunity to worke many noble exploytes. Now *Cleon* and *Brasidas* being both slaine together at a battell fought by *Amphipolis*, *Nicias* straight perceiuing the SPARTANS had long desired peace, and that the

ATHE-

A ATHENIANS were no more ſo hottely geuen to the warres, but that both the one & the other had their handes full, & were willing to be quiet: deuiſed what meanes he might vſe to bring SPARTA and ATHENS to reconciliation againe, and to rid all the cities of GRÆCE alſo from broyle and miſery of warre, that thenceforth they might all together enioy a peaceable and happy life. The riche men, the olde men, and the husbandmen, he found very willing to harken to peace: and talking priuately alſo with diuers others, he had ſo perſwaded them, that he cooled them for being deſirous of warres. Whereupon, putting the SPARTANS in good hope that all were inclined to peace, if they ſought it: the SPARTANS beleued him, not onely for that they had founde him at other times very ſoft and curteous, but alſo bicauſe he was carefull to ſee that their priſoners of SPARTA, (who had bene taken at the forte of Pylé) were
B gently intreated, and had made their miſerable captiuity more tollerable. So, peace was concluded betwene the SPARTANS and the ATHENIANS for a yeare, during which abſtinence, they frequenting one an other againe, and beginning to taſte the ſweetenes and pleaſures of peace, and the ſafety of free acceſſe one to ſee an others frendes that were ſtraungers: began then to wiſhe that they might ſtill continue in peace and amity together, without effuſion of blood of either partie, and tooke great delight in their daunces, to heare them ſinge ſuch ſonges:

Nicias reconcileth the Spartans with the Athenian.

And let my ſpeare lye ouergrovven, vvith duſty ſpyders vvebbes.

They did alſo with great ioy & gladnes remember him which ſayd, that in peace no ſound of trompet, but the crowing of the cocke doth wake them that be a ſleepe: and on the other
C ſide they curſed and tooke on with them that ſayd it was predeſtined, the warre ſhould continue thriſe nine yeares. And ſo, vpon a meeting together to talke of many matters, they made an vniuerſall peace throughout all GRÆCE. Now moſt men thought that ſurely all their ſorrowes and miſeries were come to an ende, and there was no talke of any man but of *Nicias*, ſaying: that he was a man beloued of the goddes, who for his deuotion towardes them, had this ſpeciall gift geuē him, that the greateſt bleſſing that could come vnto the world, was called after his name. For to confeſſe a troth, euery man was certainly perſwaded that this peace was *Nicias* worke, as the warre was *Pericles* procurement, who vpon light cauſes perſwaded the GRÆCIANS to runne headlong into moſt grieuous calamities: and *Nicias* on the other ſide had brought them to become frends, and to forget the great hurtes the one had receiued
D of the other in former warres. And euē to this preſent day, that peace is called Nicium, as who would ſay, *Nicias* peace. The capitulacions of the peace were thus agreed vpon: that of either ſide they ſhould alike deliuer vp the cities, and landes, which eche had taken from other in time of warres, together with the priſoners alſo: and that they ſhould firſt make reſtitution, whoſe lot it was to beginne. *Nicias* (according to *Theophraſtus* reporte) for ready money ſecretly bought the lot, that the LACEDÆMONIANS might be the firſt that ſhould make reſtitution. And when the CORINTHIANS and BOEOTIANS that diſliked of this peace, ſought by the complaintes they made, to renue the warre againe: *Nicias* then perſwaded both the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, that they ſhould adde for ſtrength vnto their contry, the allyance & peace offenſiue and defenſiue made betwene them, for a more ſure knot of frend-
E ſhippe, wherby they might be the better aſſured the one of the other, and alſo the more dredfull to their enemies that ſhould rebell againſt them. Theſe thinges went cleane againſt *Alcibiades* minde: who beſides that he was ill borne for peace, was enemy alſo vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that they ſought to *Nicias*, and made none accompt of him, but deſpiſed him. Here was the occaſion that cauſed *Alcibiades* to proue from the beginning what he could doe to hinder this peace, wherein he preuailed nothing. Yet ſhortly after, *Alcibiades* perceiuing that the ATHENIANS liked not ſo well of the LACEDÆMONIANS, as they did before, and that they thought themſelues iniuried by thē, bicauſe they had lately made league with the BOEOTIANS without their priuity, and had not wholly rendred vp the cities of PANACTVM & AMPHIPOLIS according to the condicions articled betwene them: began then to enlarge and ag-
F grauate the peoples complaintes, and to make them offended with euery one of them. And furthermore he procured Ambaſſadors from the city of ARGOS to come to ATHENS, and ſo handled the matter, that the ATHENIANS made league offenſiue & defenſiue with them.

Ambassadors sent frō Sparta to Athens.

While these matters were thus in hand, there came to Athens also Ambassadors from Lacedæmon, with full power and authority to set all thinges at stay, and to compound all controuersies: who hauing first spoken with the Senate, propounded things vnto them both very honest and reasonable. Whereupon, *Alcibiades* being affrayed that they letting the people vnderstand so much, should thereby bring them to yeelde to what they desired: he finely deceiued the poore Ambassadors by this deuise. He promised apon his othe to helpe them in that they went about, so farre foorth as they would not confesse them selues to haue absolute power from the Ephores: making them to beleue it was the only way to bring their matters to passe. The Ambassadors geuing credit to his wordes, relied apon him, and so forlooke *Nicias*. Whereupon *Alcibiades* brought them before the people being set in counsell, and there demaunded openly of them, whether they had full power and authoritie to accorde all matters yea or no. Whereunto they made him aunswere with a lowde voyce, that they had not. Thereupon *Alcibiades*, contrarie both to their expectation, and his owne othe and promise made vnto them: beganne to call the counsell to witnes, whether they did not in open Senate say the contrary, and so aduised the people not to trust nor geue credit vnto such men, as were openly taken with so manifest a lye, & that in one selfe matter would one while say one thing, an other while an other. It bootes not to aske whether the Ambassadors were much amased to heare *Alcibiades* wordes: for *Nicias* him selfe wist not what to say to the matter, the suddennes of the cause did so confuse and grieue him, being a thing he least looked for. Nowe the people they were so moued besides, that they became indifferent whether to haue sent for the Ambassadors of Argos presently to haue made league with them or not: but there fell out an earthquake apon this matter, that greatly serued *Nicias* turne, and brake vp the assemblie. The people meeting againe in counsell the next morning, *Nicias* with all that he could doe, or say, could scant withhold them from making league with the Argives: and to get leaue in the meane time to go to the Lacedæmonians, promising he would make all well againe. Thereupon, *Nicias* going to Sparta, was receiued and honored there like a noble man, and as one whom they thought well affected towards them: but for the rest, he preuailed nothing, and being ouercomen by those that fauored the Boeotians, returned againe to Athens as he departed thence. Where he was not onely ill welcomed home, and worse esteemed, but was also in daunger of his person, through the fury of the people, that at his request & counsell had redeliuered such men prisoners, and so great a number of them. For in deede, the prisoners which *Cleon* had brought to Athens from the forte of Pyle, were all of the chiefest houses of Sparta, and their kinsemen and frends were the noblest men of the city. Notwithstanding, the people in the end did none other violence to him, sauing that they chose *Alcibiades* their Captaine, and made league with the Elians, and Mantinians (which had reuolted from the Lacedæmonians) and with the Argives also: & sent pyrates to the forte of Pyle, to spoyle the contry of Laconia. Vpon these occasions the Athenians fell againe into warres. Now when the quarrell and controuersie was greatest betwene *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, the Ostracismon (to wit, the banishment for a time) came in, by the which the people banished for tenne yeares any such of their citizens as they thought either of too great authority, or that was most enuied for his wealth and substaunce. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were then not a litle perplexed, considering their present daunger, being sure that thone of them two should not faile but be banished by this next banishment. For the people hated *Alcibiades* life, & were afrayed of his valliantnes: as we haue more amply declared in the descriptiō of his life. And for *Nicias*, his wealth made him to be enuied, besides they misliked his straunge maner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conuersant with the people than he was, and compted him too stately: moreouer they hated him also, bicause in many matters he had spoken directly against the thing the people desired, & had enforced them against their willes to agree to that which was profitable for them selues. In fine to speake more plainly, there fell out great strife betwene the young men that would haue warres, and the olde men that coueted peace, some desirous to banish *Nicias*, and some others *Alcibiades*: but

Alcibiades craft and deceit.

Alcibiades periured.

The earthquake holpe Nicias.

Nicias sent Ambassador vnto Sparta.

The vse of the Ostracismon.

Where discorde reignes in realme or towne,
The vvicked vvin the chiefe renovvne.

And

A And so fell it out then. For the ATHENIANS being deuided in two factions, gaue authority to
certaine of the most impudent & insolent persones that were in all the city: and among them
was one *Hyperbolus* of the towne of PERITHVS, a man of no hauior nor value, why he should
be bold: but yet one that grew to some credit & power, dishonoring his contry, by the honor
they gaue him. Now *Hyperbolus* thinking him selfe free at that time from any daunger of ba-
nishment, (hauing rather deserued the gallowes) hoping that if one of them two were bani-
shed, he should match him well enough that remained behinde: shewed openly, that he was
glad of their discorde and variance, and busily stirred vp the people against them both. *Nicias*
and *Alcibiades* being acquainted with his wicked practises, hauing secretly talked together,
ioyned both their factions in one: whereby they brought it so to passe, that neither of them
B were banished, but *Hyperbolus* selfe for tenne yeres. Which matter for the present time made
the people very mery, though afterwardes it grieued them much, seeing their ordinaunce of
the Ostracismon blemished by the vnworthines of the person: which punishment was an ho-
nor vnto him. For this banishment was thought a meete punishment for *Thucydides*, *Aristi-
des*, and such like men of accompt as they, or their like: but for *Hyperbolus*, it was thought too
great an honor, & too manifest an occasion of glory to be geuen to him, that for his wicked-
nes had the selfe same punishmēt, which was to be inflicted vpon the chiefest estates for their
greatnes. And the comicall Poet *Plato* him selfe sayth in a place,

Although his lewd behauior did deserue as much or more,
Yet was not that the punishment he should haue had therefore.
C *The Ostracie deuised was for men of noble fame,*
And not for varlets, whose lewd life deserued open shame.

Hyperbolus.

Nicias and Alcibiades ioyned both their factions against Hyperbolus.

Hyperbolus banished for tenne yeares.

After this *Hyperbolus*, there was neuer man banished with the Ostracismon. For himself was
the last, as *Hipparchus* CHOLARGIAN, and neareſt kinseman to the tyranne, was the first. Sure
fortune is a very vncerten thing, & without cōceit of reason. For had *Nicias* franckely put him
selfe to the hasard of this banishment against *Alcibiades*, one of these two things must needes
haue happened him: either to haue remained in the city with victory, his aduersary being ba-
nished: or being conuict by his banishment to haue scaped those extreame miseries and ca-
lamities the which he afterwards fell into, besides the fame he had wonne of a wise Captaine,
though he had bene ouercomen. I know notwithstanding that *Theophrastus* wryteth, how *Hy-*
D *perbolus* not *Nicias*, was banished through the dissention that fell betwext *Phaax* and *Alcibia-
des*: albeit most wryters agree with that I haue told you before. Now the Ambassadors of the
EGESTANS and LEONTINES being comen to ATHENS, to perswade the ATHENIANS to at-
tempt the conquest of SICILIA: *Nicias* being against it, was ouercome by *Alcibiades* craft &
ambition. For he, before they were called to counsell, had already through false surmises fil-
led the peoples heades with a vaine hope & perswasion of conquest. Insomuch as the young
men meeting in places of exercise, & the old men also in artificers shoppes, and in their com-
passed chayers, or halfe circles where they sate talking together, were euery one occupied a-
bout drawing the platforme of SICILE, telling the nature of the SICILIAN sea, & reckoning
vp the hauens and places looking towards AFRICKE. For they made not their accompt that
E SICILE should be the end of their warres, but rather the storehouse and armorie for all their
munition and martiall prouision to make warre against the CARTHAGINIANS, and to con-
quer all AFRICKE, and consequently all the AFRICKE seas, euen to *Hercules* pillers. Now all
their mindes being bent to warres, when *Nicias* spake against it, he founde very fewe men of
quality to stand by him. For the riche, fearing least the people would thinke they did it to a-
uoide charge, and the cost they should be at about these warres, they held their peace, though
in dede not contented withall: yet would not *Nicias* leaue still to counsell thē to the contrary.
But when they had past the decree in counsell for the enterprise of SICILE, and that the peo-
ple had chosen him chiefe Captaine, with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, to follow the same: at the
next session of the counsell holden in the citie, *Nicias* rose vp againe, to see if he could turne
F the people from this iorney with all the protestations he could possibly make, burdening *Al-
cibiades*, that for his owne ambition and priuate commodity, he brought the common wealth
into so farre and daungerous a warre. But all his wordes preuailed not. Him selfe before all o-

The taking away of tenne yeres banishments.

Nicias chosen Captaine for the warres of Sicile.

thers was thought the meetest man for this charge, partely bicause of his experience, but chiefely for that they knew he would handle their matters with greater safety, when his ominous foresight should be ioyned with *Alcibiades* valiantnes, and with *Lamachus* softnes, which in deede most confirmed the election. Now after the matter thus debated, *Demostratus* one of the Orators that most procured the ATHENIANS to vndertake this enterprise stepped foorth, and sayd. It were good that *Nicias* left of, and set a side all these excuses and deuises, and preferred a decree, that the people shoulde thorowely authorise the Captaines that were chosen, to set forward & execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and so perswaded the people to passe and authorise it. Yet it is sayd that the Priestes obiected many thinges to hinder the iorney. But *Alcibiades* also hauing suborned certaine soothsayers, alleged in like case some auncient Oracles that sayd, the ATHENIANS should haue great honor from SICILE: & further had intised certaine pilgrimes, who sayd they were but newly come from the Oracle of *Iupiter Ammon*, and had brought this Oracle thence, *That the Athenians should take all the Syracusans*. But worst of all, if any knew of contrary signes or tokens to come, they held their peace, least it should seeme they entermeddled to prognosticate euill for affections sake, seeing that the signes them selues, which were most plaine and notorious, could not remoue them from thenterprise of this iorney. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the Hermes, and images of *Mercurye*, which in one night were all to be mangled, sauing one image only called the Hermes of *Andocides*, which was geuen & consecrated in old time by the tribe of the ÆGEIDES, and was set vp directly ouer against a citizens house called *Andocides*. Furthermore, the chaunce that happened by the aulter of the twelue goddes: where a man leaping sodainly vpon it, after he had gone round about it, cut of his genitories with a stone. And in a temple also in the city of DELPHES, where was a litle image of *Minerua* of gold, set apon a palme tree of copper, which the citie of ATHENS had geuen of the spoyles wonne of the MEDES. Apon that palme tree sate certaine crowes many dayes together, and neuer left pecking and iobbing at the frute of it which was all of golde, vntill they made the same to fall from the tree. But the ATHENIANS sayd, that the DELPHIANS (whom the SYRACVSANS had subdued) had finely fained this deuise. There was a prophecy also that commaunded them to bring one of *Mineruaes* Nunnes to ATHENS, that was in the city of CLAZOMENES. So they sent for this Nunne called *Hesychia*, which is, rest: & it seemeth it was that which the goddes by this prophecy did counsell them vnto, that for that time they should be quiet. *Meton* the Astronomer hauing charge in the army leauied for the warre of SICILE, being afrayed of this prophecie, or otherwise misliking the celestiall signes, and succesſe of the iorney: fained him selfe mad, and set his house a fire. Others say he counterfeated not madnes, but did one night in deede set his house a fire, and that the next morning looking ruefully on it, he went into the market place as a man brought to pitiefull state, to sue to the people, that in cõsideration of his great misfortune happened him, they would discharge his sonne of the voyage, who was to take charge of a gallie at his owne cost, and ready to make sayle. Moreouer, the familiar spirite of wise *Socrates* that did vse to tell him before what should happen: told him then that this iorney would fall out to the destruction of ATHENS. *Socrates* told it to certaine of his very familiar frendes: and from them the rumor became common. And this also troubled a number of them, for the vnluckie dayes on the which they did imbarke. For they were the very dayes on the which the women celebrated the feast and yereday of *Adonis* death: and there were also in diuers partes of the city, images of dead men caried to buriall, and women following them, mourning & lamenting. So that such as did put any confidence in those signes, sayd they misliked it much, and that they were afrayed least the same signified, that all the goodly preparation of this army, (the which was set out with such pompe & brauery) would come to nothing. Now for *Nicias*, that he spake against this warre in open counsell, whilest they were deliberating apon it, and that he was not caried away with any vaine hope, nor puffed vp with the glory of so honorable a charge to make him chaunge his minde therein surely he shewed him selfe an honest man, wise, and constant. But when he saw plainly that he could by no perswasions remoue the people from the enterprise of this warre, neither yet by sute nor intreaty get him selfe discharged from being a Captaine thereof, but that they

Signes to feare the Athenians not to attempt the enterprise of Sicile.

Statues mangled at Athes.

The madnes of Meton the Astronomer.

A they would in any case make him one of the heades of the army: then was it out of time to be fearefull, and still geuing backe, turning his head so oft like a child to looke apon his gallie behinde him, and euer to be telling that no reason could be heard in determining of this iorney. For in deede this was enough to discorage his companions, & to marre all at their first setting out: where, to say truly, he should sodainly haue set apon his enemies, & haue gone to it with a lusty corage, to haue assayed fortune. But he tooke a cleane contrary course. For when *Lamachus* thought good at their first comming to goe straight to SYRACVSA, and to geue them battell as neere the walles as might be, & that *Alcibiades* on the other side was of opinion first of all to goe about to winne the cities that were in league with the SYRACVSANS, and after that they had made them rebell, then to goe against the SYRACVSANS themselues. *Nicias* to B the contrary spake in counsell, and thought it better to goe on fayer and softly, deseryng the coastes of SICILE round about to view their gallies and preparation, & so to returne straight to ATHENS againe, leauing only a few of their men with the EGESTANS, to helpe to defende them. But this from the beginning maruelously cooled the corage of the souldiers, and quite discoraged them. Shortly after also, the ATHENIANS hauing sent for *Alcibiades* to answere to certaine accusations, *Nicias* remaining Captaine with *Lamachus* (the other Captaine in sight, but *Nicias* selfe in power and authority the Lieutenaunt generall of all the army) still vsed delayes, running vp and downe, and spending time so long in consultation, till the souldiers were left without both hope and corage: and the feare the enemy had of them at their first C comming to see so great an army, was now in maner cleane gone. Yet *Alcibiades* being in the army, before he was sent for from ATHENS, they went with three score gallies to SYRACVSA, of the which they placed fifty in battell ray out of the hauen, and sent the other tenne into the hauen to discouer: which approaching neere the city, caused an Herauld to make open proclamation, that they were come thither to restore the LEONTINES to their landes and possessions, and tooke a shippe of the enemies, in the which among other thinges they founde tables, wherein were wrytten the names of all the inhabitants of SYRACVSA, according to their tribes and houses. These tables were kept farre from the citie, in the temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, but at that time they had sent for them to know the number of men of seruice, and of age to beare weapon. The same tables being taken by the ATHENIANS, and caried to the generalls of the army, the soothsayers seeing this long rolle of names, at the first misliked it, fearing least D the prophecy had bene fulfilled, which promised them, that the ATHENIANS one day should take all the SYRACVSANS. Howbeit it is reported this prophecy came to passe in an other exployte, whē *Callippus* ATHENIAN hauing slaine *Dion*, wan also the city of SYRACVSA. Now when *Alcibiades* was gone from the campe, *Nicias* bare all the sway and commaunded the whole army. For *Lamachus*, though otherwise he was a stowte man, an honest man, and very valliant of his handes, and one that would not spare him selfe in time of neede: neuertheles he was so poore and miserable, that euen when he was in state of a Generall, & gaue vp an accompt of his expences, he would not sticke to put into his bookes, so much for a gowne, and so much for a payer of pantophles. Where *Nicias* authority & reputacion contrary wise was of an other maner of cut, as well for other respectes, as for his riches, and for the honor of maE ny noble thinges which he had done before. As one namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a Captaine with others, and sitting in counsell with his companions in the counsell house at ATHENS, about the dispatch of certaine causes, he spake vnto *Sophocles* the Poet, then present amongest them, and bad him speake first and say his opinion, being the eldest man of all the whole company. *Sophocles* answered him againe: in deede I confesse I am the eldest man, but thou art the noblest man, and him whom euery man regardeth best. So hauing at that time *Lamachus* vnder him, a better Captaine & man of warre then himselfe was, yet by being so slow to imploy the army vnder his charge by detayning of time still, and houering about SICILE as farre from his enemies as he could: he first gaue the enemies time and leasure to be bold without feare of him. And then going to besiege HYBLA, being but a pelF ting litle towne, and raising the siege without taking of it: he fell into so great contempt with euery man, that from thenceforth no man almost made any more reckoning of him. At last, he retyred vnto CATANA with his army, without any other exployte done, deuing that he

Nicias foolish behauiour.

Nicias counsell for inuading the Syracusans.

Lamachus valliant, but simple.

Lais the courtisan caried out of Sicile into Peloponnesus.

tooke Hyccara, a baggadge village of the barbarous people, and where it is sayd Lais the courtisane was borne, and that being then a young gerle, she was sold among other prisoners, and afterwardes caried into Peloponnesvs. And in fine, the sommer being farre spent, *Nicias* was informed that the Syracvsans had taken such corage to them, that they would come and enterprise the charge apon them first: and that their horsemen were approached already before his campe, to skirmish with them, asking the Athenians in mockery, if they were come into Sicile to dwell with the Catanians, or to restore the Leontines to their landes againe. Hereupon with much a do, *Nicias* determined to goe to Syracvsa and bicause he would campe there in safety, and at ease without hasard: he sent one of Catana

Nicias notable stratageame.

before to Syracvsa, to tell them (as if he had bene a spye) that if they would sodainly come and set apon the campe of the Athenians & take all their cariage, he wished them to come with all their power to Catana at a day certaine which he would appoint them. For the Athenians (sayd he) for the most parte are within the city, wherein there are certaine citizens, which fauoring the Syracvsans, haue determined so soone as they heare of their comming to keepe the gates of the city, and at the same time also to set the Athenians shippes a fire: and how there were also a great number in the citie of this confederacy, that did but looke euery hower for their comming. And this was the noblest stratageame of warre, that *Nicias* shewed all the time he was in Sicile. For by this deuise he made the Syracvsans come into the fielde with all their power, so that they left their citie without garde: and he him selfe departing in the meane time from Catana with all his fleete, wanne the hauen of Syracvsa at his ease, and chose out a place to campe in, where his enemies could not hurt him: in the which he was both the stronger, and might without let or difficulty set apon them with that, wherein he most trusted. The Syracvsans returning straight from Catana, and offering him battell hard by the walles of Syracvsa, he came out into the field, and ouerthrew them. There were not many of the Syracvsans slaine at this battell, bicause their horsemen did hinder the chase: but *Nicias* breaking vp the bridges apon the riuer, gaue *Hermocrates* occasion to mocke him. For, comforting & encoraging the Syracvsans, he told them *Nicias* deserued to be laughed at, bicause he did what he could that he might not fight, as if he had not purposely come from Athens to Syracvsa to fight. This notwithstading, he made the Syracvsans quake for feare: for where they had then fifteene Captaines, they chose out three only, to whom the people were sworne, that they would suffer them to haue full power & authority to commaund and take order for all thinges. The temple of *Iupiter Olympian* was hard by the Athenians campe, which they would gladly haue taken, for that it was full of rich iuells and offeringes of gold and siluer, geuen vnto the temple afore time. But *Nicias* of purpose still draue of time, and delayed so long, till the Syracvsans at last sent a good garrison thither to keepe it safe: thinking with him selfe, that if his souldiers came to take and spoyle the temple, his contry should be nothing the richer by it, and him selfe besides should beare all the blame of sactilege. So, hauing obteined victorie without profit, (which ranne straight through Sicile) within few dayes after he returned vnto the city of Naxos, where he lay all the winter, consuming a wonderfull masse of vittells with so great an army, for the doing of thinges of small moment, vpon certaine Sicilians that yelded to him. The Syracvsans in the meane time being in hart againe, and coragious: returned to Catana, where they spoyled and ouerranne all the contrie, and burnt the campe of the Athenians. Herefore euery man blamed *Nicias* much, bicause through his long delay, and protracting of time to make all thinges sure, he let slippe sundry occasions of notable exployts, wherein good seruice might haue bene done. Yet when he would do a thing in deede, he did it so thorowly as no man could take exception to his doinges, for that he brought it to so good a passe: and once taking it in hande, he did execute it with all speede, though he was both slowe to determine and a coward to enterprise. Now when he remoued his army to returne to Syracvsa,

Nicias besiegeth Syracusa.

he brought it so orderly, & also with such speede & safety: that he was come by sea to Thapsvs, had landed & taken the forte of Epipolis, before the Syracvsans had any intelligence of it, or could possibly helpe it. For the choyce men of the Syracvsans being set out against him, hoping to haue stopped his passage: he ouerthrew them, tooke three hundred prisoners, and

A & made their horsemen flie, which before were thought inuincible. But that which made the SYRACVSANS most afrayed, and seemed most wonderfull also to the other GRECIANS, was this, that in a very short space he had almost enuironned SYRACVSA with a walle, which was as much in compasse about, as the walls of ATHENS, and worse to performe, by reason of the woddy contry, and for the sea also that beateth upon the walles, besides that there were diuers marrises hard by it: and yet (sicke as he was of the stone) he had almost finished it. And sure good reason it is that we attribute the fault of the not finishing of it, vnto his sicknesse. For mine owne parte I wonder at it excedingly both of the care & diligence of the Capteine, and of the valiantnes and dexterity of the souldiers, which appeareth by the notable feates they did. For *Euripides* after their ouerthrowe and vtter runne, made a funerall Epitaphium verse, and sayth thus.

Nicias wall at the siege of Syracusa.

B *Eight times our men did put the men of Syracusa to flight,*
So long as with indifference the goddes did of their might.

Conuersion.

But we finde it written, that the SYRACVSANS were not only eight times, but many times more ouerthrowen by them: a time at length there was in deede, that both the gods and fortune fought against them, euen when the ATHENIANS were of greatest power. Now *Nicias* in his owne person was euer in the greatest and most weighty affayres, striuing with his sicke body. Howbeit one day when his disease grew sore upon him, he was compelled to be lodged in his campe with a few of his men. & *Lamachus* in the meane time alone hauing charge of the whole army, fought with the SYRACVSANS, who then had brought a walle from the C city, vnto the wall with the which the ATHENIANS had purposed to haue shutte them in, to keepe that they shoulde not compasse it rounde. And because the ATHENIANS commonly were the stronger in these skirmishes, they many times ouer rashely followed the chase of their enemies that fled. As it chaunced one day that *Lamachus* went so farre, that he was left alone to encounter a company of horsemen of the city, before whom *Callicrates* marched formest, a valliant man of his handes, who challenged *Lamachus* hand to hand. *Lamachus* abode him, and in the conflict was first hurt: but he gaue *Callicrates* also such a wound therewithall, that they both fell downe dead presently in the place. At that time the SYRACVSANS being the stronger side, tooke vp his body, and carried it away with them: but they sparred out for me to the ATHENIANS campe, where *Nicias* lay sicke, without any gard or succour at all: ne- D uertheles, *Nicias* rose with speede out of his bed, and perceiuinge the daunger he was in, commaunded certaine of his frendes to set the wodde a fire which they had brought within the trenches of the campe, to make certaine deuises for battery, and the engines of timber also that were already made. That deuise onely slayed the SYRACVSANS, saued *Nicias*, and the strength of their campe, together with all the siluer and cariage of the ATHENIANS. For the SYRACVSANS perceiuing a farre off, betwext them and the strength of their campe, such a great flame as rose vp in the ayer: vpon sight of it turned taile straight, and made towardes their city. Thinges falling out thus, *Nicias* being left sole Captaine of the army without any companion, in great hope notwithstanding to do some good: diuers cities of SICILE yelded vnto him, shippes & aught with corne came out of euery quarter to his campe, and many sub- E mitted them selues, for the good successe he had in all his doings. Furthermore the SYRACVSANS also sent to parle with him of peace, being out of hope that they were able to defende their city any lenger against him. *Gylippus* also a Captaine of the LACEDAEMONIANS, coming to aide the SYRACVSANS, vnderstanding by the way howe the city of SYRACVSA was shut in with a wall round about, and in great distresse: helde on his voyage notwithstanding, not with any hope to defend SICILE (supposing the ATHENIANS had wonne the whole contry) but with intent neuertheles to helpe the cities of ITALIE if he could possibly. For it was a common rumor abroade, that the ATHENIANS had wonne all, and that their Captaine for his wisedome and good fortune was inuincible. *Nicias* him selfe now contrary to his wonted wisedom and foresight, trusting altogether to the good successe which he saw to follow him, F but specially beleeuing the reportes that were told him of SYRACVSA, & the newes that were brought him thence by some of them selues, which came secretly vnto him, perswading him selfe that within few dayes he shoulde haue SYRACVSA by composition: tooke no care to with-

The death of Lamachus.

Nicias sole Captaine of the whole army.

Gylippus a Lacedemonian, aideth the Syracusans.

ſtand *Gylippus* comminge hether, neither ſent any men to kepe him from landinge in Sicile. By which negligence, *Gylippus* landed in a paſſenger, without *Nicias* knowledge: ſo light reckoning they made of him, and ſo much did they fondly deſpiſe him. *Gylippus* being thus landed farre from Syracvsa, beganne to gather men of warre together, before the Syracvsans themſelues knew of his landing, or looked for his comming: inſomuch as they had alreadie appointed the aſſemblie of a counſell to determine the articles and capitulacions of peace, which they ſhould conclude vpon with *Nicias*. Moreouer, there were ſome that perſwaded they ſhould doe well to make haſt to conclude the peace, before the incloſure of *Nicias* walle was altogether finiſhed, which then lacked not much to perfourme, hauinge all the ſtuffe for the purpoſe brought euen ready to the place. But as theſe thinges were euen thus doing, arriued one *Gongylus* at Syracvsa, that came from Corinthe with a gally. At whoſe landing, the people apon the peere flocking about him, to heare what newes: he tolde them that *Gylippus* would be there before it were long, and that there came certaine other gallies after to their aide. The Syracvsans would hardly beleue him, vntill there came another meſſanger alſo ſent from *Gylippus* ſelfe of purpoſe, that willed them to arme, and come to him into the fielde. Thereupon the Syracvsans being maruelouſly reuiued, went all ſtraight & armed themſelues. And *Gylippus* was no ſooner come into Syracvsa, but he preſently ranged his men in battell ray, to ſet apon the Athenians. *Nicias* for his parte had likewiſe alſo ſet the Athenians in order of battell, and ready to fight. When both charmies were now approached neere eche to other, *Gylippus* threw downe his weapons, and ſent a Herauld vnto *Nicias* to promiſe them life and bagage to departe ſafely out of Sicilia. But *Nicias* would make the Herauld none aunſwere to that meſſage. Howbeit there were certaine of his ſouldiers that in mockerie asked the Herauldе, if for the comming of a poore cape and wande of Lacedæmon, the Syracvsans thought themſelues ſtrengthened ſo much, that they ſhould deſpiſe the Athenians, which not long before kept three hundred Lacedæmonians priſoners in irons, farre ſtronger and more heare on their heades, then *Gylippus* had, and had alſo ſent them home to their citizens at Lacedæmon. And *Timæus* wryteth alſo, that the Sicilians themſelues, made no reckoning of *Gylippus*, neither then, nor at any time after. After, bicauſe they ſawe his extreame couetouſneſſe and miſerie: and then, for that he came ſo meanely appartrelled, with a threede bare cape, and a long buſh of heare, which made them ſcorne him. Yet in an other place he ſayth, that ſo ſoone as *Gylippus* arriued in Sicile, many came to him out of euery quarter with very good will, like birdes wondering at an owle. This ſecond reporte ſeemeth truer then the firſt, for they ſwarmed about him, bicauſe in this cape & wande they ſaw the tokens of the maieſty of the city & ſeigniory of Sparta. *Thucydides* alſo ſaith, that it was *Gylippus* only that did all there. And much like doth *Philiſtus* ſelfe, a Syracvsan confeſſe, who was preſent then in priſon & ſaw all thinges that were done. Notwithſtanding, at the firſt battel the Athenians had the vpper hand, & ſlue a number of the Syracvsans, among the which *Gongylus* the Corinthian was one. But the next morning following, *Gylippus* made them know the skill and experience of a wiſe Captaine. For, with the ſelfe ſame weapons, with the ſame men, with the ſame horſes, and in the ſame places, changing only the order of his battell, he ouerthrew the Athenians: and fighting with them ſtill hauing driuen them euen into their campe, he ſet the Syracvsans a worke to build vp a walle ouerthwarte, (with the very ſelfe ſame ſtones and ſtuffe which the Athenians had brought and layed there for the finiſhing of their incloſure) to cut of the other, and to kepe it from going forward, that it ioyned not togither. So, all that the Athenians had done before vntill that preſent, was vtterly to no purpoſe. Things ſtanding in theſe termes, the Syracvsans being coragious againe, beganne to arme gallies, and running vp and downe the fieldes with their horſemen and ſlaues, tooke many priſoners. *Gylippus* on the other ſide, went in perſone to and fro through the cities of Sicile, perſwading and exhorting the inhabitantes in ſuch ſorte, that they all willingly obeyed him, and tooke armes by his procurement. *Nicias* ſeeing thinges thus falle out, fell to his olde trade againe, and conſiderings the chaunge of his ſtate and former good lucke, his hart beginning to faint, wrote ſtraight to the Athenians to ſend an other army into Sicile, or rather to call that home which he had there, but in any

Gongylus a Corinthian.

Gylippus arriuall at Syracuſa.

Gongylus the Corinthian ſlaine.

Nicias good fortune chaunged.

cale

A ease to geue him leaue to returne, and to discharge him of his office, for cause of his sickenes.
The ATHENIANS were indifferent before he wrote, to send aide thither: howbeit the nobility bare vnto *Nicias* good fortune, did euen cause some delay that they sent not vnto him: and then they determined to send with spede. So *Demosthenes* was ordered to take forth with him speedily after winter, with a great nauy. In the middest of winter, *Euripedes* went to *Nicias*, & caried him both money, & newes, that the people had chosen some of them for his companions in the charge, which were already in seruice with him, to wit, *Euthydemus*, and *Menander*. Now *Nicias* in the meane time being sodainly assaded by his enemies, both by sea and lande: though at the first he had fewer gallies in number than they, yet he budged diuers of theirs and suncke them. But by lande againe, he could not aide his men in time, because *Syp-*
B *pus* at the first onset had taken a forte of his called Plemmyrion, within the which lay there and tackell for many gallies, & a great masse of ready money which was wholly lost. Besides, in the same conflict also were many men slaine, and many taken prisoners. Yea further, the greatest matter of weight was, that therby he tooke from *Nicias* the great commodite he had to bringe his victells safely by sea to his campe. For while the ATHENIANS kept this forte, they might at their pleasure bring victels without danger to their campe, being couered with the same: but when they had lost it, then it was hard for them so to do, because they were euer driuen to fight with the enemies, that lay at anchor before this forte. Furthermore the SYRACVSANS did not thinke that their armie by sea was ouerthrowen, because their enemies were the stronger, but for that their men had followed the ATHENIANS disorderedly: and therfore
C were desirous once againe to venter, in better sorte and order than before. But *Nicias* by no meanes would be brought to fight again: saying, that it were a madnes looking for such a great nauy & a new supply as *Demosthenes* was comming withall, rashly to fight with a fewer number of shippes than they, and but poorely furnished. But contrarily, *Menander*, and *Euthydemus*, newly promoted to the state of Captaines with *Nicias*, being pricked forwards with ambition against the two other Captaines (*Nicias*, and *Demosthenes* that was then comming) desired to preuent *Demosthenes*, in performing some notable seruice before his arriuall, & thereby also to excell *Nicias* doinges. Howbeit, the cloke they had to couer their ambition withall was, the honor & reputacion of the city of ATHENS, the which (sayd they) were shamed and dishonored for euer, if they now should shew themselues afraied of the SYRACVSANS, who pro-
D uoked them to fight. Thus brought they *Nicias* against his will to battell, in the which the ATHENIANS were slaine and ouercome, by the good counsell of a CORINTHIAN Pilot called *Aristow*. For the left wing of their battell (as *Thucydides* wryteth) was clearely ouerthrowen, and they lost a great number of their men. Whereupon *Nicias* was wonderfully perplexed, considering on the one side that he had taken maruelous paines, whilest he was sole Captaine of the whole army: and on thother side, for that he had committed a foule fault, when they had geuen him companions. But as *Nicias* was in this great dispaire, they descried *Demosthenes* a-
E pon a pere of the hauen, with his fleete brauely set out and furnished, to terrifie the enemies. For he had three score and thirteene gallies, and in them he brought fiue thowsande footemen well armed and appointed, and of darters, bowmen, and hurlers with slinges about three thowsand, and the gallies trimmed and set foorth with goodly armors, numbers of enfignes, and with a world of trompets, howboyes, and such marine muficke, and all set out in this triumphant shew, to feare the enemies the more. Now thought the SYRACVSANS themselues againe in a pecke of troubles, perceiuing they strooue against the streame, and consumed themselues to no purpose, whe by that they saw there was no likelyhoode to be deliuered frō their troubles. And *Nicias* also reioyced, that so great aide was come, but his ioy held not longe.
For so soone as he began to talke with *Demosthenes* of the state of thinges, he found him bent
F forthwith to set apon the SYRACVSANS, and to hasard all with spede, that they might quickely take SYRACVSA, and so dispatche away home againe. *Nicias* thought this more hast than good speede, and feared much this foolehardines. Wherupon he prayed him to attempt nothing rashely, nor desperately: and perswaded him that it was their best way to prolong the warre against the enemies, who were without money, and therefore would soone be forsaken of their confederates. And besides, if they came once to be pinched for lacke of vitells: that

Euthydemus and Menander chosen Captaines with Nicias

Demosthenes taketh forte.

The ouerthrow of the Athenians by sea.

Demosthenes arriuall at Syracusa.

Demosthenes rashnes.

Nicias counsell vnto Demosthenes.

they would then quickely seeke to him for peace, as they had done afore time. For there were A
many within Syracvsa that were *Nicias* frendes, who wished him to abide time: for they
were weary of warre, and waxed angry also with *Gylippus*. So that if they were but straighted
a litle more with want of vittels, they would yeelde straight. *Nicias* deliuering these perswa-
sions somwhat darkely, and keping somwhat also from vtteraunce, bicause he would not speake
them openly: made his colleagues thinke he spake it for cowardlines, and that he returned a-
gaine to his former delayes to keepe all in security, by which manner of proceedinge he had
from the beginning killed the hartes of his armie, for that he had not at his first comming set
apon the enemies, but had protracted time so long, till the corage of his souldiers was colde
and done, and him selfe also brought into contempt with his enemies. Whereupon the other
Captaines (his colleagues and companions with him in the charge) *Euthydemus* and *Menan-* B
der, stucke to *Demosthenes* opinion: wherunto *Nicias* was also forced against his will to yeelde.
Demosthenes rashnes. So *Demosthenes* the selfe same night taking the footemen, went to assault the fort of Epipolis
where, before his enemies heard any thing of his comming, he slue many of them, and made
the rest flee that offered resistaunce. But not content with this victory, he went furder, till he
fell apon the Boeotians. They gathering them selues together were the first that resisted the
Athenians, basing their pikes with such furie and lowde cries, that they caused the former
to retyre, and made all the rest of thassailantes afrayed and amased. For the formost flying
backe, came full vpon their companions: who taking them for their enemies, and their flight
for a charge, resisted them with all their force, & so mistaking one an other, both were wound-
ded and slaine, and the hurt they ment vnto their enemies, did vnfortunately light vpon their C
owne fellowes. For this multitude meetinge thus confusedly together, what through their
great feare, & what for that they could not discerne one an other in the night, the which was
neither so darke that they could not see at all, nor yet so cleere, as they might certainly iudge
by sight what they were that met them: (for then the moone declined a pace, and the small
light it gaue was diffused with the number of men that ran to & fro) the feare they had of the
enemy, made them mistrust their frendes. All these troubles and disaduantages had the A-
thenians; and beside, the moone on their backes, which causing the shadow to fall forward,
did hide their number, and glistering of armor: and contrarily, the enemies targets, glaring
in their eyes by the reflection of the moone that shone vpon them, encreased their feare, and
making them seeme a greater number and better appointed than they were in deede. At last, D
The slaughter of the Athenians at Syracusa. the enemies getting a lusty charge vppon them on euery side, after they once beganne to geue
backe and turne taile: some were slaine by their enemies, others by their owne company, and
others also brake their neckes falling from the rockes. The rest that were dispersed abroade
in the fieldes, were the next morning euery man of them put to the sworde by the horsemen.
So, the account made, two thowsand Athenians were slaine, and very few of them escaped
by flight, that brought their armors backe againe. Wherefore *Nicias* that alwayes mistrusted
it would thus come to passe, was maruelously offended with *Demosthenes*, and condemned his
rashnes. But he excusing him selfe as well as he could, thought it best to imbarke in the mor-
ning betimes, and so to hoyse sayle homewardes. For, sayd he, we must looke for no new aide
from Athens, neither are we strong enough with this armie to ouercome our enemies: and B
though we were, yet must we of necessity auoide the place we are in, bicause (as it is reported)
it is alwayes vnholsome for an army to campe in, and then specially most contagious, by rea-
son of the automne and season of the yeare, as they might plainly see by experience. For ma-
ny of their people were already sicke, and all of them in maner had no minde to tary. *Nicias* in
no case liked the motion of departing thence, bicause he feared not the Syracvsans, but
rather the Athenians, for their accusations & condemnation. And therefore in open coun-
sell he told them, that as yet he saw no such daunger to remaine: and though there were, yet
that he had rather dye of his enemies hands, than to be put to death by his owne contrymen.
The corage of Leo Bizantine. Being therin of a contrary minde to *Leo* Bizantine, who after that sayd to his citizens. I had
rather suffer death by you, than to be slaine with you. And furthermore, as for remouing their F
campe to some other place, they should haue leasure enough to determine of that matter as
they thought good. Now when *Nicias* had deliuered this opinion in counsell, *Demosthenes* ha-

uing

A ting hath ill lucke at his first cõming, durst not contrary it. And the residue also supposing that *Nicias* stuche not so hard against their departure, but that he relied apon the trust and confidence he had of some within the city: they all agreed to *Nicias*. But when newes came that there was a new supply come vnto the SYRACVSANS, and that they saw the plague encreased more and more in their campe: then *Nicias* selfe thought it best to departe thence, and gaue notice to the souldiers to prepare them selues to shippe away. Notwithstanding, when they had put all thinges in readines for their departure, without any knowledge of the enemy, or suspicion thereof: the moone beganne to eclipse in the night, and sodainly to lose her light, to the great feare of *Nicias* and diuers others, who through ignorance and superstition quaked at such sightes. For, touching the eclipse and darkening of the sunne, which is euer at any

B coniunction of the moone, euery common person then knew the cause to be the darkenes of the body of the moone betwixt the sunne and our sight. But the eclipse of the moone it selfe, to know what doth darken it in that sorte, and howe being at the full it doth sodainly lose her light, and chaunge into so many kinde of colours: that was aboue their knowledge, and therefore they thought it very straunge, perswading them selues that it was a signe of some great mischiefes the goddes did threaten vnto men. For *Anaxagoras*, the first that euer determined and deliuered any thing, for certaine and assured, concerning the light and darkenesse of the moone: his doctrine was not then of any long continuance, neither had it the credit of antiquity, nor was generally knowẽ, but only to a few, who durst not talke of it but with feare euen to thẽ they trusted best. And the reason was, for that the people could not at that time abide

C them that professed the knowledge of natural Philosophy, & inquired of the causes of things: for them they called then Μετεωροσοφιστὰς, as much to say, as curious inquirers, and tatlers of things aboue the reach of reason, done in heauen and in the ayer. Bicause the people thought they ascribed that which was done by the goddes only, vnto certaine naturall and necessarie causes, that worke their effectes not by prouidence nor will, but by force, and necessary consequences. For these causes was *Protagoras* banished from ATHENS, and *Anaxagoras* put in prison: frõ whence *Pericles* had much a do to procure his deliuery. And *Socrates* also, though he did not medle with that parte of Philosophy, was notwithstanding put to death for the suspicion thereof. In fine, the doctrine of *Plato* being receiued and liked, as well for his vertuous life, as also for that he submitted the necessity of naturall causes vnto the controlement & dis-

D position of diuine power, as vnto a more excellent and supreame cause: tooke away all the ill opinion which the people had of such disputations, and gaue open passage and free entry vnto the Mathematicall sciences. And therefore *Dion*, one of *Platoes* schollers and frendes, an eclipse of the moone chaunsing euen at the very same time that he was weying vp his anckers to sayle from ZACYNTHE, to make warre with the tyran *Dionysius*: being nothing afrayed nor troubled therewithall, made sayle notwithstanding, and when he came to SYRACVSA, draue out the tyran. But then it fell out vnfortunatly for *Nicias*, who had no expert nor skilful soothsayer: for the party which he was wont to vse for that purpose, and which tooke away much of his superstition, called *Stilbides*, was dead not long before. For this signe of the eclipse of the moone (as *Philochorus* sayth) was not hurtfull for men that would flie, but contrarily very

E good: for sayd he, thinges that men doe in feare, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemy vnto them. But this notwithstanding, their custome was not to kepe them selues close aboue three dayes in such eclipses of the moone and sunne, as *Autoclides* selfe prescribeth in a booke he made of such matters: where *Nicias* bare them then in hande, that they should tary the whole and full reuolution of the course of the moone, as though he had not seene her straight cleere againe, after she had once passed the shadow and darkenes of the earth. But all other thinges layed a side and forgotten, *Nicias* disposed him selfe to sacrifice vnto the gods: vntil such time as the enemies came againe as well to besiege their fortes, and all their campe by lande, as also to occupy the whole hauen by sea. For they had not onely put men aborde into their gallies able to weare armor, but moreouer young boyes into fisher botes and other

F light barkes, with the which they came to the ATHENIANS, and shamefully reuiled them, to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble house, called *Heraclides* whose bote being forwarder than his companions, was in daunger of taking by a gallie of the

The eclipse of the moone.

The eclipse of the moone not knowẽ of long time.

Anaxagoras the first that wrote of the eclipse of the moone.

The Athenians do persecute the Philosophers.

Socrates put to death for Philosophy.

Dyon very skilfull in naturall causes.

Nicias ignorans of naturall causes.

ATHENIANS, that rowed against him. *Pollichus* his vncle being afrayed of it, launched forth with tenne gallies of SYRACVSA for his rescue, of the which him selfe was Captaine. The other gallies douting also least *Pollichus* should take hurt, came on likewise a mayne: so there fell out a great battell by sea, which the SYRACVSANS wanne, and slue *Eurymedon* the Captaine, and many other. This made the souldiers of the ATHENIANS so afrayed, that they beganne to crie out, it was no lenger tarying there, and that there was none other way but to departe thence by land. For after the SYRACVSANS had wonne that battell, they had straight shut vp the hauen mouth. *Nicias* could not consent to such a retyre. For, sayd he, it would be too great a shame for them to leaue their gallies and other shippes to the enemy, considering the number not to be much lesse then two hundred: but he thought good rather to arme a hundred and tenne gallies with the best & valliantest of their footemen, and darters, that were in the army, bicause the other gallies had spent their owers. And for the rest of the army, *Nicias* forsaking their great campe and walles (which reached as farre as the temple of *Hercules*) did set thē in battell ray apon the peere of the hauen. Insomuch, that the SYRACVSANS which vntill that day could not performe their wonted sacrifices vnto *Hercules*: did then sende their Priestes and Captaines thither to do them. The souldiers being imbarked into the gallies, the Priestes and Soothsayers came and told the SYRACVSANS, that vndoutedly the signes of the sacrifices did promise thē a noble victory, so that they gaue no charge, but only stoode vppon their defence: for so did *Hercules* euer ouercome, defending, when he was assailed. With this good hope the SYRACVSANS rowed forward, and there was such a hot and cruell battell by sea, as had not bene in all this warre before: the which was as dreadfull to them that stoode on the shore to behold it, as it was mortall vnto them that fought it, seeing the whole conflict, and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the ATHENIANS did as much hurte them selues by the order they kept in their fight, and by the rankes of their shippes, as they were hurt by their enemies. For they had placed all their great shippes together, fighting with the heauy, against thenemies that were light and swift, which came on on euery side of them, whurling stones at them which were made sharpe to wound how euer they lighted: whereas the ATHENIANS onely casting their dartes, and vsing their bowes and slinges, by meanes of their rowing vp and downe could not lightly ame to hit with the head. That maner of fight, *Aristo* a CORINTHIAN (an excellent shippe maister) had taught the SYRACVSANS, who was him selfe slaine valliantly fighting, when they were conquerers. The ATHENIANS therupon being driuen to fight, hauing susteined a maruelous slaughter & ouerthrow, (their way to flie by sea being also cleerely taken from them) and perceiuing moreouer that they could hardly saue them selues by lande: were then so discoraged, as they made no lenger resistaunce, when their enemies came hard by them and caried away their shippes, before their faces. Neither did they aske leaue to take vp their dead mens bodies to bury them, taking more pity to forsake their diseased and sore wounded companions, than to bury them that were already slaine. When they considered all these thinges, they thought their owne state more miserable than theirs, which were to end their liues with much more cruelty, than was their misery present. So they being determined to departe thence in the night, *Gylippus* perceiuing the SYRACVSANS through all the citie disposed them selues to sacrifice to the goddes, and to be merry, as well for the ioy of their victorie, as also for *Hercules* feast: thought it booteless to perswade them, and much lesse to compell them, to take armes vppon a sodaine, to set apon their enemies that were departing. Howbeit *Hermocrates* deuising with him selfe how to deceiue *Nicias*, sent some of his frendes vnto him with instructions, to tell him that they came from such as were wont to send him secret intelligence of all thinges during this warre: and willed him to take heede not to departe that night, least he fell into the ambushes which the SYRACVSANS had layed for him, hauing sent before to take all the straights and passages, by the which he should passe. *Nicias* being ouerreached by *Hermocrates* craft and subtilty, stayed there that night, as though he had bene afrayed to fall within the daunger of his enemies ambush. Therupon, the SYRACVSANS the next morning by peepe of day, hoysed sayle, got the straights of *Nicias* passage, stopped the riuers mouthes, & brake vp the bridges: and then cast their horsemen in a squadron in the next plaine fieldes adioyning, so that the ATHENIANS had no way left

The Syracusans ouercome the Athenians by sea.

The soothsayers do promise victory to the Syracusans.

The Athenians againe ouercome on the sea by the Syracusans.

Nicias deceiued by Hermocrates.

A leure to escape, and passe by them, without fighting. At last notwithstanding, hauing stayed all that day and the next night following, they put them selues in iorney, and departed with great cryes & lamentations, as if they had gone from their natural contry, and not out of their enemies lande: as well for the great distresse and necessity wherein they were, (lacking all things needefull to susteine life) as also for the extreame sorowe they felt to leaue their sore wounded companions and deseased kinsemen and frends behinde them, that could not for their weakenes follow the campe, but specially for that they looked for some woorse matter to fall ed them selues, than that which they saw present before their eyes to be happened to their fellowes. But of all the most pitifull sightes to beholde in that campe, there was none more lamentable nor miserable, than the person of *Nicias* selfe: who being tormented with his disease, and waxen very leane and pale, was also vnworthely brought to extreame want of natural sustenance, euen when he had most neede of comfort, being very sickely. Yet notwithstanding his weakenes and infirmity, he tooke great paines, and suffered many thinges, which the soundest bodies doe labor much to ouercome and suffer: making it appeare euidently to euery man, that he did not abide all that paines for any respect of him selfe, or desire that he had to saue his owne life, so much as for their sakes in that he yeelded not vnto present dispayre. For where the souldiers for very feare & sorowe burst out into teares & bitter wayling: *Nicias* selfe shewed, that if by chaunce he were forced at any time to doe the like, it was rather vpon remembraunce of the shame and dishonor that came into his minde, to see the vnfortunate successe of this voyage, in steade of the honor and victory they hoped to haue brought home, than for any other respect. But if to see *Nicias* in this misery, did moue the lookers on to pitye: yet did this much more encrease their compassion, when they remembred *Nicias* wordes in his orations continually to the people, to breake this iorney, & to dissuade them from their enterprise of this warre. For then they plainly iudged him not to haue deserued these troubles. Yet furthermore, this caused the souldiers vtterly to dispayre of helpe from the goddes, when they considered with them selues, that so deuout and godly a man as *Nicias* (who left nothing vndone that might tend to the honor and seruice of the goddes) had no better successe, than the most vile and wicked persons in all the whole army. All this notwithstandinge, *Nicias* B strained him selfe in all that might be, both by his good countenaunce, his cheerefull words, & his kinde vsing of euery man to let them know that he fainted not vnder his burden, nor yet C did yeeld to this his misfortune and extreame calamity. And thus trauelling eight dayes iorney outright together, notwithstanding that he was by the way continually set vpon, wearied, and hurt: yet he euer mainteined his bandes, and led them whole in company vntill that *Demosthenes*, with all his bandes of souldiers was taken prisoner, in a certaine village called Polion: whyle remayninge behinde, he was enuironned by his enemies in fight, and seeing him selfe so compassed in, drewe out his sword, and with his owne handes thrust him selfe thorow, but dyed not of it, bicause his enemies came straight about him and tooke hold of him. The Syracvsans thereupon went with speede to *Nicias*, and told him of *Demosthenes* case. He geuing no credit to them, sent presently certaine of his horsemen thither to vnderstand the trothe: who brought him worde that *Demosthenes* and all his men were taken prisoners. Then he besought *Gylippus* to treate of peace, to suffer the poore remaine of the Athenians to departe out of Sicile with safety, and to take such hostages for the sure payement of all such summes of money the Syracvsans had disbursed by meanes of this warre, as should like him selfe: which he promised he would cause the Athenians to performe & satisfie vnto them. Howbeit the Syracvsans would in no wise hearken to peace, but cruelly threatning & reuiling them that made mocion hereof, in rage gaue a new onset vpon him, more fiercely than euer before they had done. *Nicias* being then vtterly without any kinde of vittells, did notwithstanding hold out that night, & marched all the next day following (though the enemies darts still flew about their eares) vntill he came to the riuer of Asinarus, into the which the Syracvsans did forcibly driue them. Some others of them also dying for thirst, F entred the riuer of them selues, thinking to drinke. But there of all others was the most cruell slaughter of the poore wretches, euen as they were drinking: vntil such time as *Nicias* falling downe flat at *Gylippus* feete, sayd thus vnto him. Since the goddes haue geuen thee (*Gylippus*)

The miserable state of the Athenians departing from Syracusa.

Nicias extreame misery.

Demosthenes taken of the Syracusans.

Nicias moueth treaty of peace.

Nicias army ouercome at the riuer of Asinarus.

Nicias words, yelding him selfe vnto Gylippus.

victory, shewe mercy, not to me that by these miseries haue won immortall honor and fame, but vnto these poore vanquished ATHENIANS: calling to thy remembraunce, that the fortunes of warre are common, and howe that the ATHENIANS haue vsed you LACEDÆMONIANS curteously, as often as fortune fauored them against you. *Gylippus* beholding *Nicias* perswaded by his wordes, tooke compassion of him, (for he knew he was a frend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS: at the last peace concluded betwext them, and furthermore thought it great honor to him, if he could cary away the two Captaines or generalls of his enemies prisoners) shewed him mercy, gaue him wordes of comforte, and moreouer commaunded besides that they should take all the residue prisoners. But his commaundement was not knowen in time to all: insomuch as there were many moe slaine than taken, although some priuate souldiers saued diuers notwithstanding by stealth. Now the SYRACVSANS hauing brought all the prisoners that were openly taken into a troupe together, first vnarmed them, then taking their weapons from them hong them vp apon the goodliest younge trees that stoode apon the riuers side in token of triumphe. And so putting on triumphing garlandes apon their heades, & hauing trimmed their owne horses in triúphant maner, & also shorne all the horses of their enemies: in this triumphing sorte they made their entry into the citie of SYRACVSA, hauing gloriously ended the most notable warre that euer was amongest the GRECIANS one against another, and attained also the noblest victory that could be atchieued, and that only by force of armes and valliancy. So at their returne, a counsell and assembly was holden at SYRACVSA by the citizens and their confederates: in the which, *Eurycles* one of the orators, (a practiser of publicke causes) first made peticion, that the day on the which they had taken *Nicias*, might for euer thenceforth be kept holy day, without any maner of worke or labor, but only to doe sacrifice to the goddes: and that the feast should be called, Asinarus feast, after the name of the riuer where the ouerthrow was geuen. This victory was had the six and twenty day of the moneth of Iuly. And as touching the prisoners, that the confederats of the ATHENIANS and their slaues should be openly solde by the dromme: and that the naturall ATHENIANS which were free men, and their confederates of the contry of SICILE, should be clapped in irons & layed in prison, the Captaines only excepted, whom they should put to death. The SYRACVSANS cõfirmed this decree. And when the Captaine *Hermocrates* went about to perswade them that to be merciful in victory, would be more honor vnto them, than the victory it selfe: they thrust him backe with great tumult. And furthermore, when *Gylippus* made sute that for the Captaines of the ATHENIANS, he might cary them aliue with him to SPARTA: he was not onely shamefully denyed, but most vilely abused, so lusty were they growen apon this victory, beside also that in the time of the warre they were offended with him, & could not endure his straight seuere LACONIAN gouernment. *Timæus* sayth moreouer, that they accused him of couetousnes and theft, which vice he inherited from his father. For *Cleandrides* his father was conuict for extorcion, and banished ATHENS. And *Gylippus* selfe hauing stolen thirty talentes out of a thowsande which *Lysander* sent to SPARTA by him, and hauing hid them vnder the eusinges of his house, being bewrayed, was compelled with shame to flie his contry, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lysander*. So *Timæus* wryteth, that *Nicias* & *Demosthenes* were not stoned to death by the SYRACVSANS, as *Thucydides* and *Philistus* reporte, but that they killed them selues, apon word sent them by *Hermocrates* (before the assemble of the people was broken vp) by one of his men whom the kepers of the prison let in vnto them: howbeit their bodies were cast out at the iaile dore, for euery man to beholde. I haue heard there is a target at this present to be seene in a temple at SYRACVSA, which is sayd to be *Nicias* target, couered all ouer with golde and purple silke, passinge finely wrought together. As for the other prisoners of the ATHENIANS, the most of them dyed of sickenes, and of ill handling in the prison: where they had no more allowed them to liue withall but two dishefulls of barley for their breade, and one of water for eche man a day. In deede many of them were conueyed away, and sold for slaues: and many also that scaped vnknowen as slaues, were also solde for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the prince of a horse, who notwithstanding besides their bondage endured also this paine. But such, their humble patience and modesty did greatly profit them. For either shortly after they were made free men,

Gylippus sheweth mercy to Nicias.

The Syracusans enter into Syracusa with triumphe.

Asinarus feast.

The Captaines of the Athenians cõdemned to dye.

Gylippus, a couetous man. Cleandrides condemned for extorcion.

Nicias and Demosthenes slue them selues.

or

A or if they ſtill continued in bondage, they were gently intreated, and beloued of their maſters. Some of them were ſaued alſo for *Euripides* ſake. For the SICILIANS liked the verſes of this Poet better, than they did any other GRÆCIANS verſes of the middeſt of GRÆCE. For if they heard any rimes or ſonges like vnto his, they would haue them by hart, & one would preſent thē to an other with great ioy. And therfore it is reported, that diuers eſcaping this bondage, and returning againe to ATHENS, went very louingly to ſalute *Euripides*, & to thanke him for their liues: and told him how they were deliuered from ſlauery, only by teaching them thoſe verſes which they remembred of his workes. Others tolde him alſo, how that after the battel, they ſcaping by flight, & wandering vp and downe the fieldes, met with ſome that gaue them meate & drinke to ſing his verſes. And this is not to be maruelled at, weying the reporte made

Eurypides verſes ſaued many of the Athenians liues.

B of a ſhippe of the city of CAVNVS, that on a time being chaſed in thether by pyrates, thinking to ſaue thē ſelues within their portes, could not at the firſt be receiued, but had repulſe: howbeit being demaunded whether they could ſing any of *Euripides* ſonges, and anſwering that they could, were ſtraight ſuffered to enter, and come in. The newes of this lamentable ouerthrow, was not beleued at the firſt, when they heard of it at ATHENS. For a ſtraunger that landed in the hauen of PIRÆA, went and ſat him downe (as the maner is) in a barbers ſhoppe, & thinking it had bene commonly knowen there, beganne to talke of it. The barber hearing the ſtraunger tell of ſuch matter, before any other had heard of it: ranne into the city as faſt as he could, and going to the gouernors tolde the newes openly before them all. The magiſtrates thereupon did preſently call an aſſembly, and brought the barber before them: who being de-

C maunded of whom he heard theſe newes, could make no certaine reporte. Whereupon being taken for a forger of newes, that without ground had put the city in feare and trouble: he was preſently bound, and layed on a wheele, wheron they vſe to put offenders to death, and ſo was there tormented a great time, vntill at laſt there arriued certaine men in the city, who brought too certaine newes thereof, and told euery thing how the ouerthrow came. So as in fine they found *Nicias* wordes true, which now they beleued, when they ſawe all thoſe miſeries light fully apon them, which he long before had prognoſticated vnto them.

The Athenians doe torment the bringer of the newes of their ouerthrow.

Nicias foreſhewed the miſeries of the Athenians.

D

The end of Nicias life.

THE LIFE OF *Marcus Craſſus.*

Marcus Craſſus kinred, & youth.

Marcus Craſſus was the ſonne of a Cenſor, who had alſo receiued the honor of triumphe: but him ſelfe was brought vp in a litle houſe with two other of his brethren, which were both maried in their fathers & mothers life time, and kept houſe together. Whereuppon it came to paſſe, that he was a man of ſuch ſober and temperate dyet, that one of his brethrē being deceaſed, he maried his wife by whom he had children. For women, he liued as continent a life, as any ROMANE of his time: notwithſtanding, afterwardes being of riper yeares, he was accuſed by *Plotinus* to haue deflowred one of the Veſtall Nunnes called *Licinia*. But in troth the cauſe of that ſuſpicion grew thus. *Licinia* had a goodly pleaſaunt garden hard by the ſuburbes of the city, wherewith *Craſſus* was maruelouſly in loue, and would faine haue had it good cheape: and vpon this only occaſion was often ſeene in ſpeeche with her, which made the people ſuſpect him. But foraſmuch as it ſeemed to the iudges that his couetouſnes was the cauſe that made him follow her, he was clered of thinceſt ſuſpected, but he neuer left followinge of the Nunne, till he had got the garden of her. The ROMANES ſay there was but that only vice of couetouſnes in *Craſſus*, that drowned many other goodly vertues in him: for mine owne opinion, me thinkes he could not be touched with that vice alone without others, ſince it grew ſo great, as the note of that only did hide and couer all his other vices. Nowe to ſet out his extreame couetous deſire of getting, naturally bred in him, they proue it by two manifeſt reaſons. The firſt, his maner and meanes he vſed to get: and the ſeconde, the greatnes of his wealth. For at the beginning he was not left much more worthe, then three hundred talentes. And during the time that he delt in the affayers of the common wealth, he offered the tenthes of all his goodes wholly vnto *Hercules*, kept open houſe for all the people of ROME, and gaue alſo to euery citizen of the ſame as much corne as would kepe him three monethes: & yet when he went from ROME to make warre with the PARTHIANS, him ſelfe being deſirous to know what all he had was worth, founde that it amounted to the ſumme of ſeuen thowſande one hundred talentes. But if I may with licenſe vſe euill ſpeeche, wryting a troth: I ſay he got the moſt parte of his wealth by fire and blood, raiſing his greateſt reuenue of publicke calamities. For when *Sylla* had take the citie of ROME, he made porteſale of the goods of them whom he had put to death, to thoſe that gaue moſt, tearming them his booty,

Craſſus couetouſnes.

Craſſus riches.

How Craſſus came by his goodes.

A booty, onely for that he would the nobility, and greateſt men of power in the citie ſhould be partakers with him of this iniquity: and in this open ſale *Craſſus* neuer left taking of giftes, nor bying of thinges of *Sylla* for profit. Furthermore, *Craſſus* perceiuinge that the greateſt decay commonly of the buildinges in ROME came by fire, and falling downe of houſes, through the ouermuch weight by numbers of ſtories built one apon an other: bought bondmen that were maſons, carpinters, and theſe deuiſours and builders, & of thoſe he had to the number of fiue hundred. Afterwardes, when the fire tooke any houſe, he would buy the houſe while it was a burning, and the next houſes adioyning to it, which the owners ſolde for litle, being then in daunger as they were, and a burning: ſo that by proces of time, the moſt parte of the houſes in ROME came to be his. But notwithſtanding that he had ſo many ſlaues to his workemen, he

B neuer built any houſe from the ground, ſauing his owne houſe wherein he dwelt: ſaying, that ſuch as delighted to builde, vndid them ſelues without helpe of any enemy. And though he had many mynes of ſiluer, many ploughes, and a number of hyndes and plowmen to followe the ſame: yet all that commoditie was nothing, in reſpect of the profit his ſlaues and bondemen brought him dayly in. As readers, ſcriueners, goldſmythes, bankers, receiuers, ſtewards of houſeholde, caruers, and other ſuch officers at the table, taking paines him ſelfe to helpe them when they were learners, and to inſtruct them what they ſhould doe: and to be ſhorte, he thought the greateſt care a good houſeholder ought to haue, was to ſee his ſlaues or ſeruauntes well taught, being the moſt liuely cattell and beſt inſtruments of a mans houſe. And ſurely therein his opinion was not ill, at the leaſt if he thought as he ſpake: that all thinges

C muſt be done by ſeruauntes, and his ſeruauntes muſt be ruled by him. For we ſee that the arte and skill to be a good husbande, when it conſiſteth in gouernment of thinges without life or ſence, is but a baſe thing, only tending to gaine: but when it dependeth apon good order and gouernment of men, me thinkes then it is to knowe how to gouerne well a common wealth. But as his iudgement was good in the other, ſo was it very bad in this: that he thought no man riche, and wealthie, that could not maintaine a whole army with his owne proper goods. For the warre (as king *Archidamus* was wont to ſay) is not made with any certainty of expences and therefore there muſt no ſufficiency of riches be limited for the maintenance of the ſame. But herein *Marius* and he differed farre in opinion: who hauinge allowed euery ROMANE foureteene akers lande (called with them, Iugera) vnderſtanding that ſome were not pleaſed,

D but would haue more, made them this aunſwer. The gods forbid any ROMANE ſhould thinke that land litle, which in deede is enough to ſuffiſe for his maintenance. This notwithſtanding, *Craſſus* was curteous to ſtraungers, for his houſe was open to them all, and he lent his frendes money without intereſt: but when they brake day of payment with him, then would he roudly demaunde his money of them. So, his curteſie to lende many times without intereſt, did more trouble them, than if he had taken very great vſery. In deede when he bad any man to come to his table, his fare was but euen ordinary, without all exceſſe: but his fine and cleanly ſeruice, & the good entertainment he gaue euery man that came to him, pleaſed them better, than if he had bene more plentifull of dyet and diſhes. As for his learning and ſtudy, he chiefly ſtudied eloquence, and that ſorte ſpecially that beſt would ſerue his turne to ſpeake in open

E preſence: ſo that he became the beſt ſpoken man in ROME of all his time, and by his great induſtry and diligent indeuor excelled all them that euen by nature were moſt apt vnto it. For ſome ſay, he had neuer ſo ſmall nor litle a cauſe in hande, but he alwayes came prepared, hauing ſtudied his caſe before for pleading: and oftentimes alſo when *Pompey*, *Ceſar*, and *Cicero* refuſed to riſe, and ſpeake to matters, *Craſſus* would defend euery cauſe if he were requeſted. And therfore was he generally beloued & well thought of, bicauſe he ſhewed him ſelfe painfull, & willing to helpe euery man. Likewiſe was his gentlenes maruelouſly eſteemed, bicauſe he ſaluted euery body curteouſly, and made much of all men: for, whom ſo euer he met in the ſtreetes that ſpake to him as he paſſed and ſaluted him, were he neuer ſo meane, he woulde ſpeake to him againe, and call him by his name. It is ſayd alſo he was very well ſtudied in ſto-

F ries, and indifferently ſeene in Philoſophy, ſpecially in *Ariſtotels* workes, which one *Alexander* did read vnto him, a man that became very gentle and pacient of nature, by vſing of *Craſſus* company: for it were hard to ſay, whether *Alexander* was pobber when he came to *Craſſus*

Craſſus ſaying of builders.

Craſſus care about ſeruauntes.

What belongeth to good husbandry, and in whom is conſiſted.

Craſſus iudgement what was a riche man. Archidamus ſaying of warre.

Craſſus fare as his bonde.

Craſſus eloquence.

or made poorer while he was with him. Of all his frendes he would euer haue *Alexander* abroade with him, and while they were abroade, would lend him a hat to couer his head by the way: but so soone as they were returned, he would call for it againe. O wonderfull pacience of a man? to see that he making profession of Philosophie as he did, the poore man being in great pouerty, did not place pouerty in thinges indifferent. But hereof we will speake more hereafter. *Cinna* and *Marius* being now of greater power, and comming on directly towardes ROME; euery man suspected straight their cōming was for no good to the common wealth, but as appeared plainly, for the death and destruction of the noblest men of ROME. For it so fell out in deede, that they slue all the chiefe men they found in the city, among whom *Crassus* father & his brother were of the number, and him selfe being at that time but young, escaped the present daunger only by flight. Furthermore, *Crassus* hearing that they layed waite to take him, & that the tyrannes sought him in euery place, tooke three of his frends in his company, and tenne seruauntes only, and fled into SPAYNE with all possible speede, where he had bene with his father before, and had got some frendes when he was Prætor, and ruled that contrie. Neuertheless, seeing euery body afrayed, and mistrusting *Marius* cruelty as if he had bene at their dores, he durst not bewray him selfe to any man, but went into the fieldes, and hid him in a great caue being within the lande of one *Vibius Piciacus* by the sea side, from whence he sent a man of his to this *Piciacus*, to feele what good will he bare him, but specially for that his vittells beganne to faile him. *Vibius* hearing that *Crassus* was safe, and had scaped, became very glad of it: and vnderstanding how many persones he had with him, and into what place he was gotten, went not him selfe to see him, but called one of his slaues (who was his receiuer and occupied that ground for him) & bringing him neere the place where *Crassus* was, commaunded him euery night to prouide meate for supper, to bring it ready dressed to this rocke whereunder was the caue, & make no wordes of it, neither be inquisitiue for whom it was, for if he did, he should dye for it: & otherwise, for keping the thing secret as he commaunded, he promised to make him a free man. This caue is not farre from the sea side, & is closed in round about with two rockes that mete together, which receiue a soft coole winde into them. Whē ye are entred into the caue, it is of a great height within, and in the hollownes thereof are many other caues of great receite one within an other, and besides that, it neither lacketh light nor water: for there is a well of passing good water running hard by the rocke, and the naturall riftes of the rockes also receiuing the light without, where they mete together, do send it inward into the caue. So that in the day time it is maruelous light, and hath no dampe ayer, but very pure and drye, by reason of the thickenes of the rocke, which sendeth all the moisnesse and vapour into that springinge well. *Crassus* keeping close in this caue, *Vibius* receiuer brought vittells thither dayly to relieue him, and his company, but saw not them he brought it to, nor could vnderstand what they were: and yet they saw him plainly, obseruing the houre & time of his comming when he brought the same. He prouided them no more then would euen necessarily serue their turne, and yet plenty sufficient to make good cheare withall: for *Vibius* was bent to entertaine *Crassus* as honorably as he could possible, insomuch as he considered he was a younge man, and therefore reason woulde he shoulde offer him some occasion to take such pleasure and delight as his youth required. For to relieue his necessity only, he thought that rather a parte of feare, than any shew of loue towards him. One day he tooke two fayer young damsells, and brought them with him to the sea side: and when he came to the caue, shewed them where they should get vp, and bad them not be afrayed. *Crassus* at the first, when he saw the young wenches, was afrayed he had bene betrayed: yet he asked them what they were, and whome they sought. They being instructed by *Vibius* what they should say, aunswered, that they sought their master that was hidden there. Then *Crassus* knew this was *Vibius* mirth to shew him curtesie: so he receiued them into his caue, and kept them as long as he lay there, letting *Vibius* vnderstand by them what he lacked. *Fenestella* wryteth, that he saw one of them when she was an old woman, and that he had heard her tell him this tale many a time with great delight. In fine, *Crassus* (after he had lyen hidden in this caue eight monethes) vnderstanding that *Cinna* was dead, came out: and so soone as he made him selfe to be knowen, there repayred a great number of souldiers vnto him, of whom he only chose

Crassus flieth Marius and Cinna.

Vibius curtesie vnto Crassus.

Crassus caue.

two

A two thowſand fiue hundred, and with them paſſed by many cities, and ſacked one called MALACA, as diuers doe wryte, but he flatly denied it, and ſtowtly contraried them that affirmed it. And afterwardes hauing gotten ſhippes together, went into AFRICKE, to *Metellus Pius*, a man of great fame, and that had already gotten a great army together. Howbeit he taried not long with *Metellus*, but iarring with him, went vnto *Sylla*, who welcomed and honored him as much, as any that he had about him. *Sylla* afterwardes arriuing in ITALIE, intending to imploy all the young nobility he had in his cõpany, gaue euery one of them charge vnder him, and ſent *Craſſus* into the contry of the MARSIANS, to leauy men of warre there. *Craſſus* deſiring certaine bandes of *Sylla* to aide him, being driuen to paſſe by his enemies: *Sylla* aunſwered him angrely againe. I geue thee thy father, thy brother, thy frendes and kinſemen to aide B thee, whom they moſt wickedly haue ſlaine and murdered, and whoſe deathes I purſue with hot reuenge of maine army, apon thoſe bloody murtherers that haue ſlaine them. *Craſſus* being netled with theſe wordes, departed thence preſently, and ſtowtly paſſing through his enemies, leauied a good number of ſouldiers: & was euer after ready at *Syllaes* commaundement in all his warres. Here began firſt (as they ſay) the ſtrife and contention betwext him and *Pompey*. For *Pompey* being younger than *Craſſus*, and borne of a wicked father in ROME, whom the people more hated thã euer they did man: came yet to great honor by his valliancy, & by the notable acts he did in the warres at that time. So that *Sylla* did *Pompey* that honor many times, which he ſeldom did vnto them that were his elders, nor yet vnto thoſe that were his equalls: as to riſe vp when he came towardes him, to put of his cappe, to call him Imperator, as much C as Lieutenant generall. And this galled *Craſſus* to the hart, although he had no wrong in that *Pompey* was taken before him, bicauſe he had no experience in matters of warre at that time, and alſo bicauſe theſe two vices that were bred in him, miſery and couetouſnes, drowned all his vertue and well doing. For at the ſacke of the city of TVDER, which he tooke, he priuely got the moſt parte of the ſpoyle to him ſelfe, wherof he was accuſed before *Sylla*. Yet in the laſt battell of all this ciuill warre (which was the greateſt and moſt daungerous of all other) euen before ROME it ſelfe, the wing that *Sylla* led, was repulſed and ouerthrowen: but *Craſſus* that led the right wing, ouercame his enemies, followed them in chaſe till midnight, ſent *Sylla* word of his victory, and demaunded vittells for his men. But then againe he ranne into as great defame, for buying, or begging the confiſcate goodes of the outlawes appointed to be D ſlaine, for litle or nothing. And it is ſayd alſo, that he made one an outlaw in the contry of the BRVTIANS, without *Syllaes* priuitie or commaundement, only to haue his goodes. But *Sylla* being told of it, would neuer after vſe him in any open ſeruice. Surely this is a ſtraunge thing, that *Craſſus* ſelfe being a great flatterer of other, & could creepe into any mans fauor: was yet himſelfe eaſie to be won through flattery, of any man that would ſeeke him that way. Furthermore, it is ſayd of him that he had this property: that though himſelfe was as extremely couetous as might be, yet he bitterly reproued and vtterly miſliked them that had his owne humor of auarice. *Pompeyes* honor that he attained vnto dayly, by bearing great charge and rule in the warres, did greatly trouble *Craſſus*: both bicauſe he obtained the honor of triumphe before he came to be Senatour, and alſo for that the ROMANS commonly called him, *Pompeius* E *Magnus*, to ſay, *Pompey* the great. *Craſſus* beinge in place on a time when one ſayd that ſawe *Pompey* comming, ſee, *Pompey* the great is come. And how great I pray ye, ſayd he ſcornefully? howbeit diſpayring that he could not attaine to match him in the warres, he gaue him ſelfe vnto the affayers of the city: and by his paines and induſtry of pleading, and defending mens cauſes; by lending of money to them that needed, and by helping of them that ſued for any office, or demaunded any thing els of the people, he attained in the end to the like eſtimacion and authoritie that *Pompey* was come vnto, by his many noble victories. And there was one notable thing in either of them. For *Pompeyes* fame & power was greater in ROME, when him ſelfe was abſent: and contrary wiſe when he was there preſent, *Craſſus* oftentimes was better eſteemed than he. *Pompey* caried a great maieſty and grauity in his maner of life, would not be ſeene often of the people, but kept from repayring to open places, and would ſpeake but in fewe mens cauſes, and that vnwillingly: all to keepe his fauor and credit whole for him ſelfe, F when he ſtoode in neede to employ the ſame. Where *Craſſus* diligence was profitable to ma-

Craſſus viage into Africke.

Craſſus ſent by Sylla into the contry of the Marſians.

The emulation betwext Craſſus and Pompey.

Sylla called Pompey Imperator.

Craſſus tooke the city of Tuder.

The valliantnes of Craſſus.

Craſſus enuieth Pompey.

The Romanes called Pompey the great.

Craſſus inſtigatory and cauſe of riſing in the common wealth.

ny, bicauſe he kept continually in the market place, and was eaſie to be repayred vnto by any man that required his helpe, dayly following thoſe exerciſes, indeuoring him ſelfe to pleaſure euery man: ſo that by this eaſie acceſſe and familiaritie, for fauor and good will, he grew to exceede the grauety and maieſty of *Pompey*. But as for the worthines of their perſons, their eloquence of ſpeeche, & their good grace & countenaunce: in all thoſe (it is ſayd) *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were both alike. And this enuy and emulation neuer caried *Craſſus* away with any open malice and ill will. For though he was ſory to ſee *Pompey* and *Cæſar* honored aboue him: yet the worme of ambition neuer bred malice in him. No, though *Cæſar* when he was taken by pyrates in Asia (as he was once) and being kept priſoner cryed out alowde: O *Craſſus*, what ioy will this be to thee, when thou ſhalt heare I am in priſon. This notwithſtanding, they were afterwardes good frendes, as it appeareth. For *Cæſar* being ready on a time to depart out of Rome for Prætor into Spayne, and not being able to ſatisfie his creditors that came flocking all at once about him, to ſtay & arreſt his cariage: *Craſſus* in that time of neede forſooke him not, but became his ſurety for the ſumme of eight hundred and thirty talentes.

Three factiõs at Rome.

In fine, all Rome being deuided into three factions, to wit, of *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, and *Craſſus* (for as for *Cato*, the eſtimacion they had of his fidelity was greater, than his authority: and his vertue more wondered at then practiſed) inſomuch as the graueſt and wiſeſt men tooke parte with *Pompey*. The liuelieſt youthes, and likelieſt to runne into deſperate attemptes, they followed *Cæſars* hope. *Craſſus* keeping the middeſt of the ſtreame, was indifferent to them both, and oftentimes chaunged his minde and purpoſe. For in matters of gouernment in the common weale, he neither ſhewed him ſelfe a conſtant frend, nor a daungerous enemy: but for gaine was eaſily made frend or foe. So that in a moment they ſaw him praiſe and reproue, defende and condemne, the ſame lawes, and the ſame men. His eſtimacion grewe more, through the peoples feare of him: than for any good will they bare him. As appeareth by the aunſwere that one *Sicinius* (a very buſie headed man, and one that troubled euery gouernor of the common weale in his time) made to one that asked him, why he was not buſie with *Craſſus* amongeſt the reſt: and howe it happened that he ſo ſcaped his handes? O, ſayd he, he caries haye on his horne. The maner was then at Rome, if any man had a curſt bullocke that would ſtrike with his horne, to winde haye about his heade, that the people might beware of him when they met him. The commocion of fenſers, which ſome call *Spartacus* warre, their waſting and deſtroying of Italie came apon this occaſion. In the citie of Capva, there was one *Lentulus Batiatus*, that kept a great number of fenſers at vnrebated foyles, whom the Romanes call Gladiatores, whereof the moſt parte were Gavles and Thracians. Theſe men were kept locked vp, not for any fault they had cõmitted, but only for the wickednes of their maſter that had bought them, and compelled them by force, one to fight with an other at the ſharpe. On a time two hundred of them were minded to ſteale away: but their conſpiracy being bewrayed, three ſcore and eighteene of them entred into a cookes houſe, and with the ſpittes and kitching kniues, which there they got, went quite out of the city. By the way they fortuned to meete with cartes loden with fenſers weapons, that were brought from Capva going to ſome other city: thoſe they alſo tooke by force, and arming them ſelues therewith, got them then to a ſtrong place of ſcituacion. Where amongeſt them ſelues they choſe three Captaines, and one *Spartacus* a Thracian borne (and of thoſe contrymen that go wandring vp and downe with their heards of beaſtes neuer ſtaying long in a place) they made their Generall. This *Spartacus* was not onely valliant, but ſtrong made withall, and endued with more wiſedom and honeſty, than is commonly found in men of his ſtate and condicion: and for ciuility and good vnderſtanding, a man more like to the Græcians, than any of his countrie men cõmonly be. It is reported, that when *Spartacus* came firſt to Rome to be ſold for a ſlaue, there was founde as he ſlept, a ſnake wound about his face. His wife ſeeing it, being his owne contry woman, & a wiſe woman beſides, poſſeſt with *Bacchus* ſpirite of diuination: ſaid plainly that it did ſignifie, that one day he ſhoulde be of great power, much dread, and haue very good ſucceſſe. This ſame woman propheteſſe was then with him, and followed him likewiſe when he fled. Now firſt they ouerthrewe certaine ſouldiers that came out of Capva againſt them, thinking to take them: and ſtripping them of their armor & weapons, made them glad

Craſſus inconſtancie.

Sicinius prouerbe.

The warre of the bondmen, called Spartacus warre.

The wit and behauior of Spartacus, the chiefe Captaine of the bondemens warre.

to

A to take the fensers weapons, which they threw away as vile & vnseemely. After that, the Romanes sent *Clodius* Prætor against them, with three thowsand men. Who besieged them in their forte, scituate apon a hill that had a verie steepe and narowe aseent vnto it, and kept the passage vp to them: all the rest of the grounde rounde about it, was nothing but high rockes hanging ouer, & apon the great store of wilde vines. Of them the bondmen cut the strongest stirppes, and made thereof ladders, like to these shippe ladders of ropes, of such a length and so strong, that they reached from the toppe of the hill euen to the very bottome: apon those they all came safely downe, sauing one that taried aboue to throwe downe their armor after them, who afterwards by the same ladder saued him selfe last of all. The Romanes mistrusting no such matter, these bondmen compassed the hill round, assailed them behinde, & put them B in such a feare with the sodaine onset, as they fled apon it euery man, and so was their campe taken. Thereupon diuers heardmen and sheapherds that kept cattell hard by the hill, ioyned with the Romanes that fled, being strong and hardy men: of which some they armed, and others they vsed as scowtes and spialls to discouer. Apon this ouerthrowe was sent an other Captaine from Rome, called *Publius Varinus*, against these bondmen: who first ouercame *Furius*, the Lieutenant of *Varinus* in battell, & two thowsand of his men: & after that againe they slue one *Cossinius*, and ouerthrew a great army of his, being ioyned with *P. Varinus*, as his fellow & counseller. *Spartacus* hauing intelligence that *Cossinius* was bathing him selfe at a place called the salte pittes, had almost taken him tardy, hasting much a do by flight to saue him selfe: notwithstanding, *Spartacus* wanne all his cariage at that time, and hauing him hard in chase, C tooke his whole cãpe with great slaughter of his men, among whom *Cossinius* selfe was slaine. *Spartacus* hauing thus now in sundry battells and encounters ouercome the Prætor him selfe, *P. Varinus*, and at the length taken his sergeauntes from him that caried the axes before him, and his owne horse whereon he rode him selfe: was growen then to such a power, as he was dreaded of euery man. Yet all this notwithstandinge, *Spartacus* wisely considering his owne force, thinking it not good to tary till he might ouercome the power of the Romanes: marched with his armie towardes the Alpes, taking it their best way after they had passed them ouer, euerie man to repayre home to his owne contrie, some into Gavle, the rest into Thracia. But his souldiers trustinge to their multitude, and perswading them selues to doe great thinges: would not obey him therein, but went againe to spoile and ouerrunne all Ita- D lie. The Senate of Rome being in a great perplexity, not onely for the shame and dishonor that their men should be ouercome in that sorte by slaues and rebells, but also for the feare & daunger all Italie stoode in besides: sent both the Consulls together, *Gellius* and *Lentulus*, as vnto as difficult and daungerous a warre, as any that could haue happened vnto them. This *Gellius* one of the Consuls, setting sodainly apon a band of the Germaines, which in a brauery and contempt as it were, dispersed them selues from their campe, put them to the sworde euery man. *Lentulus*, his colleague and fellow Consull on thother side, compassed in *Spartacus* round with a great army: but *Spartacus* charged his Lieutenaunts that led tharmy, gaue them battell, ouerthrew them, and tooke all their cariage. Hereupon, marching on still with his army towardes the Alpes, *Cassius* the Prætor, and Gouernor of Gavle about the Po, came a- E gainst him with an army of tenne thowsand men. *Spartacus* ioyned battell with him, and ouercame him. *Cassius* hauing lost a great number of his men, with great difficulty saued him selfe by flying. The Senate hearing of *Cassius* ouerthrow, were marueloully offended with the Consulls, and sent commaundement vnto them, to leaue of the warre: and thereuppon gaue the whole charge thereof vnto *Marcius Crassius*, who was accompanied in this iorney with many noble young gentlemen of honorable houses, both for that he was marueloully esteemed, & also for the good will they bare him. Now went *Crassius* from Rome, and camped in Roma- nia, tarying *Spartacus* comming, who was marching thitherwarde. He sent *Mummius* one of his Lieutenauntes with two legyons, to fetche a compasse about to intrappe the enemie be- hinde, straightly commaunding him to follow *Spartacus* rereward, but in no ease to offer him F skirmishe nor battell. But *Mummius* notwithstanding this straight commaundement, seeing some hope geuen him to doe good, set apon *Spartacus*, who gaue him the ouerthrowe, slue numbers of his men, and moe had slaine, sauing that certaine of them saued them selues by

Clodius a Romane Prætor, sent against Spartacus with 3000 men.

Clodius the Prætor ouercome of Spartacus.

Publius Varinus Prætor, sent against Spartacus.

Spartacus victory of P. Varinius.

Gellius and Lentulus, both Consulls, sent against Spartacus.

Cassius ouercomen by Spartacus.

Crassius sent against Spartacus.

Mummius, Crassius Lieutenant.

Mummius ouerthrowen by Spartacus.

flight, hauing only loſt their armor and weapons. Hereupon *Craſſus* was grieuouſly offended with *Mummius*, and receiuing his ſouldiers that fled, gaue them other armor and weapons but yet vpon ſureties, that they ſhould keepe them better thencefoorth, than they had before done. Now *Craſſus* of the fiue hundred that were in the firſt ranckes, and that firſt fled, them he deuided into fifty times ten, and out of euery one of thoſe he put one of them to death as the lot fell out: renuing againe the auncient diſcipline of the ROMANES to puniſh cowardly ſouldiers, which of long time before had not bene put in vſe. For it is a kinde of death that bringeth open ſhame withall, and bicauſe it is done in the face of the campe, it maketh all the reſidue afrayed to ſee the terror of this puniſhment. *Craſſus* hauing done execution in this ſorte apon his men, led his armie againſt *Spartacus*: who ſtill drue backe, vntill he came to the ſea ſide through the contry of the LVCANIANS, where he found in the ſtraight of the Far of MESSINA, certaine pyrates ſhippes of CILICIA, and there determined to goe into SICILIA. And hauing put two thowſande men into SICILE, he then reuiued the warre there of the ſlaues, which was but in maner newly ended, and lacked ſmall prouocation to beginne it againe. But theſe pyrates hauing promiſed *Spartacus* to paſſe him ouer thither, & alſo taken giftes of him, deceiued him, & brake their promiſe. Whereupon *Spartacus* returning backe againe from the ſea ſide, went & camped within a litle Ile of the RHEGIANS. *Craſſus* comming thither to ſeeke him, and perceiuing that the nature of the place taught him what he ſhould doe: determined with a walle to choke vp the barre or channell entring into this litle Ilande, both to keepe his men occupied from idlenes, & his enemies alſo from vittell. This was a maruelous hard and long peece of worke, notwithſtanding, *Craſſus* finiſhed it beyonde all mens expectation in a very ſhorte time, and brought a trenche from one ſide of the ſea to the other ouerthwart this barre, which was three hundred furlonges in length, fifteene foote broade, and ſo many in height: and apon the toppe of this trenche built a high wall, of a maruelous ſtrength, wherof *Spartacus* at the firſt made light accompt, and laughed at it. But when pillage beganne to faile him, & traueling all about the Ile for vittells, perceiuing him ſelfe to be ſhut in with this wall, and that there was no kinde of vittells to be had within all the compaſſe of the Ile: he then tooke the vantage of a rough boyſterous night, the winde being very great, when it ſnewed exceedingly, ſet his men a worke, and filled vp a peece of the trenche (being of a ſmall bredth) with earth, ſtones, and boughes of trees, whereupon he paſſed ouer the third parte of his army. *Craſſus* at the firſt then became afrayed, leaſt *Spartacus* would haue taken his way directly toward ROME: but he was ſoone put out of that feare, when he heard they were fallen out together, and that a great number of them rebelling againſt *Spartacus*, went & camped by themſelues by the lake of LVCANIA, which water by reporte hath this variable property, that at certaine times it chaungeth and becommeth very ſweete, and at ſome other times againe ſo ſalte and brackiſh, as no man can drinke it. *Craſſus* going to ſet apon them, draue them beyond the lake, but could kill no great nũber of them, nor follow them very farre: bicauſe *Spartacus* came preſently to the reſcue with his army, who ſtayed the chaſe. *Craſſus* had wrytten letters before to the Senate, to call *Lucullus* home out of THRACIA, & *Pompey* out of SPAYNE, wherof he then repented him, & made all the poſſible ſpeede he could to end this warre, before either of them came thither: knowing, that which of them ſo euer came to his helpe, to him would the people geue the honor of ending this warre, and not to him ſelfe. Wherefore he firſt determined to aſſaile them that had reuolted from *Spartacus*, and camped by them ſelues who were led by *Caius Canicius*, and an other called *Caſtus*. So *Craſſus* ſent ſix thowſand footemen before to take a hil, commaunding them to lye as cloſe as they could, that their enemies might not diſcouer them: and ſo they did, and couered their morians & headpeeces as well as might be, from being ſeene. Neuertheleſſe they were diſcouered by two women doing ſacrifice for the ſafety of their army: and therupon were all in great hazard of caſting away, had not *Craſſus* bene, who came in time to their aide, and gaue the enemies the cruelleſt battell that euer they fought in all that warre. For there were ſlaine of the ſlaues at that battel, twelue thowſand and three hundred, of which, two only were found hurt in the backes, and all the reſt ſlaine in the place of their ranckes, valliantly fighting where they were ſet in battell ray. *Spartacus* after this ouerthrowe, drew towardes the mountaines of Petelie, whither *Quintus*

The Romanes maner of puniſhinge cowardly ſouldiers.

Craſſus wonderfull trenche and wall.

A wonderfull nature of the water of the lake of Lucania.

Ambuſh laied by Craſſus.

The valiantnes of Spartacus ſouldiers.

Spartacus retyred to the mountaines of Petelie.

one

A one of *Craſſus* Lieutenauntes, and *Seroſa* his treaſorer followed him, ſtill skirmiſhing with his rereward all the way: yet in fine, *Spartacus* turned ſodainly apon them, made the ROMANES flie that ſtill harried his men in that ſorte, and hurt *Seroſa Craſſus* treaſorer, ſo ſore that he hardly eſcaped with life. But the vantage they had of the ROMANES by this ouerthrow, fell out in the ende to the vtter deſtruction of *Spartacus*. For his men thereby, being the moſt of them fugitiue bondmen, grew to ſuch a ſtowtenes and pride of them ſelues, that they would no more flie from fight, neither yet would they any lenger obey their leaders and Captaines: but by the way as they went, they compaſſed them in with their weapons, and tolde them, that they ſhould go backe againe with them whether they would or not, and be brought through LVCANIA againſt the ROMANES. All this made for *Craſſus* as he wiſhed, for he had receiued

B newes that *Pompey* was comming, and that diuers were ſuters for him at ROME to be ſent in this iorney, ſaying, that the laſt victory of this warre was due to him, and that he would diſpatche it at a battell, as ſoone as he came thither. *Craſſus* therefore ſeeking occaſion to fight, lodged as neere the enemie as he could, and made his men one day caſt a trenche, which the bondmen ſeeking to preuent, came with great fury, and ſet apon them that wrought. Wherupon fell out a hotte skirmiſhe, and ſtill ſupplies came on of either ſide: ſo that *Spartacus* in the ende perceiuing he was forced vnto it, put his whole power in battell ray. And when he had ſet them in order, & that they brought him his horſe he was wont to fight on: he drew out his ſword, and before them all ſlue the horſe dead in the place, ſaying: if it be my fortune to winne the field, I know I ſhall haue horſe enow to ſerue my turne: and if I chaunſe to be ouer-

The noble courage of Spartacus.

C comen, then ſhal I nede no moe horſes. After that, he flew in among the ROMANES, thinking to attaine to fight with *Craſſus*, but he could not come neere him: yet he ſlue with his owne handes two ROMANE Centurions that reſiſted him. In the end, all his men he had about him, forſooke him and fled, ſo as *Spartacus* was left alone among his enemies: who valliantly fighting for his life, was cut in peeces. Now though *Craſſus* fortune was very good in this warre, and that he had ſhewed him ſelfe a noble and valliant Captaine, venturing his perſone in any daunger, yet he could not keepe *Pompey* from the honor of ending this warre: for the ſlaues that ſcaped from this laſt battell where *Spartacus* was ſlaine, fell into *Pompeyes* handes; who made an end of all thoſe rebellious raſcalls. *Pompey* hereupon wrote to the Senate, that *Craſſus* had ouercomen the ſlaues in battell, but that he him ſelfe had pulled vp that warre euen by

Spartacus ſlaine.

D the very rootes. After this *Pompey* made his entrie into ROME, and triumphed for his victorie of *Sertorius*, and the conqueſt of SPAYNE. *Craſſus* alſo ſued not for the great triumphe, neither thought he the ſmall Ouation triumphe a foote, which they graunted him, any honor vnto him, for ouercomming a few fugitiue bondmen. But for this ſmall triumphe, whereby it was called Ouatio, how much it differeth from the great triumphe: ſee *Marcellus* life, where we haue at large diſcourſed thereof. Now *Pompey* being called to be Conſull: *Craſſus*, though he ſtoode in good hope to be choſen Conſull with him, did yet notwithſtanding pray his frendſhippe and furtherance. *Pompey* was very willing to helpe him, and was euer deſirous to make *Craſſus* beholding to him: whereupon he delt frendly for him, and ſpake openly in thaſſembly of the city, that he would no leſſe thanke the people to appoint *Craſſus* his companion & fel-

Pompeyes triumphe for Spayne.

Ouatio ſee Marcellus life.

E low Conſull with him, then for making him ſelfe Conſull. But notwithſtandinge they were both Conſulls together in office, their frendſhip held not, but were euer at iarre, & the one againſt the other. So by meanes of their diſagreement, they paſſed all the time of their Conſulſhippe, without any memorable act done: ſauing that *Craſſus* made a great ſacrifice to *Hercules*, and kept an open feaſt for the people of ROME of a thowſande tables, and gaue to euery citizen corne to finde him three monethes. But in the ende of their Conſulſhip, at a common counſell holden, there was a knight of ROME called *Onatius Aurelius*: (a man not greatly knowen, for that he had no dealinges in the ſtate, and kept moſt in the contry) who getinge vp to the pulpit for orations, told the people what a viſion he had ſeene in his dreame. *Iupiter*, ſaid he, appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you openly, that ye ſhould not put *Craſſus* &

Craſſus made Conſull with Pompey.

Craſſus great feaſting of the people of Rome.

The dreame of Onatius Aurelius.

F *Pompey* out of their office, before they were reconciled together. He had no ſooner ſpoken the wordes, but the people commaunded them to be frendes. *Pompey* ſate ſtill, and ſayd neuer a word to it. But *Craſſus* roſe, and tooke *Pompey* by the hand, & turning him to the people, told

Crassus and Pompey made frendes.

Crassus Censor with Catulus.

Crassus suspected for Catilines conspiracie.

Crassus and Cæsar confederates with Catiline.

Crassus Ciceros enemie.

Cæsar reconciled Crassus and Pompey together.

Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, al three ioyned in frendshippe.

Pompey and Crassus did meete with Cæsar at Luca.

them alowde: my Lordes of Rome, I do nothing vnworthy of my selfe, to seeke *Pompeis* frendship and fauor first, since you your selues haue called him the great, before he had any heare vpon his face, & that ye gaue him the honor of triumphe, before he was Senatour. And this is all that *Crassus* did of any accompt in his Consulship. When he was Censor also, he passed it ouer without any acte done. For he reformed not the Senate, mustered not the men of warre, nor tooke any view or estimate of the peoples goodes: although *Lucratius Catulus* was his colleague and fellowe Censor, as gentle a persone as any of that time that liued in Rome. Now *Crassus* at the first entry into his office of Censor, going about a cruell and violent act, to bring Egypt to pay tribute to the Romanes, *Catulus* did stowtly withstand him: wherby dissention falling out betwene them, they both did willingly resigne their office. In that great conspiracie of *Catiline*, which in manner ouerthrewe the whole state and common wealth of Rome, *Crassus* was had in some iealousie and mistrust: bicause there was one of the confederats that named him for one of them, howbeit they gaue no credit vnto him. Yet *Cicero* in an oration of his, doth plainly accuse *Crassus* & *Cæsar*, as confederats with *Catiline*: howbeit this oration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the oration he made also, when his office and authority of Consul ceased, he sayd: that *Crassus* came one night to him, & shewed him a letter touching *Catiline*, certainly confirming the conspiracy then in examination. For which cause *Crassus* euer after hated him: and that he did not openly reuenge it, the let was by meane of his sonne. For *Publius Crassus* much fauoring eloquence, and beinge geuen to his booke, bare great good will vnto *Cicero*: in such sorte, that apon his banishment he put on chaunged garmentes as *Cicero* did, and procured many other youthes to do the like also, and in fine, perswaded his father to become his frend. *Cæsar* now returning to Rome from the prouince he had in gouernment, intended to sue for the Consulshippe: and perceiuing that *Pompey* & *Crassus* were againe at a iarre, thought thus with him selfe, that to make the one of them his frend to further his sute, he should but procure thother his enemy: and minding therfore to attaine his desire with the fauor of them both, sought first the meanes to make the frendes, & perswaded with them, that by their controuersie thone seeking thothers vndoing, they did thereby but make *Cicero*, *Catulus*, and *Cato*, of the greater authority, who of them selues were of no power, if they two ioyned in frendshippe together: for making both their frendes and factions one, they might rule the state and common wealth euen as they would. *Cæsar* hauing by his perswasion reconciled *Crassus* and *Pompey*, ioyning their three powers in one, made them selues vnuincible, which afterwardes turned to the destruction of the people and Senate of Rome. For he made them not only greater than they were before, the one by the others meanes: but him selfe also of great power through them. For when they beganne to fauor *Cæsar*, he was straight chosen Consull without any deniall: and so behaued him selfe in the Consulship, that at the length they gaue him charge of great armies, and then sent him to gouerne the Gavles: which was, as a man may say, euen them selues to put him into the castell that should kepe all the citie in subiection: imagining that they two should make spoyle and good booty of the rest, sithence they had procured him such a gouernment. Now for *Pompey*, the cause that made him commit this error was nothing els, but his extreame ambition. But as for *Crassus*, besides his old vice of couetousnes rooted in him, he added to that a newe aurice and desire of triumphes and victories, which *Cæsars* fame for prowes and noble actes in warres did throughly kindell in him, that he being otherwise his better in all thinges, might not yet in that be his inferior: which furie tooke such holde as it neuer left him, till it brought him vnto an infamous end, and the common wealth to great misery. Thus *Cæsar* being come out of his prouince of Gavle vnto Lvca, diuers Romanes went thither to see him, and among other, *Pompey* and *Crassus*. They hauing talked with him in secret, agreed among them to deuise to haue the whole power of Rome in their handes: so that *Cæsar* should kepe his armie together, and *Crassus* and *Pompey* should take other prouinces and armies to them. Now to attaine to this, they had no way but one: that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should againe sue the second time to be Consulls, and that *Cæsars* frendes at Rome should stand with them for it, sending also a sufficient number of his souldiers to be there at the day of choosing the Consulls. Thereupon *Pompey* and *Crassus* returned to Rome to that ende, but not without suspicion of their

A their practise: for there ranne a rumor in the citie, that their meeting of *Cæsar* in Lvca, was for no good intent. Whereupon, *Marcellinus* and *Domitius* asked *Pompey* in open Senate, if he ment to make sute to be Consull. *Pompey* aunswered them: peraduenture he did, peraduenture he did not. They asking him againe the same question: he aunswered, he would sue for the good men, not for the euill. *Pompeyes* answers were thought very prowde & hawty. Howbeit *Crassus* aunswered more modestly, that if he saw it necessary for the common wealth, he would sue to be Consull: if not, that he would not stand for it. Vpon these words, some were so bold to make sute for the Consulshippe, as *Domitius* among other. But afterwardes *Pompey* and *Crassus* standing openly for it, all the rest left of their sute for feare of them, *Domitius* only excepted: whom *Cato* so prayed and intreated, as his kinseman and frend, that he made

Pompeyes aunswer.

Crassus modest aunswere.

B him to seeke it. For he perswaded him, that it was to fight for the defense of their libertie, and how that it was not the Consulshippe *Crassus* and *Pompey* looked after, but that they went about to bring in a tyranny: & that they sued not for the office, but to get such prouinces and armies into their handes as they desired, vnder colour and countenaunce of the Consulship. *Cato* ringing these words into their eares, & beleuing it certainly to be true as he sayd, brought *Domitius* as it were by force into the market place, where many honest men ioyned with them bicause they wondred what the matter ment that these two noble men should sue the second time to be Consulls, and why they made sute to be ioyned together, and not to haue any other with them, considering there were so many other worthy men, meete to be companion with either of them both in that office. *Pompey* fearing he should be preuented of his purpose,

Pompey made him selfe and Crassus Consulls by force.

C fell to commit great outrage and violence. As amongest other, when the day came to choose the Consulls, *Domitius* going earely in the morning before day, accõpanied with his frends to the place where the electiõ should be: his man that caried the torch before him was slaine, by some whom *Pompey* had layed in waite, & many of his companie hurt, and among others, *Cato*. And hauing thus dispersed them, he beset a house rounde about whether they fled for succour, and inclosed them there, vntill they were both chosen Consulls together. Shortly after they came with force to the pulpit for orations, and draue *Cato* out of the market place, & slue some of them that resisted & would not flye. They also then prolonged *Cæsars* gouernment of the Gavles for fiue yeres more, and procured for them selues by decree of the people, the contries of Syria and Spayne. Againe, when they drew lottes together, Syria fell

Pompey and Crassus Consulls the second time.

D to *Crassus*, and Spayne to *Pompey*. Euery man was glad of their fortune. For the people on the one side were loth *Pompey* should goe farre from Rome: & him selfe also louing his wife well, was glad he had occasion to be so neere her, that he might remaine the most of his time at Rome. But *Crassus* of all other reioyced most at his happe, that he should goe into Syria: and it appeared plainely that he thought it was the happiest turne that euer came to him, for he would euer be talking of the iorney, were he in neuer so great or straunge company. Furthermore, being among his frendes and familiars, he would geue out such fonde boastes of it, as no young man could haue made greater vauntes: which was cleane contrary to his yeres and nature, hauing liued all his life time as modestly, and with as small ostentacion as any man liuing. But then forgetting him selfe too much had such fond conceites in his heade, as he not

Crassus had the gouernmens of Syria.

E only hoped after the conquest of Syria, and of the Parthians, but flattered him selfe that the world should see all that *Lucullus* had done against king *Tigranes*, and *Pompey* against king *Mithridates*, were but trifles (as a man would say) to that he intended. For he looked to conquier the Bactrians, the Indians, and the great Occean sea toward the East, though in the decree passed by the people there was no mention made of any warres against the Parthians. Nowe euery man sawe *Crassus* ambition and greedy desire of honor: insomuch as *Cæsar* selfe wrote vnto *Crassus* out of Gavle, commending his noble intent and forwardnes, and wished him to goe thorow therewith. But *Atteius* one of the Tribunes being bent against *Crassus* to withstand his departure: (hauing diuers other confederats with him to further his pur-

Atteius the Tribune, against Crassus departure.

F pose, who much misliked that any man of a brauery and lustines should make warre with any nation or people that had no way offended the Romanes; but were their frends and confederates) *Crassus* fearing this conspiracy, prayed *Pompey* to assist and accompany him out of the city, bicause he was of great authority and much reuerenced of the people, as it appeared then.

dod

For, though multitudes of people were gathered together of purpose to let *Crassus* of his de- A
parture, and to crie out apon him: yet when they saw *Pompey* goe before him, with a pleasant
smyling countenaunce, they quieted them selues, and made a lane for them, suffering them to
passe on, and sayd nothing. This notwithstanding, *Atteius* the Tribune stepped before them,
and commaunded *Crassus* he should not departe the city, with great protestations if he did the
contrary. But perceiuing *Crassus* still held on his way notwithstanding, he commaunded then
one of the officers to lay hold of him, & to arrest him: howbeit the other Tribunes would not
suffer the officer to doe it. So the sergeaunt dismissed *Crassus*. Then *Atteius* running towards
the gate of the city, got a chasingdish with coles, & set it in the middest of the streete. When
Crassus came against it, he cast in certaine perfumes, and made sprinckelinges ouer it, pro-
nouncing horrible curses, and calling apon terrible and straunge names of goddes. The Ro- B
MANES say that those manner of curses are very auncient, but yet very secret, and of so great
force: as he that is once cursed with that curse can neuer escape it, nor he that vseth it doth ne-
uer prosper after it. And therefore fewe men doe vse it, and neuer but apon vrgent occasion.
But then they much reproued *Atteius*, for vsing of these dreadfull ceremonies and extreame
curses, which were much hurtefull to the common wealth, although he for his contries sake
had thus cursed *Crassus*. *Crassus* setting forward notwithstandinge, sayled on, and arriued at
BRVNDVSIVM, when winter stormes had not left the seas, and he had lost many of his shippes:
howbeit he landed his army, and marched through the contry of GALATIA. There he found
king *Deiotarus*, a very old man and yet building a new city: and to taunte him pretily, sayd vn-
to him. What, O king, beginne you to builde now in the afternone? To whom the king of C
the GALATIANS againe smiling made aunswere. And truely Syr Captaine, you goe not very
earely (me thinkes) to make warre with the PARTHIANS. For in deede *Crassus* was three score
and vpward, and yet his face made him seeme elder then he was. But to our story againe. *Cras-*
sus being comen into the contry, had as good lucke as he looked for: for he easily built a bridge
apon the riuer of Euphrates, and passed his armie ouer it without any let or trouble. So en-
tring into MESOPOTAMIA, receiued many cities, that of good will yeelded them selues vnto
him. Howbeit there was one city called ZENODOTIA, whereof *Appolonius* was tyran, where
Crassus lost a hundred of his men: thereupon he brought his whole armie thither, tooke it by
force, sacked their goodes, and sold the prisoners by the drumme. The GREEKES called this
citie ZENODOTIA, and for winning of the same *Crassus* suffered his men to call him Impera- D
tor, to say, soueraigne Captaine: which turned to his shame and reproach, and made him to
be thought of a base minde, as one that had small hope to attaine to great thinges, making
such reconing of so small a trifle. Thus when he had bestowed seuen thowsand of his foote-
men in garrison, in those cities that had yeelded vnto him, and about a thowsand horsmen he
returned backe to winter in SYRIA. Thither came his sonne *Publius Crassus* to him out of
GAVLE from *Iulius Cæsar*, who had geuen him such honors, as Generalles of ROME did vse
to geue to valliant souldiers for reward of their good seruice: and brought vnto his father a
thowsand men of armes, all choise men. This me thinkes was the greatest fault *Crassus* com-
mitted in all his enterprise of that warre. For when he should presently haue gone on still, and
entred into BABYLON and SELEVCIA, (cities that were euer enemies vnto the PARTHIANS) E
he tracted time, & gaue them leasure to prepare to encounter his force when he should come
against them. Againe they found great fault with him for spending of his time when he lay in
SYRIA, seeming rather to leade a marchauntes life, than a chieftaines. For he neuer saw his
army, nor trained them out to any marshall exercise, but fell to counting the reuenue of the
cities, and was many dayes busily occupied weying of the gold and siluer in the temple of the
goddesse *Hierapolis*. And worse then that: he sent to the people, princes, and cities about him,
to furnishe him with a certaine number of men of warre, and then he would discharge them
for a summe of money. All these things made him to be both ill spoken of, & despised of euery
body. The first token of his ill lucke that happened to him, came from this goddesse *Hierapolis*,
whom some suppose to be *Venus*, other say *Iuno*, and others, that she is the mother and chiefe F
cause that giueth beginning of moisture to euery thing that commeth forth and hath a being,
and taught men the original cause also of euery good thing. For as *Crassus* the father, & sonne

Obseruations of cursinges among the Romanes.

Crassus iorney into Syria.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia.

Crassus passeth ouer the riuer of Euphrates.

Zenodotia taken by Crassus.

Publius Crassus came to his father in Syria.

Great faultes committed by Crassus.

both,

A both, were comming out of the temple: *Craſſus* the younger fell firſt on his face, and the father afterwardes apon his ſonne. Likewiſe as he was gatheringe his garriſons together, callinge them out of the cities into the fielde, there came Ambaſſadors vnto him from *Arſaces*, kinge of the PARTHIANS: who deliuered him their meſſage in fewe wordes, and tolde him, that if this army he brought came from the ROMANES to make warre with their maſter, then that he would haue no peace nor frendſhip with them, but would make mortall warres againſt them. Further, if it were (as he had heard ſay) that *Craſſus* againſt the peoples mindes of ROME, for his owne couetous deſire, and peculiar profit was come in a iolity to make warre with the PARTHIANS, and to inuade their contry: then in that reſpect *Arſaces* would deale more fauorably, in conſideration of *Craſſus* yeares, and was contented alſo to ſuffer his men to
B departe with life and goods, whom he tooke rather to be in priſon, than in garriſon within his cities. Thereto *Craſſus* coragiouſly aunſwered, that he would make them aunſwere in the city of SELEVCIA. Therewith *Vagiſes*, one of the eldeſt Ambaſſadors fell a laughing, and ſhewing *Craſſus* the palme of his hand, told him thus: heare will ſooner grow in the palme of my hand, *Craſſus*, than you will come to SELEVCIA. In this ſorte the Ambaſſadors tooke their leaue of *Craſſus*, and returned to their kinge *Hyrodes*, tellinge him he was to prepare for warre. In the meane ſpace, certaine of *Craſſus* ſouldiers whom he had left in garriſon in the cities of MESOPOTAMIA, hauing ſcaped maruelous daungerouſly and with great difficulty: brought him newes of importance, hauing them ſelues ſeene the wonderfull great campe of the enemy & their maner of fight in the aſſaultes they made to the cities where they lay in garriſon. And, as
C it falleth out commonly among men eſcaped from any daunger making thinges more fearefull and daungerous than they be in deede: they reported that it was vnpoſſible by flyinge to ſaue them ſelues, if they did followe in chaſe: neither to ouertake them alſo, if they fled. And further, that they had ſuch kinde of arrowes as would flie ſwifter, than a mans eye could diſcerne them, and would perce through any thing they hit, before a man could tell who ſhot them. Beſides, for the horſemens weapons they vſed, that they were ſuch, as no armor could poſſibly hold out: and their armors on thother ſide made of ſuch a temper and metall, as no force of any thing could pearce them thorow. The ROMANES hearing theſe newes, fell from their former ſtowtnes and corage, being borne in hande before, that the PARTHIANS differed nothing at all from the ARMENIANS and CAPPADOCIANS, whom *Lucullus* had ouercome
D and ſpoyled ſo oft, that he was weary withall: and they had already made accompt, that their greateſt paynes in this warre, was but the tediouſnes of the iorney they had to make, and the trouble they ſhould haue to follow thoſe men that would not abide them. But then contrarie to expectation, they looked to come to ſtrokes, and to be luſtely fought withall. Hereupon, diuers Captaines and head officers that had charge in the army (among whom *Caſſius* the treſorer was one) aduiſed *Craſſus* to ſtay, and to deliberate in counſell to knowe whether he were beſt to goe on, or to remaine where he was. The ſoothſayers them ſelues did partely let *Craſſus* vnderſtand, that the goddes ſhewed no good tokens in all their ſacrifices, and were hardly to be pacified. But *Craſſus* gaue no eare to them, neither would heare any other that told him as much, but only liſtned to them that counſelled him to make haſt. Yet *Craſſus* chiefeſt com-
E forte and incoragement, was of *Artabazes*, king of ARMENIA, who came to his campe with ſixe thowſand horſe, which were but only the kinges cornet and garde. Againe he promiſed him other tenne thowſand horſemen all armed and barbed, and thirty thowſande footemen which he kept continually in pay, and counſelled *Craſſus* to enter the PARTHIANS contrie vpon ARMENIAES ſide: bicauſe his campe ſhoulde not onely haue plenty of vittells, which he would ſend him out of his contry, but for that he ſhould alſo march in more ſafety, hauing a contrie full of mountaines and woddes before him very ill for horſemen, which was the only ſtrength and force of the PARTHIANS. *Craſſus* coldly thanked *Artabazes* for his good will, & all his noble offer of aide: yet told him he would take his iorney through MESOPOTAMIA, where he had left many good ſouldiers of the ROMANES. And thus departed the king of AR-
F MENIA from him. But now as *Craſſus* was paſſing his army apon the bridge he had made ouer the riuer of Euphrates, there fel out ſodaine ſtraunge & terrible crackes of thūder, with fearefull flaſhes of lightning full in the ſouldiers faces: moreouer, out of a great blacke clowde

The firſt ſignes of Craſſus ill lucke.

This name of Arſaces, or Arſacides, was common to all the kings of the Parthians.

Ambaſſadors of the Parthians ſent to Craſſus.

Vagiſes words, ſhewing Craſſus the palme of his hande.

Hyrodes, king of the Parthians.

Caſſius treaſorer vnder Craſſus.

Craſſus forewarned by the Soothſayers of his ill ſucceſſe.

Artabazes, king of Armenia, came to Craſſus campe.

Wonderfull ſignes and tokens to Craſſus.

came a wonderfull ſtorme and tempeſt of winde apon the bridge, that the maruelous force thereof ouerthrewe a great parte of the bridge, and caried it quite away. Beſides all this, the place where he appointed to lodge, was twiſe ſtriken with two great thunder clappes. One of his great horſe in like caſe, being brauely furniſhed and ſet out, tooke the bit in his teeth, and lept into the riuer with his ryder on his backe, who were both drowned; and neuer ſeene after. They ſay alſo, that the firſt Eagle & enſigne that was to be taken vp when they marched, turned backe of it ſelfe, without any handes layed vppon it. Further it fortuned that as they were diſtributing the vittells vnto the ſouldiers, after they had all paſſed ouer the bridge, the firſt thing that was geuen them, was ſalte, and water lintels, which the ROMANES take for a token of death and mourning, bicauſe they vſe it at the funeralles of the deade. After all this, when *Craſſus* was exhorting his ſouldiers, a worde ſcaped his mouth that troubled the armie maruelouſly. For he told them that he had broken the bridge which he had made ouer the riuer of Euphrates, of purpoſe, bicauſe there ſhould not a man of them returne backe againe. Where in deede when he had ſeene that they tooke this word in ill parte, he ſhould haue called it in againe, or haue declared his meaning, ſeeing his men ſo amazed thereat: but he made light of it, he was ſo wilfull. In the ende he made ordinarie ſacrifice for the purging of his army: and when the Soothſayer gaue him the intrells of the beaſt that was ſacrificed, they fell out of his handes. *Craſſus* perceiuing that the ſtanders by were troubled withall, fell a laughing, and told them, you ſee what age is: yet ſhall you not ſee my ſword fall out of my hande. So hauing ended his ſacrifice, he beganne to marche forwarde into the contrie by the riuers ſide, with ſeuen legions of footemen, and litle lacke of foure thowſand horſe, and in maner as many ſhot and ſlinges lightly armed. There returned to him certaine of his ſkoutes that had viewed the contry, and told him there was not an enemy to be ſeene in the field: howbeit that they had founde the tracke of a maruelous number of horſe, which ſeemed as they were returned backe. Then *Craſſus* firſt of all beganne to hope well: and his ſouldiers alſo, they fell to deſpiſe the PARTHIANS, thinking certainly that they would not come to battell with them. Yet *Caſſius* his treaſorer euer perſwaded him the contrary, and thought it better for him to refreſh his army a litle in one of the cities where he had his garriſon, vntil ſuch time as he heard more certaine newes of the enemies: or elſe that he would march directly towards SELEVCIA by the riuers ſide, which lay fit for him to vittell him ſelfe eaſily by botes that would alwayes follow his campe, & ſhould be ſure beſides that the enemies could not enuiron him behinde, ſo that hauing no way to ſet apon thē but before, they ſhould haue none aduantage of them. *Craſſus* going about then to conſult of the matter, there came one *Ariamnes* vnto him, a Captaine of the ARABIANS, a fine ſubtill fellow, which was the greateſt miſchiefe and euill, that fortune could ſend to *Craſſus* at that preſent time, to bring him to vtter ruine and deſtruction. For there were ſome of *Craſſus* ſouldiers that had ſerued *Pompey* before in that contrie, who knew him very well, and remembred that *Pompey* had done him great pleaſures: whereupon they thought that he bare great good will to the ROMANES. But *Ariamnes* had bene labored at that time by the king of PARTHIANS Captaines, & was wonne by them te deceiue *Craſſus*, and to intiſe him all he could, to drawe him from the riuer and the woddy contry, & to bring him into the plaine fielde, where they might compaſſe him in with their horſemen: for they ment nothing leſſe than to fight with the ROMANES at the ſwordes poynte. This barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* comming to *Craſſus*, did highly praiſe and commend *Pompey*, as his good Lord and benefactor (for he was an excellent ſpoken man) and extolled *Craſſus* army, reprouing him that he came ſo ſlowly forward, tracting time in that ſorte as he did, preparing him ſelfe as though he had neede of armor and weapon, and not of feete and handes ſwift & readie againſt thenemies: who (for the chiefeſt of them) had of long time occupied them ſelues to flie with their beſt moueables, towardes the deſertes of SCYTHIA & HYRCANIA. Therfore if you determine (ſayd he) to fight, it were good you made haſt to meete them, before the king haue gathered all his power together. For nowe you haue but *Surena* and *Sillaces*, two of his Lieutenauntes againſt you, whom he hath ſent before to ſtay you that you followe him not: and for the king him ſelfe, be bold, he meaneth not to trouble you. But he lyed in all. For king *Hyrodes* had deuided his army in two partes at the firſt, whereof him ſelfe tooke the one, and went

Craſſus armie was fifty thowſand men.

Ariamnes, a Captaine of the Arabians.

Ariamnes deceiueth Craſſus.

Surena and Sillaces, Arſaces Lieutenauntes.

went to spoyle the realme of ARMENIA, to be reuenged of king *Artabazes*: and with the other he sent *Surena* against the ROMANES, not for any contempt he had of *Crassus* (for it was not likely he would disdaine to come to battel with him, being one of the chiefest noble men of ROME, and to thinke it more honorable to make warre with king *Artabazes* in ARMENIA) but I thinke rather he did it of purpose to auoyde the greater daunger, and to keepe farre of, that he might with safetie see what would happen, and therefore sent *Surena* before to hasard battell, and to turne the ROMANES backe againe. For *Surena* was no meane man, but the second person of PARTHIA next vnto the king: in riches, reputacion, valure, and experience in warres, the chiefest of his time among all the PARTHIANS, and for execution, no man like him. *Surena*, when he did but remoue into the contry only with his household, had a thowsand camels to cary his sumpters, and two hundred coches of Curtisans, a thowsand men of armes armed at all peeces, and as many moe besides lightly armed: so that his whole traine & court made aboue ten thowsand horse. Further, by the tenure of that land he had by succession from his ancesters, his office was at the first proclaiming of any king, to put the roial crowne or diademe apon the kinges head. Moreouer, he had restored king *Hyrodes* that then reigned, to his crowne, who had bene before driuen out of his realme: and had wonne him also the great city of SELEVCIA, him selfe being the first man that scaled the walls, and ouerthrew them with his owne handes that resisted him. And though he was vnder thirtie yeares of age, yet they counted him a wise man, as well for his counsell, as his experience, which were the meanes whereby he ouercame *Crassus*. Who through his rashnes and folly at the first, and afterwards for very feare and timerousnes, which his misfortune had brought him vnto, was easie to be taken and intrapped, by any policy or deceit. Now this barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* hauing then brought *Crassus* to beleue all that he sayd, and drawen him by perswasion from the riuer of Euphrates, vnto a goodly plaine contrie, meeting at the first with very good way, but after with very ill, bicause they entred into sandes where their feete soncke deepe, and into desert fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they could deeme by eye, so that not only extreame thirst, and miserable way maruelously amazed the ROMANES, but the discomforte of the eye also, when they could see nothing to stay their sight vpon: that, aboue all the rest, wrought their extreame trouble. For, neither farre nor nere any sight of tree, riuer, brooke, mountaine, grasse, or greene herbe appeared within their view, but in troth an endlesse sea of desert sandes on euerie side, rounde about their campe. Then beganne they to suspect that they were betraied. Againe, when newes came that *Artabazes* king of ARMENIA, was kept in his contrie with a great warre king *Hyrodes* made apon him, which kept him that he could not according to his promise come to aide him, yet that he wished him to draw towardes ARMENIA, that both their armies being ioyned together they might the better fight with king *Hyrodes*, if not, that he would alwayes keepe the woddy contrie, marching in those vallies and places where his horsemen might be safe, and about the mountaines: *Crassus* was so wilfull, as he would wryte no aunswere to it, but angrily told the messenger, that he had no leasure then to harken to the ARMENIANS, but that afterwardes he would be reuenged well enough of *Artabazes* treason. *Cassius* his treasorer was much offended with *Crassus* for this answere: howbeit perceiuing he could doe no good with him, and that he tooke euery thing in euill parte, he sayd vnto him, he would tell him no more. Notwithstanding, taking *Ariamnes* this Captaine of the ARABIANS a side, he rebuked him roundly, and sayd: O thou wretche, what cursed deuill hath brought thee to vs, and how cunningly hast thou bewitched & charmed *Crassus*: that thou hast made him bring his army into this endlesse desert, and to trace this way fitter for an ARABIAN Captaine of theeues, than for a Generall and Consull of the ROMANES? *Ariamnes* being crafty & subtill, speaking gently vnto *Cassius*, did comforte him, and prayed him to haue pacience, and going and comming by the bandes, seeming to helpe the souldiers, he tolde them merily: O my fellowes, I beleue you thinke to marche through the contry of *Naples*, and looke to meete with your pleasaunt springes, goodly groues of wodde, your naturall bathes, and the good innes round about to refreshe you, and doe not remember that you passe through the desertes of ARABIA and ASSYRIA. And thus did this barbarous Captaine entertaine the ROMANES a while: but afterwardes he dislodged betimes, before he

Surena sent against Crassus.

Surena what he was.

Surenaes courte and traine.

Surena a young man, but very wise.

Artabazes sens an Embassage vnto Crassus.

Crassus wilfulnes.

was openly knowen for a traitor, and yet not without *Crassus* priuity, whom he bare in hande A
that he would goe set some broyle and tumult in the enemies campe. It is reported that *Crassus* the very same day came out of his tent not in his coate armor, of scarlet, (as the maner was of the ROMANE Generalls) but in a blacke coate: howbeit, remembring him selfe, he straight chaunged it againe. It is sayd moreouer, that the ensigne bearers when they should march away, had much a doe to plucke their ensignes out of the ground, they stucke so fast. But *Crassus* scoffing at the matter, hastened them the more to marche forward, compelling the footemen to goe as fast as the horsemen, till a fewe of their skowtes came in, whom they had sent to discouer: who brought newes howe the enemies had slaine their fellowes, and what a doe they had them selues to scape with life, and that they were a maruelous great army, & well appointed to geue them battell. This newes made all the campe afrayed, but *Crassus* selfe more B
than the rest, so as he beganne to set his men in battell ray, being for hast in maner besides him selfe. At the first following *Cassius* minde, he set his ranckes wide, casting his souldiers into a square battell, a good way a sonder one from an other, bicause he would take in as much of the plaine as he coulde, to keepe the enemies from compassinge them in, and so deuided the horsemen into the winges. Yet afterwardes he chaunged his minde againe, and straited the battell of his footemen, facioning it like a bricke, more long than broade, making a front, and shewing their faces euery way. For there were twelue cohorts or ensignes imbattelled on either side, & by euery cohorte a company of horse, bicause there should be no place left without aide of horsemen, and that all his battell should be a like defended. Then he gaue *Cassius* the leading of one wing, his sonne *Publius Crassus* the other, and him selfe led the battel in the C
middest. In this order they marched forward, till they came to a litle brooke called Balissus, where there was no great store of water, but yet happely lighted on for the souldiers, for the great thirst and extreame heate they had abidden all that painefull way, where they had met with no water before. There the most parte of *Crassus* Captaines thought best to campe all night, that they might in the meane time finde meanes to knowe their enemies what number they were, and how they were armed, that they might fight with them in the morning. But *Crassus* yeelding to his sonnes and his horsemens perswasion, who intreated him to march on with his army, and to set apon the enemy presently: commaunded, that such as would eate, should eate standing, keeping their ranckes. Yet on the sodaine, before this commaundement could runne through the whole army, he commaunded them againe to march, not fayer and D
softly as when they go to geue battell, but with speede, till they spied the enemies, who seemed not to the ROMANES at the first to be so great a number, neither so brauelie armed as they thought they had bene. For, concerning their great number, *Surena* had of purpose hid them, with certaine troupes he sent before: and to hyde their bright armors, he had cast clokes and beastes skinnes apon them. But when both the armies approached neere thone to thother, & that the signe to geue charge was lift vp in the ayer: first they filled the fielde with a dreadfull noyse to heare. For the PARTHIANS doe not encorage their men to fight with the sounde of a horne, neither with trompets nor howboyes, but with great kettle drommes hollow within, & about them they hang litle bells & copper rings, and with them they all make a noise euery where together, and it is like a dead sounde, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing E
of a wild beast, & a fearefull noyse as if it thundered, knowing that hearing is one of the senses that sooneste moueth the harte & spirite of any man, & maketh him sooneste besides him selfe. The ROMANES being put in feare with this dead sounde, the PARTHIANS straight threw the clothes & couerings from them that hid their armor, & then shewed their bright helmets and curaces of Margian tempered steele, that glared like fire, & their horses barbed with steele and copper. And *Surena* also, General of the PARTHIANS, who was as goodly a personage, and as valliant, as any other in all his host, though his beawtie somewhat effeminate, in iudgement shewed small likelyhoode of any such corage: for he painted his face, and ware his heare after the facion of the MEDES, contrary to the maner of the PARTHIANS, who let their heare grow after the facion of the TARTARES, without combing or tricking of them, to appeare more ter- F
rible to their enemies. The PARTHIANS at the first thought to haue set apon the ROMANES with their pykes, to see if they could breake their first ranckes. But when they drew neere, and

sawe

Crassus army against the Parthians.

Surenaes stratageame, for the hiding of his great army.

Crassus battell with the Parthians.

The Parthiãs kettle drõmes.

The person of Surena, Generall of the Parthians described.

A saw the depth of the ROMANES battell standing close together, surely keping their ranckes: then they gaue backe, making as though they fled, & dispersed them selues. But the ROMANES marueled when they found it contrary, & that it was but a deuise to enuiron one them on euery side. Whereupon *Crassus* commaunded his shot and light armed men to assaile them, which they did: but they went not farre, they were so beaten in with arrowes, and driuen backe vnto their force of the armed men. And this was the first beginning that both feared and troubled the ROMANES, when they saw the vehemency and great force of the enemies shotte, which brake their armors, and ranne thorowe any thing they hit, were it neuer so hard or stiff. The PARTHIANES thus still drawing backe, shotte all together on euery side, not a fote before, but a fote behinde: for the battell of the ROMANES stoode so neere together, as if they would, they could not misse the killing of some. These bowmen drew a great strength, & had bigge strong bowes, which sent the arrowes from them with a wonderful force. The ROMANES by meanes of these bowes were in hard state. For if they kept their ranckes, they were grieuously wounded: againe if they left them, and fought to run apon the PARTHIANES to fight at hande with them, they saw they could do them but litle hurt, and yet were very likely to take the greater harme them selues. For as fast as the ROMANES came apon them, so fast did the PARTHIANES flie from them, and yet in flying continued still their shooting: which no nation but the SCYTHIANS could better doe than they, being a matter in deede most greatly to their aduantage. For by their flight they best doe saue them selues, and fighting still, they thereby shunne the shame of that their flying. The ROMANES still defended them selues, and held it out, so long as they B had any hope that the PARTHIANES would leaue fighting, when they had spent their arrowes, or would ioyne battell with them. But after they vnderstoode that there were a great number of camels loden with quiuers full of arrowes, where the first that had bestowed their arrowes fetched about to take new quiuers: then *Crassus* seeing no end of their shotte, began to faint, and sent to *Publius* his sonne, willing him in any case to charge apon the enemies, and to geue an onset, before they were compassed in on euery side. For it was on *Publius* side, that one of the winges of the enemies battell was neerest vnto them, and where they rode vp and downe so compasse them behinde. Whereupon *Crassus* sonne taking thirteene hundred horsemen with him (of the which, a thowsand were of the men of armes whom *Iulius Cæsar* sent) and fiue hundred shot, with eight ensignes of footemen hauing targets, most neere to the place where C him selfe then was: he put them out in bredth, that wheling about they might geue a charge apon them that rode vp & downe. But they seeing him comming, turned straight their horse and fled, either bicause they meant a marrisse, or else of purpose to beguile this young *Crassus*, intising him thereby as farre from his father as they could. *Publius Crassus* seeing them flye, cried out, these men will not abide vs, and so spurred on for life after them: so did *Censorinus* and *Megabacchus* with him (the one a Senatour of ROME a very eloquent man, the other a stowte coragious valliant man of warre) both of them *Crassus* well approued frendes, and in maner of his owne yeares. Now the horsemen of the ROMANES being trained out thus to the chase, their footemen also would not abide behinde, nor shew them selues to haue lesse hope, ioy, and corage, then their horsemen had. For they thought all had bene won, and that there D was no more to do, but to follow the chase till they were gone farre from the army, and then they found the deceit. For the horsemen that fled before them, sodainly turned againe, and a number of others besides came and set vpon them. Whereupon they stayed, thinking that the enemies perceiuing they were so few, would come and fight with them hande to hande. Howbeit they set out against them their men at armes with their barbed horse, & made their light horsemen wheele rounde about them, keeping non order at all: who galloping vp and downe the plaine, whurled vp the sand hilles from the bottome with their horse feete, which raised such a wonderfull dust, that the ROMANES could scarce see or speake one to another. For they being shut vp into a litle roome, and standing close one to an other, were sore wounded with the PARTHIANES arrowes, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguish E and paine they felt: and turning and tormenting them selues apon the sande, they brake the arrowes sticking in them. Againe, striuing by force to plucke out the forked arrowheades, that had pearced farre into their bodies through their vaines & sinewes: thereby they opened

The Parthians fought retyring.

The maner of the Parthians fight.

The praise of Censorinus & Megabacchus.

The miserable sight of the Romanes against the Parthians.

their woundes wider, and so cast them selues away. Many of them dyed thus miserably tyred: and such as dyed not, were not able to defend them selues. Then when *Publius Crassus* prayed and besought them to charge the men at armes with their barbed horse, they shewed him their handes fast nailed to their targets with arrowes, & their feete likewise shot through and nailed to the ground: so as they could neither flie, nor yet defende them selues. Then upon him selfe incouraging his horsemen, went and gaue a charge, and did valiantly set vppon the enemies, but it was with too great disaduantage, both for offence, and also for defence. For him selfe and his men with weake & light staues, brake apon them that were armed with corrades of steele, or stiffe leather iackes. And the PARTHIANS in contrary manner with mighty strong pykes gaue charge apon these GAVLES, which were either vnarmed, or else but lightly armed. Yet those were they in whom *Crassus* most trusted, hauing done wonderfull feates of warre with them. For they receiued the PARTHIANS pykes in their handes, & tooke them about the middells, and threw them of their horse, where they lay on the ground, and could not sturre for the weight of their harnesse: and there were diuers of them also that lighting from their horse, lay vnder their enemies horse bellies, & thrust their swordes into them. Their horse flinging & bounding in the ayer for very paine threw their maisters vnder feete, & their enemies one apon an other, & in the end fell dead among them. Moreouer, extreame heate and thirst did marueilously comber the GAVLES, who were vsed to abide neither of both: and the most parte of their horse were slaine, charging with all their power apon the men at armes of the PARTHIANS, and so ranne them selues in apon the pointes of their pikes. At the length they were driuen to retyre towardes their footemen, & *Publius Crassus* among them, who was very ill by reason of the woundes he had receiued. And seeing a sand hill by chaunce not farre from them, they went thither, & setting their horse in the middest of it, compassed it in round with their targets, thinking by this meanes to couer and defende them selues the better from the barbarous people: howbeit they founde it contrary. For the contry being plaine, they in the formest rankes did somewhat couer them behinde, but they that were behinde, standing hier than they that stoode formest (by reason of the nature of the hill that was hiest in the middest) could by no meanes saue them selues, but were all hurt alike, as well the one as the other, bewailing their owne miserie and misfortune, that must needes dye without reuenge, or declaration of their valliancy. At that present time there were two GRÆCIANS about *Publius Crassus*, *Hieronymus*, and *Nicomachus*, who dwelt in those quarters, in the city of CARRES they both counselled *P. Crassus* to steale away with them, and to flie to a city called ISCHNE, that was not farre from thence, and tooke the ROMANES parte. But *P.* answered them, that there was no death so cruell as could make him forsake them, that dyed for his sake. When he had so sayd, wishing them to saue them selues, he embraced them, & tooke his leaue of them and being very sore hurt with the shot of an arrow through one of his handes, commaunded one of his gentlemen to thrust him through with a sword, & so turned his side to him for the purpose. It is reported *Censorinus* did the like. But *Megabacchus* slue him selfe with his owne handes, and so did the most parte of the gentlemen that were of that company. And for those that were left aliue, the PARTHIANS got vp the sand hill, and fighting with them, thrust them through with their speares and pykes, and tooke but fiue hundred prisoners. After that, they strake of *Publius Crassus* head, & therupon returned straight to set apon his father *Crassus*, who was then in this state. *Crassus* the father, after he had willed his sonne to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, & pursued the chase: & perceiuing also that they that remained in their great battell, did not preasse apon him so neere as they did before, bicause that a great number of them were gone after the other for rescue: he then began to be liuely againe, and keeping his men close, retyred with them the best he could by a hills side, looking euer that his sonne would not be long before that he returned from the chase. But *Publius* seeing him selfe in daunger, had sent diuers messengers to his father, to aduertise him of his distresse, whom the PARTHIANS intercepted and slue by the way: and the last messengers he sent, scaping very hardly, brought *Crassus* newes, that his sonne was but cast away, if he did not presently aide him, and that with a great power. These newes were grieuous to *Crassus* in two respectes: first for the feare he had, seeing him selfe in daunger to lose all: and

Carres a city of Mesopotamia.
Ischnes, a citie.

The death of Publius Crassus.

secondly

A secondly for the vehement desire he had to goe to his sonnes helpe. Thus he saw in reason all would come to nought, and in fine determined to goe with all his power, to the reskue of his sonne. But in the meane time the enemies were returned from his sonnes ouerthrow, with a more dredfull noyse and crie of victorie, than euer before: and thereupon their deadly sounding drommes filled the ayer with their wonderful noise. The ROMANES then looked straight for a hot allarme. But the PARTHIANS that brought *Publius Crassus* head apon the point of a launce, comming neere to the ROMANES, shewed them his head, and asked them in derision, if they knew what house he was of, and who were his parentes: for it is not likely (sayd they) that so noble and valliant a young man, should be the sonne of so cowardly a father, as *Crassus*. The sight of *Publius Crassus* head killed the ROMANES hartes more, than any other daunger B they had bene in at any time in all the battell. For it did not set their hartes a fire as it should haue done, with anger, and desire of reuenge: but farre otherwise, made them quake for feare, & strooke them starcke dead to behold it. Yet *Crassus* selfe shewed greater corage in this misfortune, than he before had done in all the warre beside. For riding by euery band he cried out alowde. The griefe and sorrow of this losse (my fellowes) is no mans but mine, mine only: but the noble succesſe and honor of ROME remaineth stil vnuincible, so long as you are yet liuing. Nowe, if you pitie my losse of so noble and valliant a sonne, my good souldiers, let me intreate you to turne your sorrow into fury: make them deerely buy the ioy, they haue gotten: be reuenged of their cruelty, and let not my misfortune feare you. For why, aspiring mindes sometime must needes susteine losse. *Lucullus* ouercame not *Tigranes*, nor *Scipio Antiochus*, C but their blood did pay for it. Our aunceſters in olde time lost a thowsande shippes, yea in ITALIE diuers armies and chieftaines for the conquest of SICILIA: yet for all the losse of them, at the length they were victorious ouer them, by whom they were before vanquished. For the Empire of ROME came not to that greatnes it now is at, by good fortune onely, but by patience and constant suffering of trouble and aduersitie, neuer yeeldinge or geuing place to any daunger. *Crassus* vsing these perswasions to encorage his souldiers for resolution, founde that all his wordes wrought none effect: but contrarily, after he had commaunded them to geue the showte of battell, he plainely sawe their hartes were done, for that their showte rose but faint, and not all alike. The PARTHIANS on the other side, their showte was great, and lustily they range it out. Now when they came to ioyne, the PARTHIANS archers a horseback D compassing in the ROMANES apon the winges, shot an infinite nũber of arrowes at their sides. But their men at armes geuing charge apon the front of the ROMANES battel with their great launces, compelled them to draw into a narrow rome, a few excepted, that valliantly, and in desperate maner ranne in among them, as men rather desiring so to dye, than to be slaine with their arrowes, where they could do the PARTHIANS almost no hurt at all. So were they sone dispatcht, with the great launces that ranne them through, head, wodde and all, with such a force, as oftentimes they ranne through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retyre, saying they would geue *Crassus* that nightes respit, to lament and bewaile his sonnes death: onlesse that otherwise he wisely looking about him, thought it better for his safety to come and offer him selfe to king *Arsaces* mercy, then to tary E to be brought vnto him by force. So the PARTHIANS camping hard by the ROMANES, were in very good hope to ouerthrow him the next morning. The ROMANES on the other side had a maruelous ill night, making no reckoning to bury their dead, nor to dresse their wounded men, that dyed in miserable [illegible]: but euery man bewayled his hard fortune, when they saw not one of them could escape, if they taried till the morning. On the other side, to departe in the night through that desert, their wounded men did grieue them much. Bicause, to carie them so away, they knew it would let their flight: and yet to leaue them so behinde, their pitiefull cries would geue the enemies knowledge of their departure. Nowe, though they all thought *Crassus* the only author of their misery, yet were they desirous to see his face, and to heare him speake. But *Crassus* went a side without light, and layed him downe with his head F couered, bicause he would see no man, shewing thereby the common sorte an example of vnstable fortune: and the wise men, a good learning to know the frutes of ill counsell, and vaine ambition, that had so much blinded him, as he could not be content to commaunde so many

Crassus oration to his souldiers why his hart was full of sorrow.

Crassus an example of fortunes inconstancie.

thowſandes of men, but thought (as a man would ſay) him ſelfe the meaneſt of all other, and one that poſſeſt nothing, becauſe he was accompted inferior vnto two perſones only, *Pompey* and *Ceſar*. Notwithſtanding, *Octauius*, one of his chieftaines, and *Caſſius* the treaſorer, made him riſe, and ſought to comforte him the beſt they could. But in the end, ſeeing him ſo ouercome with ſorrow, and out of hart, that he had no life nor ſpirit in him: they them ſelues called the Captaines and Centurions together, and ſate in counſell for their departure, and

Craſſus flyeth. agreed that there was no lenger tarying for the. Thus of their owne authoritie at the firſt they made the army marche away, without any ſound of trompet or other noyſe. But immediately after, they that were left hurt and ſicke, and could not follow, ſeeing the campe remoue, fell a crying out and tormenting them ſelues in ſuch ſorte, that they filled the whole campe with ſorrow, and put them out of all order, with the great mone and lowde lamentation: ſo as the formeſt ranke that firſt diſlodged, fell into a maruelous feare, thinking they had bene the enemies that had come and ſet apon them. Then turning oft, and ſetting them ſelues in battell raye, one while loding their beaſtes with the wounded men, an other while vnloding them againe, they were left behinde, ſauing three hundred horſemen that ſcaped, who came about midnight to the city of CARRES. *Ignatius* their Captaine called to the watche on the walles,

Coponius Gouernor of Carres in Meſopotamia. and ſpake in the Latine tongue. Who anſwering, he willed them to tell *Coponius*, Gouernor of the towne, that *Craſſus* had fought a great battell with the PARTHIANS, and ſayd no more, neither told what he was: but rode on ſtill, till he came to the bridge which *Craſſus* had made ouer Euphrates. Yet this word *Ignatius* gaue to the watch to tell *Coponius*, ſerued *Craſſus* turne very well. For *Coponius* thought by this great haſt of his, and the ſhorte confuſed ſpeeche he made, paſſing on his way, that he had no good newes to tell them: wherefore he ſtraight armed his ſouldiers, and vnderſtanding that *Craſſus* was returning backe, went to mete him, and brought him & his army into the city of CARRES. The PARTHIANS knew well enough of the remouing of the ROMANES campe, but yet would not follow them in the night, but the next morning entring into their campe where they lay, ſlue all that were left behinde, which were about foure thowſande men: and riding after them that were gone, tooke many ſtraglers in the plaine. Among them there was *Bargunteius*, one of *Craſſus* Lieutenauntes, who ſtrayed in the night out of the army with foure whole enſignes, and hauing loſt his way, gotte to a hill, where the PARTHIANS beſieged him, ſlue him & all his company, though he valiantly there

The valiantines of twentie Romanes. defended him ſelfe: yet twenty of them only eſcaped, who with their ſwordes drawen in their handes, running forward with their heades, thruſt in among the thickeſt of the PARTHIANS. They wondering at their deſperation, opened of them ſelues, & ſuffered the to march on towards the city of CARRES. In the meane time falſe newes was brought to *Surena*, how *Craſſus* with all the chiefeſt men of his hoſt was ſlod, & that the great number that were receiued into the city of CARRES were men of all ſortes gathered together, and not a man of any quality or eſtimacion. *Surena* thereupon thinking he had loſt the honor of his victorie, yet ſtanding in

A ſtratageame of Surena. ſome doubt of it, bicauſe he would knowe the troth, that he might either beſiege the citie of CARRES, or purſue after *Craſſus*: ſent one of his interpreters to the walles of the city, charging him to call for *Craſſus*, or *Caſſius*, & to tell them that *Surena* would parle with them. The interpreter did as he was commaunded. Word was brought to *Craſſus*, and he accepted parlance. Shortly after alſo, thither came certaine ſouldiers of the ARABIANS from the campe of the PARTHIANS, who knew *Craſſus* and *Caſſius* very well by ſight, hauing diuers times ſeene them in their campe before the battell. Theſe ARABIANS ſeeing *Caſſius* apon the walles, told him, that *Surena* was contented to make peace with them, and to let them goe ſafely, as his maſters good frendes, ſo that they would ſurrender MESOPOTAMIA into the king of PARTHIANS handes, and how they thought that was the beſt way for both parties, rather than to be enforced vnto it by extremitie. *Caſſius* thought this a good offer, and told them, that they muſt appoint the day & place, where *Craſſus* and *Surena* ſhould mete to talke together of the matter. The ARABIANS made anſwere they would doe it: and ſo departed. *Surena* hearing this, was glad he had them at ſuch aduauntage, where he might beſiege them. The next day he brought all his armie before the city of CARRES. There the PARTHIANS maruelouſly terrified the ROMANES, and told them, they muſt deliuer them *Craſſus* and *Caſſius* bound handes and

feete,

A sent, if they would haue any grace or peace with them. The ROMANES were maruelously offended that they were thus deceiued, and told *Crassus*, that it was no boote any longer to counsel him ought of the ARMENIANS, but presently to flie: howbeit to keepe it secret in any wise from any of the CARRENIANS, till the very houre of their departure. Yet *Crassus* selfe had told it to *Andromachus*, the veriest traitor and villen in all the city, whom he had chosen to be his guide. This traitor *Andromachus* aduertised the enemies in euery poinct, of their purpose and departure. But bicause the PARTHIANS do neuer vse to fight in the night, & that it was a hard matter to bring them to it, and againe that *Crassus* departed in the night time: *Andromachus* was afrayed least the ROMANES would winne such ground before the PARTHIANS, as they could not possibly ouertake him the next day. Therefore of purpose he sometime brought them one B way, other while an other way, and at the last, brought them into a great bogge or marish, full of deepe holes and ditches, and where they must needes make many turnes and returnes before they could get out againe, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, some in the armie began to mistrust, that *Andromachus* ment no good to turne and tosse them vp and downe in that sorte, and therefore would follow him no more: insomuch as *Cassius* among others, returned towardes the citie of CARRES againe, from whence they came. And when his guides (who were ARABIANS) counselled him to tary there, till the moone were out of the signe of *Scorpio*, he answered them: I feare the signe of *Sagittarie* more. So as soone as he could, he tooke his C way towardes ASSYRIA with fiue hundred horsemen. And other of the armie also hauing sundrie guides, recouered a contry of the mountaines, called Sinnaca, and retyred into a safe place before the breake of day: and they were about fiue hundred men, whom *Octauius* a noble man had in charge. But the day stale apon *Crassus*, hunting vp & downe yet in the marish, in those ill fauored places, into the which *Andromachus* that traitor had of purpose brought him, hauing with him some ensignes of footemen all with targets, & very few horsemen, and fiue lictors or sergeantes that caried the axes and roddes before him: with whome, with much a do & great labor, he got into the right way, when the enemies were almost apon him, and that he was within twelue furlong of ioyning with *Octauius*. There in hast he had gotten a hill, which was not so steepe for horsemen, neither of such strength as the other hilles were, called Sinnaces, yet vnder them, and ioyning vnto them by a long hill that runneth along fast by the plaine, so as *Octauius* plainly saw the danger *Crassus* was in. Therupon he first ran downe the hilles with a few of his men that followed him: but after also came all the rest, saying they were ouerrunne if they should tary behinde. At their comming they gaue such a hot onset apon the PARTHIANS, that they made them geue backe from that hill: and compassing *Crassus* in the middest of them, couering him rounde with their targets, they spake nobly, that neuer arrow of the PARTHIANS should touche the bodie of their Generall, before they were slaine one after an other, and that they had fought it out to the last man in his defence. Hereupon *Surena* perceiuing the PARTHIANS were not so corragious as they were wont to be, and that if night came apon them, and that the ROMANES did once recouer the hie mountaines, they could neuer possibly be met withall againe: he thought cunningly to beguile *Crassus* once more by this deuise. He let certaine prisoners goe out purpose, before whome he made his men geue out this speeche. That the king of PARTHIA would haue no warre with the ROMANES: but rather desired their friendshippe, by shewing them some notable benefite, as to vse *Crassus* very courteously. And to geue colour to this deuise, he called his men of warre to fight, and geing him selfe in person towardes *Crassus*, with the chiefe of the nobility of his kingdome, in goodly manner, his bow vnbent: he held out his right hand, and called *Crassus* vnto him with speeche of peace, and said vnto him. Though the ROMANES had first broken the leagues & peace of late betwixt vs, yet it was against his will, for he could do no lesse but defend him selfe, hauing iust cause so to do: but he was very willing and desirous to make them taste of his mercie & clemencie, and to graunt them leaue to make peace with them, and so let them goe safely where they would. All this *Crassus* and the rest of *Crassus* were glad of *Surenaes* wordes. But *Crassus* that had both old trouble & fresh cause of suspitions and iealousies, considering also no cause apparant to make them so fauourable vnto him, would not harken to it, but left confused with his friends. Howbeit the souldiers they tried out on him to geue, and fell at wordes with him, saying: that howsoeuer they

Andromachus treason to Crassus.

The Parthians do neuer fight by night.

Cassius gentle answere in the straights.

The worthines of the Romane souldiers to their chiefetaine.

An other subtile stratagem of Surena.

Surenaes crafty speeche to Crassus.

were all slaine, and that him selfe had not the hart onely to come downe and talke with the enemies that were vnarmed. *Crassus* proued first to pacifie them by fayer meanes, perswading them to beare a litle pacience but till night, which was at hande, and then they might safely departe at their pleasure, and recouer the mountaines and straight passages, where their enemies could not follow them: and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed them not to be faint harted, nor to dispaire of their safety, seeing they were so neere it. But in the end *Crassus* perceiuing they fell to mutiny, and beating of their harnes did threaten him if he went not, fearing then they would doe him some villany: went towardes the enemy, and comming backe a litle, sayd onely these wordes: O *Octauius*, and you *Petronius*, with all you ROMANE gentlemen that haue charge in this armie: you all see now how against my will I am enforced to go to the place I would not, & can witnes with me, how I am driuen with shame and force. Yet I pray you if your fortunes be to escape this daunger, that ye will report whersoeuer you come, that *Crassus* was slaine, not deliuered vp by his one souldiers into the handes of the barous people, as I am: but deceiued by the frawde & suttiltie of his enemies. *Octauius* would not tary behind on the hill, but went downe with *Crassus*: but *Crassus* sent away his officers that followed him. The first that came from the PARTHIANS vnto *Crassus* were two mongrel GRECIANS who dismounting from their horse saluted him, and prayed him to sende some of his men before, and *Surena* would shewe them, that both him selfe and his trayne came vnarmed towardes him. *Crassus* thereto made them aunswer, that if he had made any accompt of his life, he would not haue put him selfe into their handes. Notwithstanding he sent two brethren before, called the ROSCIANS, to knowe what number of men, and to what ende they met so many together. These two brethren came no sooner to *Surena*, but they were stayed: and him selfe in the meane time kept on his way a horse backe, with the noblest men of his army. Now when *Surena* came neere to *Crassus*: why, how now (quod he) what meaneth this? a Consull and Lieutenaunte generall of ROME a foote, and we a horse backe? Therewithall he straight commaunded one of his men to bring him a horse. *Crassus* aunswered *Surena* againe: In that, they neither of both offended, following the vse and maner of their contry, when any meeting is made for treatie of peace. *Surena* replied: As for the treatie of peace, that was already agreed apon betwene the king *Hyrodes*, and the ROMANES: howbeit that they were to goe to the riuer, and there to set downe the articles in wryting. For you ROMANES, sayd he, doe not greatly remember the capitulacions you haue agreed apon. With those wordes he gaue him his right hand. As *Crassus* was sending for a horse: you shall not neede, sayd *Surena*, for looke, the kinge doth present you this. And straight one was brought him with a steele saddle richly gilt, apon the which his gentlemen mounted *Crassus* immediatly, and following him behinde, lashed his horse to make him runne the swifter. *Octauius* seeing that, first layed hand on the bridle, then *Petronius* Colonell of a thowsand footemen: and after them, all the rest of the ROMANES also gathered about *Crassus* to stay the horse, and to take him from them by force, that pressed him on of either side. So they thrust one at an other at the first very angrily, and at the last fell to blowes. Then *Octauius* drew out his sword, and slue one of the barous noble mens horsekeepers: and an other came behinde him, and slue *Octauius*. *Petronius* had no target, and receiuing a blow on his curaces, lighted from his horse, and had no hurt: and on the other side came *Pomaxathres*, one of the PARTHIANS, and slue *Crassus*. Some say notwithstanding, that *Pomaxathres* slue him not, but an other, yet that he cut of his heade & his hand after he fell dead to the ground. But all these reportes are rather coniectures, then any certainty. For as for them that were there, some of them were slaine in the field fighting for *Crassus*, and other saued them selues by flying to the hill. The PARTHIANS followed them, and tolde them that *Crassus* had payed the paine he had deserued: and for the rest, that *Surena* bad them come downe with safetie. Then some of them yeelded to their enemies: and other dispersed them selues when night came, and of them very few scaped with life. Other being followed and pursued by the ARABIANS, were all put to the sword. So as it is thought there were slaine in this ouerthrow, about twentie thowsand men, and tenne thowsande taken prisoners. *Surena* had now sent *Crassus* head and his hand vnto *Hyrodes*, the king his master, into ARMENIA: and gaue out a brute as farre as the citie of SELEVCIA, that he brought *Crassus* aliue,

Crassus words to the Romanes going to his death.

Surenaes craft to Crassus.

Octauius slaine.

Crassus slaine.

The number of the Romanes that were slaine and taken.

A line, & that he had prepared a sight to laugh at, which he called his triumph. Among the Romane prisoners there was one called *Caius Pacianus*, who was very like *Crassus*: him they clothed in womans apparell of the Parthians, and had taught him to answer when any called him *Crassus*, or Lord captaine. Him they put a horse backe, and had many trompets before him, and sergeauntes upon camells backes, that caried axes before them, and bundells of rodes, and many purses tyed to the bundell of rodes, and Romane heades newly cut off tyed to the axes: and after him followed all the strumpets & women minstrells of Surena, who went singing of songes of mockery and derision, of *Crassus* womanish cowardlines. Now for these open shewes, euery one might see them: but besides that sight, *Surena* hauing called the Senate of Selevcia together, layed before them *Aristides* bookes of ribaldrie, intituled B the Milesians, which was no fable, for they were found in a Romanes fardell or trusse, called *Rustius*. This gaue *Surena* great cause to scorne and despise the behauiour of the Romanes, which was so faire out of order, that euen in the warres they could not refrayne from doing euill, and from the reading of such vile bookes. Then the Senatours of Selevcia found that *Æsope* was a wise man, who sayd, that euery man caried a sacke on his necke, and that they put other mens faultes at the sackes mouth, and their owne towardes the bottome of the sacke. When they considered that *Surena* had put the booke of the lasciuousnes of the Milesians at the sackes mouth, and a long taile of the Parthians vaine pleasures and delightes in the bottome of the sacke, carying such a number of cartes loden with naughtie packes in his army as he did, which seemed an army of ermites and fielde mise. For in the vpward and fore- C meest ranckes, all appeared terrible and cruell, being onely launces, pykes, bowes, and horse: but all they ended afterwards in the rereward with a traine of harlots, instruments of musicke, daunsing, singing, bancketing, and ryoting all night with Curtisans. I will not deny but *Rustius* deserued blame: but yet withall, I say, that the Parthians were shameleese to reproue these bookes of the vanities of the Milesians, considering that many of their kinges, and of the royal blood of the *Arsacides*, were borne of the Corian and Milesian curtisans. Things passing thus in this sorte, king *Hyrodes* had made peace & league with *Artabazes* king of Ar- A menia, who gaue his sister in mariage vnto *Pacorus*, king *Hyrodes* sonne, & made great feastes one to an other: in the which were many Greeke verses song, *Hyrodes* selfe vnderstanding well the Greeke tongue, and *Artabazes* was so perfit in it, that he him selfe made certaine tragedies, orations, and stories, whereof some are yet extant at this day. The same night *Crassus* D head was brought, the tables being all taken vp, *Iason* a common player of enterludes (borne in the city of Tralles) came before the kinges, & recited a place of the tragedy of the Bacchantes of *Euripides*, telling of the misfortune of *Agaue*, who strake of his sonnes heade. And as euery man tooke great pleasure to heare him, *Sillaces* comming into the hall, after his humble duty first done to the king, deliuered him *Crassus* head before them all. The Parthi- & ans seeing that, fell a clapping of their handes, and made an outcrie of ioy. The gentlemen vshers by the kinges commaundement, did set *Sillaces* at the table. *Iason* casting of his apparell representing *Pentheus* person, gaue it to an other player to put on him, & counterfeating the Bacchantes possest with furie, beganne to rehearse these verses, with a iesture, tune, E and voyce, of a man madde, and beside him selfe.

Behold, we from the forest bring a stag now newly slaine,
A worthy booty and reward beseeming well our paine.

This marueilously pleased the companie: and specially singinge these verses afterwardes, where the Chorus both asked, and aunswered him selfe.

Who strake this stag?
None else but I thereof may brag.

Pomaxathres hearing them dispute about the matter, being set at the table with others, rose straight, and went and tooke the head him selfe, to whome of right it belonged to say those wordes, and not vnto the player that spake them. King *Hyrodes* liked this sport & manueilously, F and rewarded *Pomaxathres* according to the maner of the contrie in such a case: and so *Iason* he also gaue a talent. Such was the succesfe of *Crassus* enterprise and voyage, much like vnto the end of a tragedy. But afterwardes, *Hyrodes* cruelty, and *Surenes* fowle periury and craft,

Surenes triumphe of Crassus.

Aristides bookes intituled the Milesians.

AEsops wise saying.

The description of Surenes army.

Crassus head brought to Hyrodes.

were in the end iustly reuenged apon them both, according to their desertes. For king *Hyrodes* enuying *Surenaes* glorie, put *Surena* to death. And *Hyrodes* fell into a disease that be-came dropsy, after he had lost his sonne *Pacorus*, who was slaine in a battel by the ROMANES. His second sonne, thinking to set his father forwardes, gaue him drinke of the iuice of Aconitum. The dropsie receiued the poison, and one draue the other out of *Hyrodes* bodie, and did him a foote againe. *Phrahates* perceiuing his father to amende apon it, to make shorte worke, with his owne handes strangled him.

See the reward of craft and periury. The miserable ende of king Hyrodes and Surena.

Hyrodes strangled by his sonne.

THE COMPARISON OF *Crassus with Nicias.*

NOw to proceede to the comparison: first, *Nicias* goodes were more lustely gotten, and with lesse reproach, than *Crassus* wealth: for otherwise a man can not geue any great praise to mineral workes: the which are wrought by lewde and ill disposed barbarous fellowes kept in irons, and toyled to death in vnholsome and pestilent places. But being compared vnto *Crassus* buying of confiscate goodes at *Sylles* handes, and vngentle manly bargaines of houses a fire, or in daunger thereof: surely *Nicias* trade will appeare the better way of getting. For as openly did *Crassus* auow vsery, as tillage. And againe for other faultes, wherewith *Crassus* many times was burdened, and which he stowtly denied: as, that he tooke money of men hauing matters before the Senate at ROME, to winne fauor for their side: and that he preferred matters to the preiudice of the confederates of the ROMANES, only for his priuate profit: and therefore curried fauor with Ladies, & generally sought to cloke all fowle offenders: of all these faultes, was *Nicias* neuer so much as once suspected. For he to the contrarie, was mocked of euery bodie, bicause for feare he maintained wicked doers by giftes: which perhappes would not haue becommed *Pericles*, nor *Aristides*, and yet was mete for *Nicias*, who was borne a timerous natured man, and neuer had corage in him. Whereof *Lycurgus* the Orator did vaunte afterwardes to the people, being accused that he redeemed detractours with money: I am glad, sayd he, that hauing delt thus long in affayers of the state, it is found I haue rather geuen than taken. And now touching expences: *Nicias* was thought the better and more ciuill citizen. For his charge and cost was, in dedicating some goodly image to the goddes, or in making of publicke playes or pastimes to recreate the people. But all the money he spent that way, and all that he was worth besides, was nothing comparable, and but a small parte of that *Crassus* bestowed in an open feast he made at ROME: feasting so many thowsandes at one time, and did finde and maintaine them also for a certaine time after. Now I can not but wonder at those men, that deny vice to be an inequality and disagreement of maners, repugnant in it selfe, seeing men may honestly spend that which is naughtily gotten.

Nicias and Crassus richesse.

Lycurgus saying.

A ten. Thus much for their goodes. For *Nicias* doinges in the common weale, he did nothing malicioufly, cruelly, nor vniuftly, neither any thing of felfe will or ftomake, but rather delt plainly and fimply. For he was deceiued by truſting of *Alcibiades*, and neuer came to fpeake before the people, but with great feare. *Craſſus*, on thother fide was reproued for his vnconſtancie and lightnes, for that he would eaſily chaunge frendes or enemies: and he him ſelfe denied not, that he came to be Conſull the ſeconde time by plaine force and cruelty, hauing hiered two murderers to kill *Cato* and *Domitius*. And in the aſſembly the people held for deuiding of the prouinces, many men were hurte, and foure were ſlaine in the market place: and more then that, *Craſſus* him ſelfe (which we haue forgotten to wryte in his life) gaue one *Lucius Annalius* ſo ſore a blow on the face with his fiſt, for ſpeaking againſt him, that he ſent him

B going with blood about his eares. But as *Craſſus* in thoſe thinges was very fierce and cruell: ſo *Nicias* womaniſh behauior on thother ſide, and faint hart in matters of the common wealth, humbling him ſelfe to the meaneſt and moſt vile perſones, deſerueth great reproache. Where *Craſſus* in this reſpect ſhewed himſelfe aſſuredly of a noble minde, not cõtending with men of ſmall accompt, as with *Cleon*, or *Hyperbolus*, but would geue no place to *Cæſars* fame and glory, nor yet to *Pompeyes* three triumphes, but ſought to goe euen with them in power and authority: and had immediatly before exceeded *Pompeyes* power, in the dignity of Cenſor. For Magiſtrates, and Gouernors of the common weale, ſhould make them ſelues to be honored, but not enuied, killing enuy by the greatnes of their power. But if it were ſo that *Nicias* preferred quietnes, and the ſafety of his perſone aboue all things elſe, and that he feared *Alcibia-*

C *des* in the pulpit for orations, the LACEDÆMONIANS in the forte of Pyle, and *Perdiccas* in THRACIA: he had liberty & ſcope enough to repoſe him ſelfe in the city of ATHENS, & might haue forborne the dealing in matters, & (as Rhethoricians ſay) haue put a hoode of quietnes apon his heade very well. For doutleſſe, concerninge his deſire to make peace, it was a godly minde in him, and an act worthy of a noble perſon, to bring that to paſſe he did, appeaſing all warre: wherein *Craſſus* certainely was not to be compared to him, though he had ioyned all the prouinces to the Empire of ROME, that reach vnto the Caſpian ſea, and to the great Ocean of the INDIANS. But on the other ſide alſo, when one hath to deale with people that can diſcerne when a man ruleth according to equity and iuſtice, and that he ſeeth he is in the

D prime of his credit and authoritie: he muſt not then for lacke of corage ſuffer wicked men to ſteppe in his roome, nor geue occaſion to preferre ſuch to authoritie in the common weale, as are vnworthie for that place and countenaunce: neither ſhould allowe ſuch any credit, as are altogether of no credit nor truſt, as *Nicias* did: who was the only occaſion that *Cleon*, being before but a pratling Orator, was choſen Generall. Neither doe I alſo commend *Craſſus*, for that in the warre againſt *Spartacus*, he made haſt to geue him battell, more raſhely then ſafely or conſiderately. For his ambition ſpurred him forwarde, bicauſe he was afrayed leaſt *Pompeyes* comming ſhould take from him the glorie of all that he had done in that warre: as

E *Mummius* tooke from *Metellus* thonor of the winning of CORINTH. But beſides all this, *Nicias* fact therein was without the compaſſe of reaſon, and can no way be excuſed. For he did not reſigne his honor & office of Generall to *Cleon* his enemy, when there was hope of good ſucceſſe, or litle perill: but fearing the daunger of the iorney, he was contented to ſaue one, and tooke no care beſides for the common wealth. Which *Themiſtocles* ſhewed not, in the time of the warre againſt the PERSIANS. For he, to keepe *Epicydes* an Orator (a man of no reckoning beſide his eloquence, and extreamely couetous) from being choſen Generall of A-

F THENS, leaſt he ſhould haue ouerthrowen the common weale: ſecretly bribed him with money to leaue of his ſute. And *Cato* alſo, when he ſaw the ſtate of ROME in greateſt daunger, ſued to be Tribune of the people for the common wealthes ſake. And *Nicias* in contrary maner, reſeruing him ſelfe to make warre with the city of MINOA, or with the Ile of CYTHERA, or with the poore vnfortunate MELIANS: if there fell out afterwards occaſion to fight againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, then away went his Captaines cloke, and he left the ſhippes, the armie, and munition to the charge and gouernment of *Cleons* raſhnes and ſmall experience of warre, when the neceſſitie of the ſeruice required the wiſeſt and moſt expert Captaine. The which he did not, deſpiſing the meanes to make him honored: but it was a plaine drawing

Nicias and Craſſus aſſes in the comm wealth.

The duetie of Gouernors & Magiſtrates.

Nicias feareſulnes.

Themiſtocles and Catoes vertue.

backe, at time of neede, to defend his contrie. Wherefore, afterwardes he was compelled against his will to be Generall, to make warres in SICILIA with the SYRACVSANS: bicause the people thought he was not so earnest to dissuade the iorney, for that he thought it not meete for the common wealth, but bicause through his sloth and cowardlinesse he would make his contrie lose so good an oportunity to conquer SICILE. Yet was this a great testimony of his honesty and trust they had in him: who though he euer hated warre, & did flie from the offices of honor and charge in the common wealth, his contriemen notwithstanding did alwayes choose him, as the most experienced persone, and meetest man of the citie. Now *Crassus* in contrarie maner desiring nothing else but to be Generall, could neuer attaine to it, but in the warre of the bondmen, and yet was it for lacke of an other: (for *Pompey*, *Metellus*, and both the *Lucullus* were then abroade in the warres) although he was otherwise of great estimation and authoritie. Howbeit it seemeth to me, that his frendes that loued him best, thought him (as the comicall Poet sayth)

Nicias honestie.

A good man any vvay else, but in vvarres.

His ambition notwithstanding & couetous desire of rule, did nothing benefit the ROMANES. For the ATHENIANS sent *Nicias* to the warre against his will: but *Crassus* led the ROMANES thither against their willes. So that the common wealth fell into miserie by the one, and the other through the common wealth was brought into miserie: and yet therein there is rather cause to praise *Nicias*, than to blame *Crassus*. For *Nicias* like a wise man, & a Captaine of great experience, could neuer so much as be brought to thinke they should conquer SICILE: and therfore dissuaded his contrymen from the iorney, & would geue no place to the vaine hope of the people of ATHENS. But *Crassus* taking apon him to make warres with the PARTHIANS, as though it had bene an easie matter to ouercome them, found him selfe deceiued, yet did he aspire to great thinges. For as *Iulius Cæsar* had conquered & subdued to the Imperiall crowne of ROME, all the contries of the West partes, to say, the GAVLES, the GERMAINES, and ENGLANDE: euen so did *Crassus* desire to goe towardes the East partes, to conquer all to the great west sea of the INDIANS, and to subdue all the regions of ASIA, whereunto *Pompey* and *Lucullus* aspired, being both very noble personages, and such as euer curteously behaued them selues to all men: notwithstanding, prouoked thereunto with the like desire that *Crassus* had. For whē the charge of the warres in the East partes was assigned to *Pompey*, by decree & order of the people: the Senate vtterly misliked it, and were against it all they could. When newes were brought to ROME that *Iulius Cæsar* in battell had ouerthrowen and slaine three hundred thowsand GERMAINES: *Cato* perswading with the Senate, was yet stil of this minde, that *Cæsar* should be deliuered into the handes of his enemies whom he had ouercomen, for to be punished: thereby to turne the sharpe reuenge and wrathe of the goddes from ROME, apon him only, that was the vniust breaker of the peace. This notwithstāding, the people making none account of *Catoes* perswasions, made common feastes & processions fifteene dayes together, and open sacrifices to the goddes with great ioy through the citie, to thanke them for this famous victory. How glad may we thinke would they haue bene, and howe many dayes would they haue feasted and sacrificed, if *Crassus* had wrytten from BABYLON of his victory, and that he had conquered all the realmes of the MEDES, of the PERSIANS, of the HYRCANIANS, of SVSE, and of the BACTRIANS, and that he had made new gouernments and prouinces to the Empire of ROME?

The diuersitie betwext Nicias and Crassus.

If a man vvill needes doe vvrong and iniustice,

As *Euripides* sayth to them, that can not liue in peace, and be contented with their owne he must not then sticke at trifles, (as rasing of a castell of Scandia, or of a citie of MENDA, or chasing of the ÆGINETES being out of their owne naturall contrie, and hiding them selues like birdes without neastes, in an other birdes hole) but must dearely sell the wrong he doth, and not lightly contemne iustice, as a thing of small account. For they that will commend the intent of *Alexander* the great in his voyage, for the conquestes he made in the East, and doe dispraise *Crassus* voyage: doe not well to iudge of the beginning, by the euentes and successe of the end. For executing of their offices, *Nicias* did many noble exploytes. For he ouerthrew his enemies in diuers battells, and had almost taken the citie of SYRACVSA: and sure they can

Nicias ofte commended.

not

A not iuſtely blame him for all the misfortunes that chaunced in the warre of SICILIA, but partely the plague was a cauſe of it, and partely alſo the enuie of thoſe towardes him that remained at ATHENS. Where as *Craſſus* ranne into ſo many errors, and committed ſuch foule parces in all his voyage, that he gaue fortune no leaſure to do him good: ſo that I wonder not ſo much that his folly was ouercome by the power of the PARTHIANS, as that it could ouerborne the good fortune of the ROMANES. Sithens it ſo falleth out the, that they both came to like vnfortunate end, *Nicias* prognoſticating before what thinges ſhould happen by arte and rule of diuination, and *Craſſus* contrarily diſdaining to obſerue any thing? ſure it falleth out hard in iudgement, which of them two proceeded with moſt ſafety. Yet according to the beſt approued opinions, a fault committed of feare is more excuſable, then of raſhnes and folly to B breake any auncient law or cuſtome. For their deathes, *Craſſus* end deſerued leſs reproache. For he againſt his will did yeelde him ſelfe, and was neither bound nor mocked, but only perſwaded by his frendes, and through his enemies frawde and treaſon moſt traiterouſly deceiued: where *Nicias*, cowardly, and diſhonorably hoping to ſaue his life, truſting to the mercy of his enemies, made his death more infamous.

Craſſus by his folly, blemiſhed the happines of the Romaines.

Craſſus death more commendable then Nicias and

THE LIFE OF *Sertorius.*

C

D Eraduenture it is not to be marueiled at, if in long proces of time (fortune altering her effectes dayly) theſe worldly euentes fall often out one like an other. For whether it be that the variety of thinges are infinite, fortune hath ſtore of matter apt enough to worke to likenes: or be it that worldly matters be compreheded within determinate number: of neceſſitie one thing muſt fall out like an other, ſince they proceede from one cauſe, tyed to the ſame meanes it before did vſe. But E bicauſe men doe delight to compare ſuch chaunces together, as they haue ſeene or heard to haue happened ſo like, as if they had bene done of purpoſe, thone by the example of the other: (as that of two men being both named *Alexander*, both of them commen of noble houſes, thone in SYRIA, and the other in ARCADIA, both the one and the other were ſlaine with a wild bore. That of two called *Arizon*, the one F

VVhy chaunces of neceſſitie happen one like an other.

was torne a peeces by his dogges, the other by his louers. That of the two famous *Scipiones* the CARTHAGINIANS were first ouercomen by the one, and afterwards vtterly destroyed by the other. That the citie of TROYE was first taken by *Hercules*, for the horses that *Laomedon* had promised him: the seconde time by *Agamemnon*, by meanes of the great wodden horse: and the third time by *Charidemus*, by meanes of a horse that fell within the gate, & kept the TROYANS that they could not shutte it in time. And that of two sweete smelling plantes, Ios, and SMYRNA, two cities were named, the one signifying the Violet, and the other Myrre: it is supposed that the Poet *Homer* was borne in the one, and that he dyed in the other.) we may also adde to this example, that amongest the auncient Captaines, the greatest warriers, and that haue done the noblest exployes by wit and warlike stratageames, had but one eye: as *Philip*, *Antigonus*, *Hannibal*, and *Sertorius* also, whom we wryte of at this presene. Whom we may truely reporte to haue bene more chast, than *Philip*: more faithfull to his frend than *Antigonus*; more curteous to his enemies than *Hannibal*: and for wisdom and iudgement to geue place to none of them, but in good fortune to them all. The which, though she shewed her spight more to him, than to his enemies that were all great men: yet in experience he was to quall with *Metellus*, in prowes and valliancie with *Pompey*, and in fortune with *Sylla*. So that being banished his contrie, a straunger in an other realme, & hauing to gouerne a barbarous nation, he notwithstanding maintained warres for a time, against the power of the ROMANES. Me thinkes therefore, that of all the GRÆCIAN Captaines I can liken none so well vnto him, as *Eumenes* the CARDIAN. For both of them knew how to commaund, both were very valliant & politicke in warres, both were banished men out of their contry, both were Captaines ouer straungers, and both of them were traiterously and villanously slaine by them, through whom they had before ouercomen their enemies. Now for *Sertorius*, he came of worshipfull parentes, and was borne in the citie of NVRSIA in the contrie of the SABINES. His father left him a very childe with his mother, who carefully brought him vp, and whom he singularly loued and reuerenced. Her name as they say was *Rhea*. His first rising and beginning grew by pleading matters in law, which he could handle very well: insomuch as being a young man he came to ROME, and wanne some name by his eloquence. Howbeit, the honor and estimation he achieued afterwardes by his valliant actes, made him imploy all his studie and ambitious care, to armes and warres. The first time of his souldierfare was, when the CIMBRES & TEVTONS inuaded GAVLE with a mighty army: where, when the ROMANES had bene ouercome vnder the leading of *Capio*, his horse being slaine vnder him, and him selfe hurt, he notwithstanding swame ouer the riuer of Rone, with his corselet, & target apon him, breaking the fury and rage of the riuer with meere strength, so able and lustie a bodie he had to breake all paines and hardnes. The second time that these barbarous CIMBRES returned with an infinite number of fighting men, and with prowde and dreadfull threates, the ROMANES were thē so afrayed, that they thought him a stowte man that had but the corage to kepe his rancke, and obey his Captaine. At that time was *Marius* Generall of the ROMANES armie, and then did *Sertorius* vndertake to goe and discouer the enemies campe. And for the purpose, apparelled him selfe like a GAVLE, and learned the common wordes and phrases of their language, to salute one an other when they met, and in this sorte went among them: and hauing partly by sight and reporte learned that he sought for, he returned to *Marius*, who then gaue him such honorable reward, as was due to his deserte. All the time of the warres after, he did such valliant actes and deedes of armes, that his Captaine had him in great estimation, and committed the chiefest matters to his charge. Whereupon, the warres being ended with the TEVTONS and CIMBRES, *Sertorius* was sent into SPAYNE, vnder *Didius* the Prætor, with charge of a thowsand footemen, with whom he wintered in the citie of CASTVLO, in the marches of the CELTIBERIANS: where the souldiers finding plentie of vittells, fell to gluttonie and dronckennes, and committed great insolencie, being ouercome with wine. Insomuch as the barbarous people of the citie grew to such a misliking and disdaine of them, that they sent one night to their nexte neighbours the GYRISÆNIANS for aide, and as they came by the ROMANES lodgings, slue a great number of them. *Sertorius* hearing the noyse, went immediely out of the citie with a few of his men, & gathering them together also that fled one after an other

The townes where Homer was borne and dyed.

Foure famous Captaines, that had but one eye a peece.

The praise of Sertorius.

The parētage of Sertorius.

Rhea the mother of Sertorius.

Sertorius eloquent.

Sertorius first souldierfare.

Sertorius souldierfare vnder Marius.

Sertorius, Colonell, of a thowsande footemen.

Castula, a citie of the Celtiberians.

A ther to saue them selues, went round about the walles of the citie, and finding the gate open where the GYRISENIANS came in, there entred he also: who being more carefull than they had shewed them selues, left the gates, & all the partes of the citie well garded, & then put all to the sword within that were of age to carie weapon. Nowe when he had executed this re-uenge, he commaunded all his souldiers to leaue of their owne apparell and weapons, and to take these of the barbarous people whom they had slaine, and to follow him to the city of the GYRISENIANS, from whence they came that had on such a sodaine assailed the in the night. The GYRISENIANS seeing the garmentes and weapons of their supposed nere farre of, thinking certainly they had bene they: opened their gates, and a number of people went out, as to meete their frendes and citizens, whome they thought had happely sped of their purpose. *Sertorius stratagame.*

B Thus were a maruelous number of them slaine by the ROMANES, euen hard at the gates of their citie: and the rest putting them selues to *Sertorius* mercy, he sold for slaues. After this exployt, *Sertorius* wanne great fame through all SPAYNE, and returning to ROME, was made Questor or Treasorer generall of GAVLE, on this side of the mountaines, by the riuer of Po. A happy chaunce for ROME: for euen at that very present time fell out the warres of the confederates and allies of ITALIE, called the MARSIANS warre, in the which he had commission to presse souldiers, and to make armor. And therin he shewed such diligence and expedition for quicke dispatche of that seruice, in respect of the longe delay and carelesse regard other young men had of the same before: that he wan the name to be a carefull man of his charge, and one that afterwardes would atchieue great enterprises. Furthermore, when he came to be a Captaine him selfe, he would not let to venter his persone as valliantly, as any other priuate souldier whatsoeuer, but did maruelous actes with his owne handes, in the greatest perills and conflictes: insomuch as at the length he lost one of his eyes in fight. Whereof he was nothing ashamed, but continually gloried in it: for others, sayd he, doe not alwayes carry the markes about them of their valliant seruice, but leaue them otherwhiles at home, as their chaines, carconets, iauelinges, and crownes, geuen them by their Captaines for testimony of their valliancy: howbeit that he alwayes caried the markes about him (whereseuer he went) of his seruice, so that such as saw the blemish of his eye, did therwithall witnes his valliantnes and corage. The people also did honor him as became them. For when he came into the Theatre, they welcomed him with clapping of their handes, and great praises, which the ROMANES did scantly vse vnto their oldest Captaines, and which were most honored for their great and noble seruice. Neuertheless, when he sued to be Tribune, he was reiected by *Sylles* practise who hindered him: whereupon grew as it seemeth, that grudge & malice which he euer after bare vnto *Sylla*. For after that *Marius* was fled being ouercome by *Sylla*, & that *Sylla* was gone out of ITALIE to make warre with *Mithridates*, and that of the two Consulls, *Octauius* tooke parte with *Sylla*, and *Cinna* thother Consull (which sought chaunge and alteration) was gathering men together to set vp *Marius* faction, that was in manner vnder foote: *Sertorius* tooke his parte, bicause he saw that *Octauius* was but a slow and lither man, and did not besides trust any of *Marius* frendes. So was there a cruell conflict betweene them, euen in the market place within the city selfe, where *Octauius* had the vpper hand. And *Cinna* & *Sertorius* scaped by flying, hauing lost few lesse then ten thowsand men in this only battell throwen. Neuertheless, afterwardes through practise and policy, they got those souldiers together againe that were dispersed here and there through ITALIE, so as in shorte time they made their power equall with *Octauius* force. *Marius* also being aduertised of the same, tooke the sea incontinently, and returned into ITALIE out of AFRICKE, and came to *Cinna* to serue as a priuate souldier, vnder his Captaine and Consull. Now they all liked well that *Marius* should be receiued, saue *Sertorius*, who was against him all he could: fearing that either his credit and estimation should diminish, *Cinna* hauing a worthier Captaine then him selfe to serue him, or else that *Marius* cruelty and seuerity (who pardoned none offence) would marre all together, hauing no stay in his anger, but bent vtterly to all kinde of cruelty to his enemies, if *Cinna* fortuned to haue the victorie. And thereunto he added this further: that nowe they had the victory in maner in their hands, if they once receiued *Marius* vnto them, he would robbe them of all the honor of ending this warre, and being also in authority, he was richer to be trusted, *Sertorius, treasorer Generall of Gaule, about the Po Padus flu.*

C *Sertorius lost one of his eyes by fight.*

D *The occasion of Sertorius malice vnto Sylla.*

E *Sertorius tooke parte with Cinna.*

F *Sertorius dissuaded Cinna to receiue Marius.*

nor commaunded. Whereunto *Cinna* aunſwered thus: that he thought the words he had alleaged to be true, howbeit that he was aſhamed, and beſides, could not ſee with honeſty how he might refuſe *Marius*, or ſend him backe, ſithens he had purpoſely ſent for him, to commit parte of the charge of theſe warres vnto him. *Sertorius* againe replied. Sure I thought *Marius* had come of his owne good will vnſent for, & therfore (as for the beſt in mine owne opinion) I gaue aduiſe not to receiue him: but ſithence it is ſo that you ſent for him before, and that he is now comen vpon your cõmaundement, you were much to blame to aske counſell whether you ſhould now receiue him or not. And therefore you muſt needes accept his ſeruice, that is comen apon your worde: for, the bonde of your promes paſt you, doth now cut of all counſell or other reſolution. Thereupon *Marius* was called for: and when he came, they deuided their whole army into three partes, and then beganne to charge apon their enemies of all handes, ſo as they obteined victorie. Howebeit *Cinna* and *Marius* committed as horrible cruelty in this victory, as could poſſibly be ſhewed: inſomuch as the Romanes thought all the miſeries they had endured in time of this warre nothing, and but a play as it were, in reſpect of the great calamities they fell into afterwardes. Nowe *Sertorius* on thother ſide neuer cauſed man to be ſlaine for any priuate malice or quarrell he had with any perſon, neither did he hurte any man when he had ouercomen, but was much offended with *Marius* inſolency & crudll murders: and when he had good oportunity to ſpeake with *Cinna* a parte, he did qualifie him the beſt he could, and made him more milde and tractable through his perſwaſion. In fine, *Sertorius* ſeeing *Marius* garded with a great number of bondmen for lacke of other ſouldiers in this warre, whom he vſed as executioners of his ſlaughter and butchery, alwayes attending about his perſon as a garde, and ſuffering them alſo to make them ſelues riche, partly with that he gaue them, or commaunded them to ſpoyle, and partely alſo with that they violently tooke without his commaundement of their owne maſters, killing them when they had done, rauiſhing their miſtreſſes, & defiling their children: he could no lenger abide ſuch wickednes and villany, but made them all to be ſlaine in their campe where they lay together, being no leſſe then foure thowſand perſones. Afterwardes, when he ſaw that the elder *Marius* was deade, and that ſoone after *Cinna* was ſlaine, the younger *Marius* his ſonne (againſt his counſell, and contrary to the lawes of Rome) had by force made him ſelfe Conſull: and that *Carbo*, *Scipio*, and *Norbanus* (which had bene ouercomen by *Sylla*) were comen out of Greece to Rome wards, partely through the cowardlines of their Captaines, and partely alſo bicauſe they were betrayed and ſolde of their owne men: and further, conſidering therewithall, that his perſon could doe no good in thoſe affayers, which waxed worſe and worſe, by meanes of thauthoritie of ſuch as had leaſt wit and vnderſtanding, and ſpecially alſo ſeeing *Sylla* campe hard by *Scipio*, making much of him, and feeding him with hope of a good peace, whileſt vnderhand he wanne his ſouldiers from him, notwithſtanding that he was certainly warned and told of it before: *Sertorius* then vtterly diſpairing of Romes proſperity and wellfare, departed from Rome, to go towardes Spayne, thinking that if he could get the firſt poſſeſſion and gouernment of that realme, it would at the leaſt be a refuge and receit for all thoſe of their tribe, that ſhould chaunce to be baniſhed out of their contrie. Howbeit in his voyage thitherward, he met with foule and rough weather: and paſſing through a contry of mountaines, the barbarous people inhabiting the ſame, demaunded tribute of him, for licence to paſſe through their territories. Thereat the ſouldiers of his company were maruelouſly offended, ſaying that it were too much ſhame and diſhonor for a Proconſull of Rome, to pay tribute to vile barbarous people. Notwithſtãding, *Sertorius* paſſed not for the ſhame they ſayd it would to be him, but aunſwered them thus: that he bought time, which thing he ſhould moſt recken of, that aſpireth to haughtie enterpriſes, and ſo pleaſed the barbarous people with money. And thus he made ſuch ſpeede, as he quickely recouered Spayne, which he found greatly repleniſhed with people, and ſpecially of young men able to weare armor. But now *Sertorius* perceiuing that they had bene hardly delt withall before, through the inſolency, pride, and couetouſnes of the Romane Gouernors, whom they ordinarily ſent from Rome, and that therefore they hated all manner of gouernment: firſt of all ſought to winne the good willes of all the whole contrymen one and other. Of the noble men, by being familiar and conuerſaunt with them:

Sertorius temperance.

Sertorius ſlue Marius garde of bondmen.

Sertorius went into Spayne.

and

A and of the common people, by easing them of their taxe and subsidies. But that which bred him most loue of all men generally was this: that he dispensed with them for lodging of souldiers, and receiuing of any garrison within their cities, compelling his souldiers to set vp their tentes, and to make their cabines without the suburbes of great cities to winter there, & causing also his owne pauillion to be first set vp, and lay in it him selfe in persone. This notwithstanding, he pleased not these barbarous people in all things to win their fauor: for he armed all the ROMANE citizens of age to cary weapon, that dwelt in SPAYNE, and made them make all sortes of engines for battery, and a number of gallies besides, so that he had all the cities at commaundement, being very curteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike munition, very dreadfull to his enemies. After *Sertorius* vnderstoode that *Sylla* kept ROME, and that the
B most parte of the tribe of *Marius* & *Carbo* was vtterly ouerthrowen, mistrusting that it would not be long before they sent some Captaine with a great armie against him: he sent *Iulius Salinator* betimes to keepe the mountaines Pirenei, with sixe thowsande men well armed. Immediatly after *Caius Annius* also came thether, sent by *Sylla*: who seeing no possibilitie to distresse *Salinator* in a place of such aduantage, was driuē to stay at the foote of the mountaine, not knowing what to determine. But by misfortune, one *Calphurnius* surnamed *Lanarius*, traiterously slue *Salinator*: whereupon his souldiers foorthwith forsooke the toppe of the mountaines, and by this meanes *Annius* had easie passage with his army which was very great, and ouerthrewe them that resisted his further comming on into the contry. *Sertorius* finding him selfe not strong enough to fight with him, marched away with three thowsand men vnto the
C citie of new CARTHAGE, and there tooke sea: from thence he coasted ouer into AFRICKE, and fell with the coast of the MAVRVSIANS, where his souldiers landed immediatly for freshe water, dispersing them selues without keeping any order. Thereupon the barbarous people gaue a charge apon them, & slue numbers of them: insomuch as *Sertorius* was driuen to imbarke againe, and to take his course towardes SPAYNE, where he was kept from landing. Then was he driuen to take certaine pirates botes of the CILICIANS, and to sayle towardes the Ile of PITYVSA, where he landed in despite of *Annius* garrison, and put them to distresse. But shortly after came *Annius* thither him selfe with a good number of shippes, and fiue thowsand fighting men in them. Him *Sertorius* determined to abide, and to fight withall by sea, though he had but small barkes, purposely made for swift sayling, & of no strength for fight. But now
D the West winde rising very bigge, did swell the sea in such sorte, that it cast the most parte of *Sertorius* shippes (being weake and very light) apon rockes in the sea, and him selfe with a few being kept from land by his enemies, and from the sea by storme was driuen to ride ten dayes together at anker, working still for life against the daunger of the surging waues & boisterous windes, which continued rough all that time: yet in the ende when it calmed againe he waied anker, and ranne into certaine desolate Iles, where was no water to be had. Then hoising saile from thence, he passed the straighte of Gilbratar, and turning on his right hande, landed apon the coast of SPAYNE, lying towardes the great Westerne sea, a litle aboue the mouth of the riuer of Bætis, the which falling into the sea Atlanticum, gaue name in olde time to that parte of SPAYNE, which was called HISPANIA BÆTICA. There certaine saylers met with him
E that were newly arriued from the Iles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the auncients called the fortunate Ilands. These two Ilandes are not farre one from an other, being but a litle arme of the sea betweene them, and are from the coast of AFRICKE only tenne thowsand furlongs. They haue raine there very seldom, howbeit a gentle winde commonly that bloweth in a litle siluer dew, which moisteth the earth so finely, that it maketh it fertile and lustie, not onely to bring forth all that is set or sowen apon it, but of it selfe without mans hand it beareth so good frute, as sufficiently maintaineth the inhabitants dwelling apon it, liuing idlely, and taking no paines. The weather is fayre and pleasaunt continually, & neuer hurteth the body, the climate and seasons of the yeare are so temperate, and the ayer neuer extreame; bicause the windes that blow apon that land frō the other side of the coast opposite to it, as the North & Easter-
F ly winde comming from the maine, what with their longe comming, and then by dispersing them selues into a wonderfull large ayer & great sea, their strength is in maner spent and gone before their comming thither. And for the windes that blow from the sea (as the South and

Sertorius cutteth to the Spanyardes.

Sertorius flieth out of Spayne into Africke.

The Ile of Pityusa.

The fortunate Ilandes.

Westerly) they sometime bring litle showers with them which commonly doe but moist the ground a litle, and make the earth bring forth all thinges very trimmely: insomuch as the very barbarous people them selues doe faithfully beleue, that there are the Elysian fieldes, the bode of blessed creatures, which *Homer* hath so much spoken of. *Sertorius* hearing reporte of these Ilandes (vpon a certaine desire now to liue quietly out of tyranny & warres) had straight a maruelous minde to go dwel there. But when the pyrates of CILICIA (who were no men of peace, but geuen altogether to spoyle & pillage) heard that: they by & by forsooke *Sertorius*, & went into APRICKE, to restore *Ascalius* the sonne of *Iphtha* to his realme of MAVRITANIA again. *Sertorius* quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aide them that made warre against *Ascalius*, and all to thend that his souldiers seeing matter of new hope and meanes to be imployed, should not so leaue him, being faced afterwardes to be discharged of very necessity. The MAVRVSIANS being very glad of his arriuall, he presently went on with his enterprise, ouercame *Ascalius* in battell, and besieged the citie whereinto apon the ouerthrowe of his armie he was fled for refuge. *Sylla* being aduertised thereof, sent *Paccianus* thither with an army to aide *Ascalius*. *Sertorius* gaue him battell, slue him in the field, and wan the rest of his army, which yeelded vnto him: then tooke he the city of TINGIS, whereinto *Ascalius* was fled with his brethren. The LIBYANS wryte that *Antæus* is buried there. But *Sertorius* geuing no credit to the tales of the barbarous people of that contrie, by reason of the greatnes of the tombe they shewed: made it to be broken open round, and finding there the body of a man (as they say) of three score cubits long, he marueled at it, and so finishing his sacrifice to honor the memory thereof, caused the tombe to be well closed vp againe. By this act hee did greatly increase the honor of *Anteus* memory, which the city did vnto him, and thereby confirmed the contry mens reporte of *Antæus*. For the TINGIANS doe reporte, that after *Antæus* death, his wife *Tinga* lay with *Hercules*, and had a goodly sonne by him called *Sophax*, who was king of that contrie, and there built this city, geuing it his mothers name. Furthermore, it is sayd also that this *Sophax* had a sonne called *Diodorus*, who conquered the most parte of APRICKE with an army of the GRÆCIAN OLBIANIANS and MYCENIANS, which *Hercules* brought thether, to inhabite those partes. We were willing to imbrace the occasion offered vs to speake of this matter as we went, for the honor of *Iuba*, the noblest historiographer that euer came of royall blood: for it is thought his aunceſters were lineally discended from *Sophax* and this *Diodorus*. *Sertorius* as conquerour now, hauing the whole contry in subiection, did in no wise hurt them that yeelded vnto him, & put trust in him, but restored them their goodes, cities, and gouernment againe, contenting him selfe with that they offered him of their good willes. But then standing doubtfull what way to determine: the LVSITANIANS sent Ambassadors vnto him, to intreate him to be their chiefetaine. For they stoode in great neede of a worthy personage, and a man expert in warres to defende them against the furie of the ROMANES: and therefore they only trusted him, hearing of his honorable behauiour by them that were conuersaunt with him. Whose qualities as we finde wrytten, were these. He was neuer greatly moued, with feare nor ioy: but as he was a resolute man without feare in most daunger, so was he most temperate in greatest prosperitie. In valliantnes inferior to no Captaine of his time, and very quicke of execution in euery imminent daunger. For where any present exployt was to be done, any strong place of aduantage to lodge or fight in to be taken, or that he was to passe ouer any riuer, or scape any instant daunger, where it stoode apon speedy execution, and to shew some stratageame or policie in time and place to supplant the enemie: in those matters he passingly excelled. Furthermore, he was both bountifull in rewarding good seruice, and mercifull in punishing of offenders: but this notwithstanding, the fowle murder he did in his latter dayes apon certaine younge children that were pledges with him (which doutlesse was an act of great cruelty and anger that could not forgeue) doth manifestlie proue, that he was neither mercifull nor curteous of nature: but that he manie times did finely counterfeat it, when both the time and the warres did so require it. But for mine opinion, sure I am perswaded that no misfortune can haue power to make perfite vertue, grounded vpon good reason, to worke in any sorte contrarie to it selfe: neither doe I thinke it impossible also, but that mens good willes and gentle natures being iniured without

The Elysian fieldes.

Sertorius wan the citie of Tingis.

Antæus tombe and greatnes.

Iuba, of a kinges stocke.

Sertorius was sent for by the Lusitanians to be their Captaine.

Sertorius vertues and qualities.

Sertorius bountie and clemencie.

cause,

A cause, may peraduenture chaunge their naturall dispositions. Which then proued true in *Sertorius*, who finding fortune contrary vnto him, & his good happe chaunged into ill, grewe so crabbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruell reuenge of them which had villanously betraied him. But now to our matter where we left. *Sertorius* departed out of Africke apon the Lvsitanians offer, who chose him for their General, geuing him absolute power and authoritie: and so soone as he arriued, he straight leauied men of warre, and with them subdued the people of Spayne fronting apon their marches, of which the more parte did willingly submit them selues, apon the brute that ranne of him to be mercifull and curteous, and a valliant man besides in present daunger. Furthermore, he lacked no fine deuises & sutteties to winne their good willes: as amonge others, the policie and deuise he had of the

Sertorius fained lyt of the hynde.

B hynde, which was this. There was a poore man of the contrie called *Spanus*, who meeting by chaunce one day with a hynde in his way that had newly calued, flying from the hunters: he let the damme goe not being able to take her, and running after her calfe tooke it, which was a young hynde, and of a straunge heare, for she was all milke white. It chaunced so, that *Sertorius* was at that time in those partes, who was alwayes very glad when any man offered him such maner of presentes: as frutes, fowle, or venison, & would make very much of them that brought them to him, and also reward them well for the same. So, this poore man presented *Sertorius* with his younge hynde, which he gladly receiued, and which with time he made so tame, that she would come to him when he called her, and followe him where euer he went, being nothing the wilder, for the dayly sight of such a number of armed souldiers to-

C gether as they were, nor yet afrayed of the noyse and tumult of the campe. Insomuch as *Sertorius* by litle & litle made it a miracle, making the simple barbarous people beleue that it was a gift that *Diana* had sent him, by the which she made him vnderstande of many and sundrie things to come: knowing wel enough of him selfe, that the barbarous people were men easily deceiued, and quickely caught by any subtill superstition, besides that by arte also he brought them to beleue it as a thinge very true. For when he had any secret intelligence geuen him, that the enemies would inuade some parte of the contries and prouinces subiect vnto him, or that they had taken any of his fortes from him by any intelligence or sodaine attempt: he straight told them that his hynde spake to him as he slept, and had warned him both to arme his men, and put him selfe in strength. In like maner if he had heard any newes that one of his

D Lieutenauntes had wonne a battell, or that he had any aduantage of his enemies, he would hide the messenger, and bring his hynde abroade with a garland and coller of nosegayes: and then say it was a token of some good newes comming towardes him, perswading them withall to be of good cheare, and so did sacrifice to the goddes, to geue them thankes for the good tidings he should heare before it were long. Thus by putting this superstition into their heades, he made them the more tractable and obedient to his will, insomuch as they thought they were not now gouerned any more by a straunger wiser than them selues, but were stedfastly perswaded that they were rather led by some certaine god: and so much the more, bicause that his deedes confirmed their opinions, seeing his power so dayly to increase beyonde the hope and expectation of man. For with two thowsand fiue hundred souldiers, which he cal-

Sertorius army.

E led Romanes (although the most of them in deede were Africans, which came ouer with him out of Africke into Spayne) & foure thowsand Lvsitanians, with seuen hundred horsemen also, he made warre against foure great Captaines of Rome, which had the leading of fiue score thowsand footemen, two thowsand archers and slingmen, with a world of cities and contries besides. Where *Sertorius* at the first had not aboue twenty at the most: and yet with this small power to maintaine this warre withall, he did not only conquer great contries and many goodly cities, but tooke some of the Captaines prisoners also, whome the Romanes sent against him. Of which company *Cotta* was one, whome he ouerthrewe in battell by sea, not farre from the citie of Melaria. He also ouercame *Fidius* in battell, being gouernor of Spayne Betica, by the riuer of Bætis, where he slue two thowsand Romanes.

The ouerthrowes that Sertorius had by sea and land against the Romanes.

F By his treasorer likewise he ouercame *Lucius Domitius*, Proconsull of the other prouince of Spayne. And an other time he discomfited *Toranius* an other Captaine, one of *Pompeius* Lieutenaunts, whom he slue in fight with all his army. And *Metellus* selfe, being taken at that time

for one of the moſt expert men of warre, and chiefeſt Captaines among the ROMANES: him he put alſo ſo oft to diſtreſſe, that *Lucius Lollius* was faine to come out of GAVLE NARBONESIS (now *Languedocke*) to aide. And they were furthermore driuen to ſende *Pompey* the great with all ſpeede from ROME, with a new army. Bicauſe *Metellus* knew not what courſe to take, hauing to fight with a moſt valliant man, & one whom he could neuer either bring to any ſet battell, nor yet entrappe in the plaine fielde, (ſo eaſily could he caſt him ſelfe into all kinde of formes) by reaſon of the dexterity and ſwiftnes of his ſpaniſhe ſouldiers being lightly armed. Where he cleane contrary, was wont to fight a pitched field, without remouing a foote, and to lead an army heauy armed, which could kepe their ranckes, and fighting ſteadely could ouerthrow their enemies with handſtrokes, and marche apon their bellies. But to clime vp the mountaines, and to be continually (as they were) charged in the rereward with theſe men armed as light as the winde, and to purſue them in chaſe that fled ſtill, and neuer kept place: it was vnpoſſible for them to doe it, and much leſſe to abide hunger and thirſt, to liue without a kitchin and fire, and likewiſe to lye on the bare ground without tentes or pauillions, as *Sertorius* ſouldiers did. Furthermore *Metellus* being growen an old man, (hauing ſpent all his youth in ſeruice of the warres, and taken & ſuffred great paynes and troubles, geuing him ſelfe now to quiet and pleaſure) was matched with *Sertorius*, being then euen at his beſt age, and luſtieſt of body, beſides that nature had made him both ſtrong, actiue, and temperate withall. For he was neuer geuen to his belly, nor to be a great bibber, when he was at moſt quiet, and out of warres, he was likewiſe acquainted with paines and hardnes from his youth, could away with long iorneys, watch many dayes and nightes without ſleepe, eate litle, and content him ſelfe with any meate that came to hand. And had he neuer ſo litle leaſure, he would continually be on horſebacke, riding a hunting vp and downe the fieldes, which made him very ready and expert to know how to winde him ſelfe out of daunger when he was diſtreſſed, and contrarily alſo to compaſſe in his enemy apon any aduantage: and beſides, to ſee where he might enter, and where not. For this cauſe was *Metellus* driuen (who was ſtill deſirous to fight) to abide the loſſes and diſcommodities which they ſuffer that be vanquiſhed: and *Sertorius* on thother ſide refuſing battell, and flying before him, had all the vantage of him that they haue, which chaſe their enemies whome they haue ouercomen. For he cutte of his vittells on euery ſide, tooke away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to marche further forwarde, *Sertorius* ſtayed him. And when he lay ſtill in his campe, *Sertorius* came and gaue him alaroms, & draue him to diſlodge. Yf *Metellus* layed ſiege to any place, *Sertorius* ſtraight beſieged him for want of vittells. So that his ſouldiers were euen weary of altogether. Wheruppon, when *Sertorius* challenged the combat of *Metellus*: oh, well ſayd, cryed all the ſouldiers, let Captaine fight againſt Captaine, and ROMANE againſt a ROMANE. Howbeit *Metellus* refuſed him, and the ſouldiers laughed him to ſcorne. Neuertheleſſe he did but ſmyle at them, and therin ſhewed him ſelfe a wiſe man: for as *Theophraſtus* ſayth, a Captaine muſt dye as a Captaine, not like a priuate ſouldier. Furthermore, *Metellus* conſidering that the LANGOBRITES (who gaue great aide vnto *Sertorius* in all ſeruices) were eaſie to be taken for lacke of water (hauing but one onely well in all their city) and that whoſoeuer did beſiege the ſame, ſhould ſtraight be maſter of all the ſpring heades of the ſuburbes about it, hoping thereby to make the citie yeelde vnto him within two dayes at thutmoſt: he commaunded his ſouldiers to vittell them ſelues for fiue dayes only. But *Sertorius* hauing intelligence thereof, gaue good direction and ſpeedy order to preuent him. For he cauſed two thowſand goates skinnes to be filled with water, and promiſed rounde ſummes of money for euery skinne brought thether. Many SPANYARDS and MAVRYSIANS ſtraight tooke apon them thenterpriſe. Thereuppon *Sertorius* chooſinge the luſtieſt men amonge them, ſent them away through the mountaines, commaunding them withall, that when they deliuered their goates skinnes with water vnto the citizens, they ſhould cauſe them forthwith to put out all their idle people, that the water might laſt them the lenger which defended the city. *Metellus* receiuing aduertiſement hereof, was much agrieued withall, bicauſe his ſouldiers vittells were wel nere ſpent, which they had brought according to his commaundement: and therefore he ſent *Aquinus* one of his Leiuetenauntes, with ſix thowſand men to get vittells. *Sertorius* hauing intelligence of his purpoſe, preſently

This place may well be taken two wayes, and either of both allowable: & according to the other it might be ſaid, to leade Romane citizens to the warres, fighting like valliant men.

Sertorius warlike vertues.

Metellus practiſeth to beſiege the Langobrites, and to take their city, for lacke of water.

Sertorius finely deceiued Metellus, at the ſiege of the Langobrites.

A peesently layed an ambush for his returne in a valley full of wodde, and bestowed there three thowsande men to set vppon the reteward, whilest he him selfe gaue charge on the vowward. Thus made he *Aquinus* flie, slue the most parte of his men, and tooke the rest prisoners. How- beit *Aquinus* selfe the Captaine hauing lost his weapons and horse, by flying recouered *Metellus* campe: who thereuppon was driuen with shame to raise his siege, being mocked of all the SPANYARDS. For these valliant deedes, was *Sertorius* wonderfully beloued and honored of all the barbarous people, and specially bicause he had made them good souldiers, brought them from their former rude & beastly fight, and had taught them to be armed after the RO- MANE facion, to kepe their ranckes when they fought, to follow their ensigne, and to take the signall and word of the battell: insomuch as he made them then appeare a goodly army, well B taught and trained, being before a confused multitude of theeues and robbers. Furthermore, he deuided great store of gold and siluer among them, shewing them how they should gilde their headpeeces, sette out their shieldes and targettes with fine workemanshippe, and also brauely apparell them selues with riche clokes and sleueleese cassockes apon their armor, teaching them to be fine, and furnishing them with money, whereby he maruelously wanne the heartes of the barbarous people. Yet did he further binde them vnto him, by that he did vnto their children. For he sent generally for all the noble mens young sonnes, through all the contries and prouinces subiect vnto him: and brought them to the goodly citie of OSCA: where he prouided them of schoolemasters to teache them the Greeke and Latine tongue, bearing their parentes in hande, that it was to no other ende, but to make them (when they C came to be men) meete to be imployed in the seruice of the common weale, albeit in deede it was but a fine deuise of him, to haue them as Ostages for their faith and loyaltie towardes him. Then were the fathers of these children glad men to see their sonnes apparelled like RO- MANES, in fayer long gownes garded with purple, to goe ciuilly to the schooles: that *Sertorius* payed for their learninge: and that oftentimes he went thither to appose them, to see how they profited: and how he gaue rewardes vnto them that were the best schollers, hang- ing iuells about their neckes, which the ROMANES call Bulla. Insomuch, that they hauing a custome at that time in SPAINE, that such as were about the Prince or their chieftaine should dye with him when he dyed, that custome of voluntarie vowe to dye with their Lorde, being called by the barbarous people, deuotion: there were very fewe of their followers and fami- D liars that would vowe to dye with other Captaines, but on thother side, thowsandes com- monly followed *Sertorius*, hauing vowed to loose their liues with him. And for proofe hereof it is reported, that when his army on a time was ouerthrowen by a certaine citie of SPAINE, the enemies egerly pursuing him: the SPANYARDS not regarding their owne liues to saue his, tooke him vp on their shoulders, and so passed him from man to man apon them, till they put him into the city, who being safe & out of daunger, they then looked by running to saue them selues the best they could. Thus was *Sertorius* not only beloued of the SPANYARDS, but of o- ther souldiers also that came out of ITALIE. For when *Perpenna Vento*, being of the same fa- ction, arriued in SPAYNE full of money, & with a good number of souldiers, intending to make warre in his behalfe against *Metellus*: his souldiers fell out with him, and had none other talke E in his campe but of *Sertorius*. The which spited *Perpenna* to the hart, being prowde & stately by meanes of his wealth and estate, comming of a noble house. Newes being come that *Pom- pey* was past ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, the souldiers armed them selues, and plucked vp their ensignes that were fast in the ground, and cried out apon *Perpenna* to lead them to *Serto- rius*, threatning him that if he would not, they would leaue him alone, and seeke them a Cap- taine, that could both saue him selfe and them. So was *Perpenna* forced against his will to fol- lowe their mindes, and to leade the three and fiftie ensignes he had with him, to ioyne with *Sertorius* force. Thus became *Sertorius* army very great, and specially after all the cities on this side the riuer of Ebrus had yeelded vnto him. For then came souldiers to him out of all partes, F howebeit they were a rashe confused multitude of Omnigatherum togethet, hauing no rea- son nor pacience to abide time, but cried out in furie, to set apon their enemies. This trou- bled *Sertorius* much, seeking first to quiet them by reason and perswasion. But when he sawe they fell to mutinie, and would needes haue their wills, and both without reason and all good

Sertorius o- uerthrew Aquinus.

Sertorius taught the Spanyards the maner of the Romanes.

The citie of Osca.

Sertorius fub- till policie.

The Spany- ards deuotion.

The Spany- ards loue to Sertorius.

Perpenna ioyned with Sertorius.

Ebrus fl.

order would so goe set apon their enemies: he gaue them the head, and let them goe as they would, knowing well enough they would pay for their folly, but yet tooke such order and direction, as they should not vtterly be cast away, hoping after that to haue them the more obedient vnto him. And in deede they had their payment as he coniectured: notwithstanding he went to rescue them, & so brought the safe into his campe. Now to take away the feare & perplexitie from them, which this ouerthrow perhappes had striken into them: immediately after he caused his whole armie to assemble, as purposing to vse some speeche vnto them. In which time he caused two horses to be brought and set in the middes among them, the one an olde and feeble iade, and thother a goodly lustie horse, which besides other things, had a maruelous fayer thicke taile. Behinde the old leane iade, he set a lusty tall fellow: and behinde the goodly horse also, he placed a litle weariſh man, & seeming to sight to haue but small strength. Now apon a signe geuen them which he had made them priuy to, the strong man tooke the leane horse by the taile with all his might, as if he would haue pluckt it of by the stumpe: and the other weariſh man fell to plucking of heare by heare from the great horse taile. So when the strong man had tugged and swet a great while in vaine at the leane horse taile, thinking to haue pulled it of, and in thende did nothing else but make the lookers on laugh: and that the weariſh wretch on thother side in a shorte space, (& at ease) had left the great horse taile with neuer a heare on it: *Sertorius* then rising vp, spake in this sorte to his souldiers. Doe ye not see (my frendes and companions) sayd he, how time and perseuerance exceedeth force? and that thinges vnlikely at the first to be ouercome by force, are yet in time, by litle and litle obtained? For continuance ouercommeth all thinges, and there is no force nor power, but processe of time consumeth and bringeth to nought, being a most certaine helpe to them, that can take oportunity, and abide time: as in contrariwise haste and rashnes is as daungerous an enemy as may be, to them that doe thinges of a head without regard. By these common deuises wherewith *Sertorius* daily acquainted the barbarous people, he taught them to abide the oportunitie of time. But of all the stratageames he vsed in warre, that only exceeded al other, which he shewed vnto a people called the CHARACITANIANS. The people doe dwell on the other side of the riuer of Tagus, and haue neither cities nor villages for their common abode, but only a great high hill, full of hollow caues and deepe holes among the rockes, looking towardes the North. At the foote of this mountaine the valley is a great slimie ground and so rotten, that it is not able to beare a man, but being troden on, crummeth like white lyme, & turneth to dust vnder his feete. And therefore, by meanes of the same, when those people were afrayed of any enemies, or that they had conueyed the goodes they had robbed & stollen from their neighbors into those caues, they thought them selues safe, if they were once gotten into them: for it was vnpossible to compell them to come out. Nowe it chaunced that *Sertorius* flying from *Metellus*, came and encamped hard by this hill which these barbarous people inhabited, who made no reckoning of him, imagining *Metellus* had ouerthrowen him. But *Sertorius* being in a rage with them, and bicause he would shew that he fled not: tooke his horse backe the next morning, and rode as neere to the hill as he coulde, to viewe the nature and scituacion of the place: and when he saw there was no way to bring a man into it, he fretted, and walked vp and downe, vainely threatning them to no purpose. Yet going and comming to and fro, he perceiued the winde raised a great dust, of that britle earth we haue spoken of, and caried it full into the CHARACITANIANS holes, the mouthes whereof as we sayd before, lay full apon the North. This Northen winde, which some call Cæcias, is the only winde of all other that most keepeth in that quarter, and riseth from the moores and mountaines thereaboutes, which be continually couered with snow, and then in the hart of sommer is nourished and inforced by the melting of the ice and snow, and so bloweth a ioly coole winde, which refresheth the barbarous people and beastes all the day long. *Sertorius* marking this with him selfe, and vnderstanding by the inhabitants therabouts, that this winde blew commonly among them: commaunded his souldiers to gather a great quantitie of this light britle earth together, & to raise a mount of it, right against the other hill. The barbarous people made a mockery of it at the first, thinking *Sertorius* would haue made a mount to haue fought with them apon it: howbeit he went on with his worke till night came, and then brought his souldiers backe againe into his

A fine deuise of Sertorius to teache men the benefit of time and perseuerance.

Sertorius wordes to his souldiers, declaring the ende of his deuise.

The Characitanians what people they be.

Tagus fl.

Sertorius wonderfull deuise against the barbarous people, called the Characitanians.

A his campe. The next morning by breake of day there was a merie little winde ſturring, that on-
ly blew of the toppe of his forced mount, & the higheſt parte of that maſſe of earth, as chaffe
when they winnowe corne: and as the ſunne beganne to haue any power, the North winde
alſo roſe, which foorthwith filled all the hill with duſt. And withall, came *Sertorius* ſouldiers
who threw downe the hill to the bottome, which they had gathered the day before, and brake
all thoſe drie clots of clay in peeces. The horſemen on ouerthother ſide, they ſtill manadged their
horſes vp and downe in it, to raiſe vp the greater duſt, which the winde caried as ſoone as it
roſe, and blew into the eares of theſe barbarous people, full in their faces, through their holes
B and rifts of the rockes. So they hauing no other ventes nor ayer any way, but there where
the winde blew in apon them: it did ſo blindefolde their eyes, and filled their eares with ſuch
a hotte ſtuffing ayer, that they were almoſt choked with all, not able to take breath. For when
they ſhould drawe their breathes, this ſtuffing ayer and duſt came in at their mouthes ſo faſt,
that they had much a doe to hold out two dayes, and on the thirde yeelded them ſelues vnto
Sertorius mercy: the which thing did not ſo much increaſe his power, as it wanne him honor,
by policie to haue wonne ſuch an vnlikely conqueſt, which by force could neuer haue bene
gotten, and where to fight was matter impoſſible. So longe therefore as he made warre with
C *Metellus* alone, he commonly had the aduantage of him, bicauſe *Metellus* was an olde man
and heauy, & could not reſiſt *Sertorius* luſty youth, that led a light army, like rather to a com-
pany of theeues and robbers, than to an army of men of warre. But afterwardes when *Pompey*
was come ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, and that both of them being encamped eche before
other, and that *Pompey* had ſhewed him all the ſtratageames and policies of warre poſſible for
a good Captaine to deuiſe, & he the like vnto *Pompey*: and found that *Sertorius* had the better
of him, both in laying his ambuſhes, & alſo in foreſeeing to intrappe him: then grew the fame
of *Sertorius* to be ſo great, that euen in Roume it ſelfe he was thought to be the nobleſt Cap-
taine, & of beſt conduction of any man in his time. Yet was *Pompey* at that time of great fame
and reputacion, which afterwardes alſo waxed greater, by the noble actes he did vnder *Sylla*,
who gaue him the ſurname of *Pompey* the great, for that he had deſerued honor of triumphe,
before his beard was growen. So, when he was comen thus into SPAYNE, diuers townes and
cities ſubiect vnto *Sertorius*, were halfe in minde to yeelde vnto *Pompey*: but afterwardes they
altered againe, apon the chaunce that happened vnto the citie of LAVRON, beyond all expe-
D ctation. For *Sertorius* being gone to lay ſiege to it, *Pompey* in haſt went thither with his armie
to raiſe the ſiege. Neere vnto the city there was a litle hill very commodious to lodge a campe
in, and alſo to diſtreſſe them of the citie: whereupon thone made haſt to get it, and thother to
keepe him from it. Notwithſtanding, *Sertorius* was the firſt man, and got the hill: and *Pompey*
came euen as he had taken it, who was very glad it had ſo fallen out, thinking to haue made
Sertorius ſure at that time, being kept in on the one ſide with the citie of LAVRON, and with
his army on the other. Thereupon he ſent vnto the citizens, and bad them care for nothing,
more then to ſtand apon their walles at their pleaſure, to ſee *Sertorius* ſtraightly beſieged, who
thought to haue beſieged them. This meſſage being brought to *Sertorius*, he ſmyled at it, and
ſayd, that he would teache *Syllaes* younge ſcholler (for ſo in mockerie he called *Pompey*) that
E a wiſe Captaine ſhould rather ſee behinde then before him: and therewithall he ſhewed the
LAVRONITANS ſixe thouſande footemen well armed, which he had left in his campe when
he came to take the hill where he was, to thend that if *Pompey* came by chaunce to aſſaile him,
they ſhould geue a charge apon his rereward. *Pompey* hauinge founde this too late, durſt not
offer *Sertorius* battell, fearing to be compaſſed in behinde: and on thother ſide he was aſhamed
to forſake the LAVRONITANS, whome he was driuen in thende to ſee vnerly ſpoyled and de-
ſtroyed before his eyes, and durſt not once ſturre to helpe them. The barbarous people of the
contrarie parte ſeeinge no hope of aide by him, yeelded ſtraight vnto *Sertorius*, who did not
onely pardon them, but alſo ſuffered them to goe whether they would. Howbeit he burnte the
citie, for no anger or crueltie (being a Captaine that neuer ſhewed crueltie in anger) but to
F ſhame *Pompey* withall, and to ſtoppe their mouthes that made ſuch accompt of him: and that
this brute might runne among the barbarous people, that *Pompey* him ſelfe being preſent, and
might in manner haue warmed him by the fire that burnt a goodly city of his confederates,

Sertorius dedes againſt Pompey.

Sertorius goeth to lay ſiege to the citie of Lauron.

Sertorius worthy ſaying of a Captaine.

Sertorius burns the city of Lauron in Pompeis ſight.

neither durſt nor could helpe them. In deede *Sertorius* in continuance of this warre ſ[illegible] much loſſe and great hurt, howbeit it was alwayes through the faulte of his Lieutenantes, as touching him ſelfe, he was neuer ouerthrowen, nor thoſe he led. And yet he euer wonne more honor in recouering of thoſe battels which his Captaines loſt, than his enemies did that had put them to the worſe. As in the battell he wanne againſt *Pompey*, by the citye of Sucron, and in an other he wanne againſt *Pompey* and *Metellus* both, by the citie of Tvrdra. And as for the ouerthrow of Sucron, it is thought it came through *Pompeyes* ambition, making him more haſt for feare *Metellus* ſhould be partaker of the honor of his victorie: and that was the thing *Sertorius* looked for, to fight before *Metellus* came to ioyne with him, and therefore he fought the battell with *Pompey* towardes night, ſuppoſing the darkeneſſe of the night would trouble his enemies much, be a helpe to ſaue them ſelues if they were ouercome, and alſo to chaſe the enemies if ſo it happened they had the vpper hande, bicauſe they were ſtraungers, and knew not the contrie. When both battells came to geue charge, *Sertorius* at the firſt was not directly againſt *Pompey*, but againſt *Afranius*, who led the left wing of *Pompeyes* battell, and him ſelfe was in the right wing of his owne battell. Howebeit *Sertorius* being aduertiſed that the left wing of his owne army againſt the which *Pompey* fought, was in ſuch diſtreſſe as they gaue backe, and could abide no lenger, if they were not preſently aided: ſtraight left the leading of the right wing, which he aſſigned ouer to other of his Captaines, and ranne with all ſpeede poſſible vnto the left wing, which were then euen as good as flying. And firſt he gathered them together againe which had turned their backes, and after put thoſe alſo in good order that were yet a fighting: and ſo hauing encoraged them both with his wordes, and the preſence of his perſon, he gaue a new charge againe apon *Pompey*, more coragiouſly than before, (who thinking he had already wonne the field, was then a chaſing ſuch as fled) and came ſo fiercely apon him, that he put all the whole army of the Romanes to flight: inſomuche as *Pompey* him ſelfe eſcaped killing in the field very hardly being ſore hurt, & ſaued by a ſtraunge meane. For the Afrikans of *Sertorius* hauing taken *Pompeis* horſe (which was richly trapped with harneſſe of gold and other precious furniture) falling out among them ſelues, and fighting for deuiſion of the ſame: in the meane time let *Pompey* goe, and neuer followed after him. *Afranius* againe on thother ſide, whileſt *Sertorius* was gone to helpe the other wing of his battel, made them flie all that ſtoode before him, & followed killing of thē euen into the trenches of their campe, entring in amongeſt them that fled, and ſpoiled the campe being darke night, knowing nothing of *Pompeis* ouerthrow, neither could he withdraw his men from ſpoyle. *Sertorius* alſo comming thither apon the inſtant, finding *Pompeis* men in diſorder, ſlue a number of them: and the next morning betimes armed his men againe, and brought them out into the field, to fight once more with *Pompey*. But receiuing intelligence that *Metellus* was at hand, he ſounded the retreate, and diſlodged from the place he encamped, ſaying: had not that old woman comen, I would haue whipped that young boy to Rome with roddes. Now was *Sertorius* very heauy, that no man could tell him what was become of his white hynde: for thereby all his ſutteltie and fineſſe to kepe the barbarous people in obedience was taken away, and then ſpecially, when they ſtoode in neede of moſt comforte. But by good happe, certaine of his ſouldiers that had loſt them ſelues in the night, met with the hynde in their way, and knowing her by her colour, tooke her, and brought her backe againe. *Sertorius* hearing of her, promiſed thē a good reward, ſo that they would tell no liuing creature that they brought her againe, and thereupon made her to be ſecretly kept. Then within a few dayes after, he came abroade among them, and with a pleaſaunt countenaunce tolde the noble men and chiefe Captaines of theſe barbarous people, how the goddes had reuealed it to him in his dreame, that he ſhould ſhortly haue a maruelous good thing happen to him: and with theſe wordes ſate downe in his chayer to geue audience. Whereuppon they that kept the hynde not fare from thence, did ſecretly let her goe. The hynde being loſe, when ſhe had ſpied *Sertorius*, ran ſtraight to his chayer with great ioy, and put her head betwext his legges, & layed her mouth in his right hande, as ſhe before was wont to doe. *Sertorius* alſo made very much of her, and of purpoſe appeared maruelous glad, ſhewinge ſuch tender affection to the hynde, as it ſeemed the water ſtoode in his eyes for ioy. The barbarous people that ſtoode there by & beheld

Sertorius of him ſelfe inuincible.

Battell betwext Sertorius & Pompey.

Pompey fled Sertorius at Sucron.

Sertorius mocke to Pompey.

the

A the same, at the first were much amazed therewith: but afterwardes when they had better bethought them selues, for ioy they clapped their handes together, and waited vpon *Sertorius* to his lodging with great and ioyfull showtes, saying, and stedfastly beleuing, that he was a heauenly creature, and beloued of the goddes: whereupon they were maruelously pleased in their mindes, and certainely hoped that their affayres should prosper dayly better and better. An other time hauing straighted his enemies with scarcety of vittells, in the territorie of the SAVNYTINES, he was by force compelled to fight against his will, for that they sent great troupes of men to forrage the contrie, to get vittells. Apon the encounter it was valliantly fought of either side, where *Memmius* was slaine, (the valliantest Captaine *Pompey* had) coragiously fighting in the middest of the battell. *Sertorius* finding him selfe the stronger, followed
B his first wing, making great slaughter of those that withstoode him, vntill he came vnto *Metellus* selfe, who taried his comming, defending him selfe more valliantly than was either hoped, or looked for, in a man of his yeares: insomuch as he was at the last hurt with a partisan. Which was such a dishonor to the ROMANES, not vnto them only that saw it, but vnto such also as heard of it, that being all ashamed to forsake their Captaine, and turning their shame into anger against their enemies: they couered *Metellus* rounde about with their shieldes and targets, & getting him out of the presse and furie of the fight, gaue such a fierce onset, as they draue the SPANYARDS to flie. Thus fortune chaunging the victory, *Sertorius* to geue his scattered men time to saue them selues, and leasure also for a new supply (which he caused to be presently leauied) to come at their pleasure: fled of purpose into a citie of the mountaines of
C strong scituation, and there setting a good face of the matter repayred the rampers, and fortified the gates, thinking nothing lesse then to abide there to be besieged, but only to lay a baite for his enemies, comming to besiege the citie, hoping they should easily winne it, and in the meane time left pursuing of the barbarous people which had therby good leasure giuen them to saue them selues. Furthermore, they tooke no order to suppresse the new supplie that was comming to *Sertorius*, who had sent out his Captaines to the next cities & shieres adioyning, to leauie men, with expresse commaundement, that when they had mustered a conuenient number together, they should sende them vnto him, as they did. So when he vnderstoode of their comming, he easily passed through his enemies to meete them, and with them sodainly came backe againe, and harried his enemies worse then before: somtime cutting their vit-
D tells from them by land, through his ambushes and continuall suttle policies, being quickely in euerie place whether they thought to go, with his light army: and on the sea also with certaine pirats pinneses, with the which he scoored all the coast apon the sea side. By this meanes, both the Captaines his enemies were compelled to seuer the selues farre one from the other, insomuch as *Metellus* went to winter in GAVLE, *Pompey* remained in SPAYNE, (in great scarcetie of all thinges for lacke of money) to winter in the territories of the VACCEIANS, and wrote to the Senate at ROME, that he would returne with his armie into ITALIE, if they sent him not money out of hande, for that he had spent all his owne dayly fighting for the defense of ITALIE. Thus it was certainly thought at ROME, that *Sertorius* would be in ITALIE before *Pompey*: bicause he had through his valliancy and great skill brought two of the most famous
E Captaines of their time, to great extreamitie and distresse. Then did *Metellus* showe howe much he feared *Sertorius*, and how he thought him a great and dreadfull enemie. For he proclaimed by sounde of trompet, that if any ROMANE could kill him, he would geue him an hundred siluer talentes, and twentie thowsand Iugera of land: and if he were a banished man, he promised he should be restored to his contry and goodes againe, buying his death by treason, whome he could not ouercome by force. And furthermore, being his chaunce once to winne a battell of *Sertorius*, he was so ioconde and prowde for this victorie, that he would needes therefore be called Imperator, to say, Prince, or soueraine Captaine: and was contented the people should sette vp aulters and doe sacrifices vnto him in euerie citie where he
F came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore garlandes of flowers on his head, and would be bidden to dissolute bankets, sitting at the table in a triumphing robe: and they made images of victory goe vp and downe the hall, moued by certaine secret engines carying triumphes of golde, and crownes and garlandes of triumphe, and daunsers of goodly young

Sertorius slue Memmius, Pompeis Lieutenant.

Shame turned into anger.

Sertorius beseiged of Pompey.

Metellus feared Sertorius.

Metellus made himselfe be called Imperator.

Metellus vanitie.

boyes and fayer girles following of them, with ſonges of triumphe in his praiſe. Whereto doubtleſſe he deſerued to be laughed at, ſhewing himſelfe ſo much caried away with ioy and vaine glory, for one ouerthrowe geuen vnto him, whom himſelfe was wont to call *Sylles* fugitiue, and the remnant of the baniſhed men of *Carbo*. On thother ſide, *Sertorius* noble corage was eaſily diſcerned, firſt, for that he called the baniſhed men which were eſcaped frō Rome, and comen to him, Senators: and hauing them about him, called them the Senate, making ſome of them Treaſorers, others Pretors, directing and ordering all thinges according to the manner of his contrie. And in this alſo, that making warres with the ſouldiers of the cities of Spayne, and defraying the ſame at their owne charges, yet he neuer gaue them any authoritie, ſo much as in word, but ruled them alwayes with Romane officers and Captaines: ſaying ſtill, that he fought for the liberty of the people of Rome, and not to increaſe the glorie and power of the Spanyards, to the hurt and diſhonor of the Romanes. For to ſay truly of him, he euer loued his contrie well, and longed much to be ſent for home againe: and yet in his greateſt troubles, when thinges thwarted him moſt, then was his minde greateſt, yeelding no maner of ſhewe or appearance to his enemies, of any faint hart or diſcoragement in him. Againe, when he was in beſt proſperitie, and had moſt aduantage of his enemies, he ſent vnto *Metellus* and *Pompey* both, letting them vnderſtand that for his parte he was contented to lay armes aſide, and to liue at home like a priuate man, ſo that he might be lawfully reſtored and called home by edict: and that he had rather be counted the meaneſt citizen in Rome, then being a baniſhed man out of his contry, to be called Emperor of the world. And it is ſaid, that one of the chiefeſt cauſes which made him deſire ſo much to be called home againe, was the tender loue he bare vnto his mother (that had brought him vp from the time of his fathers death) vpon whom he caſt all his loue and delite: inſomuch as after that his frends in Spayne had ſent for him to come to be their Captaine, and that he had bene a while among them, receiuing newes that his mother was departed out of the world, it ſo ſtrake him to the hart, that he had almoſt dyed for ſorrowe. For he lay ſeuen dayes together continually on the grounde weeping, & neuer gaue his ſouldiers the watch word, nor would be ſeene of any of his frends vntil that the other noble men and Captaines of his owne eſtate, came to him to his tent, and were ſo importunate of him by intreaty and perſwaſion, that they gotte him out of his tent to ſhew himſelfe to his ſouldiers, to ſpeake to them, & to take order for his affayres which proſpered very well. By theſe ſignes many haue iudged, that he was of a curteous and pityfull nature, and that naturally he was geuen to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of neceſſity to take charge of men of warre, bicauſe he coulde not otherwiſe liue quietly nor ſafely, being purſued by his enemies, which would neuer let him reſt, and thereuppon entred into warre, for his owne gard and ſafety. The treaty ſelfe he made with king *Mithridates*, argued his noble minde. For when *Mithridates* whome *Sylla* had ouercomen, was recouerd againe (like a wreſtler that being ouerthrowen getteth vp on his feete to trye an other fall with his enemy) and tooke apon him to inuade Asia: *Sertorius* fame was then ſo great, that he was ſpoken of through the world, by marchauntes comming from the Weſt, who blew abroade the reporte therof al the Eaſt partes ouer, euen into the realme of Pont, like to marchandiſes which they went to ſeeke for in ſtraunge contries. Whereupon *Mithridates* being perſwaded by the vaine vauntes of his fauored courtiers, who compared *Sertorius* to *Hanniball*, and him ſelfe vnto king *Pyrrus*, ſaying that the Romanes being ſet apon by them both, could not withſtand two ſuch excellent natures, & great powers together, when the nobleſt Captaine of the world ſhould be ioyned with the greateſt and moſt puiſant Prince that euer was: ſent thereupon his Ambaſſadors into Spayne vnto *Sertorius*, with full power and commiſſion to promiſe him money and ſhippes towards the maintenaunce and charge of this warre, in recompence whereof he deſired that *Sertorius* would redeliuer him the poſſeſſion of Asia againe, the which he had ſurrendred vp vnto the Romanes apon the peace made betwext him and *Sylla*. *Sertorius* hereupon called his counſell together (which he termed the Senate) to conſult apon this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he ſhould accept *Mithridates* offers, and were exceedingly glad of the ſame, conſidering that they asked them nothing but a title in the ayer, and a name of things which were not in their power, offring them therfore things

Sertorius noble minde.

Sertorius honorable reſpect vnto his contrie.

Sertorius minde greateſt in aduerſity.

Sertorius affection to his contrie.

Sertorius naturall loue to his mother.

Mithridates ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Sertorius in Spayne.

preſent,

A preſent, whereof they had greater neede, yet would *Sertorius* neuer agree thereunto. Notwithſtanding, thus much he graunted *Mithridates*, that he ſhould enioy CAPPADOCIA & BITHYNIA, which had euer bene contries ſubiect vnto kings, & whereunto the ROMANES had neuer any right, excepting this ſpecially: that he would neuer ſuffer him to vſurpe any cōtry vnto the which the ROMANES had any iuſt title, and the which he had loſt in warres by force of armes vnto *Fimbria*, & had afterwardes alſo willingly ſurrendred by agreement made betwene him and *Sylla*. For he ſayd he would enlarge the Empire of ROME through his victories, but not impayre or hurte it by his conqueſtes. For, a valliant man (ſayed he) ſhould coueit to conquer with honor, but in no wiſe deſire life with diſhonor. His anſwere being reported vnto kinge *Mithridates*, did much amaze him: and ſome haue wrytten, that he then ſayd vnto his familiars. What would *Sertorius* commaund vs then, if he ſate among the in the Senate at ROME, B who being an exile now, and remaining in the furtheſt parte of the world by the ſea Atlanticum, doth take apon him to bounde the certaine confines of our kingdome, threatning vs alſo with warres, if we attempt any thing againſt ASIA? All this notwithſtanding, they were agreed apon othes taken betwene them, that *Mithridates* ſhould enioy the contries of CAPPADOCIA and BITHYNIA, and that *Sertorius* ſhould ſend him one of his Captaines with aide of men of warre, and that apon performance thereof, the kinge ſhould geue him the ſumme of three thowſande talentes, and fortie ſhippes of warre. So *Sertorius* ſent thither one of his Captaines called *Marcus Marius*, a Senator of ROME, who fled to him for ſuccour: with whom *Mithridates* diſtreſſed certaine cities of ASIA. And when *Marius* entred into them, C with his ſergeauntes carying the bundells of roddes and axes before him, as before a Proconſull of the ROMANES: *Mithridates* gaue him the vpper hande, as his better and followed after him. Furthermore, *Marius* did ſet certaine cities at libertie, and wrote vnto others, declaring vnto them, that *Sertorius* of his grace and goodneſſe did releaſe them of their taxe and cuſtomes they payed: ſo that poore ASIA which had bene oppreſſed by the couetouſnes of the Treaſorers and farmers of the ROMANES, and alſo by the pride and inſolencie of the ſouldiers which lay in garriſon among them, beganne to haue ſome hope of chaunge, & to deſire that alteration of gouernment, which *Sertorius* offered. But on thother ſide, the Senators of ROME that were in SPAYNE as baniſhed men in *Sertorius* armie, and of the like dignitie and eſtate that him ſelfe was of, they hearing ſay that all was well againe at ROME, and perſwading them D ſelues that they ſhould be ſtronge enough for their enemies, hauinge no cauſe to feare any more daunger: beganne then to enuie *Sertorius* greatneſſe and authoritie, but *Perpenna* ſpecially amonge other, who by reaſon of his nobilitie being puft vp with a vaine preſumption and ambitious ſelfe will, practiſed to make him ſelfe chiefe of all the armie, and to that ende threwe foorth amongeſt his frendes and familiars ſuch kinde of ſeditious wordes. What curſed fortune (quod he) my frendes doth dayly haunt vs worſe then other, making vs that were vnwilling to obey *Sylla* (commaunding at this day both lande and ſea at his will) to chooſe rather to forſake our landes and contrie? And nowe being come hither in hope to liue at libertie, we willingly make our ſelues ſlaues, becommīnge *Sertorius* garde for defence of his perſone in his exile: who to requite vs withall, payeth vs with fayer wordes, calling vs the E Senate, whereat euerie man laugheth to heare vs ſo called, and in fine we muſt abide this diſhonor to be at his commaundement, and drudge and take as much paines, as the SPANYARDS and LVSITANIANS doe them ſelues. Hereuppon the more parte of them being caried away with theſe mutinous wordes, durſt not yet ſhew them ſelues in actuall rebellion againſt *Sertorius*, being afeard of his authoritie: howebeit ſecretly vnderhande they ouerthrewe his doinges, by ſhewing extreame crueltie vnto the barbarous people, by pretext of iuſtice, impoſing great paymentes apon them, geuing it out it was *Sertorius* cōmaundement. By which their lewde practiſes, many cities reuolted againſt him, and put them ſelues into his enemies handes: and they daily alſo raiſed new mutinies and rebellions apon him. Furthermore, thoſe whome he ſent to pacifie the tumultes did handle them ſelues in ſuch ſorte, that where they F ſhoulde haue quieted the grudges and rebellions of the people, they ſet them farder out, and procured newe tumultes. Hereupon was *Sertorius* gentle nature and former goodnes ſo altered, that he committed a moſt cruell act apon all the noble mens children of that land, which

Sertorius vſeth and vſeth his miniſtre for all this daunte requeſte.

Sertorius worthy ſaying.

Sertorius league with Mithridates.

M. Marius ſent vnto Mithridates.

King Mithridates gaue *M. Marius* Proconſull, the vpper hand.

The enuie of Perpenna vnto Sertorius.

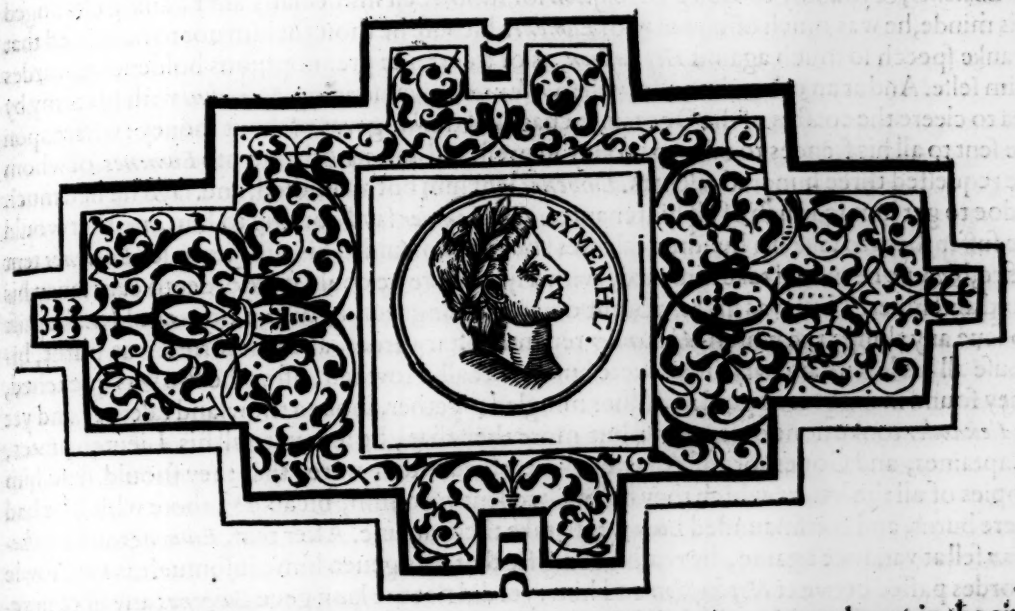
The ſeditious words of Perpenna, againſt Sertorius.

Sertorius ſlew the Spanyards ſonnes.

he brought vp at ſchoole in the city of OSCA: for ſome of them he put to death, and others A
he ſolde as ſlaues. Thus *Perpenna* hauing many aſſociates in his wicked conſpiracie againſt
The treaſon of Perpenna & his accomplices againſt Sertorius. *Sertorius*, brought into his confederacie alſo one called *Manlius*, who had chiefeſt charge in all the army. This *Manlius* loued a young boy exceedingly, & bicauſe he would let him know he loued him well, he told him on a time the whole plat of this conſpiracy, willing him not to reckon any more of others loue but of his, and to loue him only: for he ſhould ſee him a great man before it were longe. The younge boy louinge an other better than him, called *Auſidius*, went & reuealed vnto him all that *Manlius* had told him. *Auſidius* marueled to heare the boy made priuie to it, ſeeing him ſelfe alſo was of the confederacie, and knew not yet that *Manlius* was one of them. And when the boy alſo named *Perpenna*, *Graecinus*, & ſome other whom *Auſidius* knew well to be of coũſell, he was worſe afrayed then before, but yet ſeemed to make B
litle of it, and tolde the boy: for that matter it was nothing, and counſelled him not to credit *Manlius* wordes, who was but a vaine man, and boaſted of that which was not true, and did it onely but to deceiue him. This notwithſtanding, departing thence, he went foorthwith vnto *Perpenna*, and tolde him how their practiſe was diſcouered, declaring further what daunger they were in, if it were not ſpeedily put in execution. All the confederates agreed it was true
The treaſon deuiſed againſt Sertorius. that he ſayd, & thereupon they deuiſed this treaſon. They had ſuborned a meſſenger to bring counterfeate letters to *Sertorius*, feyning in the ſame that one of his Lieutenauntes had won a great battell, in the which he had ſlaine a maruelous number of his enemies. *Sertorius* being very glad of the good newes, made ſacrifice vnto the goddes to geue them thankes. Where- C
upon, *Perpenna* taking the preſent oportunity inuited *Sertorius* to ſupper to him, and all other
his frendes that were preſent (euery one of the conſpiracie with him) and was ſo importunate
Sertorius modeſty at his table. with *Sertorius*, that in the end he promiſed him to come. Now *Sertorius* did euer vſe great modeſtie at the bourde, and would ſuffer no diſſolute talke nor light partes at his meate, and had acquainted them alſo that vſed his table, to talke of graue and wiſe matters, and yet one to be honeſtly mery with an other, without any playing or vncomely talke. In the middeſt of ſupper, they that ſought occaſion of quarrell, beganne to ſpeake lewde wordes, counterfeating to be dronke, and to play many vile partes of purpoſe to anger *Sertorius*. Whereuppon *Sertorius*, D
whether it was that he coulde not abide to ſee thoſe villanous partes, or that he miſtruſted their ill will towardes him by fumbling of their wordes in their mouthes, and by their vnwonted irreuerent maner ſhewed vnto him: fell backewards apon the bed where he ſate at meate, ſeeming no more to marke what they did or ſayd. *Perpenna* at that inſtant tooke a cuppe full of wine, & making as though he dranke, let it fall of purpoſe. The cuppe falling downe made
The murder of Sertorius. a noyſe, and that was the ſigne geuen among them. Therewithall *Antonius* that ſate aboue *Sertorius* at the table, ſtabbed him in with his dagger. *Sertorius* feeling the thruſt, ſtroue to riſe: but the traiterous murderer got vp on *Sertorius* breſt, & held both his handes. And thus was *Sertorius* cruelly murdered, not able to defend him ſelfe, all the conſpirators falling apon him. *Sertorius* death being blowen abroade, the moſt parte of the SPANYARDS ſent Ambaſſadors immediatly vnto *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and yeelded them ſelues vnto them: and *Perpenna* with thoſe that remained with him, attempted to doe ſome thing with *Sertorius* army and preparation. But all fell out to his vtter deſtruction and ruine, making the world know that he E
was a wicked man, who could neither commaund, nor knew how to obey. For he went to aſ-
Perpenna taken by Pompey. ſaile *Pompey*, who had ouerthrowen him ſtraight, and was in the end taken priſoner. And yet in that inſtant of his calamitie, he did not vſe him ſelfe like a valliant minded man, and one worthy to rule: for, thinking to ſaue his life, hauing *Sertorius* letters and wrytinges, he offered *Pompey* to deliuer him all *Sertorius* letters ſent him from the chiefeſt Senators of ROME, wryt-
Pompeis wiſedom in burning Sertorius letters. ten with their owne handes, requeſtinge *Sertorius* to bring his armie into ITALIE, where he ſhould finde numbers of people deſirous of his comming, and that gaped ſtill for chaunge of gouernment. But here did *Pompey* ſhewe him ſelfe a graue and no younge man, deliue-
Perpenna & his conſpinators put to death by Pompey. ringe thereby the citie of ROME from great feare and daunger of chaunge and innouation. For he put all *Sertorius* letters and wrytinges on a heape together, and burnt them euery one, F
without readinge any of them, or ſufferinge them to be red. And moreouer, he preſently put *Perpenna* to death, fearing he ſhould name ſome, which if they were named, would breede

new occasion of trouble & sedition. And as for the other conspirators, some of thē afterwards were brought to *Pompey*, who put them all to death: and the rest of them fled into AFRICKE where they were all ouerthrowen by them of the contrie, and not a man of them scaped, but fell vnfortunately apon thedge of the sworde, *Ausidius* only except, *Manlius* companion in loue. Who, either bicause he was not reckened of, or else vnknowen, dyed an olde man in a pelting village of the barbarous people, poore, miserable, and hated of all the world.

THE LIFE OF *Eumenes.*



DVris the Historiographer wryteth, that *Eumenes* was borne in the citie of CARDIA in THRACIA, being a cariers sonne of the same contrie, (who for pouertie earned his liuing by carying marchaundises to and fro) and that he was notwithstanding honestly brought vp, as well at schoole, as at other comely exercises. And furthermore, how that he being but a boy, *Philip* king of MACEDON chaunsing to come through the city of CARDIA, where hauing nothing to do he tooke great pleasure to see the young men of the citie handle their weapons, & boyes to wrestle: and among them, *Eumenes* shewed such actiuitie, and performed it with so good a grace withall, that *Philippe* liked the boye well, and tooke him away with him. But sure their reporte seemeth truest, which wryte that *Philippe* did aduaunce him for the loue he bare to his father, in whose house he had lodged. After the death of *Philippe*, *Eumenes* continued his seruice with king *Alexander* his sonne, where he was thought as wise a man, & as faithfull to his master, as any: and though he was called the Chaunceller or chiefe secretary, yet the king did honor him as much as he did any other of his chiefest frendes & familiars. For he was sent his Lieutenaunt generall of his whole army, against the INDIANS, and was *Perdiccas* succeffor in the gouernment of his prouince, *Perdiccas* being preferred vnto *Hephæstions* charge after his death. Nowe bicause *Neoptolemus* (that was one of the chiefe Squiers for the body vnto the king) after the death of *Alexander* told the Lordes of the counsell of MACEDON, that he had serued the king with his shield and speare, and howe *Eumenes* had followed with his penne and paper: the Lordes laughed him to scorne, knowing that besides many great honors *Eumenes* had receiued, the king esteemed so well of him, that he did him the honor by mariage to make him his kinseman. For the first Lady that *Alexander* knew

Eumenes parentage.

How Eumenes came to preferrement by the kinges of Macedon.

in ASIA, was *Barsine Artabazus* daughter, by whom he had a sonne, & called his name *Hercules:* & of two of her sisters he maried the one of them called *Apama* vnto *Ptolomye*, & her other sister also called *Barsine*, he bestowed vpon *Eumenes*, when he distributed the PERSIAN Ladies among his Lordes and familiars to marrie them. Yet all this notwithstanding, he often fell in disgrace with king *Alexander*, & stoode in some daunger by meanes of *Hephæstion*. For *Hephæstion* following *Alexanders* courte on a time, hauing appointed *Euius* a phiphe player a lodging, which *Eumenes* seruauntes had taken vp for their maister: *Eumenes* being in a rage, went with one *Mentor* vnto *Alexander*, crying out that a mā were better be a phiphe & a common plaier of Tragedies, then a souldier, sithence such kinde of people were preferred before men of seruice that ventured their liues in the warres. *Alexander* at that present time was as angrie as *Eumenes*, & roundly tooke vp *Hephæstion* for it: howbeit immediatly after hauing chaunged his minde, he was much offended with *Eumenes*, bicause he thought him not to haue vsed that franke speech so much against *Hephæstion*, as of a certaine presumptuous boldenes towardes him selfe. And at an other time also, when *Alexander* was sending *Nearchus* with his army by sea to cleere the coastes of the Occean, it chaunsed the king was without money: whereupon he sent to all his frendes to take vp money in prest, and among others, vnto *Eumenes*, of whom he requested three hundred talentes. *Eumenes* lent him but a hundred, and sayd he had much a doe to get him so much of all his tenantes. *Alexander* sayd nothing to him, neither would he suffer them to take his hundred talentes: but commaunded his officers to set *Eumenes* tent a fire, bicause he would take him tardy with a lye, before he could geue order to cary away his gold and siluer. Thus was his tent burnt downe to the ground, before they could make shift to saue any thing: the which *Alexander* repented afterwardes, and was sorie it was burnt, bicause all his letters and wrytinges were burnt withall. Howbeit, after the fire was quenched, they found in niggots of gold and siluer mingled together, aboue a thowsand talentes, and yet *Alexander* tooke none of it away: but more then that, he sent vnto all his Lieutenauntes, Captaines, and Gouernors of contries, whersoeuer they were, that they should send him copies of all the letters which they before had sent vnto him, bicause all those which he had were burnt, and commaunded *Eumenes* to take them againe. After that, *Eumenes* and *Hephæstion* fell at variance againe, by reason of a gifte that was geuen him, insomuch as very fowle wordes passed betwext *Hephæstion* and him: yet did not the king geue *Eumenes* any ill countenaunce at that time. Notwithstanding, shortly after *Hephæstion* was dead, the king taking his death grieuously whom he loued so derely, gaue no good countenaunce (and was very briefe besides) vnto those whom he knew bare any grudge vnto *Hephæstion* whiles he liued, & that he thought were glad of his death, but specially vnto *Eumenes* of all other, whose malice towards *Hephæstion* was knowen to him well enough: insomuch as he would ofte twyt him withall, remembring him of the iniuries he had offred *Hephæstion*. But *Eumenes* being very wise, and one that could take his time, procured his helpe by the selfe same meane that did him hurte: and deuised (to further *Alexanders* desire, seeking to honor *Hephæstions* funerall with all pompe possible) newe inuentions to set forth the same, of more magnificence then had before bene seene, sparing for no cost, laying on money bountifully, to make him a rich and stately tombe. Againe, when *Alexander* was dead, there fell out great variance betwext the MACEDONIAN footemen, and the noble men that had bene neereste about him: and in that quarrell, *Eumenes* in good will stucke to the Lordes, but in wordes he seemed a newter and frend to both partes: saying, it was not for him being a straunger to thrust him selfe into the quarrells of the MACEDONIANS. And when the other Lordes were departed from BABYLON, *Eumenes* tarying behinde pacified the greateste parte of the souldiers, and made them more tractable and ready to agree with the Lordes. Whereupon, after the Lordes and Captaines had consulted together, and taken order for those contentions, they deuided the gouernment of the prouinces amonge them which they called Satrapaes: in which partition *Eumenes* had CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, and all that coast vpon Mare Ponticum, vnto the citie of TRAPEZVNTE, the which at that time was not subiect to Thempire of MACEDON, for *Ariarathes* kept it then as king. Howbeit it was sayd, that *Leonatus* and *Antigonus* would put him in possession of it, with a great and puisant armie, and make him Gouernor there. Yet afterwardes *Antigonus* made

Barsine, the wife of Eumenes.

Eumenes made Gouernor of the contries of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.

none

A none accompt of *Perdiccas* letters vnto him, putting him in the heade of great imaginations to conquer all, despising all other. And *Leonatus* also came downe into PHRYGIA, and vndertooke the iorney of this conquest for *Eumenes* sake. But when he was in iorney thitherwardes, *Hecataus*, tyran of the CARDIANS, went to him to his army, & prayed him rather to goe helpe *Antipater* and the other MACEDONIANS, which were besieged in the citie of LAMIA. So *Leonatus* being willing to take sea, and go thither, went about to perswade *Eumenes* also to like of it, and to reconcile him with *Hecataeus*: for they were not frendes one with an other, by reason of a quarrell that *Eumenes* father had with this *Hecataeus*, about the gouernment of their citie. Besides that, *Eumenes* had many times complained of him openly vnto king *Alexander*, saying, that he was a tyranne, and besought the kinge that it woulde please him to sette the CAR-
B DIANS at libertie. And therefore *Eumenes* refusing that iorney against the GRÆCIANS, alleaging that he was afrayed of *Antipater*, who had bene his enemy of long time, doubting that for the olde grudge he bare him, & also to gratifie *Hecataeus*, he would put him to death: *Leonatus* then reuealed him selfe and his purpose to him, and how he made as though he would passe ouer the sea to ayde *Antipater*, where in deede his meaning was to take the kingdom of MACEDON. Thereupon he shewed him letters sent him from *Cleopatra*, willing him to come to the citie of PELLA, and there she would marry him. When *Eumenes* was made priuy to his purpose: either bicause he feared *Antipater*, or els for that he had no great good opinion of *Leonatus*, knowing him to be a fonde man, and very rashe and vnconstant in his doinges, he
C stale away from him by night, with those fewe men he had (being about three hundred horsemen, and two hundred footemen well armed) taking all his gold with him, which amounted to the summe of fiue thowsand talentes, and fled with them vnto *Perdiccas*, vnto whom he bewrayed all *Leonatus* intent and minde: whereuppon he was immediatly of great credit about him, and called to counsell. Shortly after, *Perdiccas* brought him into CAPPADOCIA, with a great armie which he him selfe did leade. Where *Ariarathes* was taken prisoner, and *Eumenes* established Gouernor of the contrie, who deliuered the charge of the great cities vnto his frendes, and left them there Captaines of garrisons which he appointed, placing euery where, Iudges, Receiuers, Gouernors, and all such other officers necessarie as he thought meete, *Perdiccas* medling with nothing at all. Notwithstanding, *Eumenes* went away with *Perdiccas* a-
D gaine, as well to wayte apon him, as also bicause he would euer be about the kinges. But *Perdiccas* thinking with him selfe that he alone could wel enough performe thenterprise he went about, and considering also that the realme he left behinde him stoode needefull of a wise and skilfull Gouernor, whom he might trust with the safety of his state: when they were in CILICIA, returned *Eumenes* backe againe, vnder colour to send him to his gouernment, but in dede to keepe the realme of ARMENIA in obedience, the which confined apon the fronters of his contrie whereof he was Gouernor, bicause *Neoptolemus* did vnder hand practise some alteration. Now though *Neoptolemus* was a prowde and insolent person, yet *Eumenes* still deuised to hold him in, and kept him from attemptes, by gentle and fayer wordes. Furthermore, perceiuing also that the regiment of the MACEDONIAN footemen were growen exceding stowt & insolent: he for a strength & defense against them, set vp a cõpany of horsemen, & to bring
E it to passe, released all the contriemen from paying of tribute or taxe, being meete to serue a horsebacke, and bought a great number of horse of seruice, which he gaue amongs them that were about him, in which he put his most trust and affiance, making them coragious, by honors and giftes he gaue to them that serued well, and so by continuall exercise and often remouing them from place to place, made them very ready and seruiceable. Thus were the noble men of MACEDON, some much amazed, some others very glad when they sawe howe by this diligence *Eumenes* had in so shorte a time gotten about him such a number, as sixe thowsand three hundred horsemen. About that time, *Craterus* and *Antigonus* hauing subdued the GRÆCIANS, came on with their army into ASIA to ouerthrow *Perdiccas* greatnes and power: and newes also, that shortly they would inuade CAPPADOCIA. Whereupon *Perdiccas* being
F otherwise occupied in warres, fighting against *Ptolomye*, made *Eumenes* his Lieutenaunt generall, and gaue him commission and full authoritie ouer all his souldiers that were for him, either in CAPPADOCIA, or in ARMENIA: and wrote letters vnto *Neoptolemus* and *Alcetas*,

commaunding them by the same that they should be obedient vnto *Eumenes*, and suffer him to order all matters according to his discretion. Now for *Alcetas*, he flatly aunswered, that he would not be at this warre: for the MACEDONIANS vnder his charge were ashamed to take armes against *Antipater*, and moreouer they would not fight against *Craterus*, but contrarily were bent to receiue him for their Captaine, so much good will they bare him. *Neoptolemus* on thother side, was as ready to play the traitor, and to doe *Eumenes* a shrewde turne, as *Alcetas* was. For being sent for by *Eumenes* to come to him, where he should haue obeyed him, he set his men in battell ray to fight with him. There did *Eumenes* reape the first frute of his wise foresight of the horsemen, which he had set vp to make head against the footemen of the MACEDONIANS. For when his owne footemen were broken and ouerthrowen, he ouercame *Neoptolemus*, and put him to flight with his horsemen, and tooke all his cariage. Then he made them march in order of battell against the MACEDONIANS, who were dispersed euery where, following the chase of his footemen, whom they had ouerthrowen. Thus cõming apon them in this disorder, he draue them to throwe away their weapons, and to yeelde vnto him: and moreouer, euerie man to take his othe to serue him faithfully in this warre, whersoeuer he would lead them. Now *Neoptolemus* gathering a few together that fled, went with them vnto *Craterus* and *Antipater*: who sent vnto *Eumenes* to pray him to take their parte, with condition that he should not onely enioy the contries and prouinces still which he had in gouernment, but furthermore that they would geue him others vnto them, and make him stronger then euer he was: besides that by thacceptation of thoffer, he should be taken for *Antipaters* good frend, where before he was euer reckoned his enemy. Whereunto *Eumenes* made aunswere: that hauing alwayes bene *Antipaters* enemy, he could not of a sodaine become his frend, specially seeing him vse his frendes as enemies: howebeit otherwise that he was very willing to make *Craterus* peace with *Perdiccas*, and to restore him againe to his fauor, apon reasonable & indifferent condicions. And furthermore, that if he ment to assaile him, that then he would aide him so longe as he had any breath in his bodie, and would lose his life before he woulde breake his promise. This aunswere being brought vnto *Antipater*, they fel to consult at leasure what was to be done. In the meane space, *Neoptolemus* that fled apon his ouerthrowe, was come vnto them: who told them how the battell was fought, and besought them both verie instantly, (but *Craterus* chiefly) to geue him aide if it were possible. For the MACEDONIANS were so farre in loue with him, that if they did but see his hatte, and heare him speake, they would all arme them selues and follow him. For, to speake a troth, *Craterus* was had in great estimation amõg the MACEDONIANS: insomuch as after *Alexanders* death, he was more desired of the common souldiers, than any other Captaine, remembring how often he had for their sakes incurred *Alexanders* disgrace and displeasure, bicause he went about to perswade him to leaue the king of PERSIAES maner, whereunto *Alexander* by litle and litle gaue him selfe: and also for that he maintained and defended the customes of the contry of MACEDON, the which euery man through pride and excesse beganne to forsake and contemne. At that time therefore *Craterus* sent *Antipater* into CILICIA, and he him selfe with *Neoptolemus*, went against *Eumenes* with the best parte of his army, hoping to take him tardy and altogether vnprouided, supposing he would geue him selfe to pleasure and pastime, after so late a victorie. But *Eumenes* like a wise and vigilant Captaine had taken such order, that he heard newes time enough of his enemies comming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readines to resist him. Yet was not this the chiefest point of his skill in warre. For he looked so precisely to his doings, that he did not only kepe his enemies frõ knowledge of any thing that he did, but making his men also to kill *Craterus* in battell, before they knew against whom they should fight, and to keepe also so dreadfull an enemie from their knowledge: that of all others shewed the passing skill of an expert Captaine. And to worke this feate the better, this was his policie. First, he made a rumor to be spred in his host, how *Neoptolemus* & *Pigres* were againe comen against him, with certaine horsemen of all sortes gathered together, CAPPADOCIANS and PAPHLAGONIANS. And when he thought to haue remoued in the night, a great desire of sleepe came apon him, in the which he had a maruelous straunge dreame. For it seemed vnto him that he saw two *Alexanders* preparing to fight one with an other, either of them leading a battel

Eumenes skill in warre.

Eumenes dreame.

A battell of footemen, ranged after the MACEDONIAN facion: who comming to geue charge thone apon the other, came the goddesse *Minerua* to aide the one, and *Ceres* likewise to ayde the other. Then him thought that after they had fought a long time together, he whom *Minerua* aided was ouerthrowen, and that *Ceres* had gathered eares of corne and made a crowne of them, to geue him that had wonne the field. Hereupon *Eumenes* perswaded him selfe that this dreame made for him, and promised him victorie, for that he fought for a fertile contrie of corne, where was great plenty of it. For all the fields were sowen with corne in euery place, that it was a pleasure to behold it, shewing the benefit of long peace, to see all the corne fields how greene they looked. But whē he vnderstoode that the enemies had giuen their souldiers for the signall of battell, *Minerua* and *Alexander*: then was his first imagination confirmed
B more then before. Whereuppon, he gaue *Ceres* and *Alexander* for signall of the battell to his souldiers, and commaunded euery man to make them a garlande of wheate eares to weare on their heades, and that they should wreath flowers and nosegayes about their pikes. He was in a minde many times to make his trustiest Captaines priuie against whome they should fight, and not alone to trust him selfe withall, to keepe so necessary a thing as that secret: yet in fine, he kept his first resolution, thinking it the safest way, not to commit this daunger, but to him selfe. Now when he came to geue battell, he would place neuer a MACEDONIAN directly against *Craterus*, but set two companies of men of armes that were straungers against him, the which *Pharnabazus* (*Artabazus* sonne) and *Phœnix Tenedian* did lead. Then he specially commaunded, that soosoone as they saw the enemies before thē, they should straight geue charge,
C geuing them no leasure to speake nor retire, neither to hearken to any Heraulde or tromper that they should send vnto them: for he feared much that the MACEDONIANS would turne against him, if they once came to know *Craterus*. Now for him selfe, he led the right wing of his battell, with a troupe of three hundred men at armes, the chiefest men of all his armie, where he should meete full with *Neoptolemus* fronte. When they had passed a litle hill that stoode betwene both battells, *Eumenes* horsemen following his commaundement, ranne with full cariere to set apon their enemies. *Craterus* seeing that, was amazed withall, and banned and cursed *Neoptolemus* that had deceiued him in that sorte, informing him that the MACEDONIANS would turne of his side, if they might but once see him: notwithstanding, he prayed them that were about him, to shewe them selues like valliant men that day, and therewithall
D fiercely set spurres to his horse to meete with his enemies. The encounter was very cruell on either side, and their staues being broken, they fell straight to their swordes: but that day did not *Craterus* dishonor the memory of *Alexander*, for he slue many of his enemies round about him, valliantly repulsed them that did assaile him, and many times ouerthrewe them. Yet in fine, one of the men of armes of THRACIA gaue him such a blow on the side, that he turned him of his horse, and when he was downe, many passed ouer him. But *Gorgias*, one of *Eumenes* Captaines knowing him, lighted from his horse, and appointed men about him to garde him: howebeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and euen in the very panges of death, *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus* on thother side, which had bene mortall enemies of long time, being a fire with an old malice, they sought vp and downe thone for the other. So at the two first
E courses they could not one light apon thother, but at the third meeting, when they knew one an other, then they set spurres to their horses, their swordes drawen, and with great cries gaue charge apon eche other. And their horses met so fiercely together, as if two armed gallies had met with their prowes: and both the Captaines laying the bridells in their horse neckes, closed together, and with both handes striued to plucke of eche others headpeece, and to rent their polrons from their shoulders. Whilest they were thus tearing eche other, their horses ran from them, and they fell to the ground, one holding the other fast as if they had wrestled together. *Neoptolemus* got vp first: but as he rose, *Eumenes* cut the hamme of his legge, & raised him selfe vp withall. *Neoptolemus* staying him selfe apon one knee, his other legge being very sore hurt, defended him selfe on the ground the best he could, from *Eumenes* that was on
F his feete, but he could geue him no deadly wound: neuertheless him selfe had a blow on the necke, that layed him flat on the grounde. Then *Eumenes* inflamed with choller against him, went about to strippe him, and fell a reuiling of him, and being in that furious moode, remem-

Battell betwixt Eumenes and Craterus.

Craterus death.

bred not that *Neoptolemus* had his ſword yet, who hurt him vnder his curaces, euen about his groyne, not farre from his priuie partes: howebeit the wounde made *Eumenes* worſe afrayd, then there was cauſe of hurt, for that *Neoptolemus* ſtrength was gone before the ſtroke came, dying preſently apon it. *Eumenes* hauing ſtripped him found him ſelf very ill, (by reaſon of his woundes) on his armes and legges, which had many a fore gaſhe: notwithſtanding, he got vp on his horſe againe, and rode towards the other wing of his battell, thinking his enemies had bene fighting ſtill. But there being told that *Craterus* had his deathes wound, he went ſtraight to the place where he lay, and found him yet aliue, not paſt knowledge. Then *Eumenes* lighted from his horſe, and wept, and taking him by the right hande, accurſed *Neoptolemus* that had brought him to that pitiefull ſtate, and had alſo forced him to be in battell againſt one of his deereſt frendes, to make him the inſtrument of his vtter vndoing. This ſecond battell *Eumenes* wanne tenne dayes after the firſt battell obtained, which got him great honor, for that he had diſcomfited one of his enemies through wiſedome, and the other by valliantnes. But yet this bred him much ill will, not onely of his enemies, but of his frendes alſo that tooke his parte, when they bethought them, that he being a ſtraunger, had with the weapons and power of the MACEDONIANS them ſelues, ſlaine the greateſt and moſt famous Captaine among them. Now if *Perdiccas* had bene ſo happie, as to haue liued and receiued thaduertiſement of *Craterus* death: no dout he had bene the greateſt perſon of all the MACEDONIANS. But as ill luck would haue it, within two dayes after that *Perdiccas* was ſlaine in a mutinie of his men in EGYPT, newes came to his army of *Eumenes* victorie, and alſo of the death of *Craterus*. Whereupon the MACEDONIANS were ſo offended with *Eumenes*, that incontinently they condemned him to dye, & gaue *Antigonus* and *Antipater* commiſſion to execute the reuenge. When *Eumenes* paſſing by mount Ida (where the king kept a race and brede of horſes) had taken away with him as many horſes as he would, and had ſent letters of aduertiſement thereof to the kinges ryders: *Antipater*, as it is reported, ſmyled, and in mockerie ſayd, that he marueled to ſee *Eumenes* great care, to thinke that he ſhould either geue or receiue any account of the kinges goodes. So *Eumenes* thought good to fight in the great plaines of LYDIA, eſpecially neere vnto the chiefe citie of SARDIS, bicauſe he was the ſtronger in horſemen, and for that he would make *Cleopatra* ſee the power of his armie. Howebeit, being intreated by her (who feared blame of *Antipater*) he went further into hie PHRYGIA, and wintered in the citie of CELÆNES. But there *Polemon*, *Alcetas*, and *Docimus*, fell in contention with him for leading of the army, ſaying, that they had as much right to leade the army as he. *Eumenes* aunſwered them, truely here is euen the cõmon ſaying vp and downe: deſperate men regard no daunger. Now *Eumenes* hauing promiſed his ſouldiers pay within three dayes, to keepe his promeſſe, ſolde them all the farmes & caſtells of that contrie, together with the men and beaſtes of the ſame, whereof the prouince was fully repleniſhed. Thereupon his Lieutenauntes of the bandes hauing bought certaine of them, went and tooke them perforce, through *Eumenes* engines of battery which he ſuffred them to carie with him: and hauing taken them, they went and deuided the ſpoyle, paying euery ſouldier ratably his wages due. This deuiſe brought him againe in fauor among his ſouldiers. For certaine papers being founde in his campe caſt abroade by his enemies, promiſing great offices, and a hundred talents beſides to any man that killed *Eumenes*: the MACEDONIANS that ſerued vnder him were ſo offended withall, that they preſently ſet downe an order, that from that time forward a thowſande of the beſt ſouldiers amonge them (which alſo had charge vnder them) ſhould alwayes garde his perſon, keeping watche euery night about him, as fell out by turnes one after an other. Whereunto they all agreed: & *Eumenes* gaue them thoſe honors and rewardes, which the kinges of MACEDON were wont to geue vnto their frendes, and which they gladly receiued. For through their graunt he had authoritie to geue purple clokes and hattes to whom he thought good, which was the honorableſt gift the kinge of MACEDON could geue. It is true that proſperitie maketh ſimple men high minded, whereby they ſeeme (though they be not) very honorable, but ſpecially when fortune hath raiſed them to honor & wealth. But in deede he that is of a noble minde & ſtowt corage is beſt diſcerned in aduerſitie: for he neuer yeeldeth to any troubles, as appeareth by *Eumenes*. For when he had loſt a battell among the ORCYNIANS, in the realme of CAPPADOCIA,

Neoptolemus ſlaine.

Eumenes victory of Craterus and Neoptolemus.

Sardis, the chiefe city of Lydia.

The conſtancy of Eumenes in aduerſity.

A era, through the treason of one of his souldiers: he being pursued, yet neuer gaue the traitor any leasure to flie to his enemies for safety, but tooke him, & trussed him vp. And after he had fled for a time, he turned his horse head vpon a sodaine, and leauing his enemies side hand of him that had him in chace, he closely stale by them without their knowledge, & held on ornying so long, vntill he came to the selfe same plaine, where the battell was fought. There he camped, and gathering vp the dead bodies, (the Captaines by them selues, and the souldiers aparte) he burnt them with the dores, gates, and windowes of all the villages & townes thereabouts that he could get together: and in steede of tombes for them, he raised vp great heapes of earth. Insomuch as *Antigonus* comming thither immediatly after, he wondred much at his valliantnes & inuincible corage. Remouing thence, he met with *Antigonus* cariage, & might *Eumenes stra-*
B easily without daunger haue taken a number of prisoners, as well free as bond, & haue gotten *tageme.*
all the riches & treasure which they had spoyled in so many sundrie warres, townes, and countries: howbeit he was afrayed that if his souldiers were loden with that spoyle, it would make them more heauy to march, and vnable to flie, but specially more tender to abide & run from place to place a long time together, being the only meane wherein he trusted to come to end this warre. For he made account that *Antigonus* in the end would be weary of following him so long a time, & therefore that he would turne some other way. Moreouer he perceiued that it was vnpossible for him by his authority to keepe the MACEDONIANS from taking for the spray, as offred it selfe vnto them: whereupon he commaunded them to stay a while, & baite their horse first, and then that they should go straight to spoile the enemies cariage. But in the
C meane time he secretly sent a messenger to *Menander* (who had the charge and conduct of all the cariage) to will him to flie with all speede out of the plaine, and to get him to the hanging of a hill not farre from thence, and safe from horsemen, where they could not be enuironned, and there to fortifie him selfe: sending him word also, that he sent him this aduertisement, for the old frendship & acquaintance that had bene betwene them afore. *Menander* hearing what daunger he was in, made his men trusse vp their cariage straight. Thereupon *Eumenes* openly sent certaine light armed men to discouer, & to bring him newes: and therwithall commaunded them to arme, and bridle their horses, as if he had ment to haue led them against the enemies. His skowtes were nowe returned, and told him that it was vnpossible either to distresse or take *Menander*, for that he was fled into a place of such strength, & therefore he was not to
D be come by. *Eumenes* seemed to be very sory for it, howbeit he led his army from thence notwithstanding. *Menander* afterwards reported this matter to *Antigonus*, & the MACEDONIANS that were in his army, who did greatly commend *Eumenes*, & after that loued him better then euer they did before: bicause that hauing their childre in his hands whom he might haue made slaues, & their wiues also whom he might haue defiled, he spared them al. Howbeit *Antigonus* to put them out of this humor, told them, ye are deceiued, my frendes: for it was not for your sakes, nor yet to pleasure you, that *Eumenes* tooke not your wiues, your children, & your goods, but only for the feare he had to haue shackles on his heeles, to let him from speedy flying. So *Eumenes* departing from thence, fled still before *Antigonus*, & wandring vp & downe, did him selfe with his souldiers to get them somewhere else, either in deede for that he was carefull of
E them, or for that he was vnwilling to haue such a number about him, being too fewe to fight a battell, and too many to hide his flying. In fine, he went to a strong place of scituacion called Nora, in the confines of LYCAONIA & CAPPADOCIA, with fiue hundred horsemen, and two hundred footemen well armed. And when he was comen thither also, he gaue euery one leaue to depart that asked him licence, bicause they could not haue abidden the discommodity of the place, which was very straight, & the lacke of necessary victells which they must needes haue wanted, if the siege did continue long: & thus departed from them with very good words and louing countenaunce. Shortly after came *Antigonus* before the forte, but would not besiege it, before he sent for *Eumenes* to come to him apon his word. *Eumenes* answered him, that *Antigonus* had many of his frendes about him, that after him might come to be the heades of his
F tribe, & that him selfe on the other side had not a noble man for whom he fought. And therfore if *Antigonus* would haue him come and speake with him, that he should sende him one of his chiefest frendes in hostage. Againe *Antigonus* being earnest with him, and telling him it was

his

reaſon he ſhould come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power: *Eumenes* aunſwered him, I will acknowledge none better then my ſelfe, ſo long as I can hold my ſword in my hand. In the end, *Antigonus* (according to *Eumenes* requeſt) ſent his owne neuew *Ptolemy* into the forte, and then came *Eumenes* out. At their meeting they both embraced and ſaluted eche other, as frendes of old acquaintance and familiaritie: and ſo fell in talke of diuers matters: but all this while *Eumenes* neuer once made requeſt to departe in ſafety, neither yet demaunded pardon, but only deſired the confirmation of his charge & gouernment, and that he might be reſtored to that which was geuen him. They that were preſent at their meeting marueled much at *Eumenes*, & greatly commended his ſtowtnes. Now whileſt they were thus in talke together, the MACEDONIANS came out of all partes of the campe, to ſee what maner of man *Eumenes* was: bicauſe that after the death of *Craterus* there was no talke among the MACEDONIAN ſouldiers, of any Captaine, but of *Eumenes*. Neuertheleſſe, *Antigonus* fearing they would do *Eumenes* ſome miſchiefe, commaunded them alowde to geue backe, and made ſtones to be throwen amonge them to keepe them of him. All this notwithſtandinge he was fayne in the end to put them of with his gard, and to take *Eumenes* in his armes, and had much a doe to deliuer him ſafely into his forte againe. After this imparlance, *Antigonus* compaſſed this forte of Nora round about with a wall, and left a ſufficient number of men to continue the ſiege, and ſo went his way with the reſt of his army. In the meane time *Eumenes* remained beſieged within this forte, where there was plenty of wheate, water, and ſalt, but of no other thing that was good to eate, nor ſwete of taſt, to ſuſteine them with their bread. Yet with ſuch as he had, he kept them in good liking that were in houſe with him. For he made them euery one after an other ſit at his bourde with him, and withall did facion out that manner of dyet, with a certaine life and familiarity of pleaſaunt deuiſes to entertaine them at their meate. For beſides that he ſought to ſhewe them as pleaſaunt a countenaunce as he coulde, yet naturally he had a ſweete fayer face, not looking like a man of warre, that all the dayes of his life had bene trained vp in it: but like a freſh youth, being of ſuch a conſtitution of bodie, that the excelleneteſt workeman that euer was could not better ſet out all the partes and proportion of a man, then were naturally to be ſeene in him. His ſpeeche was not harſh nor churliſhe, but very mylde, and pleaſaunt, as appeareth by the letters he wrote. Now for the ſiege, there was nothing that more annoyed the beſieged, then the narrownes of the forte wherein they were, which was not aboue two furlonges compaſſe about, and their houſes ſo litle and narrowe, that they could ſcant turne them in them: and did eate and drinke without any manner of exerciſe for them ſelues, or their horſe. Now *Eumenes* to take away the ſluggiſhneſſe that groweth by idleneſſe, (a thing moſt hurtefull to them that are acquainted with trauell and paines) to keepe them in breth, and to make them the lighter to flie, if occaſion were offered: put his men into the longeſt & wideſt hall he had in his houſe, (being fourteene cubits long to walke vp and downe in) and taught them firſt of all to march fayer and ſoftly, and then by litle & litle to haſten their pace. For the horſes he had, them he made to be girt before, one after an other, & then did ſoftly triſe them vp with long pulleyes faſtned to the beames: their hindmoſt feete ſtanding on the ground, & their formoſt being aloft. The horſes being triſed vp in this maner, their riders came with lowde cries behinde them, & ſome with whippes in their hands to laſh them, that the horſe being mad withall, yerked out behind, & ſprang forward with his formeſt legges to touch the ground, that they did but euen raſe it a litle, ſo as euery vaine and ſinew of them were ſtrained by this meanes, that they blue, and were all of a ſome withall, ſo good an exerciſe to thē it was, as well to put them in breth, as to kepe their legges ſupple to run. After that, they had their otes very cleane pickt & dreſſed, that they might diſgeſt them the ſooner. *Antigonus* hauing long continued this ſiege, newes came vnto him that *Antipater* was dead in MACEDON, & that the realme was in a great broyle, through the factions of *Caſſander* & *Polyperchon*. *Antigonus*, whoſe head was ſtraight full of great imaginations, greedily coueting with him ſelfe the whole kingdom of MACEDON: thought good to make *Eumenes* his frende, that through his helpe he might attaine his deſired purpoſe. Thereupon he ſent *Hyeronymus* vnto him to treate of peace, and gaue him the forme of the othe which he would haue him ſweare vnto him. When *Eumenes* had ſeene it, he would not be ſworne in that maner, but corrected it,

Eumenes talke with Antigonus, and magnanimity.

Eumenes beſieged in the forte of Nora.

Eumenes perſonage and pleaſantnes.

Eumenes induſtry in the ſiege for marſhall exerciſe.

and

A & sayd: that he did referre him selfe to the iudgement of the MACEDONIANS which kept him besieged, to iudge which of those two formes were most meetest: that which *Antigonus* had sent him, or the same which he had corrected. For in *Antigonus* forme of othe, there was a litle mencion only made at the beginning of the blood royall, but in all the rest following, he bound *Eumenes* particularly to him selfe. But *Eumenes* in his forme of othe, did first of all put *Olympias* the mother of kinge *Alexander*, and the kinges his sonnes afterwardes: and for the rest, he sware he would be frende of the frendes, and enemie of the enemies, not of *Antigonus* onely, but of the kinges, and of *Olympias*. The MACEDONIANS being at the siege before Nora, did better like the forme of *Eumenes* othe, than they did that of *Antigonus*. So hauing geuen *Eumenes* his othe, & made him sweare according to that forme: they raised their siege, B and sent also vnto *Antigonus* to take his othe. All this accomplished, *Eumenes* redeliuered the CAPPADOCIANS their hostages, (which he had kept in Nora with him) and they that came for them, gaue him in their steade, horse of warre, beastes of cariage, tentes and pauillions. Thus he beganne to gather his men againe together, which were dispersed abroade after his ouerthrowe, so that in fewe dayes he was aboue a thowsande horsemen, with whom he fled, fearing yet *Antigonus*, and he did wisely. For *Antigonus* had not onely commaunded them to shutte him vp againe straighter then he was before: but besides that wrote sharpe letters and verie angrily vnto the MACEDONIANS, which had accepted the correction of the othe. Whileste *Eumenes* wandered vp & downe flying still, he receiued letters from certaine in MACEDONIA (fearing *Antigonus* greatnesse) and specially from *Olympias*: which sent vnto him C to come into MACEDON, to take the charge and gouernment of her young sonne *Alexander*, whome they sought to put to death. Furthermore, he likewise receiued letters from *Polyperchon* and from king *Philippe*, who commaunded him to make warre with *Antigonus* with his armie he had in CAPPADOCIA, and to put in his purse of the kinges, fiue hundred siluer talentes (which had bene taken from him before) which were in the citie of CYNDES, and besides, to defraye the charges of the warres, as much as he thought meete. And therewithall also they wrote vnto *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, the two Captaines of the Argyraspides: to wit, the souldiers with the siluer shieldes, or shieldes siluered, which were of the olde bandes of *Alexanders* armie. These two Captaines hauinge receiued these letters, did vse *Eumenes* with very good wordes, & shewed him great countenaunce: yet a man by their lookes might D easily coniecture that they enuied him, for either of them both thought them selues men sufficient, and worthie to commaunde *Eumenes*, not to aide him. Howebeit *Eumenes* behaued him selfe very wisely. For as touching their enuie, he pacified that, bicause he tooke not the money which he was cõmaunded to take for his owne vse, for that he had no neede of it. And as for their ambition and presumption, disdaining to be commaunded by him, though they could neither tell howe to commaunde nor obey: he did reclaime them, by a superstition he layed before them, which was this. He made them beleue that *Alexander* did appeare to him in his sleepe, and that he shewed him a pauillion sumptuously sette out in the state and magnificence of a king, in the which was a royall throne: and tolde him, that if they would kepe their councell place in that pauilion, he would be present among them, and ayde them E in all their councells and conduct of their warres, so that they would alwayes beginne by him. He easily perswaded *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* to beleue that which he spake, who would not goe to him to consult of any matters: neither did he thinke it honorable for him selfe to be seene to go to other mens gates. Wherefore with all their consents they incontinently set vp a goodly rich pauilion, which was called *Alexanders* pauillion: and there they kept their councells and assemblies for dispatch of all their weightiest causes. After this, they went towardes the hie contries and met with *Peucestas* on the way, (*Eumenes* very great frende) who ioyned with them, and other great peeres of the realme, with all their power besides. This did greatly strengthen the armie of the noble men of MACEDONIA, as touching the number of men, and their braue armors and furniture: but for their owne persones, bicause they had no man F to commaunde them since the death of *Alexander*, they were growen selfe willed by dissolute libertie, and effeminate in their maner of life: and moreouer they had gotten a tyrannicall fiercenesse, nourished & increased by the vanities of the barbarous people. So that many

This was Aridæus, the sonne of Philippe father of Alexander, whom they had surnamed Philippe.

Eumenes, made king Philippes Lieutenaunt of his army.

Argyraspides Alexanders souldiers, so called, for their siluered shieldes.

Eumenes temperance.

Eumenes faimed deuise.

of them being then together, could not be quiet one with an other, but ſhamefully flattered the old bandes of the MACEDONIAN ſouldiers, geuing them money, and making them bankets and feaſtes of ſacrifices. And thus in ſhorte time, of a campe they brought it to be a diſſolute tauerne, where the noble men got the ſouldiers fauor that they might be choſen chieftaines of all the armie: like as the common peoples voyces are bought in free cities (where the people doe rule) to be preferred to honorable ſtates and offices of the common wealth. Now *Eumenes* found ſtraight that theſe pieres of the realme diſdained one an other, howbeit that they all feared and miſtruſted him, and ſought but for oportunity to kill him. Wherefore to preuent this, he made as though he had occaſion to occupie money, and ſo borrowed a great ſumme of thē eſpecially, whom he knew moſt hated him: to the end that from thenceforth they ſhould no more diſtruſt, but truſt him, ſtanding in feare to loſe the money they had lent him. And thereof followed a ſtraunge thing: for other mens money and goodes, was the ſafetie of his life. For where others geue money to ſaue their liues, he by taking of money ſaued his owne life. Now for the ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, whileſt they ſawe they were without daunger of enemies to make them afraied, they ſtil hong apon them that gaue them, being deſirous to be made Generalles: and came euery morning to their vpriſing to waite apon them, and follow them whereſoeuer they went. But when *Antigonus* was come to campe hard by them with a great and puiſant army, and that their caſe required then a valliant Captaine and skilfull leader: not the ſouldiers alone, but all the pieres and ſtates beſides, (which in peace did braue it out) did then willingly (without motion made) ſubmit them ſelues vnto *Eumenes*, to be at his commaundement. For when *Antigonus* aſſaied all the wayes he could to paſſe ouer the riuer of Paſitigris, the pieres which were layed in diuers places to let him from paſſing ouer, heard nothing of it, ſo that there was none but *Eumenes* onely that reſiſted him, and fought with him: where he ſlewe ſuch a number of his men, that he filled the riuer with them, and tooke foure thowſande of them priſoners. Againe, when *Eumenes* was ſicke, theſe olde bandes did more plainly ſhew, what opinion they had of him, and of others: to wit, that they could banket them, and make them good cheere at their houſes, yet that *Eumenes* onely of all other was worthieſt to be their Captaine, and to commaunde them. For *Peuceſtas* hauing feaſted them in the kingdom of PERSIA, and geuen euery ſouldier a mutton to ſacrifice, thought he had wonne great fauor & credit among them. But ſhortly after, as the army marched againſt their enemies, *Eumenes* by misfortune fell daungerouſly ſicke, & therfore would needes be caried in a litter farre from the campe, to be out of the noyſe, bicauſe he could take no reſt. But they had not gone farre, before they ſaw their enemies, which hauing paſſed ouer certaine litle hills betwene them, were comming downe into the valley. When the ſouldiers ſawe the gliſtering of the gilt armors of their enemies, that glared in the ſunne, and the good order they marched withall in battell ray, the Elephantes with the towers apon their backes, and the men at armes with their purple coates apon their armors: (which was the apparell they wore when they went to fight with their enemies) then the formeſt ſtayed apon it, and cried out, willing them to ſend for *Eumenes* to lead them, for they would els goe no further if they had not him for their Generall. And therewithall they raiſed their pykes, & layed downe their ſhieldes at their feete, calling from one to an other to ſtay, & to their priuate Captaines alſo: and told them plainly, that they would not ſturre a foote from thence, nor fight at all, vnleſſe *Eumenes* were among them to lead them. *Eumenes* hearing of it, came to them with great ſpeede, haſtening his ſlaues and littermen to bring him thither: and then opening his litter on euery ſide, he held out his right hand to the ſouldiers, and tolde them he was very glad of the good opinion they had of him. The ſouldiers alſo ſo ſoone as they ſawe him, ſaluted him in the MACEDONIAN tongue, and tooke vp their ſhieldes, clapping them againſt their pykes with a great ſhowte, bidding their enemies come when they would, they ſhoulde be fought withall, now that their Captaine was among them. *Antigonus* on thother ſide, being informed by certaine priſoners which his ſouldiers had taken in skermiſh, that *Eumenes* was fallen very ſore ſicke, and by reaſon thereof was caried in a litter: thought nowe he ſhould haue no great a doe to diſcomfit the reſt of the army, and therefore made all poſſible ſpeede he could to fight. But when he came ſo neere, that he might eaſily ſee the order and countenaunce of his

Eumenes wilieneſſe to winde him ſelfe out of daunger.

Paſitigris fl.

Eumenes battell with Antigonus, and victorie.

Antigonus ſouldiers armed with gilt armors.

A his enemies, who were ſet in ſuch good order of battell, that it could not any wayes be amended: he was much amaſed withall, and pawſed a great while, and in the meane time ſpied *Eumenes* litter a farre of, caried from one end of the battell to the other, whereat he laughed out alowed, as his maner was, and turning him ſelfe to his frendes, ſayd. See, ſayd he, I beleue it is that litter that maketh warre with vs, and doth offer vs battell. But with thoſe wordes, he ſounded the retreate, & brought his men backe againe into his campe. When this feare was a litle paſſed ouer, the MACEDONIANS fell to their olde trade againe, the pieres to flatter the ſouldiers, and the ſouldiers to waxe braue and ſtowte againſt their Captaines: ſo that when they came to take their garriſons for the winter time, they deuided in maner among them the whole contrie of the GABENIANS, the firſt from the laſt being lodged almoſt a thowſand furB longe of. Which *Antigonus* vnderſtanding, determined to ſet apon them, they miſtruſting nothing. And ſo went ſodainly towards them, by a ſhorter way then that he had already commen, but the worſer way a great deale, and where no water was to be had: in hope that if he met them thus diſperſed aſunder, their Captaines could not readily aſſemble them all together. But while he was in this his iorney, in the deſert crooked way, he was ſo ouertaken, and with ſuch boyſterous windes and extreame bitter cold, that his ſouldiers could go no further, but were forced to tary ſtil, to prouide them preſent remedy againſt the fury of the time. Now the onely remedy they had, was to make numbers of fires: and by them their enemies knewe of their comming. For the barbarous people inhabiting the mountaines towardes the deſert, being amaſed to ſee ſuch a number of fires in the valley, ſent preſently with ſpeede apon two C camells light loden, to aduertiſe *Peuceſtas*, who being neereſt vnto the mountaine was ſo ſcared with theſe newes, that he was at his wittes end, not knowing what to doe. For, ſeeing his other companions as much afrayed as him ſelfe, he fled apon it, and caried all them with him which he met in his way. But *Eumenes* quieted this great feare, aſſuring them that he would ſtay the ſodaine attempt of their enemies, and that they ſhould come three dayes later than they looked for: which they beleued. Then did *Eumenes* ſende meſſengers into euery quarter to all the Captaines, commaunding them ſpeedily to put their men in readineſſe, and to meete him at a certaine place which he appointed. Him ſelfe in the meane time went with other Captaines to chooſe a fit grounde to lodge a campe, the which might eaſily be ſeene from the toppe of the mountaines, which they muſt paſſe that come from the deſert: & there D fortified the ſame with trenches, and deuided it out into quarters, making fire in euery place, ſuch a diſtance of one from an other, as they vſe commonly to make in a campe. It was no ſooner done, but *Antigonus* came to the toppe of the mountaines, and ſawe theſe fires a farre of, which grieued him much: for he thought that his enemies had longe before knowen of his comming, and that they came againſt him. Being afrayed therfore leaſt his enemies would compell him to fight, comming freſhe apon him, his owne men being weary and done with the paines they had abidden, comminge through that deſert contrie: he tooke his way to lead backe his armie, not the neereſt way by the which he came, but through the contry richly inhabited and repleniſhed with great cities and good townes, to refreſhe his ouerwearied people. Yet ſeeing he had none alaroms geuen, nor any skermiſhes offered him, (as they vſe E commonly when both armies are neere together) and that the valley men told him that they had ſeene none other armie but his, ſauing that round about there was ſtore of fires: then he ſtraight miſtruſted that it was one of *Eumenes* ſtratageames of warre, wherewith he had deceiued him. And therewithall he was in ſuch a rage, that he went ſtraight to the place where he thought to finde him, determining no more to ſteale apon him, but to put all to the haſard of a battell. But in the meane time, the moſt parte of the hoaſt was gathered about *Eumenes*, for the great eſtimacion euery man had of his wiſdom and ſufficiency: inſomuch that they agreed and ordained, that he only as their Lieutenaunt generall ſhould commaund the whole army. This ſpited the two Captaines of the *Argyraſpides*, *Antigenes* & *Teutamus*, who bare him ſuch an inward grudge, that from that time forth, they practiſed his death: & aſſembling together F with many of the ſtates & particular Captaines, they ſat in councell to know when, & in what ſorte they ſhould kill him. Howbeit the moſt voices aſſembled in this councell, were whole of opiniō, that they ſhould take the benefit of his ſeruice in leading the battel, & that immediatly

Antigonus mocke to Eumenes.

Eumenes ſtratageame againſt Aitigonus.

Emny the companion of vertue.

Eumenes death conſpired.

after they ſhould put him to death. This being thus reſolued apon, *Eudamus* Captaine of the Elephants, and an other called *Phædimus*, went ſecretly and told *Eumenes* what they had concluded apon in the aſſembly againſt him, not for any good will that they bare him, or for that they ſought to pleaſure him, but only bicauſe they were afrayed to looſe the money they had lent him. *Eumenes* gaue them great thankes, and commended their fidelity, and then reported it vnto his beſt frendes, and tolde them: you ſee howe I am enuironned with a troupe of wilde and brutiſhe beaſtes. That done, he made his will, and tare all the letters and wrytinges that had bene ſent him, bicauſe he would not haue them ſuffer for him after his death, that had ſent him ſecret aduertiſementes. Afterwardes when he had diſpoſed of all his priuate matters in this ſorte, he ſtoode in a doute whether he ſhoulde loſe the battell geuing his enemies the victorie, or whether it were better for him to flie into CAPPADOCIA, through MEDIA and ARMENIA. Howebeit he reſolued of nothing before his frendes. But when the miſchiefe he was in had put diuers thoughtes into his head, in fine he determined to fight, and did ſet his army in battell ray, perſwading the GRÆCIANS as well as the barbarous people to ſtand to it like men. And as for the olde ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, they ſo litle needed exhortation, that they them ſelues did exhorte *Eumenes* to be of good corage, ſaying: that their enemies would neuer abide them, bicauſe they were all the oldeſt ſouldiers, and of greateſt experience, that had bene in all the conqueſtes of kinge *Philippe*, and of his ſonne *Alexander*, and that it was neuer heard that they had bene ouerthrowen in any ſette battell, the moſt of them being three ſcore and tenne yeares olde, and the youngeſt no leſſe then three ſcore. Whereupon, when they ranne with great furie to geue charge apon their enemies, they cried out alowde ſpeaking to the ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS that were vnder *Antigonus*: Ah wretches, come ye to fight with your fathers? And ſo aſſailing them with a luſtie corage, and in a rage withall, in a ſhorte ſpace ouerthrew the ſquadron of their enemies, & ſlue the moſt parte of them in the fielde. Thus was *Antigonus* armie cleane ouerthrowen on that ſide: but on the other ſide where his men of armes were, through *Peuceſtas* cowardlineſſe (that handeled him ſelfe very ill at that battell) he had the vpper hande, and wanne all their cariage, through his foreſight in the greateſt furie of the battell, and the ſtrength of the place where the battell was fought. For it was a maruelous great plaine of length, neither too depe, nor yet to hard vnderfoote, but couered ouer with a ſmall fine ſand, much like to the drie ſand the ſea caſteth vp, & leaueth apon the ſhore. This ſand being ſcattered abroade by riding and going to & fro of ſo many thowſandes of men and horſes during the time of the battell foughten, had raiſed ſuch a mightie duſt and white ſmoke in the element, as if they had ſturred or tempered white lime together, which troubled their ſight ſo ſore, as they could ſee nothing before them: in reſpect whereof *Antigonus* might eaſily ſeaſe all their cariage, them ſelues being neuer a whit the wiſer. The battell being come to this paſſe you haue heard, *Teutamus* ſent preſently vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to redeliuer them their cariage againe, which he had taken & caried into his campe. *Antigonus* made him aunſwere, that he would not only redeliuer the goodes vnto the ARGYRASPIDES, but would moreouer vſe them with all the fauor he could, ſo farre foorth as they deliuered *Eumenes* into his handes. Whereupon the ARGYRASPIDES tooke preſently a wicked reſolution, to deliuer him aliue into the handes of his enemies. And with that determination they came neere vnto him, not makinge any countenaunce as though they would lay handes on him, but rather ſeeming to garde and defend his perſone as their manner was: ſome of them lamenting that their goods were gone: others telling him that he cared not now that he had wonne the battell: and others accuſing the noble men of cowardlines, ſaying, that the fault was in them that they had not the whole victorie. But in fine, one of thē hauing ſpied his time, flew to him, and tooke his ſword out of his hande: the others ſtraight layed hold of him, and bound both his handes behinde him with his owne girdle. *Antigonus* vnderſtanding it, ſent *Nicanor* thither to take him out of their handes, and to bring him to him. Then *Eumenes* hauing made requeſt vnto them to ſuffer him to ſpeake, as they brought him through the bandes of theſe olde MACEDONIAN ſouldiers: it was graunted him with condicion, that he ſhould make no motion vnto them to turne from that they were determinated to doe, but to tell them of thinges, which (as he ſayd) tended greatly to their benefite. Whereuppon ſilence being

Eumenes tare all his frendes letters to kepe them out of trouble.

The old band of the Macedonians, were euery man 60 yeare old and moſt aboue.

Eumenes conflict with Antigonus.

Eumenes betrayed by the Argyraſpides.

A being made, he goo vp apon a litle hillocke, and there spake vnto them, putting forth his hands being bound. O wretched and faithlesse men, the wickedest that euer Macedon bred. What so great triumphe, or victorie, hath euer *Antigonus* wonne of you, hauing sought it by such infinite wayes: and you your selues doe now put into his handes, deliuering him your Captaine bound and manacled? Will not this be to your great shame, that being masters of the fielde, you will graunt the honor of the victory vnto your enemy, only for a litle couetousnesse of money and paltry stuffe which you haue lost? And yet is not this all, but the worst behinde: to send your Captaine as you do to paythe ransome of your baggage. For my selfe, though now they lead me bound, yet doe I remaine free vnouercome, vanquisher of mine enemies, & sold by them that should be my frendes. Well, yet this request I onely make vnto you, in the name B of *Iupiter*, protector of armes, and for the honor of the goddes, (vnto whom all vowed othes ought faithfully to be kept) I pray and coniure you, to kill me your selues in this place. For all commeth to one end, To be slaine in *Antigonus* campe by the hands of mine owne enemies, will euer be counted your deede: and you may be assured he will not be angrie withall, for he only desireth *Eumenes* death, and not his life. If you will needes hold your hands from this attempt, vnlose yet one of mine only: that shall suffice to doe the feate. And if for feare ye will not put a sworde in my hande, throw me bound yet hands and feete vnto wilde beastes: which if ye performe, then doe I discharge you of your othe taken betwene both my handes, which ye haue sworne vnto your Captaine, as holily and perfectly performed. Apon this speeche of *Eumenes*, all the rest of the army had compassion of him, that they wept for tender affection. But C the Argyraspides cried out to cary him away, and not to geue eare to his preaching: and that it was a good deede to punishe this wicked Cherronesian, according to his desertes, considering that he had turmoyled the Macedonians with endlesse warre and battell. And moreouer, that it were too much shame that the worthiest souldiers that euer serued kinge *Philippe* & *Alexander*, so painfully in all their warres, should for recompence of their seruice in their olde age be turned a begging, their wiues hauing now lyen three nightes with their enemies. With those wordes, they violently draue him on towardes *Antigonus* campe, who fearing least the multitude of people that ranne to see him, would smother him in the preasse, because euery man ranne out of the campe: he sent thither tenne of the strongest Elephantes he had, and a good number of men of armes of the Medes and Parthians, to make way for D him in the preasse. When *Eumenes* was now come into *Antigonus* campe, his hurt would not serue him to see him in that miserable state, for that they had once beene familiarly acquainted together. Whereupon, such as had him in their custodie, came to *Antigonus* to aske him, how he would haue him kept. Who aunswered them: like a Lyon, or an Elephant. Yet within a while after he tooke pitie of him, and discharged him of his weightiest irons, and sent one of his household seruaunts to him to see him well vsed, and suffered his frendes to come & bring him any thing he lacked. Thus did *Antigonus* deferre many dayes, before he would determine ought of *Eumenes*, hearing euery man speake, and pondering their purposes and seuerall opinions. *Nearchus* Cretan, and his owne sonne *Demetrius* spake for *Eumenes*, and made suite to saue his life, contrarie to all the other Lordes and Captaines that were about *Antigonus*, who E would in any case haue him dye. *Eumenes* standing in these termes, asked his keeper *Onomarchus* one day, what *Antigonus* ment, that hauing his enemy in his hands, he did not quickly rid him out of his paine, or nobly deliuer him? *Onomarchus* churlishly aunswered him againe, that the time was past nowe to shewe his corage, as though he feared not death: and that he should haue shewed it in the field at the battell. So helpe me *Iupiter* (quod he) so haue I done, and if thou beleuest not me, aske them that set apon me: for I neuer met with man yet more strong then my selfe. *Onomarchus* replied againe: sith now therefore thou hast found a stronger than thy selfe, why then canst thou not abide his pleasure? In fine, when *Antigonus* had resolued of his death, he commaunded them to geue him no more meate: and thus taking his sustenaunce from him, *Eumenes* was three dayes a dying. In the meane time came such newes, F that sodainely the campe remoued: and therefore before their departure, a man was sent to *Eumenes* to dispatche him out of his paine. *Antigonus* licensed his frends to take his body and burne it, and then to gather his ashes and bones to send them to his wife & children. *Eumenes*

The oration of Eumenes to the traitors Argyraspides his souldiers.

Antigonus answer for the keping of Eumenes being prisoner.

The noble minde of Eumenes.

The death of Eumenes.

The iust reward of treason.

being slaine in this manner, the gods appointed none other iudges to reuenge the disloyall and treason of the ARGYRASPIDES and their Captaines, for betraying of *Eumenes*, but *Antigonius* selfe: who detestinge them as cruell murderers, and periured persones to the goddes, appointed *Sibyrtius* Gouernor of the prouince of ARACHOSIA, to kill them euerie mother sonne what way he coulde, that none of them might euer see MACEDON againe, nor the Greekishe sea.

THE COMPARISON OF *Eumenes with Sertorius.*

HEre haue we set downe the thinges worthie memorie of *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*: Nowe to compare them together, in this they were both alike: that they being straungers in a straunge contrie, and banished out of their owne, had alwayes bene Captaines of diuers nations, and chiefetaines of great and warlicke armies. But this was proper to *Sertorius*, that all those of his faction gaue him the chiefest place of authoritie, as the most sufficientest man among them, and worthiest to commaund: where *Eumenes* hauing many that contended against him for the chiefe rule and conduction of the armie, through his noble deedes, obtained the chiefe place and authoritie in the same. So that they obeyed the one, desiring to be gouerned by a good Captaine: & for their owne safety gaue place to the other, seeing themselues vnable to commaund. For *Sertorius* being a ROMANE, gouerned the SPANYARDS and LVSITANIANS: and *Eumenes* a CHERSONESIAN, the MACEDONIANS. Of the which, the SPANYARDS of long time had bene subiect to the Empire of ROME: and the MACEDONIANS at that time had subdued all the worlde. Furthermore, *Sertorius* beinge then of great estimation for that he was a Senatour of ROME, and had had charge of men of warre before, came to the dignity & estate to be chiefetaine of a great army. Where *Eumenes* came with small reputacion, disdained for that he was but a secretarie: and when he began to come forwardes, had not only lesse meanes to preferre him then *Sertorius* had, but greater lets & impedimentes also, to hinder his rising and estimation. For many openly stoode against him, and secretly conspired his death: and not as *Sertorius*, whom no man contraried from the beginning, vntill his latter ende, when certaine of his companions secretly conspired against him. Therefore *Sertorius* ende of all his daungers, was to ouercome his enemies: where *Eumenes* greatest daungers came through his victories, which he wanne of his owne men, through the malice of them that enuied his honor. Nowe for their deedes of armes, they are both in maner alike: but on thother side for their conditions, *Eumenes* naturally loued warre and contention: and *Sertorius* imbraced peace & quietnes. For, *Eumenes* that might haue liued in safety with honor, if he would but haue geuen place to his betters, and forsaken the warres: liked

The gouernmente of Eumenes and Sertorius.

The deedes & condicions of Eumenes and Sertorius cõpared.

better with the daunger of his life to followe martiall feates, with the greateſt perſonages of MACEDON, and in the end ſo came to his death. *Sertorius* contrarily being vnwilling to come in trouble, was forced for the ſafetie of his perſon to take armes againſt them, that would not let him liue in peace. For had not *Eumenes* bene ſo ambitious and ſtowte to ſtriue againſt *Antigonus* for the chiefeſt place of authoritie, but could haue bene contented with the ſeconde, *Antigonus* would haue bene right glad thereof: where *Pompey* would neuer ſo much as ſuffer *Sertorius* to liue in reſt. So, the one made voluntary warre onely to rule, and the other againſt his wil was compelled to rule, becauſe they made warres with him. Wherby it appeareth that *Eumenes* naturally loued warre, preferringe the couetous deſire of a better eſtate, aboue the ſafety of his life: and the other as a right ſouldier, vſed the warres only for a meane to ſaue his life by valiãt defence of armes. Furthermore, the one was ſlaine, miſtruſting no treaſon againſt him: and the other, looking euery hower for preſent death threatned him. Whereof the one argued a noble minde, not to miſtruſt them whom he thought his frendes: and the other ſhewed a faint hart, being taken when he ment to flie. So *Sertorius* death diſhonored not his life, ſuffering that of his owne companions, which his deadly foes could neuer make him ſuffer. The other hauing no power to auoide his deſtinie before he was taken, and hauing ſought meanes to liue being in priſon and captiuitie: could neither paciently nor manfully abide his death. For, begging life at his enemies handes, he gaue him his hart with his body, who before had but his body in his power.

Sertorius death more honeſt, then the death of Eumenes.

THE LIFE OF *Ageſilaus.*

Archidamus the ſonne of *Zeuxidamus*, hauing honorably raigned in LACEDÆMON, left two ſonnes behind him: *Agis* which he begate of that noble Lady *Lampridо*, & *Ageſilaus* a great deale younger, which he had by *Eupolia*, *Meliſſippidas* daughter. So the kingdom falling by ſucceſſion vnto *Agis* the elder, the younger ſonne *Ageſilaus* remaining a priuate perſon, was brought vp after the LACONIAN manner, which was a ſtraight kind of life: but withal it taught children how to obey. Wherof it is thought the Poet *Simonides* calleth SPARTA, *Damaſimbrotos*: to wit, making men ciuill: for that by continuance of cuſtome, it frameth the citizens to be obedient to the lawes, as much, or more, than any other city that euer was in

The parentage of Ageſilaus.

The inſtruction of Ageſilaus.

the world, taming them from their childhoode, as they doe young colres. The law dispenseth with the heires apparant to the crowne, from that straight subiection & hard life: but *Agesilaus* had that excellencie in him aboue all others of his estate, that he came to the dignity and honor to commaund, hauing from his youth learned to obey. The which vndoutedly was the cause, that he knewe better than any other king, howe to please and beare with his subiectes, helping his royall estate & princely behauior, grafted in him by nature, with that curteste and familiarity which he had attained by education. At that time when he went in company with the boyes which were brought vp together, *Lysander* fell in loue with him, wondering at the modesty of his wit. For hauing better spirite, and being more constant in his opinion, than any of the other children, striuing euer to excell in all things, with such a vehemency he tooke all trauells in hande, that it was vnpossible to ouercome him, much lesse to compell him. He was on thother side so milde & gentle, that euery curteous word wrought in him better obedience, than any feare could doe: bicause it grieued him more to be reproued, then to take vpon him any paine or labor. And for the deformitie of his legge, the one being shorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasaunt wit, he vsed the matter so pleasauntly and paciently, that he would merily mocke him selfe: which maner of mery behauior did greatly hide the blame of the bleamish. Yea further, his life & corage was the more commendable in him, for that men sawe that notwithstanding his lamenes, he refused no paines nor labor. Of his person we haue drawen no counterfeate, bicause he woulde not in any wise haue it drawen, and did expressely commaund by his will, that they should neither draw his picture, nor make any mowld or image of his body. How beit we finde that he was of small stature, wherby his presence promised no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet for that he was euer mery and pleasaunt, and neuer pensiue nor troublesome in word nor looke, euen to the last ende of his life he was better loued, then the most fayer creature that liued. Notwithstanding, the Ephori (as *Theophrastus* writeth) did condemne king *Archidamus* in a summe of money bicause he maried a litle woman: saying that he would beget them demy kings, no kinges in deede. In the time that his eldest sonne *Agis* raigned king, *Alcibiades* being banished Athens, fled out of Sicile into Lacedæmon, and had not long remained in Sparta before they suspected him, that he kept king *Agis* wife, called *Timæa*: for which cause *Agis* would not acknowledge the childe she brought to be his sonne, saying that *Alcibiades* had begotten him. But *Timæa* cared not much for it, as *Duris* writeth: for otherwhile as she sate amongest her women, softly she called him *Alcibiades*, not *Leotychides*. On thother side they reporte, that *Alcibiades* him selfe sayd, it was for no hurt he ment to any man, that he lay with Queene *Timæa*, but only for the desire he had that some of the kinges of Lacedæmon should be begotten of his seede. Neuertheles at the length he was driuen to forsake Lacedæmon, mistrusting king *Agis*, who euer after douted of the childe, & thought him a bastard: vntill such time as being on his death bed, *Leotychides* falling on his knees, wept, and so behaued him selfe, that *Agis* before many witnesses, said he did acknowledge him for his sonne. This notwithstanding, when king *Agis* was dead, *Lysander* that had then ouercomen the Athenians by sea, & was more in credit & authority in the city of Sparta, than any other: practised to put the crowne apon *Agesilaus* head, saying, that *Leotychides* had no interest vnto it, bicause he was a bastard. The like did diuers other citizens say of him, which loued *Agesilaus* vertue, and liked him passingly, for that he had bene brought vp from his childhood among them. But on the contrary parte also, there was a Soothsayer or wisard in Sparta, called *Diopithes*, that had a number of old prophecies without booke, & was accounted a very skilfull man touching prophecies and diuinations. He maintained that it was not lawfull for any lame man to be king of Sparta: and for proose thereof he told this auncient oracle before the counsell.

Agesilaus learned to obey, before he came to commaund.

The modestie of Agesilaus.

Agesilaus lamenes.

Alcibiades committeth adultery with kinge Agis wife.

Agesilaus created king, through Lysanders meanes.

A lame king.

As stately as thy stomake is ô Sparta take good heede,
And stand vpon thy gard, and looke about thee I thee reede.
For halting one day downe vvill cast thine Empire to the ground,
By meane of vvarres and troubles great that shall inclose thee round.

Lysander replied against it, saying, that if the Spartans were afrayed of this oracle, they should rather beware of *Leotychides*. For the goddes cared not, if any man lame of a foote aspired

A spired to be king: but rather if he were a bastard, and not lineally descended of the race of *Hercules*. For that, sayd he, were to make the kingdom halte. *Agesilaus* furthermore alleaged, that the god *Neptune* him selfe had witnessed, that *Leotychides* was a bastard: for he draue *Agis* by an earthquake, to runne out of his wiues chamber, and that tenne monethes after that, and more, *Leotychides* was borne. So was *Agesilaus* apon these allegacions not onely proclaimed king of SPARTA; but he had geuen him moreouer, as lawful heire, all his brother *Agis* goods, and *Leotychides* reiected as a bastard. Notwithstanding, considering that his parentes by his mothers side were very poore, (yet honest men) he left them the moyty of all the goodes: by which act, *Agesilaus* wanne all their good willes, where else they had enuied him for his succession in the kingdom. And (as *Xenophon* sayth) by obeying his contrie, he grew to such po-
B wer that he might doe whatsoeuer he would. The Ephori and Senatours at that time bare all the sway and gouernment of the common wealth, the Ephores office chaunging yearely, the other being for life: the which Ephori were only ordained to bridle the insolency of the kings, for that they should not (as we haue more amply wrytten in *Lycurgus* life) haue absolute power in their handes. Vppon this occasion, the kinges that succeeded in the gouernment, had (as it were) by inheritaunce, a present grudge and malice against them. This notwithstanding, *Agesilaus* tooke a contrary course to all his predecessors. For where others presently quarelled with the Ephori and Senatours, *Agesilaus* did honor and reuerence them, and would neuer dispatche any matter without their priuity, but was alwayes ready to goe when they did send him. When he was set in his chaier of state to geue audience, if any of the Ephori chaunsed to
C come in, he would rise vp vnto them: and at the election of any new Senatour, he would for honors sake present him a gowne, and an oxe. And thus cunningly seeming to honor and increase the dignity of the Senatours, winning their good wills, he made his power great, & the realme much greater. Furthermore, his behauior towards the rest of his contrymen was such, as his enmity was lesse faulty thē his frendship. For he did neuer hurt his enemies without iust cause, but he aided his frends euen in vniust causes. And wheras he thought it a shame not to honor enemies, when they had done well: he could not finde in his hart to rebuke his frendes when they did amisse, but rather gloried in succoring & helping of them in their euill doings. For he thought it no shame to serue his frendes turne, howsoeuer it were. Againe, when any of his aduersaries offended, he was as sory for it as any man, and as readie to beare with it if he
D were intreated: whereby he allured and wanne the hartes of all men. The Ephori seeing that, and fearing his power, punished him in mony for that he made the common loue of his contrie priuate to him selfe. For, as naturall Philosophers holde opinion, that if contention and strife were taken out of nature, it would come to passe that the heauenly bodies should stand still, and also that the generation of all thinges should be at a stay, by reason of the mutuall agreement betwene the worlde and them: euen so, the lawemaker of LACEDÆMON seemeth to haue allowed ambition & strife in the common wealth, as a spurre to vertue, by procuring alwayes some contencion and emulacion amonge great persones. And his reason was that this base and effeminate fauor, in winking one at an other, when men are to be rebuked, ought not of right to be called by the name of concorde. And sure some thinke that *Homer* also saw
E the same, for he would neuer else haue made *Agamemnon* to haue reioyced to see *Vlysses* and *Achilles* at great wordes together, if he had not bene of opinion, that enuy and contencion among great men, were very auailable for the common wealth. Yet is not this thus simply to be allowed: for contentions are hurtfull to cities, where they are violent: and doe bring great daungers with them. Nowe when *Agesilaus* was entred into his kingdome of LACEDÆMON, newes were brought him out of ASIA, that the king of PERSIA prepared a great nauy to conquer the LACEDÆMONIANS signory by sea. *Lysander* being glad of this occasion, longing to be sent againe into ASIA to succour his frends whom he had left there as Gouernors & Lieutenants of cities & prouinces (of the which, some of them were driuen away by their citizens, others also put to death for abusing of their authority & ruling ouercruelly:) perswaded *Age-*
F *silaus* to goe into ASIA, to make warre apon this barbarous king, farre from GRÆCE, before his army were gathered together. And to cōpasse this the easilier, he wrote vnto his frends in ASIA that they should send vnto SPARTA, to require *Agesilaus* for their Captaine, and so they

Agesilaus proclaimed king, & Leotychides a bastard.

Ephori were certaine officers authorised to cōtroule the kinges insolency and iniustice if any were by them vsed.

Agesilaus, an vprighter enemy, than a frend.

VVhether contention among the nobility be profitable in a common wealth.

did. Thereupon *Ageſilaus* going to the aſſembly of the people, accepted the charge, with condition that they would geue him thirtie Captaines of the SPARTANS to be counſellers & aſſiſtants to him in theſe warres, two thowſand free ILOTES, & ſix thowſand of the confederates of LACEDÆMON. All this was immediatly graunted through *Lyſanders* frendſhippe towards him, and he was ſent away ſtraight with the thirty Captaines which he had requeſted: of the which *Lyſander* was the chiefeſt, not only for his riches and authoritie, but alſo for the good will he bare vnto *Ageſilaus*: who thought him ſelfe more beholding to him for procuring him this charge, than for his frendſhip he ſhewed him in bringing him to be king. Now *Ageſilaus* army being aſſembled at the hauen of Geræſte, him ſelfe with certaine of his frends went vnto the citie of AVLIDE, where in his ſleepe he drempt that one ſayd vnto him: O king of the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou knoweſt that neuer none but *Agamemnon*, & now thy ſelfe, was choſen Generall of all GREECE, conſidering therefore that thou commaundeſt the ſame people he did, that thou makeſt warres with the ſelfe ſame enemies, departing from the ſelfe ſame place to goe thither, it is reaſon that thou make the ſelfe ſame ſacrifice vnto the goddeſſe, the which he made at his like departure. *Ageſilaus* ſtraight apon this viſion, remembred that *Agamemnon* through the perſwaſion of the Soothſayers did ſacrifice his owne daughter in the ſame place. Yet this made him not afrayed, but the next day he told it to his frendes, and ſaid he would ſacrifice that vnto the goddeſſe, which he thought woulde pleaſe her well enough, and that he would not followe that cruell deuotion of this auncient Captaine *Agamemnon*. And with that, he brought a hynde crowned with a garland of flowers, and commaunded his Soothſayer to ſacrifice her: and would not ſuffer him to haue the honor to doe the ſacrifice that was appointed for the ſame purpoſe by the Gouernors of BOEOTIA, according to the cuſtome of that place. The Gouernors of BOEOTIA vnderſtanding it, were much offended, and ſent their officers to will *Ageſilaus* not to doe any ſacrifice there, contrarie to the law and cuſtome of their contrie. The officers that were ſent, performed their commiſſion: and finding that the beaſt was ſlaine, & the quarters of it apon the aulter, they tooke and flong them of the aulter euery way. This vexed *Ageſilaus* being readie to imbarke, and departed thence in choller againſt the THEBANS, and miſtruſted much his good ſucceſſe by this vnluckie prediction, which ſeemed to prognoſticate vnto him, that he ſhould not preuaile according to his deſire. Furthermore, when he was arriued at EPHESVS, he preſently miſliked the honor he ſaw done vnto *Lyſander*, and the great traine that waited on him. For all the contriemen there repaired continually to his houſe, that when he came abroade, they all followed him wherſoeuer he went: as though *Lyſander* had in deede bene in authority to doe what he would, and that *Ageſilaus* only had but the name to be general, ſo appointed by the law of LACEDÆMON. For in troth there was neuer GRÆCIAN Captaine in thoſe partes that had won him ſuch eſtimation, nor that was more feared than he: nor there was neuer man that was more beneficial to his frends, neither alſo that was more hurtfull to his enemies. All theſe thinges being freſh in memorie, the contriemen of that contrie perceiuing the ſimplicity of *Ageſilaus*, and howe he was geuen to pleaſe the people, and caried no great maieſtie nor countenaunce with him, and obſeruing in *Lyſander* that wonted roughnes and ſharpe ſpeech wherewith they had bene acquainted before: euery man obeied him, and nothing was done but what he commaunded. This firſt of all made the other SPARTANS angrie, for that it appeared they were come as it were to ſerue *Lyſander*, and not as to counſell the king: but after that, *Ageſilaus* him ſelfe alſo grew miſcontented, although of his owne nature he was not enuious nor ſorie to ſee others honored beſides him ſelfe. Yet being a man ambitiouſly geuen, and of a noble corage, fearing if he ſhould doe any noble exployt in this warre, that they would impute it vnto *Lyſander*, for the great eſtimation he was of: he firſt beganne to deale in this ſorte with him. Firſt he contraried all his counſells: and what matters ſoeuer he preferred, which he was deſirous ſhould haue taken effect, *Ageſilaus* would none of that, but tooke ſome other in hand. Furthermore, if any of *Lyſanders* followers came to make ſute to him for his fauor, perceiuing that they did leane vnto *Lyſander*: he ſent them away without any thing done for them. In like caſe alſo in matters of iudgements, if *Lyſander* were againſt any, they were ſure to haue the matter paſſe on their ſide. On the contrarie parte alſo, if *Lyſander* bare good will to the partie, and fauored the

Ageſilaus iorney into Aſia.

Ageſilaus dreame in Aulide.

Lyſanders glory diminiſhed.

Ageſilaus grudge vnto Lyſander.

A the cause to gratifie him: they hardly escaped from setting a fine of their heades. *Agesilaus* continuing these shewes ordinarily of purpose, not by chaunce to one or two, but indifferently to all: *Lysander* looking into the cause, dissembled not with his frendes, but told them plainly that it was for his sake they had those repulses and wronges, and therefore did counsell them to waite apon the king, and those that had more credit then him selfe. Now *Agesilaus* supposed he gaue that aduise to make euery man to malice him: wherfore, to despite him the more, he made him distributer of his vittells, (& hauing done so) some say that he spake these words in open presence of many: nowe let them goe and honor my flesh distributer. *Lysander* being grieued withall, sayd vnto the king: my Lord, you know how to oppresse your frendes. And to doe I, sayd *Agesilaus*, how to keepe them vnder, that would be greater than my selfe. It may B be yet, replied *Lysander*, I haue not done as your grace doth say: yet if you so conceiue of me, put me I beseeche you in some place of charge or office, where I may doe you good seruice without offence. After this talke betwene thē, *Agesilaus* sent him into HELLESPONT, where by practise he tooke prisoner a noble man a PERSIAN, called *Spithridates*, out of *Pharnabazus* prouince whereof he was Gouernor, and brought him to *Agesilaus* with a great summe of golde and siluer, and neere about two hundred horsemen with him. All this notwithstanding, he forgate not his grudge to *Agesilaus*, but being offended stil, fought oportunitie and meanes to defeate the two houses of the priuilege of the kingdome, and to bring it in common to all the other houses of SPARTA: and surely he had made great broyle (in my opinion) in the city of SPARTA, had he not bene preuēted by death, in a iorney he made into BOEOTIA. Thus we C see, that ambitious mindes obseruing no meane, are in a common weale oftimes more hurtfull, than beneficiall. For though *Lysander* was in deede intollerable, to shew him selfe so ambitious, and out of time: yet was not *Agesilaus* ignoraunt neither, that there were diuers other meanes lesse reprochful to punish such a noble man, that offended only by gredines of honor. But to tell you my opinion, they were both blinded with one selfe passion: the one not to know his Princes power, & the other not to beare with his frendes imperfection. Now *Tisaphernes* at the first being afrayed of *Agesilaus*, made league with him, colourably letting him vnderstand that the king would be content to set the cities of GRÆCE in ASIA at liberty. Notwithstanding, when he thought he had gathered force sufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed warre. *Agesilaus* was very well content withall: for the expectation was great of him through D all GRÆCE, that he would doe some noble exployt in this iorney. Moreouer he thought him selfe dishonored for euer, that the tenne thowsande GRÆCIANS which were returned backe from the furthest parte of ASIA, euen vnto the sea Maior (vnder the conduct and leading of *Xenophon* their Captaine) had ouercome the king of PERSIAES army as oft as they listed thē selues: and that he which was the Lieutenaunt generall of the LACEDÆMONIANS (who at that time commaunded both sea and lande) should not doe some deede worthie memorie among the GRÆCIANS. Presently therefore to reuenge *Tisaphernes* periurie by iust deceit, he made a countenaunce as though he would first inuade the contrie of CARIA. Whereuppon, this barbarous person *Tisaphernes*, gathered all his power together. But *Agesilaus* on a sodaine returned backe againe, and entred into PHRYGIA, tooke there many cities, and wonne great E spoyle, making his men see by experience, that to infringe & breake a league made & allowed by othe, was a sacriledge, and contemning of the goddes. On thother side also, that to beguile his enemies, it was not only iust and honorable: but also profitable and pleasant. Now *Agesilaus* being weaker in horsemen than his enemy, and finding the liuers of the beastes which he had sacrificed, without heades, returned into the citie of EPHESVS, and there gathered horsemen together, letting the richmen vnderstand (which would not them selues serue in person) that he did dispense with their persons, so that they did set out a horse and man furnished for seruice in their place. Many of them tooke that course, & by this meanes *Agesilaus* within few dayes had leauied a great number of men of armes, in steade of footemen that could doe small seruice. For they that were vnwilling to goe to the warres, did hier them that were willing to F serue in their place: and such also as would not serue a horseback, did geue them pay that were desirous to serue in their steades. In this he wisely followed king *Agamemnons* example, who did dispense with the person of a riche coward for going to the warres, by taking a good

See the life of Lysander.

Ambitious heades are very dangerous in a common weale.

Agesilaus dedes in Asia, and the falsehood of Tisaphernes.

Agesilaus craft.

mare of him. Then *Ageſilaus* had commaunded them that ſold the priſoners by the dromme taken in the warres, that they ſhould ſtrippe them naked, & ſo ſell them: which they did. And ſundry perſons willingly bought their ſpoyles and rayment, but they ſcorned their bodies, becauſe they ſawe them white skinned, ſoft, and delicate: ſo that fewe men would out bid the price for them, for that they thought thoſe men vnprofitable and good for nothing. *Ageſilaus* alſo being preſent at this ſale of purpoſe, ſayd thus vnto his men. See, my frendes, quod he: theſe be the men againſt whom ye are to fight, and here be the ſpoyles for the which ye ſhall fight. Time being come now to put him ſelfe into the field, and to inuade his enemies contry againe, he gaue it out that he would enter LYDIA, not meaning to deceiue *Tiſaphernes* againe, but *Tiſaphernes* deceiued him ſelfe. For he being deceiued before by *Ageſilaus*, gaue no credit to this ſecond rumor, but perſwaded him ſelfe that doutleſſe *Ageſilaus* ment then to enter into CARIA, & the rather for that it was a woddie contrie, very ill for horſemen, in the which he was the weaker. This notwithſtanding, *Ageſilaus* inuading (as he had geuen it out) the champion contry, in the which ſtoode SARDIS, the capitall city of LYDIA: *Tiſaphernes* was compelled to come to reskue it in haſt, and being come thither with great ſpeede with his horſemen, he ſtale apon many of his enemies whom he found ſtraggling out of order, ſpoyling the contrie, & put the moſt of them to the ſword. *Ageſilaus* hauing intelligence of this, imagined with him ſelfe that the footemen of his enemy could not yet be arriued, & conſidering alſo that he had his army whole about him: thought it beſt forthwith to bid him battel, rather thē to delay time any lenger. Thereupon he thruſt in among the horſemen his light armed footemen, and commaunded them ſtraight to charge the enemy, whileſt he cauſed the heauier armed mē to follow at their heeles, as they did. But the barbarous people fled apon it immediatly: and the GRÆCIANS luſtely following the chaſe, tooke their campe, & made great ſlaughter of them that fled. After this field foughten, they had leaſure enough not only to ſpoyle & ouetrun the kinges contry at their pleaſure, but alſo to ſee the reuenge taken of *Tiſaphernes*, that was a vile man, and a cruell enemie to the GRÆCIANS. For the king of PERSIA made an other his Lieutenaunt immediatly in his roome, called *Tithrauſtes*: who ſtrake of *Tiſaphernes* head, and ſent vnto *Ageſilaus* to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him ſtore of golde and ſiluer to departe out of his contrie. Thereto *Ageſilaus* aunſwered, that for peace, it was not in him to make it, but in the LACEDÆMONIANS: and that for his owne parte, it was an eaſier matter to enriche his ſouldiers, than him ſelfe. And furthermore, that the GRÆCIANS thought it diſhonor to them, to take any gift of their enemies, other then ſpoyles. This notwithſtanding, to gratifie *Tithrauſtes* ſomewhat, for that he had taken reuenge of a common enemy of all the GRÆCIANS: for the ſumme of thirtie talentes geuen him to defray his charges, he withdrue his army out of LYDIA, and went into PHRYGIA. In his iorney he receiued from the counſell of LACEDÆMON, the Scytala, or ſcrolle of parchement wreathed about, aduertiſing him that the citizens had made him alſo their Generall by ſea, as he was by lande. *Ageſilaus* onely of all men obtained this honor, who without cōpariſon was of all other the worthieſt man of fame in his time, as *Theopompus* witneſſeth: and yet gloried rather to be commended for his vertue, than for the greatnes of his authority. In this notwithſtanding he was to be blamed, when he made choyſe of one *Piſander* his wiues brother, to be Lieutenaunt of the nauy, & forſooke other Captaines of better experience and elder yeares: ſeeking rather to pleaſe his wife, and to aduaunce one of his kinne, than to regarde the weale and ſafety of his contrie. Afterwardes he led his army into *Pharnabazus* contrie which he had in charge, where he founde not onely plenty of all ſortes of vittells, but gathered together alſo a wonderfull maſſe of money. From thence he went into the realme of PAPHLAGONIA, and made league there with kinge *Cotys* who for his vertue and conſtant fidelity, was very deſirous of his frendſhip. The like did *Spithridates*, forſaking *Pharnabazus*, and came vnto *Ageſilaus*: and after he was come to him, he neuer went from him, but alwayes followed him whereſoeuer he went. *Spithridates* had a young ſonne that was paſſing faier, called *Megabetes*, (of whom *Ageſilaus* had great liking) and likewiſe a fayer young woman to his daughter, of age to be maried, whom *Ageſilaus* cauſed king *Cotys* to marry. So, taking of king *Cotys* a thowſand horſemen and two thowſand footemen light armed, he returned backe into PHRYGIA, and there deſtroyed *Pharnabazus* contrie

Sardis, the chiefe city of Lydia.

Ageſilaus victory of Tiſaphernes.

Ageſilaus made Generall of all the Lacedæmonians nauy.

Cotys king of Paphlagonia, became Ageſilaus frend.

which

A which he had in gouernment, who durſt not meete him in the fielde, nor truſt to his holdes, but ſtill fled from him, carying all his chiefeſt thinges with him, flitting from place to place: vntill that *Spithridates*, accompanied with *Erippidas* the SPARTAN, followed him ſo neere, that he tooke his campe, and all his treaſure in it. But there did *Erippidas* ſhewe him ſelfe ſo hard and cruell, ouerſtraightly ſearching out parte of the ſpoyle that had bene imbeaceled, compelling the barbarous people to deliuer it againe, ranſacking euery corner for it: that *Spithridates* was ſo offended withall, that on a ſodaine he tooke the PAPHLAGONIANS with him, and went backe vnto the citie of SARDIS. This more grieued *Ageſilaus*, than any thing that happened to him in all his iorney: for that he had loſt ſo valliant a man as *Spithridates*, and ſuch a number of good ſouldiers as he caried away with him. Moreouer, he was afrayed leaſt B they would detect him of miſerable couetouſnes, a thing which he euer was carefull to auoid, not onely in his owne perſone, but alſo to keepe all his contriemen from it. But beſides theſe knowen cauſes, the loue he bare to *Spithridates* ſonne pinched him neerely: though when the boy was with him, he ſtriued with his owne nature to ſubdue that naughty affection and deſire he had of him. For when *Megabates* on a time came to make much of him, & to kiſſe him: *Ageſilaus* turned his face from the boy. The boy being aſhamed of the repulſe, durſt no more come ſo familiarly, but ſaluted him aloofe of. *Ageſilaus* then repenting him that he had not ſuffered *Megabates* to kiſſe him, made as though he marueled why he did not kiſſe him as he was wont to doe. Then aunſwered ſome of his familliars about him: your ſelfe, O king, is in faulte, bicauſe you durſt not tarie, but were afrayed to kiſſe ſo fayer a boy. For if he knewe C your minde, he would come againe, ſo that you turned your face no more away. When *Ageſilaus* had heard them, he pawſed a while, and ſaid neuer a word, but in fine aunſwered them: It ſhall not neede you ſay any thing to him, for it would doe me more good I could refuſe ſuch an other kiſſe againe, then if all that I ſee before me were golde. Thus was *Ageſilaus* diſpoſed whē *Megabates* was with him: but in his abſence he did ſo loue him, that I dare ſcantly ſay, that if the boy had come againe into his preſence, he would haue refuſed a kiſſe at his hands. After that, *Pharnabazus* ſought to ſpeake with him, and one *Apollophanes* a CYZICENIAN brought them together, that was a frende vnto them both. *Ageſilaus* was the firſt that met at the place appointed with his frends, and tarying for *Pharnabazus* comming, he layed him downe vpon the depe graſſe in the ſhadow, vnder a fayer great tree. *Pharnabazus* alſo came thither, & they D ſpred ſoft skinnes long heared, and tapeſtry excellently wrought of diuers colours, for him to ſit on apon the grounde. But being aſhamed to ſee *Ageſilaus* laied on the bare grounde in that ſorte, he alſo lay downe by him, though he had vppon him a maruelous riche gowne, of excellent tiſſue & paſſing colour. Now when they had embraced one an other, *Pharnabazus* began firſt to ſpeake, and lacked no good perſwaſions & iuſt complaints, for that he hauing bene (as he was) a frende vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS in the warre againſt the ATHENIANS, was then ſpoyled and ſacked by them. *Ageſilaus* then finding that the SPARTANS that were about him at that meting, hong downe their heades for ſhame, not knowing how to aunſwere him, conſidering that *Pharnabazus* had iniury offered him: began to ſpeake in this maner. Hereto- fore when we were frendes with the king (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) we haue vſed his goodes like E frends, but now that we are his enemies, like enemies we vſe them: and ſence we ſee that thou wilt needes be a ſlaue of his, marueil not though we hurt thee for his ſake. But when thou ſhalt like rather to be a frend of the GRÆCIANS, then a ſlaue to the king of PERSIA: then make account, that all theſe ſouldiers, this armor, our ſhippes, and all we are to defend thy goodes and liberty againſt him, without which, nothing that is honeſt can be looked for of mortall men. Thereupon *Pharnabazus* told him his minde plainly: ſurely, ſayd he, if the king doe ſende hither any other Captaine to be his Lieutenaunt, be ſure I will then take your parte ſtraight. But on thother ſide, if he make me his Lieutenaunt in this warre, truſt to it, I will do him the beſt ſeruice I can againſt you. This aunſwere paſſingly pleaſed *Ageſilaus*, who taking him by the hand, and riſing vp with him, ſayd vnto him. I would wish (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) hauing F ſo noble a minde as thou haſt, that thou were rather our frend, then an enemy. So *Pharnabazus* departing from thence with his men, his ſonne being left behinde, ranne to *Ageſilaus*, and ſmiling told him. King *Ageſilaus*, I will make thee my frend: and therewith gaue him a dart he

Ageſilaus draue Pharnabazus out of his tentes.

The meeting of Ageſilaus and Pharnabazus.

Ageſilaus wordes vnto Pharnabazus.

had in his hande. *Ageſilaus* tooke it of him, and liking well the beawtie of the young youth, and the curteſie he had offred him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might beſtow on him. At the laſt he ſpied his ſecretarie *Adeus* horſe, which had a rich capariſſon on: he ſtraight tooke it from him, and gaue the horſe & furniture to this liuely youth *Pharnabazus* ſonne, who neuer after forgate it. For it chaunſed afterwardes that being driuen out of his contrie by his brethren, and flying into PELOPONNESVS, *Ageſilaus* made very much of him, and did not ſticke to further him in his loue abroade. For he had a great fancie and liking to a boy of ATHENS, whome they brought vp in wreſtling, one day to play for the beſt games. But when he was growen a bigge man and ſtrong, and that he came to offer him ſelfe to be billed with them that ſhould wraſtle at the games Olympicall, being in ſome perill to be vtterly refuſed: this PERSIAN that loued him, went vnto *Ageſilaus*, and beſought his helpe, that this wraſtler might not receiue the foyle to be reiected. *Ageſilaus* being deſirous to pleaſure him, performed his requeſt with ſome difficultie. Thus *Ageſilaus* in all thinges elſe was a ſtraight obſeruer of the law: but in his frendes cauſes to be ſtraight laced in matters of iuſtice, he ſayd that was but an excuſe for them that would do nothing for their frendes. To this effect, they finde a letter of his wrytten vnto *Idrian*, Prince of CARIA, for the deliuerie of his frende. If *Nicias* haue not offended, lette him goe: if he haue offended, then pardon him for my ſake. But howeſoeuer it be, let him goe. This was *Ageſilaus* manner in the moſt parte of his frends cauſes. Notwithſtanding, occaſions fell out oftentimes, that he rather inclined to the benefit of the common wealth. As appeared one day when he was driuen to remoue in haſte on a ſodaine, and to leaue one ſicke behinde him whome he loued deerelie: the ſicke man callinge him by his name as he was going his way, beſought him that he would not forſake him. *Ageſilaus* (as *Hieronymus* the Philoſopher reporteth) turned backe againe, and ſayed: O howe hard is it both to loue, and to be wiſe. Nowe had *Ageſilaus* ſpent two yeares in this warre, and was ſpoken of throughout ASIA, beinge maruelouſly commended to the kinge him ſelfe, for his great honeſtie, his continencie, his curteſie and plaine dealing. For when he rode out into the contrie with his owne trayne onely, he would euer lye in the holyeſt temples of the goddes: bicauſe he woulde the goddes them ſelues ſhoulde be witneſſes of his priuate doinges, whereas commonly we are lothe that men ſhoulde ſee what we doe. Furthermore, amongeſt ſo many thowſande ſouldiers as were in his campe, there coulde hardlie be founde a worſe mattriſſe, then that him ſelfe did lye apon euerie night. And as for heate and colde, he coulde as eaſilie awaie with either of both, as if by conſtitution of bodie he had bene borne to abide anie weather and ſeaſon. But aboue all, it was a pleaſaunt ſight to the GRÆCIANS that dwelt in ASIA, when they ſawe the great Lordes, the kinges Lieutenauntes of PERSIA, (which before were prowde, cruell, riche, and geuen to all luſt and pleaſure) to honor and feare a man that went vp and downe in a poore cape, beinge affrayed of euerie ſhorte worde that he ſpake like a LACONIAN: inſomuch as many of them called to minde *Timotheus* the Poetes verſes, who ſayd,

Ageſilaus to his frendes, was without reſpect a frend.

Ageſilaus letter in the behalfe of his frend.

Other read to haue pity, and to be wiſe. Ageſilaus ſaying.

Ageſilaus vertues.

As Mars hath no mercie, ſo Greece ſkorneth gold.

Now all ASIA being vp and in garboile, they willingly yelding to him in euery place, after he had taken order with the cities, & had ſtabliſhed the liberty of their cõmon weale, without any bloodſhed, or baniſhment of any perſon: he determined to goe further, into the land, and tranſporting the warres from the ſea coaſtes of GRÆCE, to fight with the king of PERSIA in proper perſon, and with the wealth & happines of the ECBATANIANS and the SVSIANIANS, and by that meanes to take his leaſure from him, who ſitting ſtil before, made the GRÆCIANS make warre one with an other, by force of money, corrupting the Gouernours of euery citie. In the meane time came *Epycidas* LACONIAN vnto him, and brought him newes how SPARTA was grieuouſly troubled with warres, enforced on them by the other GRÆCIANS: & that therefore the Ephori did ſend for him home, and commaunded him to returne to defend his contrie.

Ageſilaus ſent for out of Aſia.

Ah vvretched Greece, howv cruell ſlaughters haſt
Thou brought vpon thee, for to lay thee vvaſt?

For

A For how should a man otherwise call this enuie, treason, and ciuill conspiracie among the Grecians? Who ouerthrew their good fortune that made them happy before, turning their warres against the barbarous people, out of Greece, and now to bring it against themselues. I am not of *Demaratus* opinion the Corinthian, that sayd the Grecians delight was taken from them, which sawe not *Alexander* the great sitting in *Darius* royall throne: but rather I would thinke they should haue wept, to haue left this honor vnto *Alexander* and the Macedonians, fondly losing so many famous Captaines of Greece, at the battells of Leuctres, of Coronea, of Corinthe, and of Arcadia. Neuertheless, *Agesilaus* neuer did better acte in his life, nor euer shewed better example of obedience and iustice due to his contrie, than he did in his returne home. For sithe *Hannibal* that beganne to haue ill successe in his B warres, being in manner driuen out of Italie, thought neuer (but compelled) to returne againe into his contrie, to obey his contriemen, which called him home to defend the warre the Romanes made at their owne dores: and that *Alexander* the great also being sent for home vppon the like occasion did not onely refuse to returne into Macedon, but made a iest at it, when newes was brought him of the great battell which his Lieutenaunt *Antipater* had fought with kinge *Agis*, saying, me thinkes when I heare these newes, whilest we are ouercomming of kinge *Darius* here, there hath bene a battell of Ladies fought in Arcadia. Sith then (I say) these two famous Captaines haue made so litle account of their contrie, may we not thinke the citie of Sparta blessed to haue had such a kinge, that so much reuerenced his contrie and obeyed the lawe as receiuing onely a litle scrolle of parchement C commaunding him to returne, he forsooke a worlde of goodes and wealth that he quietly enioyed (with assured hope and certaintie of more) and imbarked foorthwith, leauing all the alies and confederates of his contrie verie sorowefull, for that he had geuen ouer so noble an enterprise, which he had so happely begonne? Yes sure. Nay furthermore, he passed not for the saying of *Demostratus* Phæacian, who sayd, that the Lacedæmonians in publicke matters were the worthiest men, and the Athenians in priuate causes. For as he had shewed him selfe a good king and an excellent Captaine to the common wealth: so was he alwayes curteous priuately to his familiar frendes. And bicause the Persian coyne was stamped on the one side, with the print of an archer: *Agesilaus* being readie to departe, sayd, that tenne thowsand archers draue him out of Asia. For so much was brought vnto Thebes and D Athens, and distributed among the Orators and Gouernours there, who through their Orations made both those great cities to rise, and make warre against the Spartans. In his returne, *Agesilaus* hauing passed the straight of Hellespont, tooke his way through the contrie of Thracia, and neuer intreated barbarous kinge nor people to suffer him to passe, but only sent vnto them to know whether they would he should passe through their contries as a frende, or an enemie. All contries and nacions else receiued him very honorably to their power, saue the people called the Trochalians, vnto whom king *Xerxes* him selfe gaue presentes that he might passe frendly through their contry: who sent vnto *Agesilaus* to demaund a hundred siluer talentes, and a hundred women to suffer him to passe through their contrie. But *Agesilaus* laughing them to scorne, aunswered againe: why, how chanceth it that they E came not them selues to receiue them? So therewithall he marched forwarde against these barbarous people who were ranged in battell raye to stoppe his passage: howbeit he ouerthrewe them, and slue a great number of them in the fielde. The like demaund he made vnto the kinge of Macedon, whether he should passe through his contrie as a frende, or an enemie. The king made him aunswere, he would consider of it. Well, let him thinke of it, quod *Agesilaus*: we will goe on in the meane time. The king then wondering at his great boldenes, and fearing least he would doe him some hurte as he went: sent to pray him that he woulde passe through his contrie as a frend. Now it chaunced so that the Thessalians at that time were in league with the enemies of the Lacedæmonians: therefore as he passed through their contrie, he did spoyle and forage it as his enemies contrie, and sent *Xenocles* and *Scytha* F to the citie of Larisse, hopinge to perswade them to take parte with the Lacedæmonians. These two Ambassadours were retained there as prisoners. The Spartans were marueilously offended withall: and thought good that *Agesilaus* should besiege Larisse with his

Agesilaus bedirecteth his contrie.

Agesilaus darke speeches.

Agesilaus despising & deceiuing the barbarous people, returned home through their contries.

army. But he answered them, he would not lose one of those men, to winne all Thessalie A and therefore found meanes that he redeemed them againe by composition. Peraduenture this is not to be marueled at in *Agesilaus*, that newes being brought him on a time, that in a great battell fought by the citie of Corinthe, where were many worthie and valliant Captaines slaine of the enemies, and but few of the Spartans: he seemed not to reioice at it, but rather to fetche a grieuous sigh, saying. O poore Græce, how vnfortunate art thou to haue slaine with thine owne handes so many valliant Captaines of thine owne people, as ioyning together, might at one field haue ouercome all the barbarous people. The Pharsalians harrying and troubling the rereward of *Agesilaus* armie, he put foorth fiue hundred horsemen which gaue them so lustie a charge, that he ouerthrew them by force. For this victorie, he set vp tokens of triumphe apon the mountaine called Narthacium, and this victory pleased him B aboue all the rest, bicause with the small number of horsemen which he had gotten together of him selfe, he had ouerthrowen the glory & pride of the enemies horsemen in battell, whereof they had vaunted many yeares before. Thither came *Diphridas* one of the Ephores vnto him, sent of purpose from Sparta, to commaund him immediatly to inuade Boeotia with his armie. Nowe though *Agesilaus* intended some other time with a greater power to enter Boeotia, yet bicause he would not disobey the counsells commaundement of Sparta: he told his men straight, that the battell for the which they returned out of Asia, was at hande, and therefore he sent for two companies of them which lay in campe by Corinthe. The Lacedæmonians that were at Sparta, to honor *Agesilaus* for that he had obeyed their commaundement so readily: proclaimed in the citie, that as many young men as were desi- C rous to goe aide the king, should come and enter their names. Notwithstanding, they onely chose but fiftie of the valliantest among them, and sent them vnto him. In the meane time, *Agesilaus* passed through the contrie of Thermopyles, and coasting ouer the lande of Phocyde, confederates to the Lacedæmonians, he entred into Boeotia, and camped by the citie of Chæronea: where immediatly after his arriuall, he sodainly saw the sunne eclipsed, and darkened in the facion of a new moone. Euen withall, came the newes of the death of *Pisander* vnto him, who was slaine in a battell which he lost by sea, fighting against *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, hard by the Ile of Gnidos. These newes were very heauie vnto him, both for respect of the person his kinseman whom he lost, as also for the great losse that happened to the common wealth. Neuertheless, fearing his souldiers would be discoraged with the newes, D and become faint harted, being ready to ioyne battell: he commaunded them that came from the sea, to brute abroade a contrarie tale to that they tolde him, and he him selfe to make good their speache, came out among them, with a garland of flowers on his head, and did sacrifice to the goddes, as thanking them for the good newes, sending to euery one of his frends a peece of flesh sacrificed, as he commonly vsed to doe, in any publike cause of ioy. Then marching forward, he straight discouered his enemies farre of, and they likewise him: & therupon put his men in battell ray, and gaue the left wing vnto the Orchomenians, leading him selfe the right wing. The Thebans on thother side, placed them selues in the right wing of their armie, and gaue the left vnto the Argiues. *Xenophon* being at that battell on *Agesilaus* side, wryteth that he neuer knewe of the like fielde fought. At the first onset, the conflict was not E great betwene both, neither helde long, bicause the Thebans brake the Orchomenians straight, and *Agesilaus* the Argiues. But when either side vnderstoode that the left winges of their battells were in great distresse, and that they turned their backes: they returned sodainly againe. And where *Agesilaus* might easily haue had the victory without any daunger, if he had suffred the squadron of the enemies to passe by him, and afterwards to haue charged them in the rereward: of a noble corage to shew his valliantnes, he gaue charge apon the voward, to haue honor in ouercõming them. The Thebans on the other side no lesse valliantly receiued him, & fought lustely on all hands: but the cruellest fight was about *Agesilaus* person, with the fifty young men that were sent to gard him, who shewed thẽ selues very valliant. *Agesilaus* was sore hurt, notwithstanding their valliant resistance, his armor being passed thorow with their F pikes & swords in sundry places: whereupon they enuironned him round amongst thẽ, & kept him from the enemies, killing a great number of thẽ, & many of them selues also being killed.

Agesilaus ouercame the Pharsalians.

Narthacium mons.

The eclipse of the sunne.

Pisander, Generall of the nauie slaine in battell.

The Ilande of Gnidos.

Agesilaus battell with the Thebans.

In

A In fine, finding the THEBANS too ſtrōg in the voward they were forced to do that which they refuſed at the firſt: and opening them ſelues, gaue them paſſage thorow them. So when they were paſſed them, the SPARTANS perceiuing howe loſely and diſorderly they marched, as thinking them ſelues out of all daunger, followed them, and gaue charge apon their flancke. But all this could not make the THEBANS flie: for they reioycing for their victorie at this battell, retired fayer and ſoftely vnto the mountaine Helicon. But *Ageſilaus*, notwithſtanding he was very ſore hurt, with many a grieuous wound, would not go into his pauillion to be dreſſed before he had bene firſt at the place where the battell was fought, and had ſeene his men that were ſlaine brought away in their armors. As many of his enemies as were fled into the tēple of *Minerua Itonian*, which was not farre from thence: (where alſo were ſette vp tokens of tri- *Helicon mons.* *The worthines of Ageſilaus.*

B umphe offred vnto her long time before by the THEBANS, when they had ouercomen the armie of the ATHENIANS, vnder the conduct of *Sparton* their Captaine, and had ſlaine alſo *Tolmides* their Captaine in the fielde) he commaunded his men they ſhould lette them goe where they would. The next morning by breake of day, *Ageſilaus* deſirous to ſee if the THEBANS had any corage to come downe to fight againe: commaunded his ſouldiers to put garlandes apon their heades, and his muſitians to ſounde their ſhalmes or pipes, whileſt he did ſette vp a token of triumphe as victorious. Moreouer, his enemies ſendinge to him to aske leaue to take away their dead men, he graunted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victorie. After that, being caried to the citie of DELPHES, where the Pythian games were played, he made a ſolemne proceſſion and common ſacrifice vnto *Apollo*, and *The temple of Minerua Itonian.*

C offered him the tenth parte of all his ſpoyles which he had brought out of ASIA, which amounted to the ſumme of an hundred talentes. This thing done, he returned into his contrie, where he was greatly honored and eſteemed of all his citizens and contrie men, for his orderly life and noble behauiour: for he was no chaungeling, but the ſelfe ſame man in ſtate & condicion that he was before he tooke his iorney. He transformed not him ſelfe into ſtrangers manners, as commonly other Captaines doe, that returne out of a farre contrie where they haue made warres: neitheir did he ſcorne his contrie facions, or ſhewed him ſelfe diſobedient to the lawes thereof, but alwayes kept and obſerued them, without any manner of alteration in his meate or drinke, in waſhing or bathing, in his wiues apparell, in his armory, or any way elſe in his houſeholde ſtuffe, as if he had neuer paſſed ouer the riuer of Eurotas. *The conſtancy of Ageſilaus.*

D Yet further, he left his olde gates ſtanding that were of ſo great continuaunce, that they were thought to be thoſe which *Ariſtodemus* had ſet vp. *Xenophon* alſo ſayeth, that his daughters Canathrum was nothing more ſumptuous than any others were. A Canathrum in LACEDÆMON, is a kinde of coche or charret after the likeneſſe of griffins', hartes, or goates: apon the which they caried younge wenches in ſolemne proceſſions in the citie. *Xenophon* wrote not what was the name of this daughter of *Ageſilaus*: and *Dicearchus* alſo was much offended, that they neither knewe *Ageſilaus* daughters name, nor yet the mother of *Epaminondas*. Yet we finde in the LACONIAN Chronicles, that *Ageſilaus* wiues name was *Cleora*, one of his daughters called *Apolia*, and the other *Prolyta*. Moreouer, *Ageſilaus* ſpeare is ſeene to this day in the citie of SPARTA, euen like vnto others, and no maner of difference. *Canathrum, what it is.* *Cleora, the wife of king Ageſilaus.* *Apolia, and Prolyta Ageſilaus daughters.*

E Now *Ageſilaus* perceiuing certaine citizens of SPARTA to ſtand vpon their reputacion, and eſteeming them ſelues aboue others, bicauſe they kept horſe in their ſtable: perſwaded his ſiſter *Cyniſca* to ſend her coche and coche horſes to the Olympian games to runne for the beſt priſe, only to let the GRÆCIANS ſee that it was no act of any vertue, but ſimply of riches and coſt. Furthermore hauing *Xenophon* the Philoſopher about him, whome he loued and made great account of, he perſwaded him to ſend for his ſonnes to LACEDÆMON, that they might be brought vp there, where they ſhould learne the nobleſt ſcience that men coulde poſſiblie learne, to witte: to obey, and to commaunde. When *Lyſander* was dead, *Ageſilaus* at his returne out of ASIA, founde a great faction and conſpiracie raiſed by his meanes againſt him in SPARTA: and bicauſe it might appeare what manner of citizen *Lyſander* was when he *Xenophon, great about Ageſilaus.* *The practiſe of Lyſander about alteratiō of gouernemēt.*

F liued, he was likely to haue openly ſhewed and declared an Oration which he founde among his wrytinges (the which the Orator *Cleon Halicarnaſſeus* had wrytten for him, and *Lyſander* ſhould haue cunned without booke, to haue ſpoken in open aſſembly) that was to ſtirre inno-

uation, and in maner haue made a chaunge of the whole gouernment of the common wealth of LACEDÆMON. Howebeit there was a graue counseller that hauing red the oration, and douting the apparant reasons and perswasions alleaged, tolde him, that he would wishe him not to plucke vp the dead againe out of his graue, but rather to burie this oration together with his bodie. *Agesilaus* liked the counsell, and proceeded no further. And for them that either were, or had bene his enemies, he did thē no hurt openly: but found the meanes to make some of them to be sent as Lieutenaunt of army, or otherwise to haue charge in the warres. In fine, he made it openly knowen, what couetous and wicked men they had bene in their charges: so that when they were accused of it before the counsell, he would than helpe & intreate for them. By this meanes he made them againe his frendes, where they had bene his enemies: insomuch as in the ende, he had not one enemie at all. For the other king *Agespolis* his colleague, whose father had bene banished: he being a very young man, and of gentle nature, medled not greatly with gouernment of the common wealth. Neuertheless, he so behaued him selfe vnto *Agesilaus*, that he made him his verie good frende: for both the kinges when they were in the citie, did eate together in one halle. Then *Agesilaus* knowing that *Agespolis* (as him selfe) was geuen to loue, would euer minister talke to him of the goodly young boyes of the citie, intising him to loue some one of them, which he him selfe did loue: and therein he was both his companion and helper. For in these LACONIAN loues there was no manner of dishonestie offered, but a true affection and honest regarde to frame the boy beloued vnto vertue and honest condicions: as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lycurgus*. *Agesilaus* by this meanes hauinge the whole authoritie (aboue all men in the citie) in his handes: made his halfe brother *Teleutias* Generall by sea, and him selfe with the armie by land went to besiege the citie of CORINTHE, where with his brothers helpe by sea he tooke the long walls of the same. The ARGIVES which kept CORINTHE at that time, at *Agesilaus* arriuall there were solemnising the feast of the Isthmian games: who made them flie, euen as they came from sacrificing vnto the god *Neptune*, driuing them to leaue all their preparation and solemnity. Then diuers banished men of CORINTHE that were in his armie, besought him that he woulde keepe these Isthmian games. But he denyed them, yet was contented they shoulde them selues solemnize them, and so him selfe remained there, during the time of the feast, for their safetie. Afterwardes when *Agesilaus* was gone thence, the ARGIVES returned, and did celebrate the Isthmian games: and there were some of them which hauing wonne the game at the first, did also winne it at the second time: and others that were victours before, were this second time ouercome. Whereupon *Agesilaus* sayd, that the ARGIVES shewed them selues rancke cowardes, that esteeming so much (as they did) these playes and sacrifices, they durst not once offer to fight with him for defence of the same. For him selfe, touchinge such like sportes and games, he euer thought it good to keepe a meane, & not to be too curious. For he was contented to honor such solemne assemblies and common feastes with his presence, as were commonly vsed in SPARTA, & tooke great pleasure to see the sportes betwene the yong boyes and girles of SPARTA: howbeit touching the games, he seemed not to be acquainted with some of them, wherein others had great delight. As we read, that *Callipides* an excellent stage player (wonderfully esteemed of among the GRÆCIANS for a singular man in that arte) meeting *Agesilaus* on a time, at the first did his duetie to him, and then arrogantly thrust him selfe amonge them that walked with him, thinking the king would haue made much of him: but perceiuing he made no countenaunce to him, in the end he asked him: O king *Agesilaus*, doe you not know me? *Agesilaus* looking apon him, aunswered: what, art not thou *Callipides* the stage player? And so made no further account of him. An other time beinge desired to heare a man that naturally counterfeated the nightingalls voyce: he would not heare him, saying, I haue oftentimes heard the nightingall it selfe. An other time also when *Menecrates* the Phisitian (hauing by good fortune cured a desperate disease) called him selfe *Iupiter*, and arrogantly vsurped that name, presuminge in a letter he wrote vnto *Agesilaus*, to subscribe it in this manner, *Menecrates Iupiter*, vnto king *Agesilaus*, greeting: *Agesilaus* wrote againe vnto him, *Agesilaus* vnto *Menecrates* * health. So, whileſt *Agesilaus* was in the territorie of CORINTHE (where he had taken the temple of *Iuno*) beholding his souldiers forraging & spoiling the

The wise counsell of a Senatour at Sparta.

The policie of Agesilaus to win his enemies.

Agesilaus, & Agespolis, kinges of Lacedæmon.

Teleutias, Agesilaus halfe brother, made Generall of the army by sea.

Certaine Apothegmes of Agesilaus.

* *Meaning that he was not well in his wittes to be so presumptuous.*

A the contrie rounde about: Ambaſſadors came to him from THEBES, to pray him to make peace with the THEBANS. But he that alwayes hated the THEBANS, and beſides that thought it then very requiſite for the good ſucceſſe of his doinges, to make light of it: ſeemed as he neither heard nor ſaw them that ſpake vnto him. But euen at that very inſtant, as by diuine reuenge to crie quittance, there fell a great miſhappe vpon him. For before the Ambaſſadors were gone from him, he had newes that one of their bandes called the mothers, were ſlaine euery man by *Iphicrates*: which was the greateſt loſſe that they in long time before had ſuſteined. For they loſt a great number of valliant ſouldiers, all naturall LACEDÆMONIANS: who being well armed euery man, were ſlaine by naked or light armed hierlinges. Thereupon *Ageſilaus* went ſtraight into the field with hope to ſaue them, or at the leaſt to be reuenged. But B receiuing certaine intelligence by the way that they were all ſlaine, he returned againe to the temple of *Iuno* from whence he came, and then ſent for the Ambaſſadors of the BOEOTIANS, to geue them audience. But they, to requite his former diſdaine vnto them, made no manner of ſpeache of peace, but onely requeſted him to ſuffer them to enter into CORINTHE. *Ageſilaus* being offended, aunſwered them: if it be to ſee your frendes triumphe of their victorie, ye may ſafely do it to morrow. Thereupon the next morning taking the Ambaſſadors with him, he deſtroyed the CORINTHIANS contrie, euen to the walles of their citie. And when he had made the Ambaſſadors ſee, that the citizens of CORINTHE durſt not come out into the field to defend their contrie: he gaue them leaue to depart. Then taking the remaine of that band that was ouerthrowen, which by flight had eſcaped: he brought them into LACEDÆMONA- C gaine, alwayes remouing his campe before day, and neuer encamped till darke night, bicauſe the ARCADIANS (their mortall enemies) ſhould not reioyce at their loſſe. After this voyage, to gratefie the ACHAIANS, he entred in with them into the contry of ACARNANIA, & brought great ſpoyles from thence, after he had ouercome them in battel. Moreouer, when the ACHAIANS beſought him to remaine with them all the winter, to keepe their enemies from ſowing of their grownd: he made them aunſwere he would not. For, ſayde he, they will be afraide of warre the next yeare, when all their fieldes ſhall be ſowen with corne: and ſo in deede it came to paſſe. For the army returning againe, they made peace incontinently with the ACHAIANS. About that time, *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, with the king of PERSIAES armye, being Lordes of the ſea without let of any, deſtroyed and ſpoyled all the coaſt of LACONIA. Moreouer, the city D of ATHENS did reare vp her walls againe by helpe of *Pharnabazus* money, wherewith he had furniſhed them. Thereuppon the LACEDÆMONIANS thought good to make peace with the king of PERSIA, and to that ende ſent *Antalcidas* Ambaſſadour vnto *Tiribazus*, moſt ſhamely and cruelly betraying to the king, the GRÆCIANS inhabiting in ASIA, for whoſe libertie *Ageſilaus* had made warres with him before. So, it was *Ageſilaus* happe not to be foyled with any part of his ſhame: for *Antalcidas* that was his enemie, ſought all the meanes he could to conclude this peace, for that he ſaw warre did daily increaſe the authoritie, honor, and fame of *Ageſilaus*. Notwithſtanding, he aunſwered one then, that reproued him for that the LACEDÆMONIANS did fauor the MEDES: no, ſayd he, they do not ſo, but the MEDES doe play the LACEDÆMONIANS. Neuertheles, threatning warre to all the GRÆCIANS, which would not agre E to the conditions of this peace: he compelled them to yeld vnto that the king of PERSIA liked. But ſurely he did this chiefly for reſpect of the THEBANS, to thende that they being enforced by the capitulations of the peace, to ſet the contry of BOEOTIA at libertie againe, ſhould be ſo much the weaker. This plainly appeared ſoone after by that that followed. For *Phœbidas* hauing committed a fowle acte, in open peace to take the caſtell of the citie of THEBES, called *Cadmea*, offending thereby all the other GRÆCIANS (and the SPARTANS them ſelues alſo not being very well pleaſed withall, and thoſe ſpecially which were *Ageſilaus* enemies) *Phœbidas* being aſked in great anger, at whoſe commaundement he had done that ſodaine enterpriſe: to lay all the ſuſpition of the facte apon him: *Ageſilaus* for *Phœbidas* diſcharge, letted not openly to ſay, that the qualitie of the facte was to be conſidered of, whether it were profitable for F the common wealth or not: and that it was well done of him, the thing fallinge out profitable for his contry to do it of his owne head without commaundement. All this notwithſtanding, he was wont to ſay in priuate talke, that iuſtice was the chiefeſt of all vertues, and therefore

Ageſilaus ouercame the Acarnanians.

Antalcidas peace.

Phœbidas poſſeſſeth the caſtel of Cadmea

Ageſilaus praiſe of iuſtice.

that valiantnes without iuſtice was of no validity, and that if all men were iuſt, valiantnes were of no eſtimation. And to them that tolde him, the great king will haue it ſo: Why, ſayd he, and wherein is he better then my ſelfe, if he be not iuſter? Iudging very wiſely therein, that they ſhould eſteeme a king (whether he were of great or ſmall power) by his iuſtice, as by the beame of princely ballance. When peace was concluded, the king of PERSIA hauing ſent him a priuate letter deſiring his frendſhippe, *Ageſilaus* refuſed it, ſaying: that common frendſhippe was enough betwext them, and that they ſhould neede none other, ſo long as that was kept. But this notwithſtanding, when it came to the poynt of performaunce, he went from his firſt good opinion, and gaue place to his will & ambition, ſpecially againſt the THEBANS, at that time when he did not only ſaue *Phœbidas*, but alſo procured the citie of SPARTA to take the fault apon them which he had committed, and to iuſtifie it, by keeping the caſtle of Cadmea ſtill, and making *Archias* and *Leontidas* Gouernours of the citie of THEBES, by whom *Phœbidas* came by the caſtell of Cadmea, and poſſeſſed it. Thereupon euery man thought ſtraight, that *Phœbidas* was he that had put the matter in execution, & that *Ageſilaus* gaue the counſell to do it: as thinges falling out afterwardes, did manifeſtly proue the ſuſpicion true. For, after that the THEBANS had driuen the garriſon of the LACEDÆMONIANS out of the caſtell of Cadmea, and reſtored their citie againe to libertie, burdening them that they had traiterouſly ſlaine *Archias* and *Leontidas* (who in deede were tyrannes, though in name Gouernors) he made warre with them: and *Cleombrotus*, raigning then king with him after *Ageſipolis* death, was ſent before into BOEOTIA with an armie, *Ageſilaus* was diſpenſed with by lawe for going any more to the warres, by reaſon of his age, for that he was fortie yeare olde from the firſt growth of heare on his face, & therefore went not that iorney: being aſhamed that the THEBANS ſhould now ſee him fight to reuẽge the tyrans deathes, who had but a litle before taken armes for the baniſhed men, againſt the PHLIASIANS. At that time there was a LACONIAN called *Sphodrias*, of the contrarie faction vnto *Ageſilaus*, and was then Gouernour in the citie of THESPIES, a valliant and ſtowt man of his handes, but euer fuller of vaine hope, than of good iudgement. He deſiring fame, and ſuppoſing that *Phœbidas* came to dignitie and great eſtimation through his valliant enterpriſe at THEBES: perſwaded him ſelfe that he ſhoulde winne much more honor, if of him ſelfe he tooke the hauen of Piræa ſodainly ſtealing apon the ATHENIANS by land, cutting them of by that meanes from al trade by ſea. It was thought commonly that this was a practiſe deuiſed by *Pelopidas* and *Gelon*, Gouernours of BOEOTIA, who had allured certaine men to faine them ſelues very deuout and frendly to the LACEDÆMONIANS. Theſe men praiſing and extollinge *Sphodrias* to his face, put him in the head that they knew none ſo worthie as him ſelfe alone, to take in hand ſo noble an enterpriſe. Thus by their perſwaſions they trained him on to this attempt, which for vilenes was nothing inferior vnto that tretcherous winning of the caſtell Cadmea at THEBES: although it was attempted with leſſe hardines and diligence. For day was broken when he was yet in the plaine of Thriaſium, where he made account to haue bene at the walles of Piræa by night. Furthermore it is reported, that the men he brought with him ſeeing certaine fires from the temples of the city of ELEVSIN, were all afrayed and amazed: yea he him ſelfe alſo fainted perceiuing he was diſcouered, and ſo returned backe with ſhame and diſhonor to the citie of THESPIES, without any exployt done, ſauing only a litle ſpoyle taken. Thereupon accuſers were ſtraight ſent from ATHENS vnto SPARTA, who apon their arriuall found that they needed not to accuſe him, for that the counſell and Gouernours of the citie had already ſent for him to come vnto them, to condemne him of hie treaſon. But he durſt not returne to SPARTA, fearing the furie of his contriemen, thinking in deede that they would ſeeme as though the wronge had bene done to them, bicauſe it ſhould not be thought that they had cauſed it to be done. This *Sphodrias* had a ſonne called *Cleonymus*, a very fayer boy, with whome *Archidamus* (*Ageſilaus* ſonne) was farre in loue: who then was maruelous ſorie to ſee this boy he loued, in ſo great daunger to loſe his father, & yet durſt not be ſeene to helpe him, bicauſe *Sphodrias* was one of *Ageſilaus* aduerſaries. Notwithſtanding, *Cleonymus* making his mone to him with the teares in his eyes, and praying him to pacifie his father *Ageſilaus* (whome they feared aboue all men elſe) *Archidamus* followed his father three or foure dayes together, and durſt not breake the matter

Sphodrias practiſe to take the hauen of Piræa at Athens.

Sphodrias accuſed of treaſon.

A matter to him: in fine, the day of the next session being at hand, when iudgement should be geuen of *Sphodrias*, he boldly ventered to tell him, howe that *Cleanymus* had prayed him to be an humbler suter to him touching his fathers fact. *Agesilaus* vnderstanding that his sonne loued *Cleonymus*, would not withdrawe him from louing of him, bicause the boy euen from his childehoode gaue alwayes good hope that one day he would sure make as honest a man as any other whatsoeuer: neither made he any countenaunce to his sonne, as though he would doe any thing at his sute, but onely answered him, for that, he would doe as became him in such a case. Whereupon, *Archidamus* being bashefull, left comming any more to *Cleonymus*, where before he would see him oftentimes in a day. This made *Sphodrias* frendes dispaire of his life more then before, vntill *Etymocles*, one of *Agesilaus* familiars talking with them, tolde B them that for the facte it selfe, *Agesilaus* thought it a shamefull deede, and as much misliked it as might be: but for *Sphodrias* selfe, that he tooke him for a valliant man, & saw that the common wealth had neede of men of such seruice. This was *Agesilaus* common talke to please his sonne, when any man came to speake to him of *Sphodrias* accusation. Insomuch that *Cleonimus* found straight that *Archidamus* had delt as faithfully and frendly for him as might be, and then *Sphodrias* frendes also tooke hart againe vnto them, to solicite his cause, and to be earnest suters for him. *Agesilaus* among other had this speciall propertie, that he loued his children deerely: and a tale goeth on him, that he would play with them in his house when they were C litle ones, and ride apon a litle cocke horse, or a reede, as a horseback. Insomuch as a frende of his taking him one day with the maner, playing among his children: he prayed him to say nothing, till he had litle children him selfe. In fine, *Sphodrias* was quit by his iudges. The Athenians vnderstanding it, sent to proclaime warre with the Lacedæmonians. Whereupon *Agesilaus* was much reproued, bicause that to please the fonde affection of his sonne, he had hindered iustice, & brought his citie to be accused among the Græcians for such grieuous crimes. *Agesilaus* perceiuing that king *Cleombrotus* his companion went with no verie good will to make warre with the Thebans, he breaking the order set downe for leading of the army, which was kept before, went to the warres him selfe in person, & so inuading Boeotia he both receiued and did great hurt. Wherupon *Antalcidas* seeing him hurt one day, now truely (sayd he) the Thebans haue paide you your deserued hier, for teaching them against their wills to be souldiers, that neither had will nor skill to fight. For in dede they say the The- D bans became better souldiers and warriours than they were before, being dayly trained and exercised in armes, through the continuall inuasions of the Lacedæmonians. Loe, this was the reason, why the olde father *Lycurgus* in his lawes called Rhetra, did forbid them to make warre too oft with one selfe people, bicause that by compulsion they should not be made expert souldiers. For this cause did the confederats of Lacedæmon hate *Agesilaus*, saying, that it was not for any knowen offence to the state, but for very spite & priuate malice of his owne, that he sought to vndoe the Thebans in this maner: and that to follow his humor, they consumed them selues going yearely to the warres one while this way, an other while that way, without any necessitie at all, following a few Lacedæmonians, them selues being alwayes the greater number. Then it was, that *Agesilaus* desiring to make thē see what number of men E of warre they were, vsed this deuise. On a time he commaunded all the allies to sit downe together one with an other by them selues, & the Lacedæmonians also by them selues. Then he made a herauld proclaime that all pottemakers should stand vp on their feete. When they were vp, he made him crie to the brasiers to rise also. After them in like maner, the carpinters: then the masons, & so consequently all occupations one after an other. So that at the length the confederates obeying the proclamacion, were all in maner on their feete. The Lacedæmonians, not one of them rose: bicause all base mechanicall craftes were forbidden them to occupie. Then *Agesilaus* laughing at them, loe, my frendes sayd he: doe ye not see now that we bring moe souldiers to the field, than ye doe? At his returne from this iorney of Thebes, passing by the city of Megara, as he went vp into the counsell house within the castell, there F sodainly tooke him a great crampe in his left legge, that swelled extreamely, and put him to great paine, men thinking that it was but blood which had filled the vaine: a Phisitian of Syracvsa in Sicile being there, straight opened a vaine vnder the ankle of his foote, which

Howe Sphodrias was saued frō death.

Agesilaus cockering his children too much.

Agesilaus iorney into Bœotia.

Antalcidas saying.

Rhetra, of Lycurgus.

Agesilaus subtill deuise to shewe the weakenes of the allies.

Agesilaus fell sodainly sicke of a daungerous disease.

made the paine to ceaſe: notwithſtanding there came ſuch aboundance of blood, that they could not ſtanche it, ſo that he ſounded oft, & was in great daunger of preſent death. In fine, a way was found to ſtoppe it, and they caried him to LACEDÆMON, where he lay ſicke a long time, ſo that he was paſt going to the warres any more. The SPARTANS in the meane time receiued great ouerthrowes both by ſea and land, and among other, their greateſt ouerthrow was at the battell of LEVCTRES, where the THEBANS ouercame and ſlue them in plaine battell. Then the GRÆCIANS were all of one minde to make a generall peace, and thereuppon came Ambaſſadors and the Deputies from all the cities of GRÆCE, & met at LACEDÆMON to that ende. One of theſe Deputies was *Epaminondas*, a notable learned man, and a famous Philoſopher, but as yet vnskilfull in warres. He ſeeing how the other Ambaſſadors curried fauor with *Ageſilaus*, only he of the reſt kept his grauety to ſpeake freely, and made an Oration, not for the THEBANS alone, but for all GRÆCE in generall, declaring to them all, how warres did only increaſe the greatnes & power of the citie of SPARTA, and contrarily did miniſh and decay all other cities and townes of GRÆCE: and for this cauſe, that he did counſell them all to conclude a good and perfit peace indifferently for all, to the ende it might continewe the lenger, when they were all alike. *Ageſilaus* perceiuing then that all the GRÆCIANS preſent at the aſſemblie gaue him good eare, and were glad to heare him ſpeake thus boldely of peace: asked him openly, if he thought it mete and reaſonable, that all BOEOTIA ſhould be ſet clere at libertie againe? *Epaminondas* preſently & boldly againe asked him: if he thought it iuſt and requiſite to ſet all LACONIA clere againe at liberty? *Ageſilaus* being offended therwith, ſtoode vpon his feete, and commaunded him to aunſwere plainly, whether they would ſet all BOEOTIA at libertie or not? *Epaminondas* replied vnto him with the ſelfe ſpeache againe, and asked him whether they would ſet all LACONIA at liberty or not. That nettled *Ageſilaus* ſo, that (beſides he was glad of ſuch a cloke, for the old grudge he euer bare vnto the THEBANS) he preſently put the name of the THEBANS out of the bill of thoſe, which ſhould haue bene compriſed within the league, and cried open warres apon them in the market place. For the reſt, he licenſed the other Deputies and Ambaſſadors of the people of GRÆCE to departe, with this concluſion: that they ſhould louingly take order among thẽ ſelues for the controuerſies betwext them, if they could peaceably agree together, and they that could not fall to ſuch agreement, that then they ſhould trie it by warres, for that it was a hard thing to take vp all quarells among them. King *Cleombrotus* by chaunce was at that time in the contrie of PHOCIDE with his armie, vnto whom the Ephori wrote that he ſhould forthwith ſpoyle the THEBANS contrie: and therewith alſo they ſent to all their confederates to come and aide them, which had no great fanſie to the iorney, and were loth to make warre with them, but yet durſt not refuſe to goe, nor diſobey the LACEDÆMONIANS. And notwithſtanding that there were many ſignes preſaging ill lucke, as we haue wrytten in the life of *Epaminondas*, and that *Prothous* LACONIAN was againſt the enterpriſe of this warre all that he could: *Ageſilaus* would needes forward, hoping he had nowe found oportunity to be reuenged of the THEBANS, ſith all GRÆCE beſides was in peace and at libertie, them ſelues onely exempted from treatie of peace. If there had bene no other thing in it but the very ſhortnes of time, that made it manifeſt enough that this warre was begonne in a geere, without any manner of reaſon. For the generall peace amongeſt the GRÆCIANS was concluded at SPARTA the fourteenth of May, and the LACEDÆMONIANS were ouercome at the battell of LEVCTRES the fifteene of Iune: ſo as there was but twentie dayes betwene them. There were ſlaine a thowſand LACEDÆMONIANS with their king *Cleombrotus*, and the choiceſt of the valliantest SPARTANS about him. Amongeſt them was alſo ſlaine that goodly young man *Cleonymus*, *Sphodrias* ſonne, of whom we ſpake before: who hauing bene beaten downe thriſe at the kings foote, three times got vp againe, but at the length was ſlaine, valliantly fighting againſt the THEBANS. This great ouerthrowe chaunſing to the LACEDÆMONIANS vnlooked for, and withall ſo glorious a victorie vnto the THEBANS, as GRÆCIANS fighting with GRÆCIANS had neuer the like: the vanquiſhed citie of SPARTA notwithſtanding deſerued no leſſe honor and commendacion for her fortitude and worthineſſe, than did the victorious citie of THEBES. For as *Xenophon* wryteth, that as amongeſt good men euen in table talke, and in their ſportes & mirth there falleth out

Epaminondas the Theban, ſent Ambaſſador vnto Lacedæmon.

The ſtrife betwext Ageſilaus and Epaminondas for the libertie of Baotia.

The Lacedæmonians ſlaine at the battell of Leuctres.

Cleombrotus king of the Lacedæmonians ſlaine.

Cleonymus, the ſonne of Sphodrias, ſlaine at king Cleombrotus foote.

Xenophons ſaying.

euer

A euer ſome thing of wit worth the noting and bearing away: euen ſo in like caſe, no leſſe, but rather more, ought noble mens wordes to be weyed, and their countenances marked as well in aduerſitie as in proſperitie. At that time by chaunſe there was a common feaſt day in the citie of SPARTA, which was full of ſtraungers that came to ſee the daunſes & ſportes of them that ſhewed naked in the Theater, when as the meſſengers arriued that brought the newes of the battell loſt at LEVCTRES. The Ephori knowing then that the rumor ſtraight ranne all about, that they were all vndone, and how they had loſt the ſignorie and commaundement ouer all GRÆCE: would not ſuffer them for all this to breake of their daunſe in the Theater, nor the citie in any thing to chaunge the forme of their feaſt, but ſent vnto the parentes to euerie mans houſe, to let them vnderſtande the names of them that were ſlaine at the battell, they B them ſelues remaining ſtill in the Theater to ſee the daunſes and ſportes continued, to iudge who caried the beſt games away. The next morning when euerie man knewe the number of them that were ſlaine, and of thoſe alſo that were eſcaped: the parentes and frendes of them that were dead, met in the market place, looking cheerefully of the matter, and one of them embraced an other. On thother ſide, the parentes of them that ſcaped, kept their houſes with their wiues, as folke that mourned. If any of them alſo had occaſion to go abroad out of their houſes, for any matter of neceſſitie: ye ſhould ſee him looke ſo heauily and ſad, that he durſt not talke with you, lift vp his head, nor looke ye in the face. Beſides all this, euen amongeſt the women there was greater difference. For the mothers of thē that kept their ſonnes which came from the battell, were ſad and ſorowfull, and ſpake not a word. Contrarily, the mothers C of them that were ſlaine, went frendly to viſite one an other, to reioyce together. Now when the people ſaw that their confederates beganne to forſake them, and did dayly looke that *Epaminondas* glorying in his victorie, would inuade PELOPONNESVS: then they beganne to be prieked in conſcience about the oracles of the goddes, thinking that this misfortune came to their citie, for that they had thruſt out of the kingdome a man perfect in limmes, to place an impotent perſon, being ſpecially warned by the goddes to beware of that aboue all thinges. This notwithſtanding, they had him in ſuch veneration for his valliantnes, and his authoritie was ſuch thereby, that they did not onely vſe him in warre, as their king and ſoueraine Captaine: but in ciuill cauſes alſo wherein there roſe any queſtion, they euer vſed his counſell and aduiſe. As they did, when they durſt not puniſh them (according to the penall lawes) that fled D from the battell, whom they call at SPARTA Treſantas, (being a great number of them, and men of the nobleſt houſes and of greateſt power within the citie) leaſt they ſhould moue ſome ſturre or commotion among them. (For by lawe, they can beare no office in the common wealth. It is ſhame and reproche to geue them any wiues, and alſo to marrie any of theirs. Whoſoeuer meeteth them may lawefully ſtrike them, and they muſt abide it, and not geue them a word againe. They are compelled to weare poore tattered cloth gownes patched with cloth of diuers colours: and worſt of all, to ſhaue the one ſide of their beardes, and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the daunger great to deale with them, to execute the lawe according to the infamie they deſerued, ſpecially then ſtanding in neede of a great number of men of warre: they referred them ſelues altogether vnto *Ageſilaus*, to take ſuch order in it as he E thought good. But *Ageſilaus* then, without chaunging or altering any thing of the lawe, ſayd in open aſſemblie at LACEDÆMON: that for that day they ſhould let the law alone, notwithſtanding, that afterwardes it ſhould ſtand in force. By this policie he kept the lawe inuiolate, and ſaued alſo the honor of thoſe poore men: and withall, to put theſe youthes againe in hart, being amazed with this feare, he led the armie into the contrie of ARCADIA, and would geue no battell, but onely tooke a ſmall citie of the MANTINIANS, and foraged the contrie. This againe did a litle reuiue the citie of SPARTA with ſome hope, to make that it ſhould not vtterly diſpaire. But ſhortly after, *Epaminondas* inuaded the contrie of LACONIA, with fortie thowſand footemen well armed, beſides an infinite number of others light armed, and naked people, that followed his campe for the ſpoyle: ſo that in all, there were about three ſcore and F tenne thowſande fighting men that came in with him to inuade LACONIA. It was well neere ſixe hundred yeares ſith the DORIANS poſſeſſed LACEDÆMON, and in all that time till then they neuer ſaw enemies in their contrie that durſt inuade them: but then they ſacked & burnt

The conſtancy and fortitude of the Spartans.

The fortitude of the Spartan women.

Treſantas be cowardes, or faint harted men.

Puniſhment at Sparta, for cowardly ſoldiers.

Epaminondas inuadeth Laconia with three ſcore & ten thowſande men.

all that came in their way, euen vnto the riuer of Eurotas, and hard adioyning vnto SPARTA, A and no man durſt come out to reſiſt them. For *Ageſilaus* (as *Theopompus* wryteth) would not ſuffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to goe out to fight againſt ſuch a tempeſt and furie of warre, but hauing fortified the middeſt of the citie, and garded euery end of the ſtreetes with ſouldiers, he paciently bare all the bragges and threates of the THEBANS, which challenged him out to fight, and bad him come into the fielde to defende his contrie, that onely was the cauſe of all theſe their calamities, hauing him ſelfe procured this warre. If this went to *Ageſilaus* hart, no leſſe grieuous were theſe troubles to him that roſe within the citie. As the cries and running toe and froe of the old men, which were mad to ſee that they did before their eyes: and of ſely women alſo, which no grounde nor place could hold, but ranne vp and downe, as ſtraught of their wittes, to heare the noiſe the enemies made, and to ſee the fire which they raiſed all the B fieldes ouer. Much more ſorowefull alſo did this make him, when as he bethought him ſelfe, that entring into his kingdom at ſuch time as the citie of SPARTA was in the greateſt proſperitie that euer it was, he now ſaw his honor eclipſed, and the glorie of his kingdom ouerthrowen: and the rather, for that him ſelfe had often auaunted, that LACONIAN women had neuer ſeene the ſmoke of any enemies campe. And as they ſay of *Antalcidas* one day, that he anſwered an ATHENIAN that contended with him about the valliantneſſe of one an others nation, alleaging for him ſelfe, that the ATHENIANS had often driuen the LACEDÆMONIANS from the riuer of Cepheſus. It is true, ſaid the LACONIAN: but we did neuer driue you from the riuer of Eurotas. The like aunſwere made a meane man of SPARTA, to one of the ARGIVES that caſt him in the teeth, there are diuers of your LACONIANS buried in the contrie C of ARGOLIDE: ſo are there none of yours, ſayd he, buried in LACONIA. It is reported, that *Antalcidas* being one of the Ephori at that time, did ſecretly ſende his children into the Ile of CITHÆRA, fearing leaſt the citie of SPARTA ſhould be taken. *Ageſilaus* perceiuing that the enemies forced to paſſe ouer the riuer, to enter the citie: he ſtoode to defend the middle parte of the citie, being the hieſt place of the ſame, and there had his men ſette in order of battell. Now at that time, by chaunce the riuer of Eurotas was ſwelled greater then of ordinarie, by reaſon of the ſnowe waters that fell aboundantly: which troubled more the THEBANS with the coldnes, then roughnes of the ſame, in paſſing it ouer. Some ſhewing *Ageſilaus* how *Epaminondas* marched formoſt before his battell, he beheld him a great while, and his eye was neuer of him, ſaying neuer a word but this onely: O, what a noble fellowe is that? *Epaminondas* D hauing done all that he could poſſible to geue the LACEDÆMONIANS battell, euen within the citie ſelfe of SPARTA, that he might there haue ſet vp ſome tokens of triumphe, he could neuer intiſe *Ageſilaus* to come out of his forte: wherefore he was driuen in the ende to departe thence, and ſo went to deſtroy all the reſt of the contrie. There fell out a conſpiracie of two hundred men in SPARTA, who of long time had had an ill meaning with them, and tooke that quarter of the citie where the temple of *Diana* ſtoode, called Iſſorium, a place of ſtrong ſcituacion, and ill to diſtreſſe. Hereuppon the LACEDÆMONIANS in furie would ſtraight haue ſet apon them. But *Ageſilaus* fearing great mutinie and ſturre apon it: commaunded that no man ſhould ſturre: and him ſelfe vnarmed, in a poore gowne went thither, crying out to them that had taken that ſtrength: Sirs, ye haue not obeyed my commaundement. This is not the E place I appointed you to aſſemble in, neither all of you in one place: for I willed you to diſperſe your ſelues, ſome one way, ſome an other way, ſhewing them the quarters of the citie. The traitors hearing theſe wordes, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not bewraied: and ſo leauing that ſtrength, went into thoſe partes of the citie that he had ſhewed them. *Ageſilaus* then bringinge others thether, poſſeſſed the forte of Iſſorium, and tooke fifteene of thoſe conſpiratours, and put them to death the next night followinge. Howebeit then there brake out an other conſpiracie farre greater than the firſt, of the SPARTANS them ſelues which were ſecretly gotten together into a houſe, to make ſome ſodaine ſturre and garboyle, and to puniſh them in ſo great a trouble, it was hard: on thother ſide to neglect it, the conſpiracie was ouer daungerous. *Ageſilaus* hauing conſulted with the Ephori, did put them all to F death, without any iudgement of lawe, neuer SPARTANS before them ſuffering death, without due order of law. Againe, whereas diuers of their neighbours, & of the *Ilotes* them ſelues,

Certaine witty aunſwers.

Conſpiracies at Lacedæmon vnder Ageſilaus.

Iſſorium the temple of Diana.

A fine deuiſe to apprehende the traitors.

(whom

A (whom they had billed in their bandes for ſouldiers) ſtale away, and ranne to their enemies, which did much diſcorage them that remained: he warned his men that they ſhould euerie day goe to their couches where they lay, and that they ſhoulde take away their armour that were fled, and hide it, bicauſe they ſhould not knowe the names of them that were fled in this ſorte. Now for the departure of the THEBANS, ſome ſay that they went out of LACONIA by reaſon of the winter that came on, whereuppon the ARCADIANS diſcharged their bandes, and euerie one departed his way in diſorder. Others alſo holde opinion, that they continued there three monethes together, during which time they deſtroyed the moſt parte of the contrie. *Theopompus* wryteth notwithſtanding, that the Captaines of the THEBANS hauing determined to departe, there came one *Phrixus* a SPARTAN vnto them, ſent from *Ageſilaus*, who B brought them tenne talents that they ſhould departe out of their contrie. Thus had they money geuen them to defraye their charges homewardes, to doe that, which they them ſelues had long before determined to haue done. And yet doe I wonder, howe it is poſſible that all other hiſtoriographers knewe nothing of this, and that *Theopompus* onely could tell of it. All doe acknowledge truely, that *Ageſilaus* onely was the cauſe that the citie of SPARTA was ſaued: who leauing his ambition and ſelfe will, being paſſions borne with him, did wiſely foreſee their ſafetie. Neuertheleſſe, after this great ouerthrowe, he could neuer raiſe SPARTA againe to her former greatneſſe. For like as a whole bodie, which hauing acquainted it ſelfe continually with a moderate diet, with the leaſt diſorder doth ſurfet preſently, and ſo putteth all in daunger: euen ſo *Lycurgus* hauing framed a perfect ſtate of gouernment in the common C wealth of SPARTA, to make her citizens liue in peace and amitie together: when they did enlarge it by great kingdomes and realmes, the which the good lawemaker thought vnmeete to continue happie life: they were ſtraight ouerthrowen and all went to wracke. By this time *Ageſilaus* was growen olde, and could no more goe to the warres for verie age: but his ſonne *Archidamus*, with the aide which *Dionyſius* the tyranne of SYRACVSA ſent vnto them, wanne a battell againſt the ARCADIANS, called the teareleſſe battell: for there dyed not one of his men, and they ſlue a great number of their enemies. This victorie plainely ſhewed the great weakeneſſe and decaie of the citie of SPARTA. For in former times it was ſo common a thing vnto them to ouercome their enemies in battell, that they did ſacrifice nothinge elſe to the goddes in token of thankes, within the citie, but a poore cocke: and they that had fought the D battell made no boaſt of it: neither did they that hard the newes reioice greatly at it. For when they had wonne that great battell at the citie of MANTINEA, which *Thucydides* deſcribeth: the Ephori only ſent the meſſenger that brought the newes for reward, a peece of powdered meate, and no other thing. But then, when newes was brought of this victorie, and that they vnderſtoode *Archidamus* came home victorious: neither man nor woman could keepe the citie, but the father him ſelfe went firſt of all to meete him, with the teares in his eyes for ioy, and after him all the other Magiſtrates and officers of the citie, and a ſwarme of old folke both men & women came downe to the riuers ſide, holding vp their hands to heauen, & thanking the goddes, as if their citie had redeemed and recouered her ſhame and loſt honor, and beganne nowe to riſe againe, as before it did. For vntill that time, ſome ſay, that the husbandes E durſt not boldly looke their wiues in the faces, they were ſo aſhamed of their great loſſes and miſerable eſtate. Now the citie of MESSINA being by *Epaminondas* reedified and repleniſhed with people, he called home againe out of all partes, the naturall inhabitants of the ſame. The SPARTANS durſt not fight with him (not to hinder his purpoſe) though it ſpighted them to the hartes, and were angrie with *Ageſilaus*, for that in his raigne they had loſt all that territory, which was as great as all LACONIA ſelfe, and that for goodneſſe and fertilitie compared with the beſt partes of all GRÆCE, the which they had quietly poſſeſſed many yeares before. And this was the cauſe why *Ageſilaus* would not agree to the peace, which the THEBANS ſent to offer him: and all bicauſe he would not relinquiſh that in wordes, which the enemies kept in deedes. Therfore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not only without F recouering the thing he looked for, but had in maner alſo loſt the citie of SPARTA by a warlike ſtratageame, in the which he was deceiued. For the MANTINIANS being newly reuolted againe from the alliance of the THEBANS, and hauing ſent for the LACEDÆMONIANS: *Epa-*

The departure of the Thebans out of Laconia.

Ageſilaus ſaued the citie of Sparta.

The teareleſſe battell of Archidamus, ouercomming the Arcadians.

The Lacedæmonians were not wont to reioyce much at any victory.

Meſſina reſtored againe by Epaminondas.

Epaminondas second iorney vnto Sparta.

minondas receiuing intelligence that *Ageſilaus* was departed from SPARTA with all his power to aide the MANTINIANS, marched away ſecretly by night from TEGEA, without the priuitie of the MANTINIANS, and went ſtraight to SPARTA, the which he had almoſt ſurpriſed on the ſodaine (going an other way then *Ageſilaus* came,) being in manner without men to defende it. Howebeit a THESPIAN called *Euthynus*, as *Calliſthenes* ſayth, (or as *Xenophon* wryteth, a CRETAN,) brought *Ageſilaus* newes of it: who diſpatched a horſeman ſtraight to aduertiſe them of the citie of SPARTA, and marching forward him ſelfe to returne, ſtayed not longe after before he arriued. He was no ſooner come, but incontinently alſo came the THEBANS, who paſſing ouer the riuer of Eurotas, gaue aſſault to the city. Then *Ageſilaus* perceiuing that there was no more place nor time of ſecuritie as before, but rather of deſperation and courage: he valliantlie defended it more then an olde mans yeares coulde beare. Thus, through corage and deſperate minde, whereto he was neuer brought before, neither did euer vſe it, he put by the daunger, and ſaued the citie of SPARTA from *Epaminondas* handes, ſetting vp markes of triumphe for repulſing of the enemies, and making the women and children of SPARTA to ſee the LACEDÆMONIANS how honorablie they rewarded their nurſe and contrie for their good education: but *Archidamus* chiefely of all other, fought wonderfully that day, running into euerie parte of the citie, with a fewe about him, to repulſe the enemies whereſoeuer the daunger was greateſt. It is ſayd alſo that at that time there was one *Iſadas* the ſonne of *Phœbidas*, that did maruelous ſtraunge thinges to beholde, both in the face of his enemies, as alſo in the ſight of his frendes. He was of goodly perſonage, and at that time in the prime of his youth: and being ſtarke naked, and vnarmed, his bodie noynted with oyle, hauing in one hande a boreſtaffe, and in the other a ſworde, in this maner he went out of his houſe, and ranne amongeſt them that fought, killinge and ouerthrowing his enemies that withſtoode him, and was not once hurt, either for that the goddes preſerued him for his manhoodes ſake, or elſe bicauſe men thought him more then a man. The Ephori immediatly gaue him a crowne, in honor and reward of his valliantneſſe: but withall they ſet a fine on his head to pay a thowſand ſiluer Drachmas for his raſhe attempt, to haſard him ſelfe in battell, vnarmed for defenſe. Shortly after they fought an other great battell before the citie of MANTINEA. There *Epaminondas* hauing ouerthrowen the firſt ranckes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and coragiouſly diſtreſſing the reſt, valliantly following the chaſe: there was one *Anticrates* a LACONIAN, who receiuing him (as *Dioſcorides* writeth) ſlue him with his boreſpeare. The LACEDÆMONIANS to this day notwithſtanding, doe call the offſpring of this *Anticrates*, *Machariones*: as much to ſay, as ſwordmen, as though he had ſlaine him with a ſword. The LACEDÆMONIANS did eſteeme this *Anticrates* ſo much, for that deadly ſtroke he gaue (bicauſe they were afrayed of *Epaminondas* while he liued) that they gaue him that ſlue him, great honors & dignities, and diſcharged all his offſpring & kinred from payment of ſubſidie and common contribucions, which priuiledge one *Callicrates*, a kinſeman of this *Anticrates*, enioyed euen in our time. After this battell and death of *Epaminondas*, the GRÆCIANS hauing taken peace generally amongeſt them, *Ageſilaus* would needes exclude the MESSENIANS from being ſworne to this peace, ſaying: that they neede not ſweare, bicauſe they had no city. Now, foraſmuch as all the GRÆCIANS els did receiue them as amongeſt the number, & tooke their othe vnto this peace: the LACEDÆMONIANS brake of from this general peace, and none but they onely made warre, in hope to recouer the MESSENIANS contrie, and all through the allurement of *Ageſilaus*, who for this cauſe was thought of the GRÆCIANS a cruell and vnſatiable man for warres, to deale ſo craftily, and all to breake this generall league. Againe, he brought him ſelfe in diſcredit with all men, beinge compelled to make his citie bare of money, borowing of them ſtill, and raiſing ſundrie contribucions amongeſt them: whereas in deede it had bene his beſt way to haue ended all thoſe miſeries, hauing ſo happie an occaſion offred at that time, & not to haue loſt ſo great an Empire of ſo many townes and cities, both by ſea and lande, and all to plague his contrie, to winne the lande and riches of the MESSENIANS. But yet was this moſt ſhame vnto him of all other, when he gaue him ſelfe vnto one *Tachos*, a Captaine of the EGIPTIANS, euerie man thinking it a ſhamefull parte of him, that ſuch a perſonage as he (reputed the chiefeſt man of all the GRÆCIANS, and the which

Ageſilaus repulſed Epaminondas from Lacedæmon.

The fortitude of Archidamus.

The valliantnes of Iſadas a Spartan.

Iſadas rewarded & amerced.

The death of Epaminondas.

Machariones, why ſo called.

Ageſilaus greedy of warres.

A which had filled the worlde with reporte of his fame and glorie) ſhould for money let out his perſon to hyre, and the glorie of his name, vnto a barbarous perſon, a traitor and rebell to his kinge and maiſter, to become a mercenarie Captaine and ſouldier to doe him ſeruice. And moreouer, he being now foure ſcore yeares of age and vpwardes, his bodie all mangled with woundes, though he had vndertaken this honorable charge for the recouerie of the libertie of the GRÆCIANS, yet had his ambition deſerued ſome blame: for noble actes haue their time, yea rather the good and ill doe nothing differ from other, but in meane and mediocritie. But *Ageſilaus* had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of ſhame in ſeruice, ſpecially for benefitte of the common wealth, but perſwaded him ſelfe that it was a diſhonor to him to liue idlely in a citie and doe nothing, till death ſhould come and make his ſummones:
B thereupon therefore he leuied men of warre through all GRÆCE with the money *Tachos* ſent vnto him, and with them tooke ſea, hauing thirtie SPARTANS counſellers and aſſiſtantes to him, as he had in his firſt iorney. Now *Ageſilaus* being arriued in EGIPT, all the chiefe Captaines and Gouernours of king *Tachos* came to the ſea ſhore, and honorablie receiued him: and not they only, but infinite numbers of EGIPTIANS of all ſortes (that were maruelous deſirous of him, for the great fame that went abroade of *Ageſilaus*) came thither from all partes to ſee what manner of man he was. But when they ſawe no ſtately trayne about him, but an olde graybeard layed on the graſſe by the ſea ſide, a litle man that looked ſimplie of the matter, and but meanely apparrelled in an ill fauored threed bare gowne: they fell a laughing at him, remembring the merie tale, that the mountaines ſhould bring forth, and was deliuered
C of a mouſe. Beſides all this, they wondered when they ſawe men bring him preſentes to welcome him, that he tooke meale, calues, and geeſe, and ſuch groſſe thinges: and refuſed all confections, perfumes and other delicacies, praying them that offered thoſe dainty things to him, to geue them to the HELOTES his ſlaues. *Theophraſtus* wryteth, that he delighted marueloully in the ruſhe Papyrus, and liked the garlandes they made of them, for their fineneſſe and the handſomneſſe, the which he caried home with him when he departed thence. Hauing ſpoken at that time with *Tachos*, who was aſſembling his armie to goe on his iorney: he was not made chiefetaine generall, as he looked he ſhould haue bene, but was appointed only Colonell of all the ſtraungers, *Chabrias* Generall of all the armie by ſea, and the chiefe of all the reſt was *Tachos* him ſelfe in perſon. This at the firſt grieued *Ageſilaus* to the hart, be-
D ing driuen whether he would or not, to beare with the vanitie and pride of this EGIPTIAN. So he ſayled with him into PHENICE, againſt the PHENICIANS, imbaſing him ſelfe againſt his noble diſpoſition and minde, and gaue him place, vntill he ſaw time of reuenge. It chaunced that one *Nectanebos* a nephewe of this *Tachos*, hauing the leading of parte of this armie, rebelled againſt him, and being choſen king by the EGIPTIANS, he ſent vnto *Ageſilaus*, and prayed him to come and take his parte. The like he did alſo vnto *Chabrias*, and prayed him to ioyne with him, promiſing great rewardes vnto them both. *Tachos* vnderſtanding that, beſought them both that they would not forſake him. *Chabrias* for his parte alſo did likewiſe intreate *Ageſilaus*, and perſwade him what he coulde, to continewe frendſhippe with *Tachos*. *Ageſilaus* aunſwered him, for thee, *Chabrias*, thou cameſt of thine owne good will, and there-
E fore mayeſt doe what thou thinkeſt good: but ſo is it not with me. For I am ſent hither a Captaine by my contrie, to ſerue the EGYPTIANS, and therefore it were no honeſtie for me to make warre with them, whome I am ſent to ſerue and aide: were it not that they them ſelues which ſent me, doe nowe commaunde me the contrarie. This aunſwere being made, he ſent certaine of his men to SPARTA to accuſe *Tachos*, and to commende *Nectanebos*. Both they alſo for their partes ſent to intreate the counſell of LACEDÆMON: the one as being alwayes their frende and confederate, and the other promiſing to be their faithfull frende thencefoorth. The LACEDÆMONIANS hauing heard the requeſtes of both, aunſwered them openly, that *Ageſilaus* ſhoulde conſider of this matter: and wrote ſecretlie to him, that he ſhould doe what he thought beſt for the common wealth of SPARTA. So *Ageſilaus* taking
F with him the mercenarie ſouldiers which he had brought out of GRÆCE, went vnto *Nectanebos*, cloking his departure, that it was for the benefitte of his contrie, to bewray a wicked thing: but in deede taking away the viſard to benefit his contrie, they might by a better name

Ageſilaus derided of the Egiptians.

Ageſilaus deſpiſed al dainty thinges.

Ageſilaus forſaketh Tachos, & goeth vnto Nectanebos.

rightly haue tearmed it treason. Howebeit the LACEDÆMONANS placing the chiefest poynt of honor, to consist in the benefit of their contrie: did acknowledge nothing to be iustice, but that which they thought might serue for the aduauncement of the glorie of SPARTA. *Tachos* seeinge him selfe forsaken thus by his mercenarie straungers, fled. But nowe on the other side, there rose an other Kinge in the citie of MENDES, against this *Nectanebos*, who hauinge leauied to the number of a hundred thowsande fightinge men, came to fight with *Nectanebos*. But he thinking to encorage *Agesilaus*, tolde him, that in deede they were a great number of men of all sortes together, and speciallie men of handie craft, and therefore that they were not to be feared, bicause they knewe not what warre ment. But *Agesilaus* aunswered him againe: it is not their number that I feare, but their rudenesse and vnskillfullnesse, which is hardest of all to deceiue. For warlike stratageames doe most preuaile against men that haue greatest feare and experience: and therefore they foresee one thing rather then an other. But men of no iudgement nor experience, neither feare daunger, nor haue forecast, and therefore doe geue him no more aduantage that seeketh to deceiue them, then the wrastler by slight is able to ouerthrowe him, whome he can not sturre nor remoue. Afterwardes the MENDESIAN king him selfe sent vnto *Agesilaus*, to winne him if he could. *Nectanebos* then beganne to be affrayed. For when *Agesilaus* counselled him to trye it by battell as soone as he could, and not to prolonge this warre against ignoraunt men that had no skill to fight, but yet for their ouermultitude, might intrenche him rounde about, and preuent him in diuers thinges: then he beganne to feare and suspect him more, and thereuppon retyred into a great citie well walled about, and of great strength. *Agesilaus* beinge offended that he mistrusted him thus, tooke it inwardlie: but being ashamed to turne againe vnto the third, and also to departe without any exployte done, he followed him, and enclosed him selfe within those walles. The enemies pursuinge him hard, came vnto the citie, and beganne to entrenche it rounde, to keepe him in. Then the EGYPTIAN *Nectanebos* fearing a longe siege, determined to geue them battell. Thereto the hyered GRÆCIANS gaue consent, as desiringe no better matche, and the rather also for that there was but small store of corne within the citie. But *Agesilaus* perswadinge the contrarie, would in no wise consent to it: whereuppon the EGYPTIANS thought worse of him then before, and plainely called him traytor to their kinge. Howebeit he did pacientlie beare all their accusations, expectinge time to performe an exployte he entended, which was this. The enemies had cast a deepe trenche without, to compasse them in. When this trenche drewe neere to ende, and that both endes lacked not much of meetinge, tarryinge till night came on, he commaunded the GRÆCIANS to arme, and to put them selues in readinesse: then he came vnto the EGYPTIAN, and sayed vnto him. Loe here is an excellent occasion presented to saue thee, which I would not acquaint thee withall till I saw it brought to the perfection I looked for, fearing least otherwise we shoulde haue lost it. Nowe sith the enemies them selues haue with their owne handes geuen vs the way to saue our selues by this trenche they haue cast, the which as muche as is finished thereof dothe hinder their great multitude to helpe them selues, and that which is yet left vnfinished dothe geue vs oportunitie to fight with them of euen hande: determine to shewe thy valure, and followinge vs, saue thy selfe and thy people. For the enemies which we shall assayle before vs, shall neuer be able to abide vs: and the other by meanes of the trenche which defendeth vs on our side, can no way hurte vs. *Nectanebos* hearinge his wordes, wondered at his great wisedome, and so thrustinge in amonge the GRÆCIANS, did assayle the enemies: the which were soone ouerthrowen and put to flight, as many as durst resist, and make heade against them. *Agesilaus* hauinge wonne *Nectanebos* againe to trust him, he once againe deceiued his enemies with the like subtiltie wherewith he had first beguiled them, and which they knewe not howe to auoyde. For one while he made as though he fled, and intised them to followe him: sodainely againe he woulde turne this waye and that waye. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into a straight sluce, walled about of either side, with great broade ditches full of runninge water: so that when they were euen in the middest of it, he sodainely stopped their passage with the fronte of his battell, which he cast to the breadthe of the sluce, and

In whom stratageames take most effect.

The stratageame of Agesilaus against the Egyptians.

A and thus made his number of fighting men equall with the multitude of his enemies, which could neither compasse him in behinde, nor flanke him on the sides. They hauing in this sorte made some small resistaunce, in the ende turned their backes and fled, and left a great number slaine in the fielde: the residue after that last ouerthrowe forsooke their Captaines, and fled straglingly here and there. Thus the affaires of this EGYPTIAN king after that time had good successe, and was quietly stablished in his kingdom, making much of *Agesilaus*: and doing him all honor possible, prayed him to tarie with him all that winter. Howbeit he would needes hasten home to his contrie, which was in warre with others, knowing that his citie of SPARTA was without money, bicause they were driuen to geue pay vnto straungers. Thereuppon *Nectanebes* in thende tooke his leaue of him very honorably, presenting him a gift (besides all o-

B thet honors he did him) of two hundred and thirtie siluer talentes in readie money, to defray the charges of the warre in his contrie. Howbeit the sea being rough in the winter quarter, he died by the way, hauing notwithstanding recouered land with his shippes in a desert place of the coast of LYBIA, which was called the hauen of *Menelaus*, after he was foure score & foure yeare old: of the which he had raigned one and fortie yeares king of SPARTA, and thirty yeares thereof and more he was alwayes taken and reputed for the greatest person, and in manner Chiefetaine generall of all GRÆCE, vntill the battell of LEVCTRES. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing a custome to burie the dead bodies of their citizens that died out of their contrie, in the same place where they departed: (the bodies of their kinges exeepted) the SPARTANS which were at that time about *Agesilaus*, annoynted his bodie with waxe for

C lacke of honny, and caried him home to SPARTA in this maner. His sonne *Archidamus* succeded him in the kingdom, whose issue successiuely raigned continually after him, vnto the time of *Agis* (who was the fift king in succession after *Agesilaus*) whom in deede *Leonidas* put to death, bicause he sought to restore the LACEDÆMONIANS auncient discipline and forme of life.

The libetality of king Nectanebes vnto Agesilaus.

The death of Agesilaus.

The raigne of Agesilaus.

Agesilaus bodi noynted with waxe for lacke of honnie.

The end of the life of Agesilaus.

THE LIFE OF *Pompey.*

The father of Pompey hated in Rome.

THe ROMANES seeme to haue loued *Pompey* from his childhoode, with the selfe affection that *Prometheus* in the tragedie of *AEschylus* appeareth to haue borne vnto *Hercules*, after that he was deliuered by him: when he sayd,

So great a hate I bare not to the father,
But that I loue the sonne of him much rather.

Strabo, the father of Pompey.

For the ROMANES neuer shewed more bitter hate against any other Captaine, than they did vnto *Strabo Pompeys* father. Truely so long as he liued, they feared his greatnesse obtained by armes, for in deede he was a noble Captaine: but being striken with a thunderbolt, and dead, they tooke him from the beare whereon his bodie lay as they caried him to buriall, and did thereto great villannie.

The Loue of the Romanes vnto Pompey.

Contrariewise, neuer any other ROMANE (but *Pompey*) had the peoples earnest goodwilles so soone, nor that in prosperitie and aduersity continued lenger constant, then vnto *Pompey*. One only cause procured the fathers hate, and that was: an vnsatiable and greedy desire of money. But *Pompey* his sonne, was for many occasions beloued. As, for temperance of life, aptnesse to armes, eloquence of tongue, faithfulnes of word, and curtesie in conuersation: so that there was neuer man that requested any thing with lesse ill will then he, nor that more willingly did pleasure any man when he was requested. For he gaue without disdaine, and tooke with great

The fauour of Pompey.

honor. Furthermore, being but a childe, he had a certaine grace in his looke that wan mens good willes before he spake: for his countenaunce was sweete, mixed with grauetie, & being come to mans state, there appeared in his iesture and behauiour, a graue & princely maiestie. His heare also stoode a litle vpright, and the cast and soft mouing of his eyes, had a certaine resemblaunce (as they sayd) of the statues and images of king *Alexander*. And bicause euerie man gaue him that name, he did not refuse it him selfe: insomuch as there were some which sportingwise did openly call him *Alexander*. Whereupon *Lucius Philippus* a Consull, was not ashamed to say openly in an oration he made in *Pompeys* fauor, that it was no maruell if he being *Philip*, did loue *Alexander*. It is reported also, that when *Flora* the curtisan waxed old, she much delighted to talke of the familiaritie which she had with *Pompey* beinge a younge man:

Flora the curtisan loued Pompey.

telling

telling that after she had layen with him, she could not possible rise from him, but she must needes geue him some sweete quippe or pleasaunt taunte. She would tell also how one of *Pompeys* familiars and companions called *Geminius*, fell in loue with her, and was a maruelous earnest suter to obtaine her good will: and that she aunswered him flatly, she would not, for the loue she bare to *Pompey*. *Geminius* thereuppon brake the matter to *Pompey* himselfe. *Pompey* desirous to pleasure him, graunted the request: howbeit *Geminius* after that, would not come neere *Flora*, nor speake vnto her, albeit it appeared that he yet loued her. But *Flora* tooke this not curtisan like, for she was sicke a long time for very griefe of minde, and she thought she tooke vppon it. All this notwithstanding, it is sayd that this *Flora* had then such fame for her passing grace and beautie, that *Cecilius Metellus* seeing foorth and beautifying the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, with goodly tables and pictures: among the rest, he caused her picture to be liuely drawen for her excellent beawtie. Furthermore *Pompey*, against his nature, delt very hardly and vncurteously with the wife of *Demetrius*, his franchised bondeman (who while he liued was in great credit with him, and dying, left her worth foure thowsand talentes) fearing to be taken with her beautie which was verie singularlie fayer, least he should be thought in loue with her. Now, though herein he seemed to be very circumspect, and to east the worst; yet could he not thus scape the detracting tongues of his ill willers: for they did accuse him, that to please and content his wiues, he would let passe and winke at many thinges, that was against the profit of the common wealth? To proue his sober and temperate diet, and howe he was contented with common meates: a word (they say) he spake when he was verie sicke, and could tast no meate, is specially noted. For, to bring his stomake to him againe, his Phisitian willed him to eate a thrushe. So seeking all about to get him one, there was no thrushe to be bought for money, for they were out of season. Notwithstanding, one told him that he should not misse of them at *Lucullus* house, for he kept them vp all the yeare through. Why, what then, sayd he: if *Lucullus* ryot were not, should not *Pompey* liue? Therewithall, letting his Phisitians counsell alone, he made them dresse such meate as was euery where common. But of that we will speake more hereafter. Now *Pompey* being a young man, and in the fielde with his father, that was in armes against *Cinna*: there lay with him in his tent a companion of his, called *Lucius Terentius*, who being bribed with money, had promised *Cinna* to kill him, and other confederators also had promised to set their Captaines tent a fire. This conspiracy was reuealed vnto *Pompey* as he sate at supper, which nothing amated him at all, but he dranke freely, and was merrier with *Terentius* then of custome. So when it was bed time, he stale out of his owne tent, and went vnto his father to prouide for his safetie. *Terentius* thinkinge the hower come to attempt his enterprise, rose with his sword in his hande, and went to *Pompeys* bed where he was wont to lye, and gaue many a thrust into the matteresse. After he had done that, all the campe straight was in an vprore for the malice they bare vnto their Captaine, and the souldiers in all hast would needes haue gone and yeelded to their enemie, beginning alreadie to ouerthrowe their tentes, and to trusse away bagge and baggage. The Captaine for feare of this tumult, durst not come out of his tent: notwithstanding *Pompey* his sonne ranne amongest the mutinous souldiers, and humbly besought them with the teares in his eyes, not to doe their Captaine this villanie, and in fine threwe him selfe flatling to the grounde ouerthwart the gate of the campe, bidding them marche ouer him, if they had such a desire to be gone. The souldiers being ashamed of their follie, returned againe to their lodginge, and chaunging minde, reconciled them selues with their Captaine, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediatly after that *Strabo*, *Pompeys* father, was departed out of the worlde, *Pompey* beinge his heire, was accused for the father, to robbe the common treasure. Howebeit he confessed, and auowed, that it was *Alexander* one of his fathers infranchised bondemen that had stollen the most parte of it, and brought him in before the Iudges. Notwithstanding, he was accused him selfe, for taking away the toyles and arming cordes of hunters nettes, and bookes, that were taken at Asculum. He confessed the hauing of them, and that his father gaue him them when the citie was taken: howbeit that he had lost them sence, when *Cinna* returned vnto ROME with his souldiers, who breaking into his house by force, spoyled him of all that he had. His matter had many dayes of hearing before definitiue sen-

Flora the curtisan, was passing fayre.

The temperance of Pompey in dyet.

Plut. in vit. Lucull.

The treason of Lucius Terentius against Pompey.

Pompey accused for robbing the common treasure.

tence, in which time *Pompey* shewed him selfe of good spirite and vnderstanding, more than was looked for in one of his yeares: insomuch he wanne such fame and fauor by it, that *Antistius* being Prætor at that time, and iudge of his matter, fell into such a liking with him, that secretly he offered him his daughter in mariage. Then that matter being by frends broken to *Pompey*, he liked of the match, & the parties were secretly assured. This was not so closely conueyed, but the people perceiued it, by the care and paines *Antistius* tooke to fauor his matter. Insomuch, when the Iudges gaue iudgement, and cleered him: all the people together, as if they had bene agreed, cried out with one voyce, Talassio, Talassio, being the vsuall and common crie they vsed of olde time at mariages in Rome. This custome by reporte of auncient folke came vp in this manner. At what time the chiefest peeres and Lordes of Rome did ruishe the Sabines daughters, which came to Rome to see common sportes played: there chaunsed a fewe rascalls (as hoggeherdes or neatherdes) to carie away a goodly fayer woman. They fearing she should be taken from them, cried out in the streetes as they went, Talassio, as if they would haue sayd, she is for *Talassius*. This *Talassius* was a young gentleman well knowen, and beloued of most men: so that such as heard him but named only, did clappe their hands for ioy, & cried out with them, Talassio, commending the choyce they had made for him. So, hereof they say came this custome, that euer since they haue cried this word Talassio vnto them that are newly maried, bicause the mariage of that fayer young maid proued fortunate, and happy vnto *Talassius*. And this me thinkes soundeth neerest to the troth of that they reporte of this wedding crie of Talassio. Shortly after this iudgement geuen, *Pompey* maried *Antistia*. After that, going vnto *Cinnaes* campe, they wrongfully accused him for somewhat, whereupon he being afrayed, secretly stale away. Now when they could not finde him in *Cinnaes* campe, there ran straight a rumor abroade, that *Cinna* had put him to death. Therupon, they that of long time had maliced *Cinna*, did set vppon him for this occasion. But he thinking to saue him selfe by flying, was straight ouertaken by a priuate Captaine that followed him with his sworde drawen in his hande. *Cinna* seeing him, fell downe on his knees before him, and tooke his seale from his finger wherewith he sealed his letters, which was of great price, and offered it him. Tushe, sayd the Captaine, I come not to seale any couenaunt, but to chastice a villaine and cruell tyranne: and therewithall thrust his sword thorowe him, and slue him presently. *Cinna* being slaine in this sorte, *Carbo* succeeded him, and tooke the gouernment in hande, being a more cruell tyranne than the first. Shortly after came in *Sylla*, being wished for, and desired of the most parte of the Romanes, for the grieuous oppressions and miseries they endured, that they thought them selues happy to chaunge Gouernor for their citie was brought into such miserie, as hoping no more to see Rome recouer her lost libertie, they desired yet a more tollerable bondage. Now *Pompey* at that time was in a place of Italie called Picenvm (nowe the marches of Ancona) where he had certaine inheritaunce, but much more, great loue and good will of the cities for his fathers sake. He seeing that the noblest men of Rome forsooke their houses and goodes, to flie from all partes vnto *Syllaes* campe, as vnto a place of safetie: would not goe to him as a fugitiue and cast away to saue him selfe, without bringing him some power to increase his armie, but would honorably goe thither with an armie, as he that ment first to doe him selfe pleasure. So he felt the good will of the Picentines, who willingly tooke his parte, and reiected them that were sent by *Carbo*. Among them there was one *Vindius*, that stepping forth, said: that *Pompey* which came from schoole the last day, must now in hast be a Captaine. But they were so offended with his speech, that they straight dispatched him, and killed him out of hande. After that time, *Pompey* being but three and twentie yeare olde, tarying to receiue no authoritie from any man, tooke it apon him himself, & causing a tribunal to be set vp in the middest of the market place of Avximvm, a great populous city: he commaunded the two brethren called the *Ventidiani* (being the chiefest men of the citie, and they that for *Carboes* sake withstoode his doinges) without delay foorthwith to auoide the citie, and so beganne to leauie men, and to appoint Captaines, sergeaunts of bandes, Centeniers, and such other officers as appertaine to marshall discipline. Then he went to all the other cities of the same marches, and did the like. They that tooke parte with *Carbo*, fled euery man, and all the rest willingly yeelded vnto him: whereby

The cause of the crie of Talassio at mariages in Rome.

Pompey maried Antistia.

The death of Cinna.

Pompeyes first Captainshippe vnder Sylla.

Pompey was Chiefetaine of an army at 23. yeares of age.

The citie of Auximum.

whereby in shorte space he had gotten three whole legions togeather, munition to enterteine them, cartes, and all maner of beastes for cariage. In this sorte he tooke his iourney towarded *Sylla*, not in hast, as a man affrayed to be met with by the way, but by small iorneyes, staying still where he might hurt his enemy, causing the cities euery where as he came to reuolt from *Carbo*. Neuertheless, three Captaines of the contrarie parte, *Carinna*, *Gulius*, and *Brutius*, all three did sette apon *Pompey* together, not all in a fronte, nor of one side, but in three seuerall places they compassed him with their armies, thinking to haue made him sure at the first onset. This nothing amazed *Pompey*, but putting his force togeather in one place, he first marched against *Brutus*, hauing placed his horsemen (among the which he was him selfe in person) before the battell of his footemen. Now the men of armes of the enemie which were GAVLES, comming to geue charge apon him, he ranne one of the chiefest among them through with his launce, and slue him. The other GAVLES seeing him slaine, turned their backes, and brake their owne footemen: so that at length they all fled for life. Thereupon the Captaines fell out among them selues, and some fled one way, some an other way, the best they could. Then the townes round about, thinking that they were dispersed for feare: came all in to *Pompey*, and yeelded them selues. Afterwardes *Scipio* the Consull comming against *Pompey* to fight with him, when both battels were in maner ready to ioyne: before they came to throwing of their dartes, *Scipioes* souldiers saluted *Pompeys* men, and went on their side. So *Scipio* was driuen to flie. And in fine, *Carbo* him selfe hauing sent after him diuers troupes of horsemen by the riuer of Arsis: *Pompey* made towards them, and did so fiercely assaile them, that he draue them into such places, as was almost impossible for horsemen to come into. Whereupon, they seeing no way to scape, yeelded them selues, horse and armor, all to his mercie. *Sylla* all this while heard no newes of these ouerthrowes: wherefore, as soone as he vnderstoode of it, fearing least *Pompey* should miscarie, being enuironned with so many Captaines of his enemies, he made hast to marche towardes him for to aide him. *Pompey* vnderstanding of his approache, commaunded his Captaines to arme their men, and to put them in battell ray, that their Generall might see them brauely appointed when he should present them vnto him: for he looked that *Sylla* would doe him great honor, & in deede he did him more honor, then *Pompey* looked for. For, when *Sylla* saw him a farre of comming towardes him, and his armie marshalled in so good order of battell, and such goodly men, that so brauely aduaunced them selues, being coragious for the victorie they had obtained of their enemies: he lighted a foote. When *Pompey* also came to doe his duety to him, and called him Imperator: (as much as Emperour, or soueraine Prince) *Sylla* resaluted him with the selfe name, beyonde all mens expectacion present, litle thinking that he would haue geuen so honorable a name, vnto so young a man as *Pompey*, who had not yet bene Senator: considering that he him selfe did contende for that title and dignitie, with the faction of *Marius* and *Scipio*. Furthermore, the entertainment that *Sylla* gaue him euery way, was answerable to his first kindnes offered him. For when *Pompey* came before him, he would rise and put of his cappe to him, which he did not vnto many other noble men about him. All this notwithstanding, *Pompey* gloried nothing the more in him selfe. Wherefore when *Sylla* would straight haue sent him into GAVLE, because *Metellus* that was there, was thought to haue done no exployte worthie of so great an armie as he had with him: *Pompey* answered him againe, that he thought it no reason to displace an auncient Captaine that was of greater fame and experience than him selfe. Yet if *Metellus* of him selfe were contented, and would intreate him: that he would willingly goe and helpe him to ende this warre. *Metellus* was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then *Pompey* entring GAVLE, did of him selfe wonderfull exploytes, and did so reuiue *Metellus* olde corage and valliantnes to fight, which now beganne to faint, like boyling copper that being poored vpon the colde and hard copper, doth melt and dissolue it, as fast or faster, then fire it selfe. For like as of a wrestler, who hath bene counted very strong, and the chiefest in all games, hauing euer borne the price away where he hath wrestled, they neuer recorde among them his childishe victories and wrestlinges, as thinges of no account: euen so I am affrayed to speake of the wonderfull deedes that *Pompey* did in his childhoode, bicause they are obscured, in respect of the infinite great warres and battells which he had wonne afterwardes. For I am affrayed that whi-

Pompey goeth vnto Sylla.

Pompeys victories of the Marians.

Pompey ioyned with Sylla.

Pompey called Imperator of Sylla.

The honor Sylla did vnto Pompey.

Pompey went to aide Metellus in Gaule.

Wonderfull victories of Pompey.

leſt I ſhould go about particularly to acquaint you with his firſt beginnings, I ſhould too lightly paſſe ouer his chiefeſt actes and moſt notable enterpriſes, which do beſt declare his naturall diſpoſition and ſingular wit. Now when *Sylla* had ouercome all ITALIE, and was proclaimed Dictator: he did reward all his Lieutenaunts and Captaines that had taken his parte, and did aduance them to honorable place & dignity in the common wealth, frankely graunting them all that they requeſted of him. But for *Pompey*, reuerencing him for his valliantnes, & thinking that he would be a great ſtay to him in all his warres: he ſought by ſome meanes to allie him to him. *Metella* his wife being of his opinion, they both perſwaded *Pompey* to put away his firſt wife *Antiſtia*, and to marrie *AEmylia* the daughter of *Metella*, and of her firſt husband, the which alſo was an other mans wife, and with childe by her husbande. Theſe mariages were cruell and tyrannicall, fitter for *Syllaes* time, rather then agreable to *Pompeys* nature and condicion: to ſee *AEmylia*, this new maried wife taken from her lawfull husbande, to marrie her great with childe, and ſhamefully to forſake *Antiſtia*, who not long before had loſt her father, and for reſpect of her husbande that did put her away. For *Antiſtius* was murdered within the very Senate houſe, being ſuſpected to take parte with *Sylla* for his ſonne in lawe *Pompeys* ſake: and her mother voluntarily put her ſelfe to death, ſeeinge her daughter receiued ſuch open wrong. By theſe apparant cauſes, theſe vnfortunate mariages fell out into a miſerable tragedie, by meanes of the death of *AEmylia*, who ſhortly after miſerably dyed with childe in *Pompeys* houſe. Then came newes to *Sylla*, that *Perpenna* was gotten into SICILE, and that he had made all that Ilande at his deuotion, as a ſafe place to receiue all *Syllaes* enemies: that *Carbo* alſo kept the ſea thereabboutes with a certaine number of ſhippes: that *Domitius* alſo was gone into AFRICKE: and diuers other noble men that were baniſhed, that had ſcaped his proſcriptions and outlawryes, were all in thoſe partes. Againſt them was *Pompey* ſent with a great armie. Howebeit he no ſooner arriued in SICILE, but *Perpenna* left him the whole Ilande, and went his way. There he fauorably delt with all the cities, which before had abidden great trouble and miſerie, and ſet them againe at libertie, the MAMERTINES only excepted, which dwelt in the citie of MESSINA. They deſpiſing his tribunall and iuriſdiction, alleaged the auncient order & priuiledge of the ROMANES, ſet downe in times paſt amongeſt them. But *Pompey* aunſwered them in choller: what doe ye prattle to vs of your law, that haue our ſwords by our ſides? It ſeemeth alſo that *Pompey* delt too cruellie with *Carbo* in his miſerie. For ſith he muſt needes dye, as there was no remedie but he ſhould: then it had bene better they had killed him when he was taken. For then they would haue imputed it to his malice, that ſo had commaunded it. But *Pompey* after he was taken, made him to be brought before him that had bene thriſe Conſull at ROME to be openly examined, and he ſitting in his chaire of ſtate or tribunall condemned him to dye in preſence of them all: to the great offence and miſliking of euery one that was preſent. So *Pompey* bad them take him away, and carie him to execution. When *Carbo* came to the ſcaffold where he ſhould be executed, and ſeeing the ſword drawen that ſhould ſtrike of his head: he prayed the executioners to geue him a litle reſpit and place to vntruſſe a poynt, for he had a paine in his bellie. *Caius Oppius* alſo (one of *Iulius Cæſars* frends) wryteth, that he delt verie cruelly in like maner with *Quintus Valerius*. For *Pompey*, ſayd he, knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, and fewe like vnto him: when he was brought vnto him, he tooke him a ſide, and walked a fewe turnes about: then when he had queſtioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commaunded his gard to carie him away, and to diſpatche him. Howbeit we may not geue too light credit to all that *Oppius* writeth, ſpeaking of *Iulius Cæſars* frendes or foes. For *Pompey* in deede was compelled to make away the greateſt perſonages of *Syllaes* enemies that fell into his handes, being notoriouſly taken: but for the reſt, all thoſe that he could ſecretly ſuffer to ſteale away, he was contented to winke at it, and would not vnderſtand it: and moreouer did helpe ſome beſides to ſaue them ſelues. Nowe *Pompey* was determined to haue taken ſharpe reuenge of the citie of the HIMERIANS, which had ſtowtly taken the enemies parte. But *Sthenis*, one of the Gouernours of the citie, craning audience of *Pompey*, tolde him he ſhould doe them wrong and iniuſtice, if he ſhould pardon him that committed all the fault, and ſhould deſtroy them that had not offended. *Pompey* then asking him, what he was that durſt take vppon him to father the

Pompey put away his wife Antiſtia, and maried AEmylia, the daughter of Metella, Syllaes wife.

The death of Antiſtius.

Pompey ſent from Sylla into Sicile.

Lawe muſt gene place to armes.

The death of Carbo.

The death of Q. Valerius.

A the offence of them all. *Sthenis* aunſwered ſtraight, that it was him ſelfe that had perſwaded his frendes, and compelled his enemies to doe that which they did. *Pompey* being pleaſed to heare the franke ſpeech & boldnes of this man, firſt forgaue him the fault he had committed, and conſequently all the other HIMERIANS. *Pompey* vnderſtanding that his ſouldiers did kill diuers men in the high wayes, he ſealed vp all their ſwordes, & whoſe ſeale ſoeuer was broken, he was well fauoredly puniſhed. *Pompey* being buſie about theſe matters in SICILE, receiued letters & commiſſion from *Sylla* and the Senate, to departe thence immediatly into AFRICKE, to make warre vpon *Domitius*, with all his power, who had leauied already more men of warre, than *Marius* had, not long before, when he came out of AFRICKE into ITALIE: and had there ouerthrowen all the ROMANES doinges, being become of a fugitiue outlaw, a cruell tyranne.

The bolde ſpeache of Sthenis.

Pompey ſealed vp his ſouldiers ſwordes.

B *Pompey* thereupon hauing ſpeedily put him ſelfe in readines to take the ſeaes, left *Memmius* his ſiſters husband Gouernor of SICILE: and ſo him ſelfe imbarked, & hoyſed ſaile with ſix ſcore gallies, and eight hundred other ſhippes or bottomes, to tranſport their vittells, munition, money, engines of batterie, and all other cariage whatſoeuer. After he was landed with all his fleete, parte at VTICA, and parte at CARTHAGE: there ſtraight came to him ſeuen thowſand ſouldiers from the enemies, & yelded the ſelues, beſides ſeuen whole legions that he brought with him. They ſay moreouer, that at his arriuall, he had a pleaſaunt chaunce happened vnto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certaine of his ſouldiers ſtumbled on a treaſure by chaunce, and got thereby a great maſſe of money. The reſidue of the armie hearing that, thought ſure that the field where this treaſure was found, was full of golde and ſiluer, which

Pompeis iorney into Africke vnder Sylla, againſt Domitius.

C the CARTHAGINIANS had hidden there long before in time of their calamitie. *Pompey* hereuppon, for many dayes after, coulde haue no rule of his ſouldiers, neither coulde he chooſe but laugh, to ſee ſo many thowſande men digging the grounde, and turning vp the fielde: vntill in the ende they wearied them ſelues, and came and prayed him then to lead them where he thought good, for they had payed well for their follie. *Domitius* came to *Pompey* with his army ſet in battel ray. Howbeit there was a certaine quamyre before him that ran with a ſwift running ſtreame, verie ill to get ouer: beſides that, from the verie breake of day it had poored downe and rained ſo faſt, and was ſo great a winde withall, that *Domitius* thinking all that day they ſhoud not fight, commaunded his people to truſſe away, and remoue. *Pompey* on thother ſide, finding this an excellent fit occaſion for him, ſodainly made his men to march, and

Domitius camped by Pompey with his army.

D paſſed ouer the valley. The enemies perceiuing that, being altogether out of order: were marueloſly amazed, and in that hurly burly would haue made reſiſtaunce. But they were neither all together, nor yet euenly ſet in battell ray, and had beſides the winde beating the raine full in their faces. So did the ſtorme much hurt vnto the ROMANES alſo, for they coulde not one ſee an other: inſomuch as *Pompey* him ſelfe was in great daunger of being killed by one of his owne ſouldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the word of the battell, and he was ſomewhat long before he anſwered him. In fine, when he had ouerthrowen his enemies with great ſlaughter: (for they ſay, that of twenty thowſand of them, there were but three thowſand ſaued) *Pompeis* ſouldiers ſaluted him by the name of Imperator. But he aunſwered them, that he would not accept the honor of that name, ſo long as he ſaw his enemies campe yet ſtanding:

Pompeis victory of Domitius.

E and therefore, if it were ſo they thought him worthie of that name, that firſt they ſhould ouerthrow the trenche and forte of the enemies, wherein they had intrenched their campe. The ſouldiers when they heard him ſay ſo, went preſently to aſſault it. There *Pompey* fought bare headed, to auoide the like daunger he was in before. By this meanes they tooke the campe by force, and in it ſlewe *Domitius*. After that ouerthrowe, the cities in that contrie came and yeelded them ſelues, ſome willingly, and others taken by force: as alſo they tooke king *Iarbas*, that had fought for *Domitius*, and his realme was geuen to *Hiempſall*. But *Pompey*, being deſirous further to employ his power, and the good fortune of his armie, went many dayes iorney into the maine lande, and ſtill conquered all where he came, making the power of the ROMANES dreadfull vnto all the barbarous people of that contrie, the which made but ſmall

Domitius ſlaine.

Pompey ſoake king Iarbas.

F account of them at that time. He ſayd moreouer, that the wilde beaſtes of AFRICKE alſo ſhould feele the force and good ſucceſſe of the ROMANES: and thereupon he beſtowed a few dayes in hunting of Lyons and Elephantes. For it is reported, that in fortie dayes ſpace at the

Pompeis conqueſtes at 24. yeares of age.

vttermoſt, he had ouercome his enemies, ſubdued AFRICKE, and had ſtabliſhed the affaires of the kinges and kingdomes of all that contry, being then but foure and twenty yeare old. So when he returned vnto the citie of VTICA, letters were brought from *Sylla*, willing him to diſcharge all his army, and to remaine there with one legion only, tarying the comming of another Captaine that ſhould be ſent to ſucceede him in the gouernment of that contrie. This commaundement, grieued him not a litle, though he made no ſhewe of it at all: but his ſouldiers ſhewed plainly that they were offended. For when *Pompey* prayed them to departe, they began to geue out broade ſpeeches againſt *Sylla*, and told directly that they were not determined (whatſoeuer became of them) to forſake him, and they would not that he ſhould truſt vnto a tyran. *Pompey* ſeeing that he could not perſwade them, by any reaſon to be quiet, roſe out of his chayer, and retyred into his tent weeping. But the ſouldiers followed him, and brought him againe to his chayer of ſtate, where he ſpent a great parte of the day, they intreating him to remaine there & commaund them, and he deſiring them to obey *Sylla*, and leaue their mutinies. But in fine, ſeeing thē importunate to preſſe him to it, he ſware he would kill him ſelfe, rather then they ſhould compell him: yet they ſcant left him thus. Hereupon it was reported vnto *Sylla*, that *Pompey* was rebelled againſt him. *Sylla* when he heard that, ſayd to his frendes: well, then I ſee it is my deſtiny, in mine olde dayes to fight with children. He ment ſo, bicauſe of *Marius* the younger, who had done him much miſchiefe, and had beſides put him in great daunger. But afterwards vnderſtanding the troth, and hearing that all generally in ROME were determined to goe and meete *Pompey*, and to receiue him with all the honor they coulde: bicauſe he would goe beyond them all in ſhew of good will, he went out of his houſe to meete him, and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnus, to ſay great, and commaunded all them that were preſent to geue him that name alſo. This notwithſtanding, ſome ſay, that it was in AFRICKE this name was firſt geuen him by a common crie of all his whole army, and that afterwards it was confirmed by *Sylla*. In dede it is true that *Pompey* him ſelfe being ſent Proconſul into SPAYNE long time after that, was the laſt that ſubſcribed all his letters and commiſſions with the name of *Pompey* the great: for this name then was ſo commonly knowen and accepted, as no man did enuy it. And therefore rightly is the wiſedom of the auncient ROMANES, to be both commended & had in admiration: which did not only reward ſeruice in the field with ſuch honorable names & titles, but ciuill ſeruice and good gouernment alſo in peace at home. For there were two whom the people at ROME called Maximi, to ſay, very great: of the which *Valerius* was the one, for that he made peace and agreement betwext the people and Senate. The other was *Fabius Rullus*, for that he put from the Senate certaine bondmen infranchiſed, who through their riches and fauor had obtained that place. After that, *Pompey* required the honor of triumphe, but *Sylla* denied it, alleaging that none could enter in triumphe into ROME, but Conſulls or Prætors. For ſith *Scipio* the firſt who in SPAYNE had ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS, neuer deſired this honor of triumphe, being neither Conſull nor Prætor: much leſſe ſhould he ſtande apon demaund of triumphe into ROME, when that through his young yeares he was not yet a Senator: and beſides, it would purchaſe him enuy of his honor and greatnes. Theſe reaſons did *Sylla* alleage againſt *Pompey*, and told him plainly that if he were bent to ſtand in it, he would reſiſt him. All this blanked not *Pompey*, who told him frankely againe, how men did honor the riſing, not the ſetting of the ſunne: meaning thereby, how his owne honor encreaſed, and *Syllaes* diminiſhed. *Sylla* heard him not very perfectly what he ſayd, but perceiuing by their countenaunces that ſtoode by, that they wondred at it, he asked what it was he ſayd. When it was tolde him, he maruelled at the boldnes of ſo young a man, and then cried out twiſe together, let him then triumphe a Gods name. Many being offended therewith, *Pompey* (as it is reported) to anger them more, would needes be brought in in triumphant charriot drawen with foure Elephants: for he had taken many of them from thoſe kings and Princes which he had ſubdued. Howbeit the gate of the city being too narrowe, he was driuen to leaue the Elephantes, and was contented to be drawen in with horſes. Now his ſouldiers that had not all things as they looked for, and which was promiſed them, going about to trouble and hinder his triumphe: he ſayd he paſſed not for it, & that he would rather let alone all his preparation of triumphe, then

The loue of the ſouldiers vnto Pompey.

Pompey called Magnus, by Sylla.

The wiſedom of the Romanes commended for rewardinge foreine and home ſeruice. Valerius and Rullus called Maximi, in Rome.

Pompeis ſtout aunſwere vnto Sylla.

Pompey not being Senator, triumpheth againſt the law.

A then once to yeeld to flatter them. Whereuppon, there was a famous man at that time called *Seruilius*, who at the firſt was one of the chiefeſt againſt *Pompeys* triumphe, who ſayd openly: now I know that *Pompey* in deede is great, & deſerueth triumphe. Being euident enough, that if he would, he might then haue eaſily bene made Senator: he ſued not for that, but as they ſay, ſought honor by a ſtraunger meane leſſe honorable. For if he had bene made Senator ſo young, it had not bene ſo great a matter: but to haue ſuch honor before he was Senator, that was maruelouſly to be noted. But this wanne him the more fauor and good will ſtill amongeſt the common people: for they were glad when after his triumphe they ſaw him in companie amongeſt the ROMANE Knights. On thother ſide it ſpighted *Sylla* to ſee him come ſo faſt forward, and to riſe to ſo great credit: notwithſtanding, being aſhamed to hinder him, he was
B contented to kepe it to him ſelfe, vntill that *Pompey* by force & againſt *Syllaes* will, had brought *Lepidus* to be Conſull, by the helpe and good will of the people that furdered his deſire. Ther- uppon *Sylla* ſeeing *Pompey* returning ouerthwart the market place from the election, with a great traine of followers to honor him, he ſayd vnto him: O young man, I ſee thou art glad of this victory, and ſo haſt thou cauſe, for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to haue had ſuch fa- uor of the people, as for thy ſake to haue made *Lepidus* Conſull (the vileſt perſon of all men) before *Catulus* the honeſteſt man of the citie. But I will tell thee one thing, ſee that thou ſleepe not, and looke well to thy buſines, for thou haſt aduaunced a daungerous enemy to thy ſelfe. Now the chiefeſt thing wherein *Sylla* diſcouered moſt his ill will vnto *Pompey*, was in his laſt will and teſtament: for he gaue legacies vnto euery one of his frendes, and ſome of them he
C made tutors & ouerſeers of his ſonne, but he made no mencion of *Pompey* at all. This notwith- ſtanding, *Pompey* tooke it well enough. And where *Lepidus* and ſome other would haue kept *Syllaes* body from buriall in the field of *Mars*, and that his funeralls ſhould not be openly ſo- lemniſed: he contrarywiſe brought him very honorably and ſafely to the ground. Shortly af- ter *Syllaes* death, his wordes of prophecie vnto *Pompey* concerning *Lepidus*, proued true. For *Lepidus* vſurping the authoritie which *Sylla* had before, not colourablie, but openly entred ſtraight in armes, ſturring vp againe thoſe of *Marius* faction, whom *Sylla* could not be reuen- ged of, and which lay lurking a long time, ſpying for occaſion to riſe againe. True it is that his colleague, and fellow Conſull *Catulus* (whom the beſt and ſoundeſt parte of the people follo- wed) was thought a maruelous honeſt man, both iuſt and modeſt: howbeit, a better Gouer-
D nor in peace, then a good man of warre, inſomuch as time required *Pompeys* skill and expe- rience. So *Pompey* ſtoode not doubtfull which way he would diſpoſe him ſelfe, but tooke parte ſtraight with the nobility and honeſteſt men, & was preſently choſen Captaine of their armie againſt *Lepidus*: who had already wonne the greateſt parte of ITALIE, and with an army vn- der the conduct of *Brutus*, kept GAVLE on this ſide the mountaines, called GALLIA CISAL- PINA. And for the reſt, *Pompey* eaſily ouercame it: howbeit he lay a long time before MODO- NA, beſieging of *Brutus*. In the meane ſeaſon *Lepidus* came to ROME, & being hard at the walls demaunding the ſecond Conſulſhip, made them affrayed in the city with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all ſortes. Howebeit this feare was cooled ſtraight, by a letter which *Pompey* wrote to ROME, aduertiſing how he had ended this warre
E without any bloodſhed: for *Brutus*, either betraying his army, or being betrayed of it, yeelded him ſelfe vnto *Pompey*, who gaue him a certaine number of horſemen that conducted him to a litle towne apon the riuer of Poe: where the next day after, *Geminius* being ſent by *Pompey*, ſlue him. But hereof *Pompey* was greatly blamed, for that he had wrytten letters to the Senate from the beginning of the chaunge, how *Brutus* had put him ſelfe into his handes: and after- wardes wrote letters to the contrary, which burdened him for putting of him to death. This *Brutus* was father of that *Brutus*, which afterwardes with the helpe of *Caſſius* ſlue *Iulius Ceſar*: howbeit he ſhewed not him ſelfe ſo like a coward, neither in warres nor in his death, as his fa- ther did. As we haue declared more at large in his life. Furthermore, *Lepidus* being driuen to forſake ITALIE, fled into SARDINIA, where he dyed (as it is reported) of a ſickeneſſe that he
F had, not for any ſorowe or griefe of his owne affayers, but for a letter that was brought him which went to his hart, knowing thereby that his wife had played the harlot. There remained at that time *Sertorius* in SPAYNE, who was an other maner of warrier then *Lepidus*, & that kept

Marcus Lepidus created Conſull.

Sylla fallen from the loue of Pompey.

Lepidus moueth ciuill warre.

Brutus the father, ſlaine by Pompey.

The death of Lepidus.

the ROMANES in great awe: for that all the fugitiues of the late ciuill warres were fled to him, as from the last disease of the warres. He had already ouerthrowen many inferior Captaines, & was now wrestling with *Metellus Pius*, that in his youth had bene a noble souldier, but now being old, made warres but slowly, and would not coragiously take present occasions offered him, which *Sertorius* by his nimblenes and dexterity tooke out of his hands. For he would euer houer about him, when he thought least of him, like a Captaine rather of theeues then of souldiers, and would still lay ambushes in euery corner, and round about him: where the good old man *Metellus* had learned to fight in battell ray, his men being heauy armed. Hereuppon *Pompey* keping his army alway together, practised at ROME, that he might be sent into SPAYNE to aide *Metellus*. But *Catulus*, notwithstanding that he commaunded him to disperse his army, *Pompey* still kept them together by colour of new deuises, and was continually about ROME in armes, vntill that by *Lucius Philippus* meanes he had obtained the gouernment of that contry. They say that one of the Senators marueling to heare *Philip* propound that matter to the Senate, asked him: how now *Philip*, dost thou then thinke it meete to send *Pompey* Proconsull (to say, for a Consull) into SPAYNE? No truely sayd *Philip*, not Proconsull only, but pro Consulibus: (to say, for both the Consulls) meaning, that both the Consulls for that yeare were men of no value. Now when *Pompey* was arriued in SPAYNE, men began straight to be caried away, (as the maner is commonly where new Gouernors be) with the hope of a thing that they had not before. Thereuppon *Sertorius* gaue out prowde and bitter words against *Pompey*, saying in mockery, he would haue no other weapon but roddes to whippe this young boy, if he were not affrayed of this old woman: meaning *Metellus* the old man. But notwithstanding these gallant bragges, he stoode better vpon his gard, and went stronger to fight then he did before, being affrayed of *Pompey*. For *Metellus* was very dissolute of life (which no man would haue iudged in him) and was geuen ouer too much to riot and pleasure: howbeit they saw in him a maruelous sodaine chaunge both of his pompe & glory which he vsed before, as also the cuttinge of of his superfluous expence. That thinge, besides that he did honor *Pompey* greatly by it, wan him also much more the good will of the people, when they saw that he drew him selfe downe to a straighter life. And this was no great paine to him, for of his owne disposition he was a graue man, & temperatly geuen for his desires. In this warre fortune chaunged diuerslly, as it is commonly seene in warres: but nothing grieued *Pompey* more then *Sertorius* winning of the city of LAVRON. For he thinking to haue shut him in, & had geuen out some glorious wordes of the matter: wondred when he saw him selfe straight compassed in, that he could not sturre out of the campe where he lay, and was driuen besides to see the citie burnt before his face. This notwithstanding, afterwardes at a set battell by the citie of VALENTIA, he slue *Herennius* and *Perpenna*, both notable souldiers and *Sertorius* Lieutenauntes, and with them ten thowsand men. This victory so encoraged *Pompey*, that he made hast to fight with *Sertorius* alone, bicause *Metellus* should haue no parte of the honor of the victory. So they both met by the riuer of Sucron, about sunne set, both fearing *Metellus* comming: the one that he might fight alone, and the other with one alone. In fine, the victory fell out doutfull in the end of the battell: for either of their winges had the vpper hand. Betwene the two Captaines, *Sertorius* had the greater honor: for he alone ouercame all them that stoode before him. And as for *Pompey*, there was a great man of armes that being a foote, came and set vpon him, and hauing both their swordes in their handes, they both lighted apon their handes, but not both in one sorte: for *Pompeys* hand was but a litle hurt, and the man of armes had his hand cleane cut of. Then *Pompeys* men fell apon him, all his owne fellowes on that side being fled from him: notwithstanding, beyond all hope, he saued him selfe after a straunge sorte, by casting vp his horse among his enemies, that was richly trapped with gilt harnes, hauing a caparison of great value: and in the meane time, while they were busie deuiding this booty among them, and fighting for it; he scaped their handes. The next morning by breake of day, both of them againe brought their bandes into the fielde, to confirme the victory, which either of them supposed they had gotten. But *Metellus* came to *Pompey* at that present time, whereupon *Sertorius* went his way, and dispersed his army: for his campe was easily broken, & sodainly gathered againe together. For *Sertorius* would somtime wander the fieldes alone, and at an other time againe he

The valliantnes of Sertorius in Spayne.

Pompeys iorney into Spayne against Sertorius.

Metellus geuen to ryot & pleasure.

Sertorius wan the city of Lauron in the sight of Pompey.

Pompey slue Herennius & Perpenna.

Battell betwext Pompey and Sertorius.

Sucron fl.

A he would haue a hundred and fifty thowſande fighting men together in the fielde, like a vehement ſtreame that ſomtime is dried vp, and that ſodainly againe is all of a flood. *Pompey* after this battell going to welcome *Metellus*, when they came neere one an other, he commaunded his ſergeauntes and officers to put downe their bundell of roddes and axes which they caried before him, to honor *Metellus* withall, who was a better man than him ſelfe. But *Metellus* would not ſuffer them, but ſhewed him ſelfe equall with him in that, and in all thinges elſe, not reſpecting his ſeniority, nor that he had bene Conſull, & *Pompey* not, ſauing when they camped together, *Metellus* gaue the watch word to all the campe. Notwithſtanding, commonly they camped a ſunder, for their enemy that was ſo flitting from place to place, and was ſeene in ſo ſundry places in ſo ſhort time, compelled them to be a ſunder to foreſee the worſt, draw-

The modeſty of Pompey & Metellus.

B ing them ſodainly from one purpoſe to an other: ſo that in fine, cutting them of from vittells euery way, ſpoyling their contry, and keeping the ſea ſide, he draue them both out of the prouinces of their charge which they had in SPAYNE, and did compell them to goe ſome other where, for lacke of vittels. *Pompey* in the meane time hauing ſpent the moſt parte of his goods in this warre, ſent to ROME for money to pay his ſouldiers, threatning the Senate, that if they ſent him no money, he woulde returne with his armie into ITALIE. *Lucullus* then beinge Conſull, though *Pompeys* enemy, procured they ſhould ſend him money: for he practiſed to be ſent Captaine againſt king *Mithridates*, and therefore was affrayed to geue *Pompey* any occaſion to returne, who deſired nothing more then to leaue *Sertorius*, to bend his force againſt *Mithridates*, whoſe ouerthrow ſhould be more honorable to him, and alſo leſſe daungerous.

C In the meane ſpace, *Sertorius* dyed, being betrayed by thoſe whom he thought his frendes, among the which *Perpenna* was the chiefe man, that after *Sertorius* death would needes counterfeate his doinges, hauing the ſame meanes, the ſame furniture, and the ſame power that he had: howbeit he lacked his wit, and skill to employ them. *Pompey* therefore marching directly towardes him, and finding how ignorant *Perpenna* was in his affayers: he layed a bayte for him of ten cohorts which he ſent to praye in the fields, commaunding them to diſperſe them ſelues abroad as farre as they could, one from an other. *Perpenna* ſtraight tooke the occaſion, and gaue them charge, and had them in chaſe. But *Pompey* tarying him at the ford, was ready for him with all his army ſet in order: he gaue him battell, obtained the victory, and ended all

Pompey ouertaue Perpenna, and ſlue him.

D this warre, bicauſe the moſt of the Captaines were ſlaine in the field, and *Perpenna* the chiefe of all taken priſoner, whom he preſently put to death. But herein *Pompey* was not to be condemned of ingratitude nor obliuion (as ſome do burden him) of *Perpennaes* frendſhip ſhewed him in SICILE, but rather deſerued praiſe to haue determined ſo wiſely for benefit of the common wealth. For *Perpenna* hauing in his cuſtody all *Sertorius* wrytings, he ſhewed letters of the greateſt noble men of ROME, (which were deſirous of chaunge of gouernment) willing him to returne into ITALIE. *Pompey* vpon ſight of theſe letters, fearing leaſt they would breede greater ſedition & ſturre in ROME, then that which was already pacified: put *Perpenna* to death as ſoone as he could, and burnt all his papers and wrytinges, not reading any letter of them.

Pompey burnt Sertorius letters: the like alſo did Iulius Ceſar whē he ouercame Pompey.

Then *Pompey* remaining in SPAYNE a certaine time, till he had pacified all commocions and tumultes, marueloufly out of order: he brought his army backe againe into ITALIE, and arri-

E ued there when the warre of the bondmen and fenſers led by *Spartacus*, was in greateſt furie. Vpon his comming therefore, *Craſſus* being ſent Captaine againſt theſe bondmen, made haſt to geue them battell, which he wan, and ſlue twelue thowſand, three hundred of theſe fugitiue ſlaues. Notwithſtāding, fortune meaning to geue *Pompey* ſome parte of this honor, fiue thowſand of theſe bondmen eſcaping from the battell, fell into his hands. Whereupon, he hauing ouercome them, wrote vnto the Senate that *Craſſus* had ouercome the fenſers in battell, and that he had pluckt vp this warre by the rootes. The ROMANES receiuing *Pompeys* letters, were very glad of this newes for the loue they bare him. But as for the winning of SPAYNE againe, and the ouerthrow of *Sertorius*, there was no man, although it were in ſporte, that euer gaue any man elſe the honor, but vnto *Pompey* only. For all this great honor and loue they bare vn-

Pompey ouercame the reſt of the bondemen.

F to *Pompey*, yet they did ſuſpect him, and were affrayed of him, bicauſe he did not diſperſe his army, that he would follow *Syllaes* ſteppes, to rule alone by plaine force. Hereuppon, as many went to meete him for feare, as there were that went for good will they bare him. But after

he had put this ſuſpicion quite out of their heades, telling them that he would diſcharge his armie after he had triumphed: then his illwillers could blame him for nothing elſe, but that he was more enclined to the people then to the nobilitie, and that he had a deſire to reſtore the Tribuneſhippe of the people, which *Sylla* had put downe, only to gratifie the common people in all he could: the which in deede was true. For the common people at Rome neuer longed for thing more, than they did to ſee the office of the Tribune ſette vp againe. Yea, *Pompey* him ſelfe thought it the happieſt turne that euer came to him, to light in ſuch a time, to doe ſuch an acte. For, had any other man preuented him of that, he coulde neuer haue founde the like occaſion poſſiblie to haue requited the peoples good willes vnto him, ſo much as in that. Nowe therefore, his ſeconde triumphe and firſt Conſullſhippe being decreed by the Senate: that made him nothinge the greater, or better man. And yet was it a ſhewe and ſignification of his greatneſſe, the which *Craſſus* (the richeſt man, the eloquenteſt and greateſt perſon of all them that at that time delt in matters of ſtate, and made more eſtimacion of him ſelfe then of *Pompey* and all the reſt) neuer durſt once demaunde: before he had craued *Pompeys* goodwill. *Pompey* was very glad of his requeſt, and had ſought occaſion of long time to pleaſure him: and thereupon made earneſt ſute vnto the people for him, aſſuringe them he would as much thanke them for making *Craſſus* his colleague and fellowe Conſull, as he would, for making him ſelfe Conſull. All this notwithſtandinge, when they were created Conſulls, they were in all thinges contrarie one to an other, and neuer agreed in any one thing while they were Conſulls together. *Craſſus* had more authority with the Senate, but *Pompey* had more credit with the people. For he reſtored them the office of the Tribune, and paſſed by edict, that the Knightes of Rome ſhould haue full power againe to iudge cauſes ciuill and criminall. It was a pleaſaunt ſight alſo to the people, when he came vnto the Cenſors in perſon, to pray that he might be diſpenſt with for goinge to the warres. For it was an auncient cuſtome in Rome, that the Knightes of Rome hauinge ſerued a certaine time in the warres appointed by their order, ſhould bring their horſe in the middeſt of the market place before the two Cenſors, declaring euery Captaine vnder whome they had ſerued, in what iorneys and contries they had bene, and hauinge alſo deliuered accompt of their good behauior and ſeruice, they then prayed to be diſmiſſed from the warres. Noweif it appeared that they had done good ſeruice, there were they honorablie rewarded: otherwiſe openly ſhamed and puniſhed. At that time, *Gellius* and *Lentulus* the two Cenſors being honorablie ſette in their tribunall or iudgement ſeate, taking viewe of all the Romane Knightes that muſtered before them, to be ſeene and examined: they marueled when they ſawe *Pompey* comminge at the further ende of the market place, hauinge all the markes of a Conſull borne before him, and him ſelfe leading his horſe in his hande by the bridle. When *Pompey* came neerer, and that they ſawe it was he, he commaunded his ſergeauntes that caried the axes before him, to make roome for him to paſſe by the barres with his horſe, where the Cenſors ſate. Then the people flocked about him, wondering and reioycing, being verie ſilent. The Cenſors them ſelues alſo were maruelous glad to ſee him ſo obedient to the lawe, and did him great reuerence. In fine, the elder of the Cenſors, did examine him in this ſorte. *Pompey* the great, I pray thee tell me if thou haſt ſerued ſo long time in the warres, as the lawe doth appoint? Then aunſwered *Pompey* alowde: yes verily that I haue, and vnder no other Captaine then my ſelfe. The people hearing that aunſwere, made an open ſhowte for ioy, they were ſo glad to heare it: and the Cenſors them ſelues came from their iudgement ſeate, and went to accompanie *Pompey* home to his houſe, to pleaſe the great multitude of people that followed him, clapping of their handes, with great ſignes of ioy. At the ende of their Conſulſhippe, when miſlikinge increaſed further betwext *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, there was one *Gaius Aurelius*, of the order of Knighthoode, who till that time neuer ſpake in open aſſembly, but then got vp into the pulpit for orations, and tolde the people openly: how *Iupiter* had appeared to him in the night, and had commaunded him to tell both the Conſulls from him, that they ſhould not leaue their charge and office, before they were reconciled together. For all theſe wordes *Pompey* ſturred not. But *Craſſus* firſt tooke him by the hand, and ſpake openly to him before the people. My Lordes, I thinke not my ſelfe diſhonored to geue

Pompey and Craſſus firſt Conſullſhippe.

The cuſtome of the Knights in Rome.

Pompey as a Knight of Rome, ſueth to be diſcharged from the warres.

Pompey ſubmitteth him ſelfe to the Cenſors.

place

A place to *Pompey*, sith you your selues haue thought him worthie to be called, the great, before he had any heare of his face, and vnto whom you graunted the honor of two triumphes before he came to be Senator. When he had sayd his minde, they were made frendes together, and so surrendred vp their office. Now for *Crassus*, he held on his former maner of life which he had begon. *Pompey* as neere as he could gaue ouer to plead mens causes any more, & began litle and litle to withdraw him selfe from frequenting the market place, and matters of iudgement, comming seldome abroad, & when he did, he had alwaies a great traine following him. It was a rare thing also to see him any more come out of his house, or talke with any man, but he was euer accompanied with a great number, & he reioyced to him selfe, to see that he had alwaies such a traine with him: for that made him to be honored the more, & gaue him greater
B countenaunce to see him thus courted, thinking it dishonor to him to be familiar with meane persons. For men that rise by armes, are easily despised, when they come to liue like priuate citizens: bicause they can not facion them selues to be cõpanions with the common people, (who citizen like vse a common familiaritie together) but looke to be their betters in the city, as they are in the field. Yea and cõtrarily, they that do acknowledge themselues to be their inferiors in warres: will thinke fowle scorne if they be not their superiors in peace. And by this meanes when they haue a noble warrier amonge them that followeth publike causes (which hath triumphed for many victories and battells he hath obtained) they obscure his glory, and make him an vnderling vnto them: whereas they doe not otherwise enuy any souldiers, that are contented equally to geue them place and authority, as plainly appeared shortly after by
C *Pompey* him selfe. By such an occasion, the power of pirates on the sea tooke beginning in the contry of Cilicia, which was not reckoned of at the first, bicause it was not perceiued, vntill they grew bold & venturous in king *Mithridates* warres, being hyered to do him seruice. And afterwards the Romanes being troubled with ciuill warres, one fighting with an other euen at Rome gates, the sea not being looked to all this while: it set them a gogge, and made them go further then euer they did before. For they did not only rob & spoile all marchãt venterers by sea, but rifled also all the Ilandes & townes vpon the sea coast: insomuch as then there ioyned with them, men of great wealth and nobility, & of great wisedom also, & entred into their fellowshippe, as into a commendable faculty. Now they had set vp arsenalls or store houses in
D sundry places, they had sundry hauens and beacons on the land, to geue warning by fire all alongest the sea coast, & those well kept & watcht: moreouer, they had great fleetes of shippes, ready furnisht with excellent good galliots of ores, skilfull pilots & mariners, their shippes of swift saile, & pinnases for discouery, but withall so gloriously set out, that men lesse hated their excesse, then feared their force. For the poopes of their galliots were all guilt, the coueringes of the same all of purple silke, delighting only to make a glorious show of their pillage. All the sea coast ouer, there was no sight of any thinge but musicke, singing, banketing, and rioting, prises of Captaines, and men of great quality, & raunsomes of a thowsand prisoners: & all this was to the shame & dishonor of the Romanes. Their ships were about a thowsand in nũber, & they had take aboue foure hũdred townes. They had spoiled & destroyed many holy tẽples that had neuer bene touched before. As the temple of the twynnes in the Ile of Claros, the
E temple of *Samothracia*, the temple of Earth in the city of Hermion, & the tẽple of *Æsculapius* in Epidaurvm: the temples of *Neptune* in Isthmos, Tænaria, & Calabria: & the temples of *Apollo* in Activm, in the Ile of Levcades: the temples of *Iuno* in Samos, in Argos, & in Lvcania. They had also many straunge sacrifices & certen ceremonies of religion amongest thẽ selues, in the mount Olympus, & among other, the mistery of *Mithres*, which is the sunne: & remaineth yet in being vntõ this day, being first shewed by them. But besides all these insolent partes and iniuries they did the Romanes vpon the sea, they went a land, and where they found any houses of pleasure vpon the sea coast, they spoiled & destroyed them: & on a time they tooke two Romane Prætors, *Sextilius*, & *Bellinus*, being in their purple robes, with their sergeaũts & officers attending on thẽ, & caried them quite away. An other time also they stale
F away the daughter of *Antonius* (a man that had receiued honor of triumphe) as she went a walking abroad in the fields, & she was redemed for a great summe of money. But yet the greatest spight & mockery they vsed to the Romanes, was this. That when they had take any of them

Pompey and Crassus made frendes.

Pompeys pride and glory.

The beginning of the pirates warre.

The power & insolency of the pirates in Cilicia.

The pirates nauy, a thowsand shippes.

The pirates scorning of the Romanes, when they were taken.

and that he cried he was a citizen of ROME, and named his name: then they made as though they had bene amazed, and affrayed of that they had done. For they clapped their handes on their thighes, and fell downe on their knees before him, praying him to forgeue them. The poore prisoner thought they had done it in good earnest, seeing they humbled them selues as though they seemed fearefull. For some of them came vnto him, & put shooes on his feete: others clapt a gowne on the backe of him after the ROMANE facion, for feare, (sayd they) least he should be mistaken an other time. When they had played all this pageant, & mocked him their bellies full: at the last they cast out one of their shippe ladders, and put him on it, & bad him go his way, he should haue no hurt: and if he would not goe of him selfe, then they cast him ouer the bord by force, and sent him packing. These rouers and sea pirates had all the sea Mediterraneum at commaundement: insomuch there durst not a marchant looke out, nor once traffique that sea. And this was the only cause that moued the ROMANES, (fearing scarsity of vittells, and a great dearth) to send *Pompey* to recouer the signory againe of the sea from these pirates. The first man that moued it might be decreed, that *Pompey* should not be only Admirall, or Generall by sea, but should haue absolute power to commaunde all manner of persons as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doinges in his charge was *Gabinius*, *Pompeys* frend. The summe of this decree gaue him full power and absolute authority of all the sea from *Hercules* pillers, and of the maine land, the space of foure hundred furlong from the sea. (For the ROMANES dominions at that time in few places went further then that: notwithstanding, within that compasse were many great nations & mighty kings.) Furthermore, it gaue him power to choose of the Senate fifteene Lieutenauntes, to geue vnto euery one of them, seuerall prouinces in charge, according to his discretion: and also to take money out of the treasure, of the Generall receiuers of the state, to defray the charges of a fleete of two hundred saile, with full power besides to leauy what men of warre he thought good, and as many galliots and mariners as he lifted. This law when it had bene read once ouer among them, the people confirmed it with very good will. Yet the noble men and chiefe of the Senate thought that this authority did not only exceede all enuy, but also that it gaue them apparant cause of feare, to geue such absolute power vnto a priuate person. Whereupon, they were all against it but *Cæsar*, who fauored the decree, not so much to pleasure *Pompey*, as the people, whose fauor he sought. The noble men fell maruelously out with *Pompey*: and at the length one of the Consulls was very hotte with him, and told him he looked to follow *Romulus* steppes, but peraduenture he would come shorte of that end he made. Thereupon the people thought to haue killed him. After that, *Catulus* stoode vp to speake against this edict. The people at the first heard him quietly, bicause he was a worthy man. Then he began without any shew of enuy, to speake many goodly thinges in the praise of *Pompey*, and in fine, aduised the people to spare him, and not to venter in such daungerous warres (one after an other) a man of so great accompt, as they ought to make of him. If ye chaunce to loose him, sayd he: whom haue you then to put in his place? The people then cried out: your selfe. Then perceiuing that he lost his labor, seeking to turne the people from their determination: he left it there, and sayd no more. *Roscius* rose next after him to speake, but he could haue no audience. When he saw that he coulde not be heard, he made a signe with his fingers, that they shoulde not geue *Pompey* alone this authority, but ioyne an other with him. The people being offended withall made such an outcrie vppon it, that a crow flying ouer the market place at that instant, was striken blinde, & fell downe amongest the people. Whereby it appeareth, that fowle falling out of the ayer to the ground, do not fall for that the ayer is broken or pearced with any force or fury: but bicause the very breath of the voice (when it commeth with such a violence, as it maketh a very tempest in the ayer) doth strike & ouercome them. Thus for that day, the assembly brake vp, and nothing past: and at the day appointed when this decree should passe by voyces of the people, *Pompey* went abroad into the contry. There being aduertised that the decree was past for the cõfirmation of his charge, he returned againe that night into the citie, bicause he would auoyde the enuie they would haue borne him to haue seene them run out of all partes of the city vnto him, to haue waited on him home. The next morning he came abroad, and sacrificed to the goddes: and audience being geuen him at an

Gabinius law for Pompeys authority against the pirates.

As the voyce of the people, a crow flying fell downe.

open

A open assembly, he handled the matter so, that they gaue him many thinges besides to enlarge his power, almost doubling the preparation set downe and appointed at the first decree. For he ordained that the common wealth should arme him fiue hundred shippes, & they leuied for him sixe score thowsand footemen, and fiue thowsand horsemen, and chose besides foure and twenty Senators, which had euery one of them bene Generalls of armies, and two generall Treasorers also. While thinges were thus a preparing, the price of vittels fell by chaunce: which reioyced the people so much, that they stucke not to say, that the name of *Pompey* only had already ended this warre. This notwithstanding, he deuided all the sea betweene the lands into thirteene regions, and in euery of them he appointed a certaine number of his shippes, and moreouer, one of his Lieutenauntes ouer them. Thus hauing dispersed his power all a- *Pompey's preparation against the pirates.*

B broade, he brought all the pirates shippes that were in a fleete together, within his daunger: and when he had taken them, he brought them all into a docke. Now for them that had dispersed them selues betimes, or that otherwise could scape his generall chase: they fled all into Cilicia, as bees into the beehiue, against whom he would needes go him selfe in person with three score of his best shippes. Howbeit he cared not though he went not before he had scoored all the Thvscane sea, the coastes of Lybia, Sardinia, Sicile, and of Corsica, of all these theeues which are wont to keepe thereabouts: and this he did within forty dayes space, taking infinite paines, both him selfe and his Lieutenaunts. Now when one of the Consulls called *Piso* did all the best he could to hinder *Pompeys* preparation, and had discharged his ower men, for that he enuied *Pompeys* prosperity: *Pompey* sent his shippes before to make to-

C wardes Italie to arriue at the city of Brvndvsivm. He in the meane time, went through Thvscane to Rome, where, so soone as his comming was knowen, all the people ran out to meete him, as if he had bene absent a long time: and that which made the people more ioyfull to see him, was the sodaine chaunge of victals vnlooked for, that dayly came to the towne out of all partes. But *Piso* went neere to be depriued of his Consulshippe: for *Gabinius* had the decree wrytten, and ready to present to the people. But *Pompey* would not suffer it. So, hauing gently brought all to passe as he desired, he went vnto the city of Brvndvsivm, and there tooke sea, and hoysed sayle. Now though his hasty voyage, and shortnesse of time made him passe by many good cities without comming into them: notwithstanding, he would not so passe by the city of Athens, but landed there, and after he had sacrificed to the goddes, retur- *The curtesie of Pompey vnto Piso.*

D ned to imbarke againe. At his going out of the city, he red two wrytinges that were made in his praise, the one within the gate which sayd thus.

The humblier that thou doost thy selfe as man behaue,
The more thou doost deserue the name of god to haue.

And the other wryting was without the gate, which sayd:

VVe vvisht for thee, vve vvayt for thee,
VVe vvorship thee, vve vvayt on thee.

Nowe bicause *Pompey* hauing taken certaine of these rouers by sea that kept together, did vse them gently when they required pardon, and hauing their shippes and bodies in his power, did them no hurt at all: their other companions being in good hope of his mercy, fled

E from his other Captaines and Lieutenauntes, and went and yeelded them selues, their wiues and children into his handes. *Pompey* pardoned all them that came in of them selues, and by that meanes he came to haue knowledge of the rest, and to followe them where they went, whome he tooke in the ende: but knowinge that they deserued no pardon, they hid them selues. Yet the most parte, and the richest of them, had conueyed their wiues, children and goodes, and all other their family vnmeete for warres, into strong castells and litle townes a- *Pompey pursued the pirates.*

pon mount Taurus: and such men as were able to cary weapon, imbarked, and lay before a city of Coracesivm, where they taried *Pompey*, and gaue him battell, first by sea, and there were ouercome, and afterwardes they were besieged by lande. Howebeit shortly after, they prayed they might be receiued to mercie, and thereuppon yeelded their bodies, townes, and

F Ilandes which they had fortified, and were hard to haue taken and worse to haue approached. Thus was this warre ended, and all the pirates in lesse then three monthes driuen from the sea wheresoeuer they were. He wanne also a great number of other shippes, besides foure *The victory of Pompey vpon the pirats.*

ſcore and tenne gallies armed with copper ſpurres. And touching the men whom they had taken, (who were in number aboue twenty thowſand perſones) he did not only conſider whether he ſhould put them to death, but alſo thought it no wiſe parte on thother ſide to let them goe at liberty, to gather force againe, being ſo great a number of them as in deede they were, and all poore men and ſouldiers. Therefore, weying with him ſelfe, that man by nature is not borne a wild or ſauage beaſt, but contrarily becommeth a brute beaſt chaunging nature, whē he falleth to vice: and againe is made tame and ciuill in time, chaunging place and maner of life: (as brute beaſtes that being wilde by nature doe alſo become gentle and tractable, with gentler vſage by continuance) he determined to draw theſe pirats from the ſea into thupland, and to make them feele the true and innocent life, by dwelling in townes, and manuring the ground. Some of them therefore he placed in certaine ſmall townes of the CILICIANS, that were ſcant inhabited, & were very glad of thē, geuing them land to keepe them with. The city of the SOLIANS alſo, that not long before had bene deſtroyed by *Tigranes* the king of ARMENIA, being deſirous to repleniſh that againe, he placed many of them there. He beſtowed diuers alſo in the city of DYMA in the contry of ACHAIA, which at that time lacked inhabitants, and had great ſtore of very good land. Now therefore his enemies reproued him greatly: and for that he did in CRETA, they that were his beſt and greateſt frendes miſliked him. For *Metellus* that gentle perſon, (a coſen to that *Metellus* which was his colleague, and made warres in SPAYNE with him againſt *Sertorius*) was ſent Prætor into CRETA, before *Pompey* was choſen Generall againſt the pirates. This CRETA, next vnto CILICIA, was euen a ſeconde denne of pirates. *Metellus* finding there a great number of theſe theeues, tooke many of them, and put them to death, euen all that came to his handes. Then, ſuch as had ſcaped from him, being ſtraightly beſieged, ſent vnto *Pompey* to pray him of pardon, and to take them to mercie: declaringe vnto him, that the Ile of CRETA was within the precinct of his charge, bicauſe all partes of that region from the ſea came iuſt within the cōpaſſe limited him on the land. *Pompey* pardoning them apon their ſubmiſſion, wrote vnto *Metellus*, & commaunded him to leaue of his warre, and therewithall charged all the cities, that they ſhould not obey *Metellus* commaundementes. After that he ſent *Lucius Oſtauius*, one of his Lieutenauntes, who entred into the townes *Metellus* beſieged, and fought for the pirates. This made *Pompey* not only hated & enuied, but derided alſo: for that vnder his name he had protected ſuch vile theeues, that had neither God nor law, and geuen them his authority to ſaue their liues, for a litle enuie and emulacion he bare vnto *Metellus*. And therefore they rightly reproue *Achilles*, and ſay that he ſhewed not the parte of a wiſe man, but of a young foole beſides him ſelfe, for deſire of glory, making a ſigne to the GRÆCIANS, forbidding them to ſtrike at *Hector*, to thend that as *Homer* ſayd:

How men are tamed.

Pompeys lewd fact againſt Metellus.

Achilles diſhoneſt fact.

Leaſt he too late should to the battell runne,
When others had the honor of it wonne.

But *Pompeys* fact was worſe then this. For he fought for the cōmon enemies of the world, and only to depriue a ROMANE Prætor of triumphe, who had done great good ſeruice to haue deſtroyed them. This notwithſtanding, *Metellus* left not of his warre for *Pompeys* letters, but hauing taken the pirates by aſſault, he put them to death: and afterwardes hauing done *Oſtauius* open ſhame through his campe, he let him goe. When newes came to ROME, that the pirates warre was brought to good end, & that *Pompey* hauing no other ſeruice in hand, went viſiting the cities vp & downe: one *Manilius* a Tribune of the people, put forth an other decree vnto them of this effect. That *Pompey* taking all the army *Lucullus* had, & the prouinces vnder his gouernment, with al BITHYNIA, which *Glabrio* kept: ſhould go make warre vpon the kings *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, keping in his handes notwithſtanding all his iuriſdiction and army by ſea, in as royall maner as he had it before. In fine, this was euen to make one man Monarke and abſolute Prince, of all the ROMANE Empire. For by this ſecond decree, he had all theſe contries not named in his former commiſſion, added to amplifie his authority, as PHRYGIA, LYCAONIA, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, CILICIA, high COLCHIDA and ARMENIA, with all the armies and forces with the which he had ouercomen thoſe two mighty kinges. Then the Senate ſtucke not ſo much at the iniurie that was offered vnto *Lucullus*, depriuing him of the honor

Pompey appointed Lucullus ſucceſſor.

A honor of his doinges, to geue it to an other, that ſhould rather ſuccende him in honor of triumphe, then in daunger of warres, knowing that they did him too manifeſt injury, & ſhewed them ſelues too vnthankefull: but that which moſt grieued them, was to ſee *Pompeys* power eſtabliſhed in a plaine tyranny. Hereuppon therefore, one of them perſwaded and encoraged an other, ſtowtly to withſtand this edict, and not to ſuffer their liberty to be loſt in this ſorte. Notwithſtanding, when the day came that the decree ſhould paſſe, they were ſo afrayed to anger the people, that their hartes failed them, & none durſt ſpeake againſt it but *Catulus* only: that earneſtly inueyed againſt the paſſing of it a long time together, & greatly blamed the people. At the length, perceiuing he had wonne neuer a man to take his parte, he oftentimes cried out to the Senate, that they ſhould looke to ſeeke out ſome mountaine or high rocke to

The boldnes of Catulus in diſſwading Manilius law.

B retyre ſafely vnto, to defend their liberty, as their anceſters had done in old time before them. All this preuailed not, for the decree paſſed by the voices of all the tribes, as it is reported. And thus was *Pompey* in his abſence made Lorde almoſt of all that, which *Sylla* by force of armes and great effuſion of blood (hauing made him ſelfe Lord of ROME) had before in his power. When *Pompey* had receiued letters from ROME, aduertiſing him what the people had paſt in his behalfe: ſome ſay that at the receite of them (in the preſence of his familiar frendes that were about him, and reioyced with him for congratulacion) he knit his browes, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieued him marueloufly to haue ſuch great offices & charge layed vpon him, one in the necke of an other, and burſt forth in theſe wordes. O goddes, ſhall I neuer ſee an ende of ſuch a worlde of troubles as I haue? Had it not bene better for me to haue

Pompeys great diſſimulation.

C bene a meane man borne and vnknowen, then thus continually to be in warre with armor on my backe? What, ſhall I neuer ſee the time, that breaking the neckes of ſpight and enuy againſt me, I may yet once in my life liue quietly at home in my contrie, with my wife & children? When *Pompey* ſpake thoſe wordes, his familiar frendes could not abide to ſee his deepe diſſimulation, knowing that beſides his naturall ambition and couetous deſire to rule, he was glad in his hart that he had this charge, for the contention that was betwixt him and *Lucullus*: which his deedes forthwith bewrayed. For he preſently ſent out precepts into euery quarter, commaunding all ſortes of ſouldiers to come to him immediatly, & made alſo all the Princes and kinges within precinct of his charge to come vnto him, and going through the contries, altered and chaunged all that *Lucullus* had eſtabliſhed before. Furthermore, he did releaſe the

Quarrell betwixt Pompey and Lucullus.

D penalties enioyned them, and tooke from them alſo the giftes that *Lucullus* beſtowed of them. In fine, this was all his purpoſe and deſire: to make them that honored *Lucullus* know, that he had no further power & authority to doe any thing. *Lucullus* finding him ſelfe hardly handled by *Pompey*, the frends of either ſide thought good they ſhould meete & talke together: which came ſo to paſſe, for they met in the contry of GALATIA. And bicauſe they both were great Captaines of the ROMANE armies, and had done many famous acts, they had their ſergeaunts & officers that caried the bundells of roddes before thē, wreathed about with laurell boughs. When they met, *Lucullus* came out of a cloſe & woddy contry, all couered with greene trees, and *Pompey* on thother ſide had paſſed through a great ſandy plaine, where no tree was growing. Thereupon *Lucullus* ſergeaunts ſeeing the laurell boughes drie and withered away, which

Pompey and Lucullus meeting in Galatia.

E *Pompeys* ſergeaunts caried, they gaue them of their greene and freſh boughes to beawtifie the roddes and axes. This was a plaine token that *Pompey* came to take *Lucullus* honor from him. In troth *Lucullus* had bene Conſull before *Pompey*, & ſo was he alſo older man then he: yet the dignity of *Pompey* was greater, bicauſe he had triumphed twiſe. At their firſt meeting, their entertainment & diſcourſe was with great ceremony and curteſie as might be, one highly praiſing the others deedes, reioycing at eche others good ſucceſſe: but at parting, they fell to lute wordes together, *Pompey* vpbrayding *Lucullus* auarice, and *Lucullus Pompey* ambition, ſo that their frendes had much a doe to parte them. *Lucullus* departing thence, deuided the landes in

F GALATIA, which he had conquered, and beſtowed them & other gifts, on ſuch as he thought good. *Pompey* on thother ſide camping hard by him, ſpecially commaunded the people in euery parte to obey him in nothing whatſoeuer he did: and beſides, he took all his ſouldiors from him, leauing him only ſixteene hundred, which he ſuppoſed were ſuch, as for diſdaine and ill will they bare him, would do him but ſmall ſeruice. Furthermore, to bleamiſh the glory

hos

of his doings, he told euery body *Lucullus* had fought with the pompe & ſhadow only of theſe two kinges, and that he had left him to fight with all their whole force and power, *Mithridates* being then prepared for warres, with ſhieldes, ſwordes, and horſes. *Lucullus* for reuenge on the other ſide ſayd, that *Pompey* went to fight but with a ſhadow of warre, like a cowardly buſſard that prayeth vpon dead bodies, which others haue ſlaine: & to cut a ſunder the remaine of this warre ended by an other, as he had done before, attributing the honor of the ouerthrow of *Sertorius*, *Lepidus*, and *Spartacus*, to him ſelfe, where in deede *Metellus*, *Craſſus*, and *Catulus* did ouercome them. And therfore it was no maruell, that he ſought the glory and honor to triumphe for the kingdomes of PONTVS and ARMENIA: ſith that through his ſubtill practiſes he had obtained triumphe for a fewe ſlaues and fugitiues. *Lucullus* being nowe gone his way, *Pompey* ſent good garriſons vnto all the coaſtes apon the ſea, from the prouince of PHOENICIA, vnto the realme of BOSPHORVS. That done, he tooke his iorney by lande towardes *Mithridates*, who had in his campe thirtie thowſande footemen, and two thowſande horſemen, and yet durſt not offer battel, but camped firſt apon a mountaine of great ſtrength, and hard to get vp on: notwithſtanding ſhortly after, he forſooke it for lacke of water. He was no ſooner gone thence, but forthwith *Pompey* tooke it. Who, coniecturing by the nature of the plantes and trees in that place which were very greene, and alſo by diuers holes he found, that for reaſon thereabouts ſhould be ſome ſpringes: he commaunded them to digge welles in euery corner, ſo that in a very ſhort time all his campe had water enough, and he wondred at *Mithridates*, that he could not finde that out in all the time he lay there. In thend, he went and camped rounde about *Mithridates*, and intrenched him with a wall within his owne campe: who after he had abidden the ſiege fiue and forty dayes, fled away with all the choice of his army, vnknowing to *Pompey*, hauing firſt ſlaine all the ſicke and impotent perſons within his campe. After that, *Pompey* found him an other time by the riuer of Euphrates, & went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that *Mithridates* would paſſe ouer the riuer before he could preuent him in time, he raiſed his campe againe, & marched away at midnight. About that time, they ſay, that *Mithridates* ſawe that in a dreame, which did prognoſticate what ſhould happen. He thought, that hauing the winde in the poope of his ſhippe, he was vnder ſaile, in the middeſt of the ſea of Mare Boſphorum, and that he was maruelous glad of it, and reioyced with them that ſailed with him, thinking him ſelfe certainly paſt all daunger: yet ſodainly againe, that all this ioy left him, and that he floted vp and downe the waues of the ſea, apon a litle peece of the ſhippe that was broken, truſting to the mercy of the windes. As he was troubled with this ill fauored dreame, certaine of his familiars came to him and told him, that *Pompey* was come ſo neere, that there was no ſhift, but they muſt needes fight to defend their campe. Thereuppon, his Captaines ſtraight beganne to put his men in battell ray, ready to fight. *Pompey* vnderſtanding they prepared to make defence, was in dout to venter his men to fight in the darke, thinking it better to compaſſe them in to keepe them from flying, & then in the morning to ſet vpon them more eaſily, his men being the better ſouldiers. But *Pompeys* olde Captaines were ſo earneſtly in hand with him to perſwade him they might fight, that in the ende he was contented they ſhould geue charge. Now it was not ſo darke but they could ſomewhat ſee, for the moone that was very low and vppon her ſetting, gaue light enough to diſcerne the body of a man: yet bicauſe the moone was very low, the ſhadow which gaue out further farre then their bodies, came almoſt euen to their very enemies, which did let the that they could not certainly iudge what ſpace of ground was betwene them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they caſt their dartes at the ROMANES, but they hurte neuer a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The ROMANES perceiuing that, ran apon them with great cries. But the barbarous people durſt not abide their charge they were ſo affrayed, but turned their backes, and ranne away for life, ſo that they were ſlaine downe right. Thus were there tenne thowſand of the barbarous people ſlaine and more, and their campe alſo taken. As for *Mithridates* him ſelfe, at the beginning of thonſet, he made a lane among the ROMANES with eight hundred horſemen, and paſſed cleane through them. But incontinently his men diſperſed apon it, ſome one way, ſome an other way, ſo that he was left alone but with three perſons only, whereof *Hypſicratea* was one of the number, which had euer bene valliant and

Pompeys iorney againſt Mithridates.

Mithridates dreame.

Pompey ouerthrew Mithridates.

Hypſicratea, Mithridates, concubine, &c.

A and had a mans hart: whereuppon, for that cause *Mithridates* called her *Hypsicratea*. She at that time being arrayed like a man of armes of PERSIA, and mounted also on a horse after the PERSIAN maner, was neuer weary with any long iorney the king made, nor neuer left to waite vpon his person, and to looke to his horse: vntill such time as the king came to a strong castell called Inora, where was great store of gold & siluer, and the kinges chiefest treasure. Then *Mithridates* tooke of his richest apparell he had there, & gaue it amongest them that were about him at that time, and a deadly poyson besides to euery one of his frendes to carie about them, bicause they should not (vnlesse they would them selues) fall into their enemies handes aliue. From thence he thought to take his iorney into ARMENIA, vnto king *Tigranes*. Howbeit *Tigranes* sent to let him, and further proclaimed by trompet, that he would geue a hundred ta-

B lentes to him that could kill him. Thereuppon, passing by the head of the riuer of Euphrates, he fled through the contry of CHOLCHIDE. In the meane time, *Pompey* inuaded the contry of ARMENIA, at the request of *Tigranes* the younger, who was reuolted against his father, and went to meete with *Pompey* at the riuer of Araxes, which hath his beginning almost about the head of Euphrates: but it runneth towards the East, and falleth into Mare Caspium. So they both together marched on further into the contrie, receiuinge such townes as yeelded vnto them. But king *Tigranes* (that not long before had bene consumed and destroyed by *Lucullus*) vnderstanding that *Pompey* was of a mylde and gentle nature, he receiued his garrisons into his strongest fortes and royall houses, and went him selfe with his frendes and kinsemen to meete *Pompey*, & to yeeld him selfe vnto him. Whē he came hard to his campe, being a horse backe,

C there came out two sergeaunts of *Pompeys*, & commaunded him to light and go in a foote, for there was neuer man seene a horse backe within the ROMANES campe. *Tigranes* did not only obey them, but further plucked of his sword and gaue it them: and in fine, when he came almost to *Pompey*, taking of his royall hatte frō his head, he would haue layed it at *Pompeys* feete, & falling downe most shamefully on the ground, imbased him selfe to imbrase *Pompeys* knees. But *Pompey* him selfe preuented him, and taking him by the hande, made him to sit downe by him on the one side of him, and his sonne on the other. Then he sayd vnto them both: as for the other losses you haue susteined heretofore, you must thanke *Lucullus* for them, who hath taken from you, SYRIA, PHOENICIA, CILICIA, GALATIA, and SOPHENA: but for that you haue left you till my comming, I will let you enioy it, paying to the ROMANES a fine of sixe

D thowsand talentes for the iniurie you had done them, prouided also, that your sonne haue the kingdome of SOPHENA for his parte. *Tigranes* accepted the condicions of peace. The ROMANES then saluted him king. He was so glad thereof, that he promised to geue euery souldier halfe a Mina, euery Centener tenne Minas, and to euery Colonell of a thowsand men a talent. His sonne was very angry withall: insomuch as *Pompey* sending for him to come to supper to him, he aunswered againe, that was not the frendshippe he looked for at *Pompeys* handes, for he should finde many other ROMANES that would offer him that curtesie. *Pompey* for his aun-

swere, clapped him vp as a prisoner, and kept him to be led in triumphe at ROME. Shortly af-

ter, *Phraates* king of PARTHIA sent Ambassadors to *Pompey* to demaunde this young Prince,

that was his sonne in law: and to tell him that the riuer of Euphrates must be the vttermost

E confines of his conquestes. *Pompey* aunswered againe, that *Tigranes* had more right to his sonne, then the father in law: and as for limiting of his borders, that he would doe it with iu-

stice. So, leauing *Afranius* in ARMENIA to keepe the contrie, *Pompey* passed by other nations which inhabite about mount Caucasus, hauing *Mithridates* in chace: of which nations, two of the chiefest and of greatest power, are the ALBANIANS and IBERIANS. The IBERIANS do

stretch out vnto mount Moschiū, & to the realme of PONTVS. The ALBANIANS lye towards the East, and Mare Caspium. These men first suffered *Pompey* to passe through their contrie, apon his sending to thē. But winter hauing stolen apon the ROMANES while they were there, & they busily occupied about *Saturnes* feasts: the barbarous people hauing leuied aboue forty thowsand fighting mē in one campe together, came & passed ouer the riuer of Cyrnus. (This

F riuer commeth from the mountaines of the IBERIANS, and receiuing the riuers of Araxes into it, which passeth through ARMENIA, disperseth it selfe into twelue seuerall mouthes, and so falleth into Mare Caspium. Some notwithstanding holde opinion, that Cyrnus receiueth

therwise called Hypsicrates, for her valliantnes like a man.

Araxes fl.

Tigranes yeldeth him selfe vnto Pompey.

Tigranes laied his diadeame at Pompeys feete.

Tigranes sonne a prisoner.

Ambassadors sent from the king of Parthia vnto Pompey.

Caucasus mons.

Albani, and Iberes: what maner of people.

Cyrnus fl.

not the riuer of Araxes into it, but that it runneth by it selfe, & falleth into the same sea, neere vnto the mouthes of the other.) *Pompey* might if he had would haue kept them for comming ouer the riuer, yet did he suffer them quietly to passe ouer. When they were all ouer, he went against them, ouercame them in battell, and slue a great number of them in the field. Afterwardes he pardoned their kinge, submittinge him selfe vnto *Pompey* by his Ambassadors, and made peace with him. Then from thence he went against the IBERIANS: who were no lesse in number, then the ALBANIANS were at the first, and also better souldiers, and were resolutely bent to doe good seruice vnto *Mithridates*, and to driue out *Pompey*. These IBERIANS were neuer subiect to the Empire of the PERSIANS, nor of the MEDES, and scaped also from being subiect to the MACEDONIANS, for that *Alexander* neuer stayed in the contry of HYRCANIA: whom also *Pompey* ouercame in a great & bloodie battell, hauing slaine nine thowsand in the field, and taken temne thowsand prisoners. From thence he went into the contry of COLCHIDA. There *Seruilius* met him by the riuer of Phasis, with the fleete of shippes with the which he kept all Mare Ponticum. Now to followe *Mithridates* further, who had hidde him selfe amongest a people that were neighbours vnto the straightes of BOSPHORVS, and the marisses Mæotides, he found it a hard peece of worke. Furthermore also, he had newes that the ALBANIANS were rebelled againe, which drew him backe to be reuenged of them. Thereuppon he passed againe ouer the riuer of Cyrnus, with great paine and daunger, bicause the barbarous people had made a strong defence a great way alongest the riuer side, with a maruelous number of great trees, feld and layed a crosse one ouer an other. Furthermore, when he had with great difficulty passed thorow them, he fell into an euill fauored contry, where he should trauell a great way before he could come to any water. Thereuppon he caused ten thowsand goates skinnes to be filled with water, and so went forward to meete with his enemies, whom he found by the riuer of Abas, being sixe score thowsande footemen, and twelue thowsande horsemen, but all (or the most of them) ill armed with wilde beastes skinnes. Their Chiefetaine was *Cosis*, the kinges owne brother. He, when the battell was begonne, flew apon *Pompey*, and threwe a dart at him, and hurt him in the flancke. *Pompey* on thother side, ranne him through with his launce on both sides, & slue him starke dead. Some say also, that there were certaine AMAZONES at this battel, which fought of the barbarous peoples side, cõming from the mountaines that runne alongest the riuer of Thermodon. For, after the ouerthrow geuen, the ROMANES spoyling the dead, found targets, and buskinnes of the AMAZONES, but not a body of a woman among them. They also doe inhabite on the side of the mountaine Caucasus, that looketh towardes Mare Hyrcanium, and doe not border vpon the ALBANIANS: but the GELE, and the LELEGES are betwene them, with whom they company two monethes only euery yeare meeting together, by the riuer of Thermodon, and all the rest of the yeare, they liue a parte by them selues. After this last battell, *Pompey* going to inuade the contrie of HYRCANIA, as farre as Mare Caspium, he was compelled to go backe againe for the infinite number of deadly venemous serpents which he met with, being come within three dayes iorney of it. So he returned backe againe into ARMENIA the lesse, and there receiued presentes which were sent vnto him from the kings of the ELYMIANS and the MEDES, and wrote very curteously vnto them againe: howbeit he sent *Afranius* with parte of his armie against the king of the PARTHIANS, who had inuaded the contry of GORDIENA, and harried and spoiled the king of *Tigranes* subiects. Notwithstanding, he draue him out, and followed him vnto ARBELITIDE. Furthermore, all the lemmans and concubines of king *Mithridates* being brought vnto *Pompey*, he would touche none of them, but sent them all home againe, to their parents and frendes, bicause the most of them were either the daughters of Princes, of noble men, or of Captaines. Notwithstanding, *Stratonice* that of all the rest of his lemmans, had most credit about *Mithridates*, vnto whom he had left all the charge of his castel, where the greatest parte of his treasure of gold and siluer lay, was a singers daughter, who as they sayd, was not virgin, but an old mah. She hauing song one night before *Mithridates*, being at supper, he fell in such fancy with her, that he would needes haue her lye with him the same night, and the old man her father went home offended, bicause the king would not so much as geue him one good word. But the next morning when he rose, he marueled to see the tables in his house full of

Pompey ouerthrew the Albanians.

Pompey ouercame the Iberians.

Phasis fl.

The Albaniãs rebell against Pompey.

Abas fl.

Pompey slue Cosis, the kinges brother of the Albanians.

The Amazones.

Gele and Leleges, people that do company with the Amazones.

Thermodon fl.

Stratonice, Mithridates chiefe harlot.

place

A plate of gold and siluer, and a great company of seruing men, groomes of chamber & pages; and that they had brought him maruelous riche apparell, & a horse ready at the gates braue-ly furnished, as the kings familiars did vse when they went abroade into the city: he thought it was done in mockery, to haue made sporte with him, and therefore would haue runne his way, had not the seruing men kept him, and told him that they were a great rich mans goods that dyed of late, which the king had bestowed on him, and that all this he saw, was but a litle portion in respect of the other goods and lands he gaue him. So the old man beleeuing them, at the length did put on this purple gowne they brought him, and got vp a horse backe, & ri-ding through the streetes, cried, all this is mine, all this is mine. Certaine laughing him to scorne for it, he told them: masters, ye may not wonder to heare me thus crie out, but rather, B that I throw not stones at them I meete, I am so madde for ioy. Such was *Stratonices* birth and parentage, as we haue told you. She did then deliuer this castell into *Pompeys* hands, and offe-red him many goodly riche presents: but he would take none of them, other then such as ser-ued to adorne the temples of the goddes, and to beawtifie his triumphe, and left all the rest with *Stratonice* her selfe, to dispose as she thought good. In like manner also, the king of the IBERIANS, hauing sent him a bedstead, a table, and a chayer of cleane golde, praying him to take it as a remembraunce from him: he deliuered it ouer vnto the Treasorers custody, to be accountable for it vnto the state. In an other castell called Coenon, he founde certaine secret letters sent from *Mithridates*, which pleased him maruelously to reade, bicause thereby he plainly vnderstoode the kinges nature and inclination. For in them were mencioned that he C had poysoned (besides many other) *Ariarathes* his owne sonne, and *Alcaus* the SARMATIANS, bicause he had wonne the bell, at the horse race before him. There was also interpretinge of dreames, that either him selfe or his wiues had dreamed, and also loue letters betwext *Monimi* and him. *Theophanes* wryteth also, that there was found an oration of *Rutilius*, in the which he inuised and perswaded *Mithridates* to put all the ROMANES to death that were in ASIA. How beit in reason men thinke, that this was a shamefull lye, maliciously deuised by *Theopha-nes*, who hated *Rutilius*, bicause he was but a counterfeate to him: or peraduentute to gratifie D *Pompey*, whose father *Rutilius* in his histories describeth to be as wicked a man as euer liued. Thence *Pompey* departed towardes the city of AMISVS. There his ambition brought him to commit such factes, as he him selfe did condemne before in *Lucullus*: for that his enemy being yet aliue, he tooke vpon him to establish lawes, to geue giftes, and distribute such honors, as Captaines that had obtained victory were wont to doe, when they had ended all warre and trouble. For he him selfe (*Mithridates* being yet the stronger in the realme of BOSPHORVS, and hauing a great puissant army about him) did all that which he reproued an other for, ap-pointing prouinces, and geuing out giftes to euery man according as he deserued: to gratifie twelue barbarous kinges, with diuers other Princes, Lordes and Captaines, that came to him thither. Wryting also to the king of PARTHIA, he disdained to geue him that title, which o-thers were wont to doe in the direction of their letters, calling him king of kinges. Further-more, he had a wonderfull great desire to winne SYRIA, and to goe through the contry of A-RABIA, euen vnto the redde sea, bicause he might enlarge his conquestes and victories euery E way, euen vnto the great sea Oceanum, that compasseth all the whole earth. For in LIBYA, he was the first ROMANE that conquered all to the great sea. On thother side, in SPAYNE he enlarged the Empire of Rome, and brought the confines thereof vnto Mare Atlanticum. And thirdly, hauing lately the ALBANIANS in chase, he came almost vnto Mare Hyrcanium. Thus he put him selfe in iorney, intending his circuite vnto the redde sea, specially bicause he sawe *Mithridates* so ill to follow, & worse to ouercome by force when he fled, then when he fought any battell: and that made him say, that he would leaue a shaper enemy behinde him, then him selfe: and that he ment, famine. For he appointed souldiers with sufficient number of shippes, to lye in waite for the marchauntes that sailed to the contrie of BOSPHORVS, to kary them any vitells or other marchaundises, prohibiting them vpon paine of death that should F attempt it. Then he went forward with the best parte of his army, and in his way, founde the bodies of dead ROMANES which *Mithridates* had ouerthrowen vnder the leading of *Triarius* their Captaine, and were yet vnburied. So he caused them all to be taken vp, and honorably

Pompey abstinence from taking of gifts.

Mithridates remembrance.

Rutilius, an historiographer.

Pompeis fact.

Pompey ioyney into Syria.

buried. *Lucullus* hauing forgotten, or otherwise neglected to doo it, in my conscience that was the chiefest cause why his men did hate him. *Pompey* now hauing by *Afranius* subdued the ARABIANS, dwelling about mount Amanus, went him selfe in person into SYRIA, and made a gouernment and prouince of it, being won to the ROMANE empire, for that it lacked a lawfull king: and conquered all IVRIE also, where he tooke king *Aristobulus*, and builded certaine cities there, and deliuered others also from bondage, which by tyrannes were forcibly kept, whom he chasticed well enough. Howbeit he spent the most parte of his time there, deciding of controuersies, pacifying of contencions and quarrells by arbitrement, which fell out betwext the free cities, Princes and kinges, and sent of his frends into those places where he could not come him selfe. For on a time when he was chosen arbitrator betwext the PARTHIANS and the ARMENIANS, touching the title of a contrie which both parties claimed: he sent three commissioners thither to iudge definitiuely betwext them both. If *Pompeys* fame and renowne were great, no lesse was his vertue, iustice, and liberality, which in deede did hide many faultes, his frendes and familiars about him did commit. For truely he was of so gentle a nature, that he could neither keepe them from offending, nor yet punish them when they had offended. Notwithstanding, he did vse them so well that complained vnto him, or that had to deale with him in any matter: that he made them contented, paciently to beare their couetousnes & straight dealing. One of his chiefest familiars about him whom he loued best, was called *Demetrius*, a bondman infranchised, who otherwise was very discrete in his doings, but being somewhat too bolde of his good fortune: of him they make this mention. *Cato* the Philosopher being at that time a young man, yet of good iudgement and of a noble minde, in *Pompeys* absence went to see the city of ANTIOCH. Now for him selfe, his maner was alwayes to goe a foote, & all his frendes besides that did accompany him to honor him, were a horseback. He perceiuing a farre of, a great sorte of people comming towardes him all in white, and of one side of the streete litle children, and on the other boyes, round about them as in a ring: at the first he was angry withall, thinking they had done it for his sake to honor him, that they made this procession, which he in no wise would haue had done. Thereuppon he commaunded his frendes to light from their horses, and to goe a foote with him. But when they came neere to the gate of the city, the maister of the ceremonies that led this procession, hauing a garland on his head, and a rodde in his hand, came vnto them, and asked them where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come? *Catoes* frendes laughed to heare this question: then sayd *Cato*, alas poore city, and so passed by it. Notwithstanding, *Pompey* him selfe was cause that *Demetrius* had the lesse ill will borne him, then otherwise he should haue had bicause they sawe howe boldly he would vse *Pompey*, and howe well he would take it without offence. It is reported, that when *Pompey* oftentimes had bidden some to dinner or supper, while he was entertaining and welcomming of them, and would tary till they were all come: *Demetrius* would be set at the bord, and presumptuously haue his head couered euen to the very eares. And furthermore, before he returned into ITALIE out of this iorney, he had already purchaced the goodliest houses of pleasure and fayrest walkes that were about ROME, and had sumptuous gardens also, the which the people commonly called *Demetrius* gardens: though his maister *Pompey* was but meanly housed till his third Consullshippe. Howbeit afterwardes, he built that famous stately Theater, called *Pompeys* Theater, and ioyned vnto that also an other house, as a penthouse to his Theater, farre more sumptuous and stately then the first, and yet no more then needed. Insomuch as he that was owner of it dyed him selfe, when he came into it, he marueled, and asked where abouts it was, that *Pompey* dyned & supped. These thinges are reported thus. Now, the king of the ARABIANS, that dwelt about the castell called Petra, hauing neuer vntill that time made any accompt of the ROMANES army, was then greatly affrayed of them, and wrote vnto *Pompey*, that he was at his deuotion, to doo what he would commaunde him. *Pompey* thereuppon to proue him, whether he ment as he spake: brought his army before this castell of Petra. Howbeit this voyage was not liked of many men, bicause they iudged it was an occasion found out to leaue following of *Mithridates*, against whom they would haue had him rather haue bent his force, being an auncient enemy to ROME, and that beganne to gather strength againe, and prepared (as they heard say) to lead

Pompey brought Syria into the forme and gouernment of a prouince.

Pompeys vertues.

The power & insolency of Demetrius, Pompeys infranchised bondman.

Catoes exclamation against Demetrius, Pompeys infranchised bondman.

Pompeys Theater.

The king of Arabia Petrea, submitsed him selfe to Pompey.

A a great army through Scythia and Pannonia into Italie. But *Pompey* thinking he should hinder minish the his power by suffering him to goe on with warres, then that he should otherwise be able to take him flying: would not toyle to follow him in vaine. And for these causes he would needes make warres in other places, and linger time so long, that in the end he was put by his hope. For when he was not farre from the castell of Petra, & had lodged his campe for that day: as he was riding and managing his horse vp and downe the campe, postes came flagging to him from the realme of Pontus, and brought him good newes, as was easily to be discerned a farre of by the heades of their iauelings, which were wreathed about with laurell boughes. The souldiers perceiuing that, flocked straight about him: but *Pompey* would make an ende of his riding first, before he red these letters. Howbeit they crying to him, and
B being importunate with him, he lighted from his horse, and returned into his campe, where there was no stone high enough for him to stand vppon to speake vnto them, and againe, the souldiers would not tary the making of one after the manner of their campe, which men of warre doe make them selues, with great turues of earth, laying one of them vppon an other: but for haste & earnest desire they had to heare what newes there was in the letters, they layed together a heape of saddells one apon an other, and *Pompey* getting vp vpon them, tolde how *Mithridates* was dead, and had killed him selfe with his owne handes, bicause his sonne *Pharnaces* did rebell against him, and had wonne all that which his father possessed: writing vnto him, that he kept it for him selfe and the Romanes. Vpon these newes, all the campe ye may imagine, made wonderfull ioy, and did sacrifice to the goddes, geuing them thankes, & were
C as merry, as if in *Mithridates* person alone, there had ayed an infinite number of their enemies. *Pompey* by this occasion, hauing brought this warre more easily to passe then he hoped for, departed presently out of Arabia, and hauing speedily in few dayes passed through the countries lying by the way, he came at length to the city of Adiabene. There he founde great presents that were brought vnto him from *Pharnaces*, and many dead bodies of the kinges bloode, and amongest the rest, *Mithridates* corse, which could not well be discerned by his face, bicause they that had the carying of his body had forgotten to drie vp the braine: neuertheless, such as desired to see him, knew him by certaine skarres he had in his face. For *Pompey* would in no wise see him: but to auoide enuy, sent him away vnto the city of Synope. He wondred
D much at the maruelous sumptuous riche apparell and weapons that he ware. The scaberd of his sword (which cost foure hundred talents) was stolen by *Publius*, and sold to *Ariarathes*. Also a harte of *Mithridates* of wonderfull workemanshippe, being begged of *Caius* his fosterbrother, was secretly geuen to *Faustus*, the sonne of *Sylla*, without *Pompeys* priuity. But afterwards when *Pharnaces* vnderstoode of it, he punished the parties that had imbezelled them. *Pompey* hauing ordered all things and established that prouince, went on his iorney homewards with
E great pompe and glory. So, comming vnto Mitylene, he released the city of all taxes and paymentes for *Theophanes* sake, & was present at a certaine play they yearely make for games, where the Poets report their workes, contending one with an other, hauing at that time no other matter in hande, but *Pompeys* actes and feastes. *Pompey* liked exceeding well the Theater where these playes were made, and drew a modell or platforme of it to make a stately er then that in Rome. As he passed by the city of Rodes, he would nedes heare all the Rethoritians dispute, and gaue euery one of them a talent. *Possidonius* hath written the disputation he made before *Pompey*, against *Hermagoras* the Rethoritian, vpon the theame and proposition *Pompey* F selfe did geue them, touching the generall question. *Pompey* did the like at Athens vnto the Philosophers there. For he gaue towards the reedifying of the city againe, fifty talents. So he thought at his returne home into Italie, to haue bene very honorably receiued, and longed to be at home, to see his wife and children, thinking also that they long looked for him: but the god that hath the charge geuen him to mingle fortunes prosperity, with some bitter sop of aduersity, layed a blocke in his way at home in his owne house, to make his returne more sorrowfull. For *Mutia* his wife had in his absence played false at tables. But *Pompey* being then
F farre of, made no account of the reportes nor tales that were tolde him. Howebeit, when he drewe neere into Italie, and that he was more attentiue to gesse & reede the ill reportes he heard: then he sent vnto her to tell her, that he refused her for his wife, writing nothing to

Mithridates death.

The scabard of Mithridates sword.

Pompeys returne out of Asia.

Mutia the wife of Pompey.

Pompey forsooke his wife Mutia.

her at that time, neither euer after told the cause why he had forsaken her. Notwithstanding in *Ciceroes* Epistles the cause appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumors ranne abroade in ROME which troubled them sore, being geuen out that he would bring his armie straight to ROME, and make him selfe absolute Lord of all the ROMANE Empire. *Crassus* thereuppon, either for that he beleeued it in deede to be true, or (as it was thought) to make the accusation true, and the enuy towardes *Pompey* the greater: conueyed him selfe, his family, and goodes, sodainely out of ROME. So *Pompey* when he came into ITALIE, called all his souldiers together, and after he had made an oration vnto them, as time & occasion required: he commanded them to seuer them selues, & euery man to repaire home to apply his busines, remembring to mete at ROME together, at the day of his triuphe. His army being thus dispersed, & straight reported abroad for newes: a maruelous thing happened vnto him. The cities seeing *Pompey* the great without souldiers, hauing but a small traine about him of his familliar frendes onely: went all of the to meete to him, not as though he were returned home from his great conquests, but from some iorney take for his pleasure. Such was the loue of the people to him, that they accompanied him to ROME, whether he would or not, with a greater power then that he had brought into ITALIE: so that if he had bene disposed to haue made any innouation in the common wealth, he had not needed his army. In those dayes there was a law, that no man should enter into ROME before his triumphe: whereupon *Pompey* sent to the Senate, to pray them to deferre the chosing of Consuls for a few daies, bicause he might be present to further *Piso*, who sued for the Consulship that yere. They denied him his request, by *Catoes* meanes that hindred it. *Pompey* marueling to heare of his boldnes & plaine speech, which he only vsed of all other to defend his iust causes: had a maruelous desire to win him, & to make him his frend. So *Cato* hauing two neeces, *Pompey* desired to marry the one him selfe, & the other for his sonne. But *Cato* mistrusting this desire of *Pompeys*, that it was a colour only to win & corrupt him: denied him flatly. His wife & sister on thother side, they were angry with him for refusing to make alliance with *Pompey* the great. About that time it chaūced, that *Pompey* being very desirous to preferre *Afranius* to be Consul, he caused certaine money to be geuen amongest the tribes of the peoples, & the same was deliuered out to some, euen in his owne gardens. This thing being reported abroad in the city, euery man spake ill of *Pompey*: that he put the Consulship to sale for money, vnto those that could not deserue it by vertue, sith him selfe only had obtained it by purchase, of many a noble & worthy deede. Then sayd *Cato* to his wife and sister: loe now, we had bene partakers of this fault to, had we matched with *Pompey*. When they heard it, they confessed he had reason to refuse the match, for equity and his honor. But now to his triumphe. For the statelines & magnificēce therof, although he had two dayes space to shew it, yet he lacked time: for there were many things prepared for the shewe, that were not seene, which would haue serued to haue set out an other triūphe. First there were tables caried, wheron were written the names & titles of all the people and nacions for the which he triumphed, as these that follow. The kingdom of PONTVS, ARMENIA, CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, MEDIA, COLCHIS, IBERIA, ALBANIA, SYRIA, CILICIA, & MESOPOTAMIA: & furthermore, the people that dwell about PHOENICIA & PALESTINE, IVDEA, & ARABIA: & all the pirats which he had ouercomen both by sea & by land, in all parts of the world. In all these contries, he tooke about a thowsand castels, few lesse then nine hundred townes & cities: of pirats ships eight hundred, & nine & thirtie desolate townes left without inhabitants, repleniſhed againe with people by him. Moreouer, these tables declared, that the reuenue of the cōmon wealth of ROME before these conquests he made, amounted yerely but to fiue thowsand Miriades: & that from thence forth with the summes he had added vnto the former reuenue, they should now receiue eight thowsand & fiue hundred Miriades: & that he brought presently in ready gold & siluer, & in plate & iuells, to put into the common treasory, the value of twenty thowsand talents, besides that which had bene distributed alredy amongst the souldiers: of the which, he that had lest for his share, had fifteene hundred Drachmas. The prisoners that were led in the shew of this triumphe, besides the Captaines of the pirats, were these that follow. The sonne of *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, with his wife & daughter: the wife of king *Tigranes* himselfe, called *Zosime*: *Aristobulus* king of IVRIE: *Mithridates* sister with fiue sonnes of hers, & some Ladies of SCYTHIA.

Pompey at his returne out of Asia, discharged his souldiers.

Pompeis honorable returne to Rome out of Asia. A law for a triumphe.

Cato refuseth Pompeis alliance.

Pompeis third triumphe.

The contries conquered by Pompey.

Captiues led in Pompeis third triuphe.

The

A The ostages also of the Iberians and the Albanians, and also of the kings of the Commagenians: ouer & besides a great number of other markes of triumphes which him selfe or his Lieutenauntes had wonne at sundry battells in diuers places. But the greatest honor that euer he wanne, and which neuer other Consull of the Romanes but him selfe obtained, was this: that he made his third triumphe of the three partes of the world. Diuers other Romanes had triumphed thrise before him, howbeit he first triumphed of Africke: the seconde time of Europe: the third time of Asia. So that it appeared by these three triumphes, that he had triumphed in maner of all the lande that is inhabited, being at that time, (as it is reported by them which compare his doinges vnto *Alexander* the great) vnder foure and thirty yeares of age, though in troth at that time he was neere forty. O, happy had it bene for him, if he had B dyed when he had *Alexanders* fortune: for all his life afterwardes, made his prosperitie hatefull, or his aduersity miserable. Imploying the honor and authority he had gotten by his vallinesse, fauoring mens vniust causes: the more he furthered them, the more he lessened his honor, and vnwares brought his greatnes to nothing. For like as when the strongest places of a citie, which receiuinge their enemies into them, doe geue them the benefit of their owne strength: euen so, through *Pompeys* power, *Cæsar* growing to be great, ouerthrew him in the end with the selfe same meanes he imployed, to the ouerthrowe of others. And thus it fortuned. *Lucullus* at his returne out of Asia (where *Pompey* had vncurteously vsed him) was then very well taken of the Senate, and much more when *Pompey* was also come to Rome. For the Senate did counsell and incorage him to deale in thaffaires of the state, seeing him wake very O slow, and geuen too much to his ease & pleasure, by reason of his great wealth he had gotten. So when *Pompey* was come, he beganne to speake against him, and through the frendshippe and assistance of *Cato*, confirmed all his doinges in Asia, which *Pompey* had broken and reiected. *Pompey* finding he had such a repulse of the Senate, was driuen to haue recourse vnto the Tribunes of the people, and to fall in frendship with light young men. Of the Tribunes, the most impudent & vilest person was *Clodius*: who receiued him, & made him a praye vnto the people. For he had *Pompey* euer at his elbow, & against his honor caried him vp & downe the market place after him, to speake as occasion serued to confirme any matter or deuise which he preferred vnto him to flatter the common people. And further, for recompence of his goodwill, he craued of *Pompey* (not as a thing dishonorable, but beneficiall for him) that he D would forsake *Cicero*, who was his frend, and had done much for him in matters of common wealth. *Pompey* graunted his request. Thereupon *Cicero* being brought in danger of law, and requiring *Pompeys* frendship to helpe him, he shut his dore against them that came to speake in his behalfe, and went out him selfe at an other backe dore. *Cicero* thereuppon fearing the extreamity of law, willingly forsooke Rome. At that time, *Iulius Cæsar* returning home from his Prætorshippe out of Spayne, beganne to lay such a platte, that presently brought him into great fauor, and afterwardes much increased his power, but otherwise vtterly vndid *Pompey* and the common wealth. Now he was to sue for his first Consullshippe, and considering the enmitie betwext *Pompey* and *Crassus*, if he ioyned with the one, he made the other his enemie: he deuised to make them frendes, a thing seeming of great honestie at the first sight, but yet a E pestilent deuise, and as subtill a practise as could be. For the power of the city being before deuided into two partes, (as a shippe euenly balleste of eche side) and maintained the common wealth vpright: being now brought into one mās power, there was no possibility to withstand it, so that all fell to wracke in the end. Whereuppon, *Cato* wisely told them afterwardes, that sayd the ciuill warres betwext *Pompey* and *Cæsar* was cause of the destruction of the common wealth: that their enmity and discord was not the chiefe originall cause of this misery, but rather their frendshippe and agreement. For by their frendshippe, *Cæsar* was chosen Consull, who straight fell to flatter the people and poore men, and made a law for restoring of the colonies belonging to Rome, and for distributing of lands to them that had none, imbasing the maiesty and dignity of the chiefe Magistrate, and making the Consullshippe in maner no bet- F ter then he Tribuneship of the people. *Bibulus* his colleague and fellowe Consull, did what he could to resist him, and *Cato* also did aide him to his power: vntill *Cæsar* openly brought *Pompey* into the pulpit for orations before the people, and calling him by his name, asked him if

Pompey conquered three partes of the world: Africke. Europe. Asia.

Pompey triumphed thrise before the age of forty yeres.

The chaunge of Pompeys fortune and honor.

Lucullus beloued of the Senate at his returne out of Asia.

Lucullus imployed against Pompey, by Cæsars meanes.

Pompey ioyned with Clodius, Tribune of the people.

Pompey forsaketh his friend Cicero.

Cæsar reconciled Pompey and Crassus.

Cæsars Law for deuiding of landes. Lex Agraria.

Pompey gaue his consent with Cæsar, for passing his law Agraria.

he did geue his consent to the decrees which he did set forth. *Pompey* aunswered him, he did. Why then, sayd *Cæsar*, if any man will by force let the passing of this law by voyces of the people: wilt thou not then come to helpe them? Yes that I will in deede, sayd *Pompey*. Against them that threaten with the sword, I will bring both sword and target. *Pompey* in all his life neuer did nor spake thinge that men more misliked, then that which he sayd at that time. His frendes excused him, and sayd it was a word passed his mouth before he was aware: but his deedes afterwardes shewed, that he was altogether at *Cæsars* commaundement. For not many dayes after, he maried *Iulia* the daughter of *Cæsar*, which was affianced, or made sure before, vnto *Seruilius Cæpio* when no man thought of it: and to pacifie *Cæpioes* anger, he gaue him his owne daughter in mariage, whome he had also promised before vnto *Faustus* the sonne of *Sylla*: and *Cæsar* also maried *Calphurnia*, the daughter of *Piso*. After this, *Pompey* filling all Rome with souldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Consull *Bibulus* came into the market place accompanied with *Lucullus* and *Cato*, they sodainly set vpon him, and brake the bundels of rods which his officers caried before him: and some one, whatsoeuer he was, cast a basket of horse dong apon his head. Moreouer, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were also very sore hurt. By this meanes, hauing cleered the market place of all their enemies, they passed the law for diuision of lands, as they would them selues. The people being fleshed with this baite, were contented to be ruled by them as they would, and would neuer sticke at any matter that they would haue passed. So were all *Pompeys* matters confirmed, which *Lucullus* was against: and they appointed vnto *Cæsar* also, the gouernment of the Gavles on this side and beyond the Alpes: and Illyria for fiue yeres space, with foure whole legions. The next yeare following were appointed Consulls, *Piso Cæsars* father in law, and *Gabinius* the greatest flatterer *Pompey* had about him. But now while things stoode in these tearmes, *Bibulus* though he were Consull, kept him selfe close in his house for eight monethes space, and only sent out billes, and set them vp on euery post in open places, accusing *Pompey* and *Cæsar*. *Cato* on the other side, as if he had bene inspired with the spirite of prophecie, tolde openly in the Senate house, what would become of the common wealth and *Pompey*. *Lucullus* growing old, lay still and tooke his pleasure, & would no more meddle in the common wealth. At that time it was that *Pompey* sayd: it was more vnseasonable for an old man to followe his pleasure, then to attend matters of the cõmon wealth. Yet him selfe shortly after was so doted of his young wife, that he would follow her vp and downe in the contry, and in his gardens, and leaue all affaires of waight aside. Whereupon *Clodius* being then Tribune of the people, despised *Pompey*, and beganne to enter into seditious attemptes. For when he had driuen *Cicero* out of Rome, and had sent away *Cato* to make warres in Cyprvs, and that *Cæsar* also was occupied in Gavle, & finding that the people in like case were at his commaundement, bicause to flatter them he did what they would haue him: he attempted incontinently to vndo some things that *Pompey* had established. Amongest other things, he tooke *Tigranes* out of prison, and euer caried him vp and downe with him wheresoeuer he went, and continually pict quarrells vnto *Pompeys* frends, to trye what credit he had. In the end *Pompey* comming abroad one day into the common assembly, to here how a matter of his was handled: this *Clodius* hauing a company of vacabondes and desperate men about him, that cared not what they did: he sitting in a place where he might be seene from the rest, beganne to aske these questions out alowde. Who is the licentiousest Captaine in all this city? What man is he that seekes for a man? What is he that scratcheth his head with one finger? They, like a companie of daunsers or singers, when he spake and clapped his handes on his gowne, aunswered him straight alowde to euery question, that it was *Pompey*. This went to *Pompeys* harte, that was not wont to heare him selfe so ill spoken of openly, neither was acquainted with any such kinde of sight: but yet it made him byte the lippe more, when he saw the Senate glad to see him thus shamed and reproued, as a iust reuenge & punishment for his vile betraying and forsaking of *Cicero*. So, great sturre and vprore being made vpon this in the market place, and many men sore hurt, and one of *Clodius* bondmen being taken also in the prease of the people with a sword in his hand, very neere vnto *Pompey*: making this his colour (but otherwise fearing *Clodius* insolency & prowde words) he would neuer after come into the market place, as long as *Clodius* was Tribune, but kept at home

Pompey maried Iulia, the daughter of Cæsar.

Bibulus the Consull driuen out of the market place, by Pompey.

The law Agraria confirmed by the people.

Gaule and Illyria appointed vnto Cæsar.

Piso, and Gabinius, Consulls.

Cato foresheweth the ruine of the common wealth, & of Pompey.

Clodius the Tribune, setteth vppon Pompey.

Pompey was grieuously scorned of Clodius.

A home ſtill, conſulting with his frendes what way he ſhould take, to appeaſe the anger of the Senate againſt him. Thereuppon, one of his frendes called *Culeo*, perſwaded him to put away his wife *Iulia*, and vtterly to refuſe *Cæſars* frendſhippe, and to ſticke againe to the Senate: but he would none of that. Notwithſtanding he was contented to hearken vnto them that gaue him counſell to call *Cicero* home againe, who was *Clodius* mortall enemie, and in great fauor with the Senate. Thereuppon, he brought *Ciceroes* brother into the market place, to moue the matter to the people, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blowes, and diuers were ſlaine of either ſide: notwithſtanding, he ouercame *Clodius*. Thus *Cicero* being called home by decree of the people, when he was come, he brought *Pompey* againe in fauor with the Senate, and ſtanding with the lawe propounded to geue *Pompey* authoritie to cauſe
B come to be brought to ROME, he once againe made him haue power both by land and ſea ouer all the territories of the ROMANES. For all the haiens, martes & fayres, & all ſtore houſes for corne, yea moreouer all the trade of marchandiſe and tillage, came vnder *Pompeys* hands. Then *Clodius* accuſing him, ſayd: that the Senate had not made this law for the dearth of vittells, but that they made a dearth of vittells, bicauſe the lawe ſhould paſſe, to reuiue *Pompeys* power and authority againe, that was almoſt vnder foote. Other ſay, that this was a deuiſe of *Lentulus Spinther* the Conſull, who gaue *Pompey* the greater authoritie, bicauſe he might be ſent to put king *Ptolomy* againe into his kingdom. This notwithſtanding, *Gauidius* the Tribune preferred an other law to ſend *Pompey* without an army, with two ſergeaunts only to cary the axes before him, to bring *Ptolomy* in fauor againe with the ALEXANDRIANS. This law ſeemed
C not to miſlike *Pompey*: but the Senate with honeſt colour put by this lawe, as being affrayed leaſt *Pompeys* perſon ſhould miſcary in ſo doing. Neuertheleſſe, litle papers were found throwen about the market place, and the Senate houſe, declaringe that *Ptolomy* deſired *Pompey* might come to aide him in *Spinthres* ſtead. *Timagenes* wryteth notwithſtanding, that *Ptolomy* went vnto ROME, & left ÆGYPT without any occaſion geuen him, at the perſwaſion of *Theophanes*, who perſwaded him to doe ſo, bicauſe he would geue *Pompey* occaſion to make newe warres. But *Theophanes* craft and ſuttilty made not this matter ſo credible, as *Pompeys* wit and good nature made it altogether vntrue: for his ambitiō was nothing ſo vile nor ill, as that was. So, *Pompey* hauing now full authority to cauſe corne to be brought to ROME, he ſent then his Lieutenauntes and frendes abroade, and him ſelfe in perſon went into SICILE. Nowe being
D ready to returne againe, there roſe ſuch a ſtorme of winde in the ſea, that the maryners were in dout to way their anckers. But him ſelfe firſt imbarked, and commaunded them ſtraight to hoyſe ſayle, crying out alowde, it is of neceſſitie I muſt goe, but not to liue. So, through his boldnes and good ſpirite, vſing the good fortune he had, he filled all the places of marte, and markets with corne, and all the ſea beſides with ſhippes: inſomuch, the plenty he brought did not only furniſhe the city of ROME, but all their neighbours alſo about them, and came like a liuely ſpring that diſperſed it ſelfe through all ITALIE. About that time, the great conqueſtes that *Cæſar* made in GAVLE, did ſet him aloft. For when they thought that he was occupied in warres farre from ROME, with the BELGEANS, SWISSES, and Engliſhmen: he by ſecret practiſe, was in the middeſt among the people at ROME, & moſt againſt *Pompey* in the waightieſt
E affayres of the common wealth. For he had the power of an armie about his perſon, which he did harden with paines and continuall practiſe, not with intent to fight onely againſt the barbarous people: for the battells he had with them, were in maner but as a hunting ſporte, by the which he made him ſelfe inuincible, and dreadfull to the worlde. But furthermore, by the infinite gold & ſiluer, and the incredible ſpoiles and treaſure which he wan apon the enemies whom he had ouercome: and by ſending great preſentes alſo to ROME, to the Ædiles, Prætors, Conſulls, and their wiues, he purchaſed him many frendes. Therefore, after he had paſſed ouer the Alpes againe, and was come to winter in the city of LVCA: a world of people (both men and women) and of the Senate them ſelues almoſt two hundred perſons (and amongeſt them, *Craſſus* and *Pompey* by name) went out of ROME vnto him. Furthermore, there
F were ſeene at *Cæſars* gate, ſixe ſcore ſergeauntes carying axes before Prætors, or Proconſulls. So *Cæſar* ſent euery one backe againe, either full of money, or good wordes: but with *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, he made a matche, that they two together ſhould ſue to be Conſulls, and that he

Commiſſion geuē to Pompey for bringing of corne into Rome.

The reſtoring againe of Ptolomy king of AEgypt to his realme.

Great repaire vnto Cæſar, wintring at Luca.

him ſelfe would ſend them good aide to Rome, at the daye of election, to geue their voyces. A
And if they were thoſen, that they ſhould then practiſe by decree of the people, to haue the
gouernmentes of ſome newe prouinces and armies aſſigned them: and withall, that they
ſhould adiorne the gouernment of thoſe prouinces he had, for fiue yeares more. This packe
being bewrayed and ſpred abroad through Rome, the honeſteſt ſorte miſliked much thereof.
Wherupon *Marcellinus* at an open aſſembly of the people, did aske them both, if they would
ſue for the Conſulſhip at the next election. So, they being vrged by the people to make an-
ſwere, *Pompey* ſpake firſt, and ſaid: peraduenture he would, peraduenture not. *Craſſus* an-
ſwered more gently, that he would doe that which ſhould be beſt for the common wealth.
Then *Marcellinus* ſharpely inueying againſt *Pompey*, he angrily againe caſt him in the teeth, & B
ſaid, that *Marcellinus* was the rankeſt churle, and the vnthankefulleſt beaſt in the world: for
that of a dumme man he had made him eloquent, and being in maner ſtarued and famiſhed,
many a time he had filled his bellie. This notwithſtanding, diuers that before were determi-
ned to ſue for the Conſulſhip, went no further in it, ſauing *Lucius Domitius*, whom *Cato* coun-
ſelled and incoraged not to geue it ouer: for, ſaid he, thou doeſt not contend for the Conſul-
ſhip, but to defend the common libertie of thy contry againſt two tyrannes. *Pompey* therefore
fearing *Catoes* faction, leaſt that hauing all the Senates good willes, he ſhould drawe alſo the
beſt parte of the people after him: thought it not good to ſuffer *Domitius* to come into the
market place. To this ende therefore, he ſent men armed againſt him, who at the firſt onſet,
ſlue the torche bearer that caryed the torche before him, and made all the reſt flie: amongeſt
whom alſo *Cato* was the laſt man that retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of *Domi-* C
tius. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* being become Conſuls after this ſorte, they ordered them ſelues no-
thing the more temperately, nor honeſtly. For firſt of all, the people being about to chooſe
Cato Prætor, *Pompey* being at thaſſembly of the election, perceyuing that they would chooſe
him, brake vp the aſſembly, falſely alleaging that he had noted certaine ill ſignes, and after-
wardes, the tribes of the people being bribed and corrupted with money, they choſe *Annius*
and *Vatinius* Prætors. After that, by *Trebonius* tribune of the people, they publiſhed edicts,
authoriſing *Cæſars* charge for fiue yeares lenger, according to the appointment they had
made with *Cæſar*. Vnto *Craſſus* alſo they had appointed Syria, and the warre againſt the Par-
thians. Vnto *Pompey* in like caſe, all Affricke, and both Spaynes, with foure Legions be- D
ſides: of the which, at *Cæſars* deſire, he lent him two legions to help him in his warre in Gaule.
Theſe thinges done, *Craſſus* departed to his Prouince, at the going out of his Conſulſhip: and
Pompey remayned at Rome about the dedicating of his Theater, where he cauſed many good-
ly playes to be made, both for exerciſe of perſon, as alſo for learning and muſicke, and cauſed
wilde beaſtes alſo to be baited and hunted, and killed a fiue hundred lions. But of all thinges,
there was no ſuch feareſull ſight and terrible fight, as was betwene the elephantes. This great
charge and bountifull expence, defrayed by *Pompey*, to ſhew the people paſtime and pleaſure:
made him againe to be very much eſteemed of, and beloued amongeſt the people. But on
thother ſide, he wanne him ſelfe as much ill will and enuy, in committing the gouernment of
his Prouinces and Legions into the handes of his Lieutenants, whileſt he him ſelfe romed vp
and downe the pleaſaunt places of Italy, with his wife at his pleaſure: either by cauſe he was E
farre in loue with her, or els for that ſhe loued him ſo dearely, that he could not finde in his
harte to leaue her companie. It was reported of her, (being knowen of many) that this young
lady *Iulia* loued her houſband more dearely, not for *Pompeys* floriſhing age, but for his aſſured
continencie, knowing no other woman but her: beſides alſo, he was no ſolemne man, but
pleaſaunt of conuerſation, which made women loue him maruelouſly, vnles we will reproue
the curtiſan *Floraes* falſe teſtimonie. It is certaine, that at an election of the Ædiles, men riſing
ſodainely in hurly burly, drew their ſwordes, and many were ſlaine about *Pompey*: inſomuch
as his clothes being bloudyed, he ſent his men home in haſte to fetche him other to chaunge
him. His young wife that was great with child, ſeeing his clothes bloudie, tooke ſuch a ſlight
vpon it, that ſhe fell downe in a ſownde before them, and they had much a doe to recouer F
her, and yet ſhe fell ſtraight in labor apon it, and was deliuered. So that they themſelues, which
blamed him moſt for his good will he bare vnto *Cæſar*: could not reproue the loue he bare

vnto

The violence of Pompey obtayning the ſecond Conſulſhip.

Pompey and Craſſus ſecõd Conſulſhips.

Prouinces deuided vnto Pompey, Cæſar, and Craſſus.

A vnto his wife. An other time after that, she was great with child againe, whereof she died, and the childe liued not thany dayes after the mother. As *Pompey* was about to carie her into the contrie to be buried, to a house he had there neere vnto the citie of Alba, the people by force tooke her corse, & caried it into the field of *Mars*, more for the pitie they tooke of the young Ladie, then to pleasure either *Cæsar* or *Pompey*: and yet what the people did for them, it appeared rather they did it more for *Cæsars* sake being absent, then for *Pompey* that was present. But straight when this alliãce was broken, which rather couered, then bridled their ambitious desire to rule: there rose a new sturre in Rome immediatly, and euery mans mouth was full of prittle prattle and seditious wordes. Not longe after that also came newes, that *Crassus* was ouerthrowen, and slaine in Parthia: who was a manifest staye and let to kepe them two from B ciuill warres, for that they both feared him, & therefore kept them selues in a reasonable sorte together. But when fortune had taken awaie this third champion, who could haue withstood the better of them both that had ouercome the other? then might haue bene said of these two which remained, as the comycall Poet said:

The death of Iulia the daughter of Cæsar.

The beginning of the dissention betwixt Pompey & Cæsar.

See howe these Champions purposing eche others force to trie,
With painted skin and dusty hands stand vaunting valiantly.

So litle can fortune preuaile against nature, hauing no power to stoppe couetousnes: sith so large and great an Empire, and such a wide contrie besides, could not containe the couetous desire of these two men. But though they had often both heard and read,

Among the gods them selues all things by lot diuided are,
C *And none of them intrudes him selfe within his neighbours share.*

Yet they thought not that the Empire of Rome was enough for them, which were but two. But *Pompey* spake openly in an oration he made vnto the people, that he euer came to office before he looked for it, and also left it sooner then they thought he would haue done: & that he witnessed by discharging his armie so soone. Then thinking that *Cæsar* would not discharge his armie, he sought to make him selfe strong against him, by procuring offices of the citie, without any other alteracion. Neither would he seeme to mistrust him, but he plainely shewed that he did despise and contemne him. But when he sawe that he could not obtaine the offices of the citie as he would, bicause the citizens that made the elections were bribed with money: he then left it without a magistrate, so that there was none either to commaund, D or that the people should obey. Hereupon there ranne a brute straight, that there must nedes be a Dictator made, and the first man that propounded it, was *Lucilius* tribune of the people, who perswaded them to choose *Pompey*. But *Cato* stucke so stowtely against it, that the Tribune had like to haue lost his office, euen in the market place. But then many of *Pompeys* frendes stepped vp, and excused him, saying that he neither sought, nor would haue the Dictatorship. Then *Cato* commended him much, and praying him to see good order kept in the common wealth: *Pompey* being ashamed to denie so reasonable a requeste, was carefull of it. Thereupon two Consuls were chosen, *Domitius* and *Messala*: but afterwardes when the state beganne to chaunge againe, by the death of one of the Consuls, and that diuers were more earnestly bent to haue a Dictator than before, *Cato* fearing it would breake out with furie, determined E to geue *Pompey* some office of reasonable authoritie, to kepe him from the other more tyrannicall. Insomuch, *Bibulus* him selfe being chiefe of the Senate, and *Pompeys* enemie, was the first that moued, *Pompey* might be chosen Consul alone: for, said he, by this meanes, either the common wealth shalbe ridde of the present trouble, or els it shalbe in bondage to an honest man. This opinion was maruelled at, in respect of him that spake it. Whereupon, *Cato* standing vp, it was thought straight he would haue spoken against him. But silence being made him, he plainely tolde them, that for his owne part he would not haue bene the first man to haue propounded that was spoken: but sithence it was spoken by another, that he thought it reasonable and meete to be followed. And therefore, said he, it is better to haue an office to commaund, whatsoeuer he be, rather then none: & that he saw no man fitter to commaund, F then *Pompey*, in so troublesome a time. All the Senate liked his opinion, and ordained that *Pompey* should be chosen sole Consul: and that if he sawe in his discretion he should neede the assistance of an other companion, he might name any whome he thought good, but not

Variance among the Senate for Pompeys honor.

Cato spake in Pompeys fauor.

Pompey chosen Consull.

till two monethes were past. Thus was *Pompey* made Consul alone by *Sulpitius*, regent for the daie. Then *Pompey* made very frendly countenance vnto *Cato*, and thanked him for the honor he had done him, praying him priuately to assist him with his counsell in the Consulshippe. *Cato* aunswered him, that there was no cause why he should thanke him, for he had spoken nothing for his sake, but for respect of the common wealth only: and for his counsell, if he would aske it, he should priuately haue it, if not, yet that he would openly saie that which he thought. Such a man was *Cato* in all his doinges. Now *Pompey* returning into the citie, married *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Metellus Scipio*, not a maiden, but late the widow of *Publius Crassus* the sonne, that was slaine in Parthia, to whom she was maried a maiden. This Ladie had excellent giftes to be beloued besides her beautie. For she was properly learned, could play on the harpe, was skilfull in musicke and geometrie, and tooke great pleasure also in philosophie, and not vainely without some profit. For she was very modest and sober of behauiour, without brawling & foolish curiositie, which commonly young women haue, that are indued with such singular giftes. Her father also, was a noble man, both in bloud, and life. Notwithstanding, these vnlike mariages did nothing please some: for *Cornelia* was young enough to haue bene his sonnes wife. Now the best citizens thought, that therein he regarded not the care of the common wealth, being in such a troublesome time, which had chosen him onely, as her remedie to redresse the same: and that he in the meane time gaue himselfe ouer to marying and feasting, where rather he should haue bene carefull of his Consulshippe, which was disposed apon him against the lawe, for common calamities sake, that otherwise he had not come by, if all had bene quiet. Furthermore, he sharpely proceeded against them, which by briberie and vnlausull meanes came to office: and hauing made lawes and ordinances for the administration of Iustice otherwise, he delt iustly and vprightly in all thinges, geuing safetie, order, silence and grauitie, to matters of Iudgement, with force of armes, himselfe being present: sauing that when his father in lawe was also accused among other, he sent for the three hundred & three score Iudges home to his house, praying them to helpe him. Whereupon, when the accuser saw *Scipio* accompanied by the Iudges themselues, returning into the market place: he let fall his sute. This made *Pompey* againe be condemned, and blamed also more then before, for that he hauing made a lawe, that no man should praise the offendors, whilst their matter was a hearing: came him selfe and openly praised *Plancus* being accused. Thereupon *Cato* being one of the Iudges, stopped his eares with both his handes, saying: that he might not heare an offendor praised, seeing it was forbidden by lawe. But therefore he was refused for a Iudge, before they gaue sentence. Notwithstanding, *Plancus* was condemned by all the rest of the Iudges, to *Pompeys* great shame and reproache. Shortly after, *Hypseus*, one that had bene Consul, being likewise accused, watching *Pompey* on a time as he came out of his bathe to goe to supper: vpon his knees he besought *Pompeys* fauor and helpe. But he stately passed by him, and gaue him no other aunswere, but told him, he marred his supper, and said nothing els to him. This inconstancy was much reproued in *Pompey*. Howbeit otherwise he set all thinges in good order, and chose his father in lawe *Scipio*, for his colleague and fellow in the Consulshippe, for the fiue last monethes. After that, he caused the gouernment of his prouinces to be appointed him for foure yeares more, with commission to take yearely out of the treasure a thowsand talentes to defraye the charges of this warre. *Cæsars* frend seeing that, stepped vp for him, and prayed that there might also be had some consideracion of him, that had likewise great warres for the Empire of Rome: saying, that his good seruice deserued, either that they should make him Consul againe, or els that they should prolonge his charge and gouernment, so as he might yet peacibly enioye the honor to commaund that which he had conquered, to thend that no other successor might reape the frute of his labor. Much sturre and contention being about this matter at Rome, *Pompey* as though for goodwill bement to excuse the enuie they might haue borne *Cæsar*, said that he had receyued letters from him, by the which he requested a successor, and to be discharged of this warre: and furthermore, that he thought it good they should graunt him priuiledge to demaund the second Consulshippe, although he were absent. Which *Cato* stowtely withstoode, saying, that he must retorne home as a priuate man, and leauing his armie, should come in person to demaund

Pompey married Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio. The vertues of Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio.

Pompeys prouinces assigned him foure yeares further.

recom-

A recompence of his contrie. But by cause *Pompey* made no speche nor answere to the contrarie, men suspected straight that he had no great good liking of *Cesar*, and the rather, by cause he had sent vnto him for the two legions which he had lent him, vnder colle of his warre against the PARTHIANS. But *Cesar* though he smelt him where fore he sent for his souldiers, returned them home with liberall reward. About that time, *Pompey* fell sicke at NAPLES of a dangerous disease, whereof notwithstanding he recouered againe. The NEAPOLITANS thervpon, by perswasion of *Brancatius*, one of the chiefest men of their cities, did sacrifice vnto the goddes for his recouerie. The like did also their neighbours round about: and in fine it rinne so generally through all ITALY, that there was no citie or towne (great or small) but made open feast and reioycing for many dayes together. Besides, the infinite nomber of people was such, that went to meete him out of all partes: that there was not place enough for them all, but the high wayes, cities, townes and ports of the sea, were all full of people, feasting and sacrificing to the gods, reioycing for his recouerie. Diuers also went to meete him, crowned with garlandes, and so did attend on him, casting nosegayes and flowers apon him. Thus was his iorney the noblest sight that euer was, all the way as he came: how beit men thought also, that this was the chiefest cause of the beginning of the ciuil warres. For he fell into such a pride, and glorious conceit of him selfe, with the exceeding ioye he tooke to see himselfe thus honored: that forgetting his orderly gouernment, which made all his former doings to prosper, he grew to bolde in despising of *Cesars* power, as though he stoode in no neede of other power or care to withstand him, but that he could ouercome him as he would, farre more easely, then he could haue done before. Furthermore, *Appius* thereupon returned from GAVLE, that brought him his two legions backe againe which he had lent vnto *Cesar*, reproching much his doinges which he had done there, and geuing out many fowle words against *Cesar*. For he said, that *Pompey* knew not his owne strength and aucthorities, that would seeke to make him selfe stronge, by other power against him: considering that he might ouercome him with his owne legions he should bring with him, so soone as they sawe but *Pompey* in the face, such ill will did *Cesars* owne souldiers beare him, and were maruelous desirous besides to see him selfe. These flattering tales so puffed vp *Pompey*, and brought him into such a securitie and trust of him selfe, that he mocked them to scorne which were affrayed of warres. And to those also which said, that if *Cesar* came to ROME, they saw not how they could resist his power: he similingly answered them againe, and bad them take no thought for that: for at one time he said he as I doe but stampe with my foote apon the ground of ITALY, I shal bring men enough out of euery corner, both footemen and horsemen. In the meane time, *Cesar* gathered force still vnto him, and thenceforth drew neerer vnto ITALY, and sent part of his souldiers daily to ROME, to be present at the election of the magistrates, and many of them that were in office, he wanne with money: amongest whom, was *Paule*, one of the Consules, whom he wanne of his side, by meanes of a thowsand fiue hundred talents. And *Curio*, the tribune of the people, whom he discharged of an infinite debt he ought: and *Marke Antony* also, who for *Curios* sake, was discharged likewise for parte of the debt which *Curio* ought, being also bound as him selfe. Furthermore, it was found that a captaine or Centurion sent from *Cesar*, being neere vnto the Senate, vnderstanding that the counsell would not proclaime *Cesar* gouernment which he required, clapping his hand vpon the pummell of his sword: well said he, this shall geue it him. So, to be shorte, all that was done and said, tended to his end. Notwithstanding, the petitions and requestes that *Curio* made in *Cesars* behalfe, seemed somewhat more reasonable for the people: for he required one of the two, either to make *Pompey* to put downe his armie, or els to licence *Cesar* to haue his armie as well as he. For, either being both made priuate men, they would fall to agreement of them selues: or els being both of like strength, neither of both would set in any alteration, fearing lest another, but would consider them selues either of them with halfe an eye. Or otherwise, he that should weaken the one, and strengthen the other, should double his power whom he feared. Then euery wholy replyed the Consul *Marcellus*, calling *Cesar*, theefe, and said that he should be proclaimed an open enemie to ROME, if he did not dispatche his armie. This notwithstanding, in fine *Curio*, *Antony*, and *Pelio* procured that the Senate should decide the matter. For, said he, all those that would

Pompey fell sicke at Naples.

Great reioycing for the recouery of Pōpeis helth.

Pride, and foole conceit, made Pompey despise Cæsar.

Appius soothed Pompey, and fed his humor.

Pōpeys proud wordes.

Paule the Consul bribed by Cæsar.

Curio the tribune of the people, bribed by Cæsar.

haue *Cæsar* leaue his army, and *Pompey* to keepe his: let them ſtand on thone ſide. Thereupon A the moſt parte of them ſtoode at one ſide. Then he bad them againe come away from them that would haue them both leaue their armies. Then there remained only but two and twentie that ſtoode for *Pompey*: and all the reſt went of *Curioes* ſide. Then *Curio* looking aloft for ioy of the victorie, went into the market place, and there was receiued of his Tribune faction, with ſhowtes of ioy and clapping of handes, and infinite noſegayes and garlandes of flowers throwen vppon him. *Pompey* was not then preſent to ſee the Senators good will towardes him: bicauſe by the law, ſuch as haue commaundement ouer ſouldiers, can not enter into ROME. Notwithſtanding, *Marcellus* ſtanding vp, ſayd: that he would not ſtande muſling hearing of orations and argumentes, when he knew that tenne legions were already paſſed ouer the Alpes, intending to come in armes againſt them: and that he would ſend a man B vnto them, that ſhould defende their contrie well enough. Straight they chaunged apparell at ROME, as their manner was in a common calamitie. *Marcellus* then comminge through the market place vnto *Pompey*, beinge followed of all the Senate, went to him, and tolde him openly: *Pompey*, I commaund thee to helpe thy contry with that army thou haſt already and alſo to leauy more to aide thee. The like ſpeeche did *Lentulus* vſe vnto him, who was appointed one of the Conſulls the yeare following. Now, when *Pompey* thought to leauy ſouldiers in ROME and to bill them, ſome would not obey him, a few others went vnwillingly to him with heauie hartes, and the moſt of them cried, peace, peace. *Antony* alſo, againſt the Senates minde, red a letter vnto the people ſent from *Cæsar* containing certaine offers and reaſonable requeſtes, to draw the common peoples affection towardes him. For his requeſt C was, that *Pompey* and he ſhould both of them reſigne their gouernments, and ſhould diſmiſſe their armies to make all well, referring them ſelues wholly to the iudgement of the people, and to deliuer vp accompt vnto them of their doinges. *Lentulus* being nowe entred into his Conſulſhippe, did not aſſemble the Senate. But *Cicero* lately returned out of CILICIA, practiſed to bring them to agreement, propounding that *Cæsar* ſhould leaue GAVLE, and all the reſt of his armie, reſeruing onely two legions and the gouernment of ILLYRIA, attending his ſeconde Conſulſhippe. *Pompey* liked not this motion. Then *Cæsars* frendes were contented to graunt that he ſhould haue but one of his legions: But *Lentulus* ſpake againſt it, and *Cato* cried out on thother ſide alſo, that *Pompey* was deceiued, and they both. So all treatie of peace was cutte of. In the meane time, newes came to ROME, that *Cæsar* had wonne ARIMINVM, a fayer great citie of ITALIE, and that he came directly to ROME with a great power. D But that was not true. For he came but with three hundred horſe, and fiue thowſand footemen, and would not tarie for the reſt of his armie that was yet on thother ſide of the mountaines in GAVLE, but made haſt rather to ſurpriſe his enemies apon the ſodaine, being affrayd and in garboyle, not looking for him ſo ſoone: rather then to geue them time to be prouided, and to fight with him when they were ready. For when he was come to the riuers ſide of Rubicon, (which was the vtmoſt confine of the prouince he had in charge towardes ITALIE) he ſtayed ſodainely, weying with him ſelfe the great enterpriſe he tooke in hand. At the laſt, as men that being of a maruelous height from the ground do hedlong throw themſelues downe, E cloſing of their eyes, and withdrawing their mindes from the thought of the daunger: crying out theſe wordes only vnto them that were by, in the greeke tongue, ἀνερρίφθω κύβος in engliſh, let the dyce be caſt (meaning hereby to put all in hasard, and according to our prouerbe, to ſet all on ſix and ſeuen) he paſſed ouer with his armie. Now, the newes of his comming being caried to ROME, they were in ſuch a maruelous feare, as the like was neuer ſeene. For all the Senate ranne immediatly vnto *Pompey*, and all the other magiſtrates of the citie fled vnto him alſo. *Tullius* asking *Pompey* what power he had to reſiſt them, he aunſwered him, faltring ſomewhat in his ſpeach: that he had the two legions ready which *Cæsar* ſent him backe againe, and that he thought with the number of them which he had leauied, in haſt, he ſhould make vp the nomber of thirtie thowſand fighting men. Then *Tullius* cryed out openly: ah, thou haſt mocked vs *Pompey*: for thereupon gaue order they ſhould ſend ambaſſadors vnto *Cæsar*. There F was one *Phaonius* in the companie, who otherwiſe was no ill man, ſauing that he was ſomewhat to bolde, thinking to counterfeate *Catoes* plaine maner of ſpeach: he bad *Pompey* then

Pompey choſen to goe againſt *Cæsar*.

Cicero moueth reconciliation betwext *Cæsar* and *Pompey*.

Rubicon ſl. *Cæsar* paſſed ouer the riuer of Rubicon.

Cæsars ſaying: let the dye be caſt.

Phaonius ouerbold words vnto *Pompey*.

ſtampe

A ſtampe his foote apon the ground,& make thoſe ſouldiers come which he had promiſed the. *Pompey* gently bare with *Phaonius* mocke. But whē *Cato* told him alſo, what he had prophecied before hand of *Cæſar*, he aunſwered him againe: in deed thou haſt prophecied more truly then I, but I haue delte more frendly then he. Then *Cato* thought good that they ſhould make him lieutenant generall of ROME with full and abſolute power to commaund all, ſaying: that the ſelfe ſame men which doe the greateſt miſchiefe, know beſt alſo how to remedie the ſame. So he immediatly departed into SICILE, hauing the charge and gouernment of that contrie: and alſo euery one of the other Senators went vnto the charge they were appointed. Thus all ITALY being in armes, no man knew what was beſt to be done. For they that were out of ROME, came flying thither from all partes: and thoſe on thother ſide that were within ROME, went

Tumult at Rome apon Cæſars comming.

B out as faſt, and forſooke the citie in this trouble and diſorder. That which might ſerue being willing to obeye, was found very weake: and that on thother ſide which by diſobedience did hurte, was to ſtronge and ill to be gouerned by the magiſtrates, hauing lawe to commaund. For there was no poſſibilitie to pacifie their feare, neither would they ſuffer *Pompey* to offer thinges as he would: but euery man followed his owne fancie, euen as he found himſelfe greiued, affraid, or in doubt, and in one daie they were in diuers mindes. *Pompey* could heare nothing of certaintie of his enemies. For ſome, one while would bring him newes one way, and then againe another way: and then if he would not credit them, they were angry with him. At the length, when he ſaw the tumult & confuſion ſo great at ROME, as there was no meane to pacifie it: he commaunded all the Senators to follow him, telling all them that remained

C behinde, that he would take them for *Cæſars* frendes, and ſo at night departed out of the citie. Then the two Conſuls fled alſo, without doing any ſacrifice to the goddes, as they were wont to do before they went to make any warres. So *Pompey*, euen in his greateſt trouble and moſt daunger, might thinke him ſelfe happy to haue euery mans goodwill as he had. For, though diuers miſliked the cauſe of this warre, yet no man hated the captaine: but there were more found that could not forſake *Pompey* for the loue they bare him, then there were that followed him to fight for their libertie. Shortly after *Pompey* was gone out of ROME, *Cæſar* was come to

Pompey forſooke Rome.

Cæſar entred Rome when Pompey fled.

ROME, who poſſeſſing the citie, ſpake very gently vnto all them he found there, and pacified their feare: ſauing that he threatned *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes of the people, to put him to death, bycauſe he would not ſuffer him to take any of the treaſure of the common wealth.

D Vnto that cruell threate, he added a more bitter ſpeach alſo, ſaying: that it was not ſo hard a thing for him to doe it, as to ſpeake it. Thus hauing put downe *Metellus*, and taken that he needed to ſerue his turne, he tooke apon him to follow *Pompey*, thinking to drine him out of ITALY, before that his armie he had in SPAYNE ſhould come to him. *Pompey* in the meane time, hauing taken the citie of BRVNDVSIVM, and gotten ſome ſhippes together: he made the two Conſuls preſently imbarke with thirtie enſeignes of footemen, which he ſent beyond the ſea before vnto DYRRACHIVM. And incontinently after that, he ſent his father in lawe *Scipio*, and *Cneus Pompey* his ſonne, into SYRIA, to prouide him ſhippes. Him ſelfe on thother ſide, fortified the rampers of the citie, and placed the lighteſt ſouldiers he had vpon the walles, and

Cæſar followeth Pompey.

Pompeis ſtratagame at Brunduſium, for his flying thence from Cæſar.

E cōmaunded the BRVNDVSINIANS not to ſturre out of their houſes: & further, he caſt trenches within the citie, at the ende of the ſtreetes in diuers places, and filled thoſe trenches with ſharpe pointed ſtakes, ſauing two ſtreetes onely, which went vnto the hauen. Then the third day after, hauing imbarked all the reſt of his ſouldiers at his pleaſure, he ſodainly liſting vp a ſigne into the ayer, to geue them warning which he had left to gard the rampers: they ſtraight ranne to him with ſpeede, and quickly receyuing them into his ſhippes, he wayed ancker, and hoyſed ſaile. *Cæſar* perceyuing the walles naked without ward, he ſtraight miſtruſted that *Pompey* was fled: who haſting after him, had almoſt ronne vpō the ſharpe ſtakes, and fallen into the trenches, had not the BRVNDVSINIANS geuen him warning of them. So he ſtayed, and ranne not ouerthwart the citie, but fetched a compaſſe about to goe to the hauen: where he found that all the ſhippes were vnder ſaile, two ſhippes onely excepted, vpon the which were left a

Pompey forſaketh Italy.

F few ſouldiers. Some thinke that this departure of *Pompey*, was one of the beſt ſtratageames of warre that euer he vſed. Notwithſtanding, *Cæſar* marueiled much, that he being in a ſtrong citie, and looking for his armie to come out of SPAYNE, and being maſter of the ſea beſides, that

Cicero reproued Pompey.

he would euer forſake ITALY. *Cicero* alſo reproued him, for that he rather followed *Themiſtocles* coũſell, thẽ *Pericles*: conſidering that the troubleſome time was rather to be likened vnto *Pericles*, thẽ *Themiſtocles* time. Yea *Cæſar* him ſelfe ſhewed, that he was affraid of the time. For when he had taken *Numerius* one of *Pompeys* frends, he ſent him vnto *Pompey* at BRVNDVSIVM, to offer him reaſonable cõdiciõs of peace: But *Numerius* followed *Pompey*, & ſailed away with him. By this meanes, *Cæſar* in three ſcore dayes being lord of all ITALIE without any bloodſhed: he was very deſirous to follow with ſpede after *Põpey*. But bycauſe he had no ſhips ready,

Cæſar leaueth Pompey, and goeth into Spayne.

he let him go, & haſted towardes SPAYNE, to ioyne *Pompeys* army there vnto his. Now *Pompey* in the meane ſpace, had gotten a maruelous great power together both by ſea & by land. His armie by ſea was wonderfull. For he had fiue hundred good ſhippes of warre, & of gallioũs,

Põpeys power in Greece.

foyſtes, & pinnaſes, an infinite nomber. By land, he had all the flower of the horſemẽ of ROME, and of all ITALIE, to the nomber of ſeuen thowſand horſe, all riche men, of great houſes, and valliant minds. But his footemen, they were men of all ſorts, & raw ſouldiers vntrained, whom

Pompey lying at Berrœe, traineth his ſouldiers.

Pompey continually exerciſed, lying at the citie of BERROEE, not ſitting idely, but taking paines, as if he had bene in the prime of his youth. Which was to great purpoſe to incorage others, ſeeing *Pompey* being eight and fifty yeare old, fight a foote armed at all peeces, & then a horſe backe, quickly to draw out his ſword while his horſe was in his full career, and eaſely to put it vp againe, and to throw his dart from him, not onely with ſuch agillitie to hyt pointe blancke, but alſo with ſtrength to caſt it ſuch a way from him, that fewe young men could doe the like. Thither came diuers kinges, princes, and great lordes of contries, and yeelded them ſelues vnto him: and of ROMANE captaines that had borne office, he had of them about him, the nom-

Labienus forſaketh Cæſar, and goeth to Pompey.

ber of a whole Senate. Amongſt them came vnto him *Labienus* alſo, who before was *Cæſars* frend, & had alwayes bene with him in his warres in GAVLE. There came vnto him alſo, *Brutus*, the ſonne of that *Brutus* which was ſlaine in GAVLE, a valliant man, and which had neuer ſpoken vnto *Pompey* vntil that day, bycauſe he tooke him for a murderer of his father: but then willingly followed him as defendor of the libertie of ROME. *Cicero* him ſelfe alſo, though he had both written and geuen counſell to the contrarie, thought it a ſhame to him not to be-

Cicero followeth Pompey.

mongeſt the nomber of them that would hazard their liues for defence of their contry. There came vnto him alſo *Tidius Sextius* euen into MACEDON, notwithſtanding that he was an old man, and lame of one of his legges: whom others laughing to ſcorne to ſee him come, when *Pompey* ſaw him, he roſe & went to meete him, iudging it a good token of their goodwills vnto him, when ſuch olde men as he, choſe rather to be with him in daunger, then at home with ſafety. Hereupon they ſate in counſell, and following *Catoes* opinion, decreed that they ſhould put no citizen of ROME to death but in battel, and ſhould ſacke no citie that was ſubiect to the Empire of ROME: the which made *Pompeys* part the better liked. For they that had nothing to doe with the warres, either bycauſe they dwelt farre of, or els for that they were ſo poore, as otherwiſe they were not regarded: did yet both in deede and word fauor *Pompeys* parte, thinking him an enemie both to the goddes and men, that wiſhed not *Pompey* victorie. *Cæſar* alſo

The clemency of Cæſar.

ſhewed him ſelfe very mercifull & curteous, where he ouercame. For when he had wonne all *Pompeys* armie that was in SPAYNE, he ſuffred the captaines that were taken to go at libertie,

Cæſar cõming out of Spayne, returned to Brunduſium.

& onely reſerued the ſouldiers. Then comming ouer the ALPES againe, he paſſed through all ITALY, & came to the citie of BRVNDVSIVM in the winter quarter: and there paſſing ouer the ſea, he went vnto the citie of ORICVM, & lãded there. Now *Cæſar* hauing *Vibius*, one of *Pompeys* famillier frends with him, whom he had takẽ priſoner: he ſent him vnto *Pompey* to pray againe that they might meete, & both of them deſperſe their armies within three dayes, and being recõciled (geuing their faith one to an other) ſo to retorne into ITALY like good frends together *Pompey* thought againe, that theſe were new deuiſes to intrappe him. Thereupon he ſodainely wẽt downe to the ſea, & tooke all the places of ſtrẽgth by the ſea ſide, ſafly to lodge his campe in, & all the ports, creekes & harbars for ſhips to lie in rode: ſo that what wind ſo euer blew on the skie, it ſerued his turne, to bring him either men, vittells, or money. *Cæſar* on thother ſide was ſo diſtreſſed both by ſea & by land, that he was driuẽ to procuer battel, & to aſſaile *Pompey* euen in his owne forts, to make him come out to fight with him: of whom moſt times he euer had the better in all skirmiſhes, ſauing once, when he was in daunger to haue loſt all his army.

For

A For *Pompey* had valiantly repulsed his men, and made them flie, and had slaine two thousand of them in the field: but he durst not enter pel mel with them into their campe as they fled. Whereupon *Cæsar* saide to his frendes, that his enemie had wonne the victorie that day, if he had knowen how to ouercome. This victorie put *Pompeys* men in such courage, that they would needes hasard battell. And *Pompey* him selfe also though he wrote letters vnto straunge kinges, captaines, and cities of his confederacie, as if he had already wonne all: was yet afrayed to fight an other battell, thinking it better by tracte of time, and distresse of vittells, to ouercome him. For *Cæsars* men being olde and expert souldiers, and wont euer to haue the victorie when they fought together: he knew they would be lothe to be brought to fight any other kinde of way, to be driuen to often remouing of their campe from place to place, and still to B fortifie and intrench them selues, and therefore that they would rather put it to aduenture out of hande, and fight it out. But notwithstanding that *Pompey* had before perswaded his men to be quiet, and not to sturre, perceyuing that after this last bickering *Cæsar* being scanted with vittells raised his campe, and departed thence to goe into THESSALY, through the contrie of the ATHAMANTANS: then he could no more bridle their glorie and corage, which cried, *Cæsar* is fled, let vs follow him. And others, let vs retorne home againe into ITALIE. And others also sent their frendes and seruantes before to ROME, to hier them houses neere the market place: intending when they came thether to sue for offices in the commonwelth. Some there were also that in a iollitie would needes take shippe, and saile into the Ile of LESBOS, vnto *Cornelia* (whom *Pompey* had sent thether) to cary her that good newes, that the warre was ended. Thereupon assembling the counsell, *Afranius* thought it best to winne ITALIE, for that C was the chiefest marke to be shot at in this warre: for whosoeuer obteyned that, had straight all SICILE, SARDINIA, CORSICA, SPAYNE, and GAVLE at commaundement. Furthermore, that it was a dishonor to *Pompey* (which in reason should touche him aboue all thinges) to suffer their contrie to be in such cruell bondage and subiection vnto slaues and flatterers of tyrantes, offering it selfe as it were into their handes. But *Pompey* neither thought it honorable for him, once againe to flie from *Cæsar*, and to make him follow him, sithe fortune had geuen him oportunitie to haue *Cæsar* in chase: nor lawfull also before the gods, to forsake his father in lawe *Scipio*, and many other also that had bene Consuls, despersed abrode in GRAECE and THESSALY, which should immediatly fall into *Cæsars* handes, with all their riches and armies D they had. Furthermore, he said, that they had care enough for the citie of ROME, which drew the warres fardest of from them: so as, they remaining safe & quiet at home, (neither hearing nor feeling the misery of warres) might in thend peaceably receiue and welcome him home, that remained conqueror. With this determinacion, he marched forward to follow *Cæsar*, being determined not to geue him battell, but to besiege him, & only to compasse him in still being neere vnto him, and so to cut him of from vittells. There was also an other reason that made him to follow that determinacion. For it was reported to him, that there was a speech geuen out among the ROMANE knights, that so soone as euer they had ouercome *Cæsar*, they must also bring *Pompey* to be a priuate man againe. Some saye therefore, that *Pompey* would neuer afterwardes imploy *Cato* in any greater matters of waight in all this warre, but when he E followed *Cæsar*, he left him captaine of his armie to kepe his cariage by sea, fearing that so soone as *Cæsar* were once ouercome, he would make him straight also resigne his authoritie. *Pompey* following *Cæsar* in this maner, faire and softly, they cryed out apon him, that he made no warre with *Cæsar*, but against his contrie and the Senate, by cause he might be still in authoritie: and that he would neuer leaue to haue them for his seruauntes and gard about him, which should rule and commaund the world. Furthermore, *Domitius Aenobarbus*, calling him continually *Agamemnon*, and king of kinges: made him much to be enuied. *Rhamnius* also mocked him as much as the other, that spake most boldest: for he went crying vp and downe, my maisters, I geue you warning, you are like to eate no TARSOVAN figges this yeare. And *Luring Afranius* also, he that had lost the armie which he had in SPAYNE, and F was also suspected for a traitour, seeing *Pompey* then refused to come to battell: I merualle, said he, that they which accuse me, doe not lustely goe to finde him out, whome they call the marchaunt and common buyer of prouinces, to fight with him presently. With these

Pompey threwe Cæsar.

Pompey followeth Cæsar into Thessaly.

Pompey mocked of his owne souldiers.

and many such other lewd speaches, they compelled *Pompey* in thend (who could not abide to be ill spoken of, and would not denie his frendes any thinge) to follow their vaine hopes and desires, and to forsake his owne wise determination: the which thinge, no good shippe master, and much lesse a chiefe and soueraine captaine, ouer so many nations and so great armies, should haue suffred, and consented vnto. Now, he that did alwayes commend the physitions, that would not follow the sonde desire of the sicke pacientes: was him selfe contented to obey the worst parte of his armie, fearing their displeasure, where their life or health stood in hazard. For who would thinke or iudge them to be wise men, and in their wittes, who walking vp and downe their campe, did already sue to be Consuls and Prætors? considering that *Spinther, Damitius*, & *Scipio*, were at strife together, making frendes to be highe bishoppe, (which office *Cæsar* had) as if they should haue fought with *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, or with the king of the NABATHEANS, which had camped by them, and not with *Cæsar* and his armie: who had taken a thowsand townes by assaulte, had subdued aboue three hundred seuerall nations, and had wonne infinite battells of the GERMANES and GAVLES; and was neuer ouercome: had also taken a million of men prisoners, and had likewise slaine so many at diuers battells. All this notwithstanding, they of *Pompeys* side still being importunate of him, & troubling him in this sorte: in fine, when they were come into the fields of PHARSALIA, they compelled *Pompey* to call a counsell. There *Labienus*, generall of the horsemen standing vp, swore before them all, that he would not returne from the battell, before he had made his enemies to flie. The like othe all the rest did take. The next night following, *Pompey* thought in his dreame, that he came into the Theater, and that the people to honor him, made a maruelous great clapping of their handes: & that he him selfe did set forth the temple of *Venus* the conquerour, with many spoiles. This vision partly put him in good courage, & partly againe made him doubt: for that he was affrayed, bycause *Cæsars* familie was discended from this goddesse *Venus*, that his dreame did signifie, that he should haue the honor of the victorie, with the spoiles he should winne of him. Besides all this, there ranne sodaine feareful noises & tumultes in his campe without any apparant cause, that waked all the campe vpon it. At the fourth watche, when the watche is renued in the morning, there was seene a maruelous great light ouer *Cæsars* campe, and they were all at rest. Of that, there came as it were a torche of a burning fire, and fell in *Pompeys* campe. The which *Cæsar* him selfe sayed he saw, when he went to search the watche. At the breake of the daye, *Cæsar* being determined to raise his campe, and to go to the citie of SCOTVSA, as his souldiers were busie about ouerthrowing of their tentes, & sending away their bagges and baggage before: there came skowtes vnto him, that brought him worde they sawe a great deale of armor and weapon caryed to and fro in their enemies campe, and hard a noise and hussling besides, as of men that were preparing to fight. After these came in other skowtes, that brought word also that their vaward was already set in battell raye. Then *Cæsar* said, that the daye was nowe come they had longed for so sore, and that they should now fight with men, not with hunger, nor with want of vittells: and thereupon gaue order presently that they should put out the red coates or armes vpon his tente, which was the signe all the ROMANES vsed, to shew that they would fight. The souldiers seeing that out, left their cariage and tentes, and with great showtes of ioye ranne to arme them selues. The captaines of euery band also, bestowed euery man in such place as he should fight, and so they conueyed them selues into battell raye, without any tumulte or disorder, as quietly, as if they should haue entred into a daunce. *Pompey* him selfe led the right winge of his armie against *Antony*. The middle of the battell he gaue vnto *Scipio* his father in lawe, being right against *Domitius Caluinus*. The left winge also was led by *Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus*, the which was garded with men of armes. For all the horsemen were placed on that side, to distresse *Cæsar* if they could, that was directly against them: and to ouerthrowe the tenth legion that was so much accounted of, being the valliantest souldiers the enemie had in all his armie, amongest the which *Cæsar* did euer vse to fight in person. *Cæsar* then seeing the left winge of his enemies so strong with the garde of the horsemen, and being affrayed of the brightnes of their armor: brought forward six enseignes for supply, which he placed hard behind the tenth legio, comaunding them that no man should sturre, least their enemies should discouer them.

Cæsars conquests.

Labienus, generall of Pompeis horsemē.

Pompeys dreame before the battell of Pharsalia.

Wonderfull noises hard in Pompeys campe.

Pompeys army set in battell raye in Pharsalia.

Cæsars order of fight.

A And furthermore, when the horſemen of the enemies ſhould come to geue charge vpon thē that then they ſhould ronne with ſpeed on the tod ſide of the formeſt ranckes, & not to throw their dartes farre from them, as the valliantest ſouldiers are wont to do, to come to the ſword the ſooner: but to throw them vpwardes into their enemies eyes and faces. For, ſaid he, theſe braue fellowes and fine daunſers, will neuer abide to haue their faces marred. And this was *Cæſars* deuiſe at that time. *Pompey* being a horſe backe, rode vp and downe to conſider the ordinaunce of both battells: and perceyuing that his enemies ſtoode ſtill in their ranckes, looking for the ſignall of battell, & that his owne battell on thother ſide waued vp & downe diſorderly, as men vnskilfull in warres: he was affrayed they would flie before they were charged. Therupō he ſtraightly cōmaūded thē in the voward, that they ſhould ſtedily kepe their rācks,

Pompeis ordinance of his battell.

B and ſtanding cloſe together ſhould ſo defend them ſelues, receyuing the charge of the enemy. But *Cæſar* diſliked of that deuiſe, for thereby, ſaid he, the force of their blowes was leſſened & in withholding them frō geuing the charge, he not only tooke away that courage which thaſſailant carieth with him that commeth with furie: but made them more ouer fainte hearted, in receyuing the charge of the enemies. In *Cæſars* armie, there were about two and twentie thowſand fighting men: and in *Pompeys* armie, ſomewhat aboue twiſe as many. Now, when the worde of battell was geuen of either ſide, and that the trompettes did ſounde the allarme: euery man beganne to looke to him ſelfe. But a few of the chiefeſt of the ROMANES, and certaine GRÆCIANS that were there alſo out of the ſet battel, perceyuing the imminent daunger, beganne to bethinke them, to what paſſe the ambition and wilfull contencion betwene theſe

Cæſar miſliketh Pompeis ordinance.

Battell betweni Cæſar and Pompey in Pharſalia.

C two men, had brought the ſtate of ROME. For, the weapons of kinſmen, the bandes of brethern, the enſeignes all alike, the flower of ſo many valliant men of one citie, did ſerue for a notable example, to ſhew how mans nature prickt forward with couetouſnes, is quite blinde and without reaſon. For if they could haue bene contented quietly to haue gouerned that which they had conquered: the greateſt, and beſt part of the world, both by ſea and by land, was ſubiect vnto them. Or otherwiſe, if they could not haue quenched their vnſatiable deſire of victorie & triumphe, they had occaſion of warre enough offred them againſt the PARTHIANS and GERMANES. Furthermore, they had enough to do beſides to conquer SCYTHIA, and the INDIANS: & withal, they had had an honeſt culler to haue cloked their ambitious deſires, if it had bene but to haue brought the barbarous people to a ciuill life. For what horſe men of SCY-

D THIA, or arrowes of PARTHIA, or riches of INDIANS, could haue abidden the power of three ſcore & ten thowſand ROMANE ſouldiers, & ſpecially beinged by two ſo famous captaines, as *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*? whoſe names, theſe ſtraunge & farre nations vnderſtood, longe before the name of the ROMANES: ſo great were their victories, hauing conquered ſo many wilde & barbarous people. They both being then in armes the one againſt the other, not regarding their honor, which made them ſo ambitious: did not ſpare their owne contry, who had vntill that time remained vnuincible, both in fame and prowes. For, the alliance that was made betwene them, the loue of *Iulia*, & marying with her, was ſuſpected frō the beginning to be but a deceit, & a pledge as it were of a cōſpiracie made betwene thē, for a priuate benefit, more thē for any true frendſhip. Now, whē the feildes of PHARSALIA were couered ouer with men, with horſe,

E and armor, and that the ſignall of battell was geuen on either ſide: the firſt man of *Cæſars* army that aduaunced forward to geue charge, was *Caius Craſſinius*, captaine of ſix ſcore and fiue men, to performe a great promiſe which he had made vnto *Cæſar*. For *Cæſar*, when he came out of his tent in the morning, ſeeing him, called him to him by his name, and aſked him what he thought of the ſucceſſe of this battell? *Craſſinius* holding out his right hand vnto him, cōragiouſly cryed: Oh *Cæſar*, thine is the victorie, and this daye thou ſhalt commend me either aliue or dead. Then remembring theſe wordes, he brake out of the ranckes, and many following after him, ranne amongeſt the middeſt of his enemies. Straight they came to the ſword, and made great ſlaughter. But he preſſing forward ſtill, one with a thruſt ranne him through the mouth, that the ſwords pointe came through at his necke. Thereupon *Craſſinius*

Caius Craſſinius geueth the onſet of Cæſars ſide.

Craſſinius ſlaine.

F being ſlaine, the battell was equall. *Pompey* did not make his left winge marche ouer ſodainely, but ſtayed, and caſt his eyes abroade to ſee what his horſemen would do, the which had already deuided their companies, meaning to compaſſe in *Cæſar*, and to make the ſmall nomber

of horſemen which he had before him to geue backe apon the ſquadron of his footemen. On thother ſide, as ſoone as *Cæſar* had geuē the ſignal of battel, his horſemen retired backe a lyttle, & the ſix enſeignes which he had placed ſecretly behinde them, (being three thowſand fighting men) ranne ſodainely to aſſaile the enemie vpon the flancke, and when they came neere vnto the horſemen, they threw the pointes of their dartes vpwardes according to *Cæſars* commaundement, and hyt the younge gentlemen full in their faces. They being vtterly vnskilfull to fight, & leaſt of all looking for ſuch maner of fight: had not the hartes to defend themſelues, nor to abide to be hurt as they were in their faces, but turning their heades, & clapping their hādes on their faces, ſhamefully fled. They being ouerthrowen, *Cæſars* men made no accompte to follow them, but went and gaue charge vpon the battel of footemen, in that place ſpecially where they had no gard of horſemen, whereby they might the eaſelier be compaſſed about. Thus, they being charged by them in the flancke, and in the vowarde alſo by the tenth legion, perceyuing them ſelues (contrarie to their expectation) compaſſed about by their enemies, where they thought to haue enuironned them: they could make no longer reſiſtance. They alſo being likewiſe driuen to flie, when *Pompey* ſaw the duſt in the element, & coniectured the flying of his horſemen: what minde he was of then, it was hard to ſay. For by his countenance, a man might well thinke he was like a man amazed, and at his wittes end, forgetting that he was *Pompey* the great: for that he went ſtraight into his campe, and ſpake neuer a word to any man, rightly verifiyng *Homers* verſes to this effect.

Pōpeis horſemen put to flight by Cæſar.

Pompeis flying in the fields of Pharſalia.

But mightie Ioue vvho ſittes aloft in yuorie chariot hie,
Strake Aiax vvith ſo great a feare that Aiax byandby,
Let fall his lethern target made of tough oxe hide ſeuen folde,
And ran avvay, not looking backe, for all he vvas ſo bold.

In this eſtate *Pompey* entred into his tent, and ſate him downe there a great while, and ſpake neuer a worde: vntill ſuch time as many of the enemies entred pell mell with his men that fled into his campe. And then, he ſaid no more: but what, euen into our campe? and ſo riſing vp, he put a gowne on his backe, euen fit for his misfortune, and ſecretly ſtale out of the campe. The other legions alſo fled: and great ſlaughter was made of the tent kepers, and their ſeruantes that garded the campe. For *Aſinius Pollio* writeth (who was at that battell on *Cæſars* ſide) that there were ſlaine onely but ſix thowſand ſouldiers. Howbeit at the taking of their campe, *Cæſars* ſouldiers then found plainly the madnes & vanitie of *Pompeys* men. For, all their tentes and pauilions were full of noſegayes and garlandes of mirtle, & their couches all couered with flowers, their tables full of bowles of wine, and men prepared ready to do ſacrifice for ioye, rather then to arme them ſelues to fight. Thus went they to battell, caried away with this vaine & fooliſh hope. Whē *Pompey* was gone a litle way frō his campe, he ſorſooke his horſe, hauing a very few with him: & perceyuing that no man purſued him, he went a foote faire & ſoftly, his head full of ſuch thoughts and imaginations, as might be ſuppoſed a man of his like calling might haue, who for foure & thirty yeares ſpace together, was wont cōtinually to carry victorie away, and beganne then euen in his laſt caſt, to proue what it was to flie, and to be ouercome: and who thought then with him ſelfe, how in one howres ſpace he had loſt the honor and riches, which he had gotten in ſo many foughten feildes and battels, whereby he was not longe before followed and obeyed of ſo many thowſand men of warre, of ſo many horſemen, and of ſuch a great fleete of ſhippes on the ſea, and then to goe as he did in ſuch poore eſtate, and with ſo ſmall a traine, that his very enemies who ſought him, knew him not. Thus when he was paſſed the citie of LARISSA, and comming to the vallie of Tempé: there being a thirſt, he fell downe of his bellie, and dranke of the riuer. Then riſing vp againe, he went his way thence, and came to the ſea ſide, and tooke a fiſhers cotage where he lay all night. The next morning by breake of the daye, he went into a litle bote vpon the riuer, and tooke the free men with him that were about him: and as for the ſlaues, he ſent them backe againe, and did counſell them boldely to goe to *Cæſar*, and not to be affrayed. Thus rowing vp and downe the ſhore ſide, in this litle bote, he ſpyed a great ſhippe of burden in the maine ſea, ryding at anker, which was ready to waye anker, and to ſaile awaye. The maſter of the ſhippe was a ROMANE, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with *Pompey*, yet knew him

Aſinius Pollio reporteth this battell.

The miſerable ſtate of Pompey.

by

A by sight very well. He was called *Peticius*, who had dreamed the night before, that he saw *Pompey* speake vnto him, not like the man he was wont to be, but in pouerty and in misery. So he had tolde this dreame vnto the mariners which sailed with him (as men commonly vse to doe, specially when they dreame of such weighty matters, and being at leasure withall) and at the very instant, there was one of the mariners that told him, he sawe a litle bote of the riuer rowing towards them, and that there were men in it that shooke their clokes at them, & held out their hands. Thereupon *Peticius* standing vp, knew *Pompey* straight, euen in like case as he had dreamed of him the night before: and clapping his head for anger, commaunded his mariners to let downe his bote, and gaue him his hand, calling him *Pompey* by his name, mistrusting (seeing him in that estate) what misfortune had happened to him. Thereupon, not looking B to be intreated, nor that he should tell him of his mishappe, he receiued him into his shippe, and all those he would haue with him: and then hoised saile. With *Pompey*, there were both the *Lentuli*, & *Faonius*. Shortly after also, they perceiued king *Deiotarus* comming from the riuer to them, that beckened and made signes to receiue them: which they did. At supper time, the master of the shippe, made ready such meate as he had abord. *Faonius* seeing *Pompey* for lacke of men to waite on him, washing of him selfe: ran vnto him, washed him, and annointed him, and afterwardes continued still to waite vpon him, and to doe such seruice about him, as seruaunts do to their masters, euen to washing of his feete, & making ready of his supper. When a simple man saw him, that could no skill of seruice, he sayd:

Peticius dreame of Pompey.

Pompey imbarketh in Peticius shippe a Romane.

Good gods, howe euery thing becommeth noble men?

C *Pompey* passing then by the citie of AMPHIPOLIS, coasted from thence into the Ile of LESBOS, to goe fetch his wife *Cornelia* and his sonne, being then in the city of MITYLENE. There hauing cast out his ancker, and riding at rode, he put a messenger on the shore & sent him into the citie to his wife: not according to her expectacion, who was still put in good hope by continuall letters and newes brought vnto her, that the warre was ended and determined by the city of DYRRACHIVM. This messenger now finding her in this hope, had not the hart so much as to salute her, but letting her vnderstande rather by his teares then wordes, the great misfortune *Pompey* had: told her, she must dispatch quickely, if she would see *Pompey* with one shippe only, and none of his, but borowed. The young Lady hearing these newes, fell downe in a sound before him, and neither spake nor sturred of long time: but after she was come to D her selfe, remembring that it was no time to weepe and lament, she went with speede through the city vnto the sea side. There *Pompey* meeting her, tooke her in his armes, & imbraced her. But she sincking vnder him, fell downe, and sayd: Out alas, woe worth my hard fortune, not thine (good husband) that I see thee now brought to one poore shippe, who before thou maiedst thy vnfortunate *Cornelia*, wert wont to saile these seas with fiue hundred shippes. Alas, why art thou come to see me, and why diddest thou not leaue me to cursed fate and my wicked destiny: sith my selfe is cause of all this thy euill? Alas, how happy a woman had I bene, if I had bene dead, before I heard of the death of my first husband *Publius Crassus*, whom the wretched PARTHIANS slue? And how wise a woman had I bene, (if according to my determinacion) I had killed my selfe immediatly after him: where now I liue to bring yet this misfortune vnto E *Pompey* the great? It is reported that *Cornelia* spake these words, and that *Pompey* also answered her in this maner. Peraduenture, *Cornelia* mine, thou hast knowen a better fortune, which hath also deceiued thee, bicause she hath continued lenger with me then her maner is. But since we are borne men, we must paciently beare these troubles, and proue fortune againe. For it is no impossible matter for vs againe to come into prosperitie out of this present miserie, as to fall out of late prosperitie into present calamitie. When *Cornelia* heard him say so, she sent backe into the city for her stuffe and family. The MITYLENIANS also came openly to salute *Pompey*, and prayed him to come into the city, and to refresh him selfe: but *Pompey* would not, & gaue them counsell to obey the conqueror, & not to feare any thing, for *Cæsar* was a iust man, and of a curteous nature. Then *Pompey* turning vnto *Cratippus* the Philosopher, who came amõg the F citizens also to see him, made his complaint vnto him, and reasoned a litle with him about diuine prouidence. *Cratippus* curteously yeelded vnto him, putting him still in better hope, fearing least he would haue growen too hot and troublesome, if he would haue holden him hard

Pompey arriueth in the Isle of Lesbos, at the citie of Mitylene.

The sorowe of Cornelia, for Pompeys ouerthrow.

The meting of Pompey and his wife Cornelia.

The words of Cornelia vnto Pompey.

Pompeis answere vnto Cornelia.

Pompey reasoneth with Cratippus the Philosopher, about diuine prouidence.

to it. For *Pompey* at the length might haue asked him, what prouidence of the gods there had bene in his doings? And *Cratippus* might haue aunswered him, that for the ill gouernment of the common wealth at ROME, it was of neceſſity that it ſhould fall into the handes of a ſoueraine Prince. Peraduenture *Cratippus* might then haue asked him: how, and whereby *Pompey* wouldeſt thou make vs beleue, if thou haddeſt ouercome *Cæſar*, that thou wouldeſt haue vſed thy good fortune better then he? But for diuine matters, referre them to the goddes as it pleaſeth them. *Pompey* taking his wife and frends with him, hoiſed ſaile, and landed no where, but compelled to take freſhe acates and water. The firſt city he came vnto, was ATTALIA in the contry of PAMPHYLIA. Thither came to him certaine gallies out of CILICIA, & many ſouldiers alſo, inſomuch he had a three ſcore Senators of ROME againe in his company. Then, vnderſtanding that his army by ſea was yet whole, and that *Cato* had gathered together a great number of his ſouldiers after the ouerthrowe, whome he had tranſported with him into AFRICKE: he lamented, and complained vnto his frends, that they had compelled him to fight by land, & not ſuffred him to helpe him ſelfe with his other force wherin he was the ſtronger, and that he kept not ſtill neere vnto his army by ſea, that if fortune failed him by land, he might yet preſently haue prepared to his power ready by ſea, to haue reſiſted his enemy. To confeſſe a troth, *Pompey* committed not ſo great a fault in all this warre, neither did *Cæſar* put foorth a better deuiſe, then to make his enemie fight farre from his armie by ſea. Thus *Pompey* being driuen to attempt ſomewhat according to his ſmall abilitie, he ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the cities. To others, he went him ſelfe in perſon alſo to require money, wherewith he manned and armed ſome ſhips. This notwithſtanding, fearing the ſodaine approach of his enemy, leaſt he ſhould preuent him before he could put any reaſonable force in readines for to reſiſt him: he bethought him ſelfe what place he might beſt retyre vnto for his moſt ſafetie. When he had conſidered of it, he thought that there was neuer a prouince of the ROMANES that could ſaue and defend them. And for other ſtraunge realmes, he thought PARTHIA aboue all other, was the beſt place to receiue them into at that preſent, hauing ſo ſmal power as they had: and that was better able to helpe & aide them with more power then they. Other of his counſell were of minde to go into AFRICKE, vnto king *Iuba*. But *Theophanes* LESBIAN ſaid, he thought it a great folly, to leaue ÆGYPT which was but three dayes ſailing from thence, and king *Ptolomy*, (being but lately comen to mans ſtate, and bound vnto *Pompey* for the late frendſhippe and fauor his father found of him) and to goe put him ſelfe into the handes of the PARTHIANS, the vileſt, and vnfaithfulleſt nation in the world, and not to proue the modeſty of a ROMANE, that had bene his father in law, whoſe proſperity if he could haue endured, he might haue bene the chiefeſt man: and now to put him ſelfe to *Arſaces* good will, who could not away with *Craſſus* when he liued. Further, he thought it an ill parte alſo, for him to go cary his young wife of the noble houſe of *Scipio*, amongſt the barbarous people, who thinke it lawfull for thē to vſe what villany and inſolency they liſt to any. For, admit ſhe haue no villany offered her by them; yet is it an vndecent thing, to thinke ſhe might haue bene diſhonored, they hauing her in their power to doe it. There was no perſwaſion (as they ſay) but this only that turned *Pompey* vnto Euphrates: for it ſeemeth that *Pompeys* counſell, and not his fortune, made him take that way. Being determined therefore to flie into ÆGYPT, he departed out of CYPRVS in a gally of SELEVCIA with his wife *Cornelia*. The reſidue of his traine imbarked alſo, ſome into gallies, & others into marchauntes ſhippes of great burden, and ſo ſafely paſſed the ſea without daunger. When *Pompey* heard newes that king *Ptolomy* was in the citie of PELVSIVM with his armie, making warre againſt his ſiſter: he went thither, and ſent a meſſenger before vnto the king, to aduertiſe him of his arriuall, and to intreate him to receiue him. King *Ptolomy* was then but a young man, inſomuch as one *Pothinus* gouerned all the whole realme vnder him. He aſſembled a counſell of the chiefeſt and wiſeſt men of the court, who had ſuch credit and authoritie as it pleaſed him to geue them. They being aſſembled, he cōmaunded euery man in the kings name to ſay his minde touching the receiuing of *Pompey*, whether the king ſhould receiue him or not. It was a miſerable thinge to ſee *Pothinus*, an eunuche of the kinges, and *Theodotus* of CHIO, an hyered ſchoolemaſter to teache the young king rethoricke, and *Achillas* ÆGYPTIAN to conſult among them ſelues what they ſhould doe with *Pompey* the great. Theſe were the

Pompey arriueth at Attalia, in the contrie of Pamphylia.

Pompeys great error, and Cæſars craftie deuiſe.

Theophanes Lesbian perſwaded Pompey to flie into AEgypt.

Pompey arriueth in AEgypt, & goeth to Peluſium. Pothinus an eunuche, and groome of the chamber to king Ptolomy, ruleth all AEgypt.

A the chiefest counsellers of all his eunuches, and of those that had brought him vp. Nowe did *Pompey* ride at ancker vpon the shore side, expecting the resolution of this counsell: in the which the opinions of other were diuers, for they would not haue receiued him: the other also, that he should be receiued. But the Rethorician *Theodotus* to shew his eloquence, perswaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, sayd he, if we receiue him, we shall haue *Cæsar* our enemie, and *Pompey* our Lord: and if they do deny him on the other side, *Pompey* will blame them for refusing of him, and *Cæsar* for not keeping of him. Therefore, this should be the best resolution, to send to kill him: for thereby, they should winne the good will of the one, and not feare the displeasure of the other: and some say moreouer, that he added this mocke withall: a dead man bytes not. They being determined of this among them selues, B gaue *Achillas* commission to doe it. He taking with him *Septimius* (who had charge afore time vnder *Pompey*) and *Saluius* an other Centurion also, with three or foure souldiers besides, they made towards *Pompeys* gallie, about whom were at that time the chiefest of his traine, to see what would become of this matter. But when they saw the likelihood of their entertainment, and that it was not in Princely show and maner, nor nothing aunswerable to the hope which *Theophanes* had put them in, seeing so few men come to them in a fisher bote: they began then to mistrust the small accompt that was made of them, & counselled *Pompey* to returne backe, and to launche againe into the sea, being out of the daunger of the hurling of a dart. In the C meane time, the fisher bote drew neere, and *Septimius* rose, and saluted *Pompey* in the ROMANE tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as souerain Captaine: and *Achillas* also spake to him in the Greeke tongue, and bad him come into his bote, because that by the shore side, there was a great deale of mudde and sande banckes, so that his gally should haue no water to bring him in. At the very same time, they saw a farre off diuers of the kings gallies which were arming with all speede possible, & all the shore besides full of souldiers. Thus, though *Pompey* & his company would haue altered their mindes, they could not haue told how to haue escaped: & furthermore, shewing that they had mistrusted the, then they had geuen the murtherer occasion to haue executed his cruelty. So taking his leaue of his wife *Cornelia*, who lamented his death before his end: he commaunded two Centurions to go down before him into the ÆGYPTIANS bote, and *Philip* one of his slaues infranchised, with an other slaue called *Scynes*. When *Achillas* reached out his hande to receiue him into his bote, he turned him to his wife, and D sonne, and sayd these verses of *Sophocles* vnto them?

The man that into Court comes free,
Must there in state of bondage be.

The deliberacion of the AEgyptians, for the receiuing of Pompey.

Theodotus perswaded them to kill Pompey.

A dead man byteth not.

Achillas appointed to kill Pompey.

How Pompey is arrested into AEgypt.

These were the last words he spake vnto his people, when he left his owne gally, & went into the ÆGYPTIANS bote. The lande being a great way of from his gally, when he saw neuer a man in the bote speake frendly vnto him, beholding *Septimius*, he said vnto him: me thinkes my frend I should know thee, for that thou hast serued with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gaue him no aunswere, nor shewed him any curtesie. *Pompey* seeing that no man spake to him, tooke a litle booke he had in his hande, in the which he had wrytten an oration that he ment to make vnto king *Ptolomy*, & beganne to read it. When E they came neere the shore, *Cornelia* with her seruaunts and frends about her, stoode vp in her shippe in great feare, to see what should become of *Pompey*. So, she hoped well, when she saw many of the kings people on the shore, comming towards *Pompey* at his landing, as it were to receiue and honor him. But euen as *Pompey* tooke *Philip* his hande to arise more easily, *Septimius* came first behinde him and thrust him through with his sword. Next vnto him also, *Salsius* and *Achillas* drew out their swords in like manner. *Pompey* then did no more but tooke vp his gowne with his hands, and hidde his face, and manly abidde the wounds they gaue him, onely sighing a litle. Thus being nine and fifty yeare olde, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth. They that rode at ancker in their shippes, when they saw him murdered, gaue such a feareful crie, that it was hard to the shore: the waying vp their anckers with spede, F they hoysed saile, and departed their way, hauing winde at will that blew a lusty gale, as soone as they had gotten the maine sea. The ÆGYPTIANS which prepared to rowe after them, when they saw they were past their reach, and vnpossible to be ouertaken: they let them goe.

Pompey the great, cruelly slaine as he landed.

The manlines and pacience of Pompey at his death.

Then hauing striken of *Pompeys* heade, they threwe his body ouer borde, for a miserable spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him. *Philip* his infranchised bondman remained ouer by it, vntill such time as the ÆGYPTIANS had seene it their bellies full. Then hauing washed his body with salt water, and wrapped it vp in an old shirt of his, bicause he had no other shift to lay it in: he sought vpon the sands, & found at the length a peece of an old fishers boate, enough to serue to burne his naked bodie with, but not all fully out. As he was busie gathering the broken peeces of this bote together, thither came vnto him an old ROMANE, who in his youth had serued vnder *Pompey*, and sayd vnto him: O friend, what art thou that preparest the funeralls of *Pompey* the great? *Philip* answered, that he was a bondman of his infranchised. Well, said he, thou shalt not haue all this honor alone, I pray thee yet let me accompany thee in so deuout a deede, that I may not altogether repent me to haue dwelt so long in a straunge contrie, where I haue abidden such miserie and trouble: but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good happe, with mine owne hands to touche *Pompeys* body, and to helpe to bury the only and most famous Captaine of the ROMANES. The next day after, *Lucius Lentulus* not knowing what had passed, comming out of CYRENE, sailed by the shore side, and perceiued a fire made for funeralls, and *Philip* standing by it, whom he knew not at the first. So he asked him, what is he that is dead and buried there? But straight fetching a great sigh, alas, sayd he, perhappes it is *Pompey* the great. Then he landed a litle, and was straight taken and slaine. This was the end of *Pompey* the great. Not longe after, *Cæsar* also came into ÆGYPT that was in great warres, where *Pompeys* head was presented vnto him: but he turned his head aside, and would not see it: and abhorred him that brought it, as a detestable murtherer. Then taking his ringe wherewith he sealed his letters, whereuppon was grauen a Lyon holding a sword: he burst out a weeping. *Achillas* and *Pothinus* he put to death. King *Ptolomy* him selfe also, being ouerthrowen in battell by the riuer of Nilus, vanished away, and was neuer heard of after. *Theodotus* the Rethoritian escaped *Cæsars* hands, & wandred vp & downe ÆGYPT in great misery, despised of euery man. Afterwards, *Marcus Brutus* (who slue *Cæsar*) conquering ASIA, met with him by chaunce, and putting him to all the torments he could possibly deuise, at the length slue him. The ashes of *Pompeys* bodie were afterwards brought vnto his wife *Cornelia*, who buried them in a towne of hers by the citie of ALBA.

The funeralls of Pompey.

Lucius Lentulus slaine.

Cæsar arriueth in AEgypt.

Pompeis ring.

The murtherers of Pompey put to death.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Pompey with Ageſilaus.*

NOw that we haue declared vnto you, the liues of *Ageſilaus* and *Pompey*: let vs compare their maners and condicions together, which are theſe. Firſt, *Pompey* came to his honor and greatneſſe, by his integritie and ſo aduanced him ſelfe: and was a great aide vnto *Sylla*, doing many noble exploits, helping him to rid thoſe tyrans out of ITALIE, who held it in bondage. But *Ageſilaus* vſurped the kingdom of LACEDÆMON, againſt the law of gods and men, condemning *Leotychides* for a baſtard, whom his brother auowed to be his lawfull ſonne: and contemned beſides the oracle of the gods, which gaue warning of a lame king. Furthermore, *Pompey* did honor *Sylla* while he liued, and when he was dead, gaue his body honorable buriall in deſpite of *Lepidus*: and maried his daughter vnto *Fauſtus*, the ſonne of *Sylla*. *Ageſilaus* contrarily did diſhonor *Lyſander*, apon light occaſion: but *Pompey* had done no leſſe for *Sylla*, than *Sylla* had done for him. *Lyſander* on thother ſide, had made *Ageſilaus* king of LACEDÆMON, and Lieutenant generall of all GRÆCE. Thirdly, the iniuries that *Pompey* did vnto the common weale, were done of neceſſitie, to pleaſe *Cæſar* and *Scipio*, both of them his fathers in law. *Ageſilaus* alſo, to ſatiſfie his ſonnes loue, ſaued *Sphodrias* life that had deſerued death, for the miſchiefe he had done the ATHENIANS: and he willingly alſo tooke parte with *Phebidas*, not ſecretly, but openly, bicauſe he had broken the peace made with the THEBANS. To conclude, what hurt *Pompey* did vnto the ROMANES, either through ignorance, or to pleaſure his frends: the ſame did *Ageſilaus* vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, through anger & ſelfe wil, in renuing warre with the BOEOTIANS, apon a full peace concluded. If we ſhall reckon of the fortune of the one and the other, in the faultes they committed: *Pompeis* fortune vnto the ROMANES was vnlooked for. But *Ageſilaus* would not ſuffer the LACEDÆMONIANES to auoyd the lame kingdom, though they knew it before. For, though *Leotychides* had bene proued a baſtard ten thouſand times, yet had not the race of the *Eurytiontides* failed, but they could haue found an other lawfull king among them, that ſhould haue gone vpright: had not *Lyſander*, fauoring *Ageſilaus*, kept the true meaning of the oracle from the LACEDÆMONIANS. On thother ſide againe for matters of gouernment, there was neuer ſuch an excellent deuiſe found out, as was done by *Ageſilaus*: to helpe the feare and daunger the LACEDÆMONIANS were in, for thoſe that fled at the battell of LEVCTRES, when he counſelled them to let the law ſleepe for that day. Neither can any man matche *Pompeis* with the like: who, to ſhew his frends what power he was of, did breake the lawes which him ſelfe had made. For *Ageſilaus* being driuen of neceſſity to aboliſh the law, to ſaue the life of his citizens, found ſuch a deuiſe that the law was not hurtfull to the common wealth, neither yet was put downe for feare it ſhould doe hurt. I muſt needes commende this for a great vertue and ciuility in *Ageſilaus*, who ſo ſoone as he

How Pompey and Ageſilaus came to their greatnes.

The faultes of Ageſilaus and Pompey.

receiued the Scytala (or ſcrowle of parchement from the Ephori) returned into his contrie, and left the warre of Asia. He did not as *Pompey*, who made him ſelfe great to the benefit of the common wealth, and for the common wealthes ſake, did forſake ſuch honor and ſo great authoritie, as neuer Captaine before him, but *Alexander* the great, had the like in thoſe partes. But now to other matter. Touching their battells and exploytes in warres, the multitude of victories and triumphes that *Pompey* obtained, and the great armies that he led: *Xenophon* him ſelfe if he were aliue, could not compare *Ageſilaus* victories vnto his: although for the ſingular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompence thereof he had libertie graunted him, to wryte and ſpeake of *Ageſilaus* what he thought good. Me thinkes alſo, there was great difference betwext *Pompey* and *Ageſilaus*, in their equitie and clemencie towardes their enemies. For, whileſt *Ageſilaus* went about to conquer Thebes, and vtterly to race and deſtroy the citie of Messina, the one being an auncient citie of his contrie, and the other the capitall citie of Boeotia: he had almoſt loſt his owne citie of Sparta, for at the leaſt he loſt the commaundement and rule he had ouer the reſt of Græce. The other contrarily gaue cities vnto pirates to dwell in, which were willing to chaunge their trade and maner of life: and when it was in his choyſe to lead *Tigranes* king of Armenia, in triumphe at Rome, he choſe rather to make him a confederat of the Romanes, ſaying, that he preferred perpetuall honor before one dayes glorie. But ſince it is reaſon we ſhould geue the firſt place and honor of the diſcipline of warres, vnto a Captaine of the greateſt skill and experience in warres: the Lacedæmonian then leaueth the Romane farre behind. For firſt of all *Ageſilaus* neuer forſooke his citie, though it was beſieged with three ſcore and ten thowſand men, and that there were very fewe within the ſame to defende it, the which alſo a litle before had bene ouerthrowen at the battell of Leuctres. And *Pompey* on thother ſide, hearinge that Cæſar with fiue thowſand footemen onely had taken a towne in Italie: fled from Rome in verie feare. And therein he can not be excuſed of one of theſe two: either that he fled cowardly for ſo few men, or elſe that he had a falſe imagination of more. For he conueyed his wife and children away, but he left all the reſt without defence, and fled: where in deede he ſhould either haue ouercome, valliantly fighting for defenſe of his contrie, or elſe haue receiued the condicions of peace which the conquerors ſhould haue offered him. For, he was a citizen and allied vnto him. For he that thought it an vntollerable thing to prolong the tearme of his gouernment, or to graunt him a ſecond Conſulſhippe: did now geue him oportunitie, ſuffering him to take the city of Rome, to ſay vnto *Metellus* the Tribune, & the reſt, that they were all his priſoners. Sith therefore it is the chiefeſt point of an excellent Captaine, to compell his enemies to fight when he findeth him ſelfe the ſtronger, and alſo to keepe him ſelfe from compulſion of fight when he is the weaker: *Ageſilaus* excelling in that, did euer keepe him ſelfe inuincible. *Cæſar* alſo had great skill therein, to keepe him ſelfe from daunger being the weaker, and againe could tell howe to compell *Pompey* to hazard battell, to his vtter deſtruction by lande, where he was the weaker: and by this meanes he made him ſelfe Lorde of the treaſure, vittells, and alſo of the ſea, which his enemies had in their handes, without fighting. That which they alleage in his excuſe, is that which moſt doth condemne him, ſpecially for ſo great and skilfull a Captaine. For as it is likely enough, that a young General of an armie may eaſily be brought from his wiſe and ſafe counſell, with rumor and tumult of a few fearefull men, that ſhould perſwade him it were a ſhame and diſhonor for him if he did otherwiſe: yet were this no ſtraunge matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for *Pompey* the great, whoſe campe the Romanes called their contrie, and his tent the Senate, and called all the Prætors and Conſuls that gouerned at Rome, rebells and traitors to the common wealth of Rome: who coulde excuſe him (who was neuer ſeene commaunded by other then him ſelfe, but had bene alwayes chiefe Captaine and Generall in any warre he made, and euer had the vpper hand) but that he was drawen on by the ſcoffes of *Faonius*, and *Domitius*, to hazard battell, to endaunger the whole Empire and liberty of Rome, only for feare they ſhould call him king *Agamemnon*? Who, if he had ſo much regarded preſent infamie, he ſhould haue fought from the beginning for defence of the citie of Rome, and not to haue taken example of *Themiſtocles* policie by flying, and afterwards to thinke it a ſhame as he did, to lye in Theſ-

Thinges done by Ageſilaus and Pompey in warres.

Ageſilaus loſt the ſignorie of the Lacedæmonians.

Pompeis faults to forſake Rome.

A ſpeciall point of a skilfull Captaine.

SALT

A salie a time without fighting. Neither did God appoint them the fieldes of Pharſalia for a Theater, or cloſe campe, of neceſſitie to fight which of them ſhoulde haue the Empire of Rome. Further, there was no Heraulde to ſummone him to fight, as there are at games of price, where he muſt aunſwere to his name, and come and fight, or elſe to looſe the honor of the crowne vnto an other. But there were infinite other fieldes and townes (and as a man woulde ſay the whole earth) which the commoditie of his armie by ſea gaue him choyſe to conquer if he would rather haue followed the ſteppes of *Fabius Maximus*, of *Marius*, of *Lucullus*, or of *Ageſilaus* him ſelfe: who did paciently abide no leſſe tumultes within the citie ſelfe of Sparta, when the Thebans went to ſummone him to come out to fight, for all the reſt of his contrie. And in Ægypt alſo, he did abide many falſe accuſations againſt him,
B wherewith the king him ſelfe did burden him, praying him alwayes to haue a litle pacience. In fine, hauing followed the beſt counſell which he had determined with him ſelfe from the beginning, he ſaued the Ægyptians againſt their willes: and furthermore, he did not only keepe the citie of Sparta from ſo great a daunger, but did alſo ſet vp tokens of triumphe in the ſame againſt the Thebans, whereby, he was not compelled at that time to lead them out to the ſlaughter, and beſides that, gaue his citizens occaſion to obtaine victorie afterwardes. Hereupon *Ageſilaus* was highly praiſed of them, whoſe liues he had ſaued againſt their wills. And *Pompey* contrarily was blamed by them ſelues, through whom he had offended: yet ſome ſay, that he was deceiued by his father in law *Scipio*. For he meaning to keepe the moſt parte of the money to him ſelfe which he had brought out of Asia, did haſten and perſwade *Pom-*
C *pey* to geue battell, telling him that there was no money left. The which though it had bene true, a worthie Captaine ſhould not ſo lightly haue bene brought into error, vpon a falſe accompt, to hazard him ſelfe to looſe all. Thus may we ſee what both of them were, by comparing them together. Furthermore for their iorneys into Ægypt, the one fled thither by force: the other willingly went thither with ſmall honor, for moneys ſake to ſerue the barbarous people, with intent afterwards to make warre with the Græcians.

Ageſilaus conſtanter than Pompey.

Pompeys flying into AEgypt is excuſed.

Laſtly, in that which we accuſe the Ægyptians for *Pompeys* ſake: for the like matter doe they againe accuſe *Ageſilaus*. For, the one was cruelly put to death, & betrayed by them whom he truſted: & *Ageſilaus* forſooke them which truſted him, and went to the enemies, hauing brought aide to fight againſt them.
D

The end of Pompeys life.

THE LIFE OF
Alexander the great.

HAuing determined in this volume to write the life of king *Alexander*, & of *Iulius Cæsar*, that ouercame *Pompey*: hauing to speake of many things, I will vse none other preface, but only desire the readers not to blame me though I do not declare al things at large, but briefly touch diuers, chiefly in those their nobleſt acts & moſt worthy of memory. For they muſt remember, that my intent is not to write hiſtories, but only liues. For, the nobleſt deedes doe not alwayes ſhew mens vertues and vices, but oftētimes a light occaſion, a word, or ſome ſporte makes mens naturall diſpoſitions and maners appeare more plaine, then the famous battells wonne, wherein are ſlaine tenne thowſande men, or the great armies, or cities wonne by ſiege or aſſault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no accompt of other partes of the bodie, do take the reſemblaunces of the face and fauor of the countenance, in the which conſiſteth the iudgement of their maners & diſpoſition: euen ſo they muſt geue vs leaue to ſeeke out the ſignes and tokens of the minde only, and thereby ſhewe the life of either of them, referring you vnto others to wryte the warres, battells, and other great thinges they did. It is certaine that *Alexander* was diſcended from *Hercules* by *Caranus*, and that of his mothers ſide, he came of the blood of the *AEacides* by *Neoptolemus*. They ſay alſo, that king *Philip* his father when he was a young man, fell in fancie with his mother *Olympias*, which at that time alſo was a younge maiden, and an orphane without father or mother, in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where they were both receiued into the miſterie and fraternity of the houſe of the religious: and that afterwards, he did aske her in mariage of her brother *Arymbas*, with whoſe conſent they were maried together. The night before they lay in wedded bed, the bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, and that withall, there was a great light fire that diſperſed it ſelfe all about into diuers flames. King *Philip* her husband alſo, ſhortly after he was maried, dreamed that he did ſeale his wiues belly, and that the ſeale wherewith he ſealed, left behinde the printe of a Lyon. Certaine wiſards and ſoothſayers, tolde *Philip* that this dreame gaue him warning to looke ſtraightly to his wife. But *Ariſtander* TELMESIAN aunſwered againe, that it ſignified his wife was conceiued with childe, for that they doe not ſeale a veſſell that hath nothinge in it: and that ſhe was with childe with a boy, which ſhoulde haue a

The face ſheweth mens maners and condicions.

The parentage of Alexander.

Olympias the wife of Philip king of Macedon.

Olympias dreame.

King Philips dreame.

Lions

A Lions hart. It is reported alſo, that many times as ſhe lay a ſleepe in her bed, there was ſeene a ſerpent lying by her, the which was the chiefeſt cauſe (as ſome preſuppoſe) that withdrewe *Philips* loue and kindnes from her, and cauſed him that he lay not ſo oft with her, as before he was wont to doe: either for that he feared ſome charme or enchauntment, or elſe for that he thought him ſelfe vnmeete for her company, ſuppoſing her to be beloued of ſome god. Some do alſo report this after an other ſort: as in this maner. That the women in thoſe parts of long time, haue bene commonly poſſeſt with the ſpirite of *Orpheus*, and the diuine fury of *Bacchus*, whereupon they are called Clodones, & Mimallones (as much as warlicke, & fierce) and doe many things like vnto the women of EDONIA, and THRACIA, dwelling about the mountaine Æmus. Hereby it appeareth, that this word Threskeuin (ſignifying in the Greeke tongue, too B ſuperſtitiouſly geuen to the ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For *Olympias* aboue other wome, louing to be inſpired with ſuch diuine madnes & fury: did celebrate their ſolemne ſacrifices with a certaine horrible & barbarous maner. For in theſe daunces to *Bacchus*, ſhe caried a great number of tame ſnakes about her, the which gliding apon the Iuie wherewith the women were dreſſed in thoſe ceremonies, & winding the ſelues about the litle iauelings they had in their hands, & the garlands about their heades: therby they made men the more afraid of them. Whereupon *Philip* after this dreame, ſent *Chero* MEGALOPOLITAN vnto the oracle of *Apollo* at DELPHES, to inquier what it ſignified. Anſwere was geuen him, that he ſhould do ſacrifice vnto *Iupiter Hammon*, & honor him aboue all gods: & that he had loſt one of his eyes, with the which he peeping in at a crany of his chamber dore, ſaw the god in forme of a ſnake C lye by his wife. Furthermore, *Olympias* (as *Eratoſthenes* writeth) bidding her ſonne farewel whē he went to conquer ASIA, after ſhe had ſecretly tolde him alone, by whom he was begotten: ſhe prayed him to be valliant, & to ſhew himſelfe worthy his ſonne, that begat him. Others tel alſo, that ſhe was angry with this report, ſaying: will *Alexander* neuer leaue to make me ſuſpected of *Iuno*? So it is, that *Alexander* was borne on the ſixt day of the moneth of Hecatombæon, (in engliſh, Iune) which the MACEDONIANS call Lous. On the very ſame day, the temple of *Diana* in the city of EPHESVS was burnt, as *Hegeſias* MAGNESIAN doth witneſſe, whoſe crie & exclamation was ſo terrible & cold, that it was enough to haue quenched that fire. It is not to be wondred at, that *Diana* ſuffred her temple to be burnt, being like a midwife, buſie about *Alexanders* birth. But this is true, that all the prieſts, magitians and ſoothſayers, which were at D that time in EPHESVS, iudging that this did prognoſticate ſome maruelous great miſſortune to come, like men beſtraught of their wits, they ran vp & downe the city, ſmiting of their faces, & crying that ſome great plague & miſchief was borne that day vnto ASIA. Shortly after that king *Philip* had wonne the city of POTIDÆA, three meſſengers came to him the ſame day that brought him great newes. The firſt, that *Parmenio* had wonne a notable battell of the ILLYRIANS: the ſecond, that his horſe only wan the bell & price at the Olympian games: & the third, that his wife had brought him a ſonne called *Alexander*. *Philip* being maruelous glad to heare theſe newes, the ſoothſayers did make his ioy yet greater: aſſuring him that his ſonne which was borne with three victories all together, ſhould be inuincible. Now for his ſtature & perſonage, the ſtatues and images made of him by *Lyſippus* doe beſt declare it, for that he would be E drawen of no man but him only. Diuers of his ſucceſſors & frends did afterwards counterfeat his image, but that excellent workeman *Lyſippus* only, of all other the chiefeſt, hath perfectly drawen and reſembled *Alexanders* maner of holding his neck, ſomwhat hanging downe towards the left ſide, & alſo the ſwete looke & caſt of his eyes. But when *Apelles* painted *Alexander*, holding lightning in his hand, he did not ſhew his freſh colour, but made him ſomewhat blacke and ſwarter, then his face in deede was: for naturally he had a very fayre white colour, mingled alſo with red, which chiefly appeared in his face & in his breſt. I remember I red alſo in the cōmentaries of *Ariſtoxenus*, that his skin had a maruelous good ſauor, & that his breath was very ſwete, inſomuch that his body had ſo ſwete a ſmell of it ſelfe, that all the apparell he wore next vnto his body, tooke thereof a paſſing delightfull ſauor, as if it had bene perfumed. F And the cauſe hereof peraduenture might be, the very temperature & conſtitucion of his body, which was hot and burning like fire. For *Theophraſtus* is of opinion, that the ſweete ſauor commeth by meanes of the heate that dryeth vp the moiſture of the bodie. By which reaſon

Olympias ſerpent.

The birth of Alexander.

The temple of Diana burnt at Epheſus.

Wonderfull things ſeene at the birth of Alexander.

Alexanders ſtature and perſonage.

Alexanders body had a maruelous ſweete ſauor.

also it appeareth, that the drie & hot contries pearched with heate of the sunne, are those that deliuer vnto vs the best spices: bicause that the sunne drieth vp the moysture of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption. This natural heate that *Alexander* had, made him (as it appeareth) to be giuen to drinke, & to be hasty. Euen from his childhood they saw that he was giuen to be chast. For though otherwise he was very hot & hasty, yet was he hardly moued with lust or pleasure of the body, & would moderately vse it. But on thother side, the ambition & desire he had of honor, shewed a certaine greatnes of minde & noble corage, passing his yeares. For he was not (as his father *Philip*) desirous of all kind of glory: who like a Rethoritian had a delite to vtter his eloquence, & stamped in his coynes, the victories he had wonne at the Olympian games, by the swift running of his horse & coches. For when he was asked one day (bicause he was swift of foote) whether he would assay to run for victory at the Olympian games: I could be content, said he, so I might run with kings. And yet to speake generally, he misliked all such contention for games. For it seemeth that he vtterly misliked all wrestling & other exercise for prise, where men did vse all their strength: but otherwise he him self made certen festiual daies & games of prise, for common stage plaiers, musitians, & singers, & for the very Poets also. He delighted also in hunting of diuers kindes of beastes, and playing at the staffe. Ambassadors being sent on a time from the king of PERSIA, whilest his father was in some iorney out of his realme: *Alexander* familliarly entertaining of them, so wan them with his curteous entertainment, (for that he vsed no childish questions vnto them, nor asked them trifling matters, but what distance it was frō one place to an other, & which way they went into the high contries of ASIA, & of the king of PERSIA him selfe, how he was towards his enemies, & what power he had) that he did rauish them with delight to heare him, insomuch that they made no more account of *Philips* eloquence & sharpe wit, in respect of his sonnes corage, & noble minde, to attempt great enterprises. For when they brought him newes that his father had taken some famous city, or had won some great battell, he was nothing glad to heare it, but would say to his playfellowes: sirs, my father will haue all, I shall haue nothing left me to conquer with you, that shalbe ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleasure nor riches, but only in valliantnes & honor, thought, that the greater conquests & realmes his father should leaue him, the lesse he should haue to do for himselfe. And therfore, seing that his fathers dominions & Empire increased dayly more and more, perceiuing all occasion taken from him to do any great attempt: he desired no riches nor pleasure, but warres & battells, & aspired to a signory where he might win honor. He had diuers men appointed him (as it is to be supposed) to bring him vp: as schoolemasters, gouernors, & groomes of his chamber to attend vpon him: and among those, *Leonidas* was the chiefest man that had the gouernment & charge of him, a man of a seuere disposition, & a kinseman also vnto the Queene *Olympias*. He misliked to be called a maister or tutor, though it be an office of good charge, wherupō the others called him *Alexanders* gouernor, bicause he was a noble man, & allied to the Prince. But he that bare the name of his schoolemaster, was *Lysimachus*, an ACARNANIAN borne, who had no other maner of ciuility in him, sauing that he called him selfe *Phœnix*, *Alexander Achilles*, & *Philip Peleus*: & therfore he was well thought of, and was the seconde person next vnto *Leonidas*. At what time *Philonicus* THESSALIAN had brought *Bucephal* the horse to sell vnto king *Philip*, asking thirteene talents, they went into the field to ryde him. The horse was found so rough & churlish that the ryders said he would neuer do seruice, for he would let no man get vp on his backe, nor abide any of the gentlemens voyces about king *Philip*, but would yerke out at them. Thereupon, *Philip* being affrayed, commaunded them to cary him away as a wild beast, & altogether vnprofitable: the which they had done, had not *Alexander* that stoode by said, O gods, what a horse do they turne away, for lacke of skil & hart to handle him. *Philip* heard what he said, but held his peace. *Alexander* oft repeating his wordes, seeming to be sory that they should send backe the horse againe: why, said *Philip*, doest thou control them that haue more experience than thou, & that know better then thou how to handle a horse? *Alexander* answered, & yet me thinkes I should hādle him better thā all they haue done. But if thou canst not, no more thē they, replied *Philip*: what wilt thou forfet for thy folly? I am cōtent (q. *Alexander*) to ieopard the price of the horse. Euery man laughed to heare his aunswere: and the wager was layed betwene them. Then ran

Alexander

Alexander coueted honor.

The noble minde of Alexander.

Leonidas the gouernor of Alexander.

Bucephal Alexanders horse.

A *Alexander* to the horſe, and tooke him by the bridle: and turned him towardes the ſunne. It ſeemed that he had marked (as I ſuppoſe) how madde the horſe was to ſee his owne ſhadow, which was euer before him in his eye, as he ſturred to & fro. Then *Alexander* ſpeaking gently to the horſe, and clapping him on the backe with his hand, till he had left his fury & ſnorting: ſoftly let fall his cloke from him, and lightly leaping on his backe, got vp without any daunger, and holding the reines of the bridle hard, without ſtriking or ſturring the horſe, made him to be gentle enough. Then when he ſawe that the furie of the horſe was paſt, and that he beganne to galloppe, he put him to his full career, and layed on ſpurres and voyce a good. *Philip* at the firſt with feare beholding his ſonnes agility, leaſt he ſhould take ſome hurt, ſaid neuer a word: but when he ſaw him redily turne the horſe at the end of his career, in a brauery for that

The agility of Alexander in taming the wildnes of Bucephäl the horſe.

B he had done, all the lookers on gaue a ſhowte for ioy. The father on thother ſide (as they ſay) fell a weeping for ioy. And when *Alexander* was lighted from the horſe, he ſayd vnto him kiſſing his head: O ſonne, thou muſt needes haue a realme that is meete for thee, for MACEDON will not hold thee. Furthermore, conſidering that of nature he was not to be won by extreamity, & that by gentle meanes and perſwaſion he could make him do what he would: he euer ſought rather to perſwade then cõmaund him in any thing he had to do. Now *Philip* putting no great affiãce in his ſchoolemaſters of muſicke & humanity, for the inſtruction & education of his ſonne, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of greater learning than their capacities would reache vnto: and that as *Sophocles* ſayth,

Philip propheciеth of his ſonne Alexander.

He needed many reynes, and many bits at one:

C He ſent for *Ariſtotle* (the greateſt Philoſopher in his time, & beſt learned) to teach his ſonne, vnto whom he gaue honorable ſtipend. For *Philip* hauing won & take before, the city of STAGYRA, where *Ariſtotle* was borne: for his ſake he built it againe, & repleniſhed it with inhabitãts which fled away, or otherwiſe were in bondage. He appointed them for a ſchoole houſe and dwelling place, the pleaſant houſe that is by the city of MIEZA. In that place are yet ſeene ſeats of ſtone which *Ariſtotle* cauſed to be made, & cloſe walks to walke in the ſhadow. It is thought alſo, that *Alexander* did not only learne of *Ariſtotle*, moral philoſophy & humanity, but alſo he heard of him other more ſecret, hard, & graue doctrine, which *Ariſtotles* ſchollers do properly call Acroamata, or Epoptica, meaning things ſpeculatiue, which requireth the maſters teaching to vnderſtand thẽ, or els are kept from cõmon knowledge: which ſciences, they did not

Ariſtotle, was Alexanders ſchoolemaſter. Ariſtotle borne in the city of Stagira.

D cõmonly teach. *Alexander* being paſſed into ASIA, & hearing that *Ariſtotle* had put out certen bookes of that matter: for the honors ſake of philoſophy, he wrote a letter vnto him, ſomwhat too plaine, & of this effect. *Alexander*, vnto *Ariſtotle* greeting. Thou haſt not done well to put forth the Acroamatical ſciences. For wherin ſhal we excell other, if thoſe things which thou haſt ſecretly taught vs, be made cõmon to all? I do thee to vnderſtand, that I had rather excell others in excellency of knowledge, then in greatnes of power. Farewel. Wherunto *Ariſtotle* to pacifie this his ambitious humor, wrote vnto him againe, that theſe bookes were publiſhed, & not publiſhed. For to ſay truly, in al his treatiſes which be called μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ: there is no plain inſtruction profitable for any man, neither to picke out by himſelfe, nor yet to be taught by any other, then *Ariſtotle* him ſelfe, or his ſchollers. So that it is written as a memoriall for them

An Epiſtle of Alexander vnto Ariſtotle.

E that haue bene entred & brought vp in the Peripatetticke ſect & doctrine. It ſeemeth alſo, that it was *Ariſtotle* aboue all other, that made *Alexander* take delight to ſtudy phiſick. For *Alexander* did not only like the knowledge of ſpeculation, but would exerciſe practiſe alſo, & help his frends when they were ſicke: & made beſides certaine remedies, & rules to liue by: as appeareth by his letters he wrote, that of his owne nature he was much geuẽ to his booke, & deſired to read much. He learned alſo the Iliades of *Homer*, of *Ariſtotles* correction, which they call ἡ ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος the corrected, as hauing paſſed vnder the rule: & laid it euery night vnder his beds head with his dagger, calling it (as *Oneſicrates* writeth) the inſtitution of martiall diſcipline. And when he was in the high contries of ASIA, where he coulde not readily come by other bookes, he wrote vnto *Harpalus* to ſend them to him. *Harpalus* ſent him the hiſtories of *Phili-*

Alexander the great practiſed phiſicke.

Some thinke that this place ſhould be mẽt of the riche coffer, that was found among king Darius ſpoils, in the which Alexander would haue all Homers workes kept.

F *ſtus*, with diuers tragedies of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Æſchylus*: and certaine hymnes of *Teleſtus* and *Philoxenus*. *Alexander* did reuerence *Ariſtotle* at the firſt, as his father, and ſo he tearmed him: bicauſe from his natural father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to liue.

But afterwardes he ſuſpected him ſomewhat, yet he did him no hurt, neither was he ſo friendly to him as he had bene: whereby men perceiued that he did not beare him the good will he was wont to doe. This notwithſtanding, he left not that zeale and deſire he had to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, which he had learned from his youth, and ſtill continued with him. For he ſhewed diuers teſtimonies thereof. As, the honor he did vnto *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher. The fiftie talentes which he ſent vnto *Xenocrates*, *Dandamis*, and *Calanus*: of whome he made great account. When king *Philip* made warre with the BIZANTINES, *Alexander* being but ſixteene yeare olde, was left his Lieutenaunt in MACEDON, with the cuſtodie and charge of his great ſeale: at what time he alſo ſubdued the MEDARIANS which had rebelled againſt him, and hauing wonne their citie by aſſault, he draue out the barbarous people, and made a Colonie of it of ſundrie nations, and called it ALEXANDROPOLIS, to ſay, the citie of *Alexander*. He was with his father at the battell of CHÆRONEA againſt the GRÆCIANS, where it was reported, that it was he that gaue charge firſt of all apon the holie bande of the THEBANS. Furthermore, there was an old oke ſeene in my time, which the contry men commonly call *Alexanders* oke, bicauſe his tent or pauillion was faſtned to it: and not farre from thence is the charnell houſe, where thoſe MACEDONIANS were buried that were ſlaine at the battell. For theſe cauſes, his father *Philip* loued him very deerely, and was glad to heare the MACEDONIANS call *Alexander* king, & him ſelfe their Captaine. Howbeit the troubles that fell out in his court afterwards, by reaſon of *Philippes* new mariages and loues, bred great quarrell and ſtrife amongeſt the women: for the miſchiefe of diſſention & gealozy of women, doth ſeparate the harts of kings one from an other, whereof was chiefeſt cauſe, the ſharpenes of *Olympias*, who being a gealous woman, fretting, and of a reuenging minde, did incenſe *Alexander* againſt his father. But the chiefeſt cauſe that prouoked *Alexander*, was *Attalus* at the mariage of *Cleopatra*, whom *Philip* maried a maiden, falling in fancie with her when him ſelfe was paſt mariage. This was the matter: *Attalus* being vncle vnto this *Cleopatra*, fell droncke at the mariage, and hauing in his cuppes, he perſwaded the MACEDONIANS that were at the feaſt, to pray to the goddes, that they might haue a lawfull heire of *Philippe* and *Cleopatra*, to ſucceede him in the kingdome of MACEDON. *Alexander* being in a rage therewith threwe a cuppe at his head, and ſayd vnto him: why, traytor, what am I: doſt thou take me for a baſtard? *Philip* ſeeing that, roſe from the bourd, and drew out his ſword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choller and wine, he fell downe on the grounde. Then *Alexander* mocking him, loe, ſayd he, to the MACEDONIANS, here is the man that prepared to go out of EVROPE into ASIA, and ſtepping onely from one bedde to an other, ye ſee him layed alongeſt on the ground. After this great inſolency, he tooke his mother *Olympias* away with him, and carying her into his contrie of EPIRVS, he left her there, and him ſelfe afterwards went into ILLYRIA. In the meane time, *Demaratus* CORINTHIAN, a frend of king *Philippes*, and very familliar with him, came to ſee him. *Philip* when he had curteouſly welcommed him, asked him howe the GRÆCIANS did agree together. Truely, O king, quod he, it importes you much to inquier of the agreement of the GRÆCIANS, when your owne court is ſo full of quarrell & contencion. Theſe words nipped *Philip* in ſuch ſorte, & cauſed him to know his fault, that through *Demaratus* meanes, whom he ſent to perſwade *Alexander* to returne, *Alexander* was made to come backe againe. Now whē *Pexodorus*, a Prince of CARIA (deſiring for neceſſities ſake, to enter in league and frendſhip with *Philip*) offred his eldeſt daughter in mariage vnto *Aridæus* king *Philips* ſonne, & had ſent *Ariſtocritus* Ambaſſador into MACEDON for that purpoſe: the frends of *Alexander* & his mother, began againe to inueigle him with new reports and ſuſpicions, how *Philip* by this great mariage would aduaunce *Aridæus* to his vtter vndoing, and leaue him his heire in the kingdom. *Alexander* being nettled therwith ſent one *Theſſalus* a plaier of tragedies into CARIA to *Pexodorus*: to perſwade him to leaue *Aridæus*, that was a baſtard & a foole, & rather to make alliāce with *Alexander*. This offer pleaſed *Pexodorus* far better, to haue *Alexander* his ſonne in law, than *Aridæus*. *Philip* vnderſtanding this, went himſelf into *Alexanders* chāber, taking *Philotas* with him (the ſonne of *Parmenio*) one of his familliars, & bitterly tooke vp *Alexander*, telling him that he had a baſe mind, & was vnworthy to be left his heire after his death, if he would caſt himſelfe away, marying the daughter of a CARIAN, that was a ſlaue & ſubiect of

Alexanders firſt ſouldier-fare.

The city of Alexandropolis.

The quarrells of Philip with Olympias and Alexander.

Alexander mocketh Philip his father.

Aridæus king Philippes baſtard, begotten of a common ſtrumpet, Philinna.

A of a barbarous king. Therupõ he wrote letters vnto CORINTH, that they ſhould ſend *Theſſalus* boũd vnto him. And furthermore, he baniſhed out of MACEDON, *Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius,* & *Ptolomy*, his ſonnes companions: whom *Alexander* afterwards called home againe, & placed them in great authority about him. Shortly after, *Pauſanias* ſuſteining villany by the counſell and commaundement of *Attalus* & *Cleopatra*, craning Iuſtice of *Philip*, and finding no amends: he conuerted all his anger againſt him, and for ſpight ſlue him him ſelfe. Of this murther, moſt men accuſed Quene *Olympias*, who (as it is reported) allured this young man, hauing iuſt cauſe of anger, to kill him. And *Alexander* alſo went not cleare from ſuſpition of this murther. For ſome ſay, that *Pauſanias* after this villanie was done him, complained vnto *Alexander*, and told him how he had bene abuſed: who recited theſe verſes to him of *Euripides*, in the tragedie of

Philip king of Macedon, ſlaine by Pauſanias.

B *Medea*, where ſhe ſaid in anger, that ſhe would be reuenged:

Both of the bridegroome and the bride,
And of the father in lawe.

Notwithſtanding, afterwardes he cauſed diligent ſearche to be made, and all them to be ſeuerely puniſhed that were of the conſpiracie: and was angrie alſo that his mother *Olympias* had cruelly ſlaine *Cleopatra*. So he came to be king of MACEDON at twenty yeares of age, and found his realme greatly enuyed & hated of daungerous enemies, and euery way full of daunger. For, the barbarous nations that were neere neighbours vnto MACEDON, could not abide the bondage of ſtraungers, but deſired to haue their naturall kinges. Neither had *Philip* time enough to bridle and pacifie GRÆCE, which he had conquered by force of armes: but hauing

The beginning of Alexanders raigne.

C a litle altered the gouernmentes, had through his inſolencie left them all in great trouble and ready to rebell, for that they had not long bene aquainted to obey. Thereupon *Alexanders* counſell of MACEDON, being affraid of the troubleſome time, were of opinion, that *Alexãder* ſhould vtterly forſake the affaires of GRÆCE, and not to follow them with extremitie, but that he ſhould ſeeke to winne the barbarous people by gentle meanes, that had rebelled againſt him, and wiſely to remedy theſe new ſturres. But he farre otherwiſe determined to ſtabliſh his ſafety by corage and magnanimitie: perſwading him ſelfe, that if they ſaw him ſtowpe and yeeld at the beginning, how litle ſo euer it were, euery one would be apon him. Thereupon, he ſtraight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, inuading them ſodainely with his armie, by the riuer of DANVBY, where in a great battell he ouerthrew *Syrmus*, king of the

Alexander ouercame Syrmus king of the Triballians.

D TRIBALLIANS. Furthermore, hauing intelligence that the THEBANS were reuolted, and that the ATHENIANS alſo were confederate with them: to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his armie towardes the ſtreight of *Thermopiles*, ſaying that he would make *Demoſthenes* the Orator ſee (who in his oratiõs, whileſt he was in ILLYRIA, & in the contry of the TRIBALLIANS, called him child) that he was growen a ſtripling paſſing through THESSALY, & ſhould finde him a man before the walles of ATHENS. When he came with his armie vnto the gates of THEBES, he was willing to geue them of the citie occaſion to repent them: and therefore onely demaunded *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by trompet, pardon and ſafetie vnto all them that would yeld vnto him. The THEBANS on thother ſide, demaunded of him *Philotas*, & *Antipater*, two of his chiefeſt ſeruauntes,

E & made the crier proclaime in the citie, that all ſuch as would defend the libertie of GRÆCE, ſhould ioyne with them. Then did *Alexander* leaue the MACEDONIANS at libertie to make warre with all crueltie. Then the THEBANS fought with greater corage and deſire then they were able, conſidering that their enemies were many againſt one. And on thother ſide alſo, when the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS which were within the caſtell of CADMIA, made a ſalie vpon them, and gaue them charge in the rereward: then they being enuironned of all ſides, were ſlaine in maner euery one of them, their citie taken, deſtroyed, & raſed euen to the hard ground. This he did, ſpecially to make all the reſt of the people of GRÆCE afraid by example of this great calamitie and miſerie of the THEBANS, to thend none of them ſhould dare from thenceforth once to riſe againſt him. He would cloke this crueltie of his vnder the com-

Thebes won and raſed by Alexander.

F plaintes of his confederates, the PHOCIANS and PLATEIANS: who complaining to him of the iniuries the THEBANS had offred, could not denie them iuſtice. Notwithſtãding, excepting the prieſts, and the religious, and all ſuch as were frendes vnto any of the Lords of MACEDON,

all the frendes and hinſmen of the poet *Pindarus*, and all thoſe that had diſſwaded them which were the rebells: he ſold all the reſt of the citie of THEBES for ſlaues, which amounted to the nomber of thirtie thowſand perſones, beſides them that were ſlaine at the battell, which were ſix thowſand moe. Now amongeſt the other miſeries & calamities of the poore citie of THEBES, there were certaine THRACIAN ſouldiers, who hauing ſpoyled and defaced the houſe of *Timoclea*, a vertuous ladie and of noble parentage, they deuided her goods among them: and their captaine hauing rauiſhed her by force, asked her, whether ſhe had any where hidden any gold or ſiluer. The ladie told him, ſhe had. Then leading him into her garden, ſhe brought him vnto a well: where ſhe ſaid ſhe had caſt all her iuells and precious things, when ſhe heard the citie was taken. The barbarous THRACIAN ſtouped to looke into the well: ſhe ſtanding behind him, thruſt him in, and then threw ſtones enow on him, and ſo killed him. The ſouldiers when they knew it, tooke and bound her, and ſo caried her vnto *Alexander*. When *Alexander* ſaw her countenance, & marked her gate: he ſuppoſed her at the firſt to be ſome great lady, ſhe followed the ſouldiers with ſuch a maieſtie & boldnes. *Alexãder* thẽ asking her what ſhe was: She aunſwered, that ſhe was the ſiſter of *Theagenes*, who fought a battell with king *Philip* before the citie of CHÆRONEA, where being generall he was ſlaine, valiantly fighting for the defenſe of the libertie of GRÆCE. *Alexander* wondering at her noble aunſwere and couragious deede, cõmaunded no man ſhoud touche her nor her children, & ſo freely let her goe whether ſhe would. He made league alſo with the ATHENIANS, though they were very ſory for their miſerable fortune. For the day of the ſolemne feaſt of their miſteries being come, they left it of, mourning for the THEBANS: courteouſly enterteining all thoſe, that flying from THEBES came to them for ſuccour. But whether it was for that his anger was paſt him, following therein the nature of lyons: or bycauſe that after ſo great an example of crueltie, he would ſhew a ſinguler clemency againe: he did not only pardon the ATHENIANS of all faults committed, but did alſo counſell them to looke wiſely to their doings, for their citie one daie ſhould commaund all GRÆCE, if he chaunced to die. Men report, that certenly he oftentimes repented him that he had delt ſo cruelly with the THEBANS, and the griefe he tooke apon it was cauſe that he afterwardes ſhewed him ſelfe more mercifull vnto diuers others. Afterwardes alſo he did blame the furie of *Bacchus*, who to be reuenged of him, made him kill *Clitus* at the table being droncke, and the MACEDONIANS alſo to refuſe him to goe any further to conquer the INDIANS, which was an imperfection of his enterpriſe, and a miniſhing alſo of his honor. Beſides, there was neuer THEBAN afterwardes, that had eſcaped the furie of his victorie, and did make any peticion to him, but he had his ſute. Thus was the ſtate of THEBES as you haue heard. Then the GRÆCIANS hauing aſſembled a generall counſell of all the ſtates of GRÆCE within the ſtraights of *Peloponneſus*: there it was determined that they would make warre with the PERSIANS. Whereupon they choſe *Alexander* generall for all GRÆCE. Then diuers men comming to viſite *Alexander*, aſwell philoſophers, as gouernors of ſtates, to congratulate with him for his electiõ, he looked that *Diogenes Sinopian* (who dwelt at CORINTH) would likewiſe come as the reſt had done: but when he ſaw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept ſtill in the ſuburbes of CORINTHE, at a place called CRANIVM, he went him ſelfe vnto him, and found him layed all a long in the ſunne. When *Diogenes* ſaw ſo many comming towardes him, he ſate vp a litle, and looked full apon *Alexander*. *Alexander* courteouſly ſpake vnto him, and asked him, if he lacked any thinge. Yea ſaid he, that I do: that thou ſtand out of my ſunne a litle. *Alexander* was ſo well pleaſed with this aunſwere, and maruelled ſo much at the great boldnes of this man, to ſe how ſmall account he made of him: that when he went his way from him, *Alexanders* familliers laughing at *Diogenes*, & mocking him, he told them: maſters ſay what you lyſt, truely if I were not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*. *Alexander* being deſirous to heare what the oracle of *Apollo* DELPHIAN would ſay vnto him touching the ſucceſſe of his iorney into ASIA: he went vnto the citie of DELPHES. It chaunced ſo, that he came thither in the dayes which they call vnfortunate, on which dayes no man vſed to aske *Apollo* any thing. This notwithſtanding, he ſent firſt vnto the Nunne which pronounced the oracles, to pray her to come to him. But ſhe refuſed to come, alleaging the cuſtome which forbad her to goe. Thereupon, *Alexander* went thither him ſelfe in perſon, and brought her out by force into

A noble actе of Timoclea, a noble womã of Thebes.

Alexander choſen generall of all Græce.

Alexanders talke with Diogenes.

A into the temple. She seeing then that he would not be denyed, but would needs haue his will
told him, My sonne, for that I see, thou art inuincible, *Alexander* hearing that, said he desi-
red no other oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwardes religion or was euer
ready to go on with his voyage, he had diuers signes and tokens from the gods: amongest
other, an image of the Poet *Orpheus* made of cypres, in the citie of Leibethra, in the which dayes
did sweate marueilously. Many men fearing that signe, *Aristander* the soothsayer bad *Alexan-
der* be of good cheere, and hope well, for he should obtaine noble victories that should neuer
be forgotten, the which should make the Poets and musicians sweate to write and singe them.
Then, for his armie which he led with him, they that doe set downe the least nomber, say that
they were thirtie thowsand footemen, and fiue thowsand horsemen: and they that say more,
B doe write, foure & thirtie thowsand footemen, and foure thowsand horsemen. *Aristobulus* writ-
teth, that *Alexander* had no more but three score and tenne talents to paie his souldiers with:
and *Duris* writeth, that he had no more prouision of vittells, then for thirtie dayes only. And
Onesicritus sayeth moreouer, that he did owe two hundred talents. Now, notwithstanding that
he beganne this warre with so small ability to mainteine it, he would neuer take shippe before
he vnderstood the state of his frendes, to know what abilitie they had to goe with him, and
before he had geuen vnto some landes, and vnto other, a towne, and to others againe, the cu-
stome of some hauen. Thus by his bountie hauing in maner spent almost the reuenues of the
crowne of Macedon, *Perdiccas* asked him: my Lord, what will you kepe for your selfe? hope,
sayd he. Then, quod *Perdiccas* againe, we will also haue some parte, since we goe with you: and
C so refused the reuenue which the king had geuen him for his pencion. Many others did also
the like. But such as were contented to take his liberalitie, or would aske him any thing, he
gaue them very frankly, and in such liberallitie spent all the reuenue he had. With this desier
& determination, he went on to the straight of Hellespont, & going to the citie of Ilium,
he did sacrifice vnto *Diana*, and made funerall effusions vnto the demy goddes (to wit, vnto the
princes which died in the warre of Troia, whose bodies where buried there) and specially
vnto *Achilles*, whose graue he annointed with oyle, and ranne naked round about it with his
familliers, according to the auncient custome of funeralls. Then he couered it with nosegayes
and flowers, saying, that *Achilles* was happy, who while he liued had a faithfull frend, and after
his death an excellent herauld to singe his praise. When he had done, & went vp and downe
D the citie to see all the monumentes and notable thinges there: one asked him, if he would see
Paris harpe. He aunswered againe, he would very faine see *Achilles* harpe, who played & sunge
apon it all the famous actes done by valliant men in former times. In the meane time, *Darius*
king of Persia, hauing leauied a great armie, sent his captaines and leuetenants to tary *Alex-
ander* at the riuer of Granicus. There was *Alexander* to fight of necessitie, being the onely
barre to stoppe his entrie into Asia. Moreouer, the captaines of his counsell about him, were
afraid of the depth of this riuer, and of the height of the bancke on thother side, which was ve-
rie hie and steepe, & could not be wonne without fighting. And some said also, that he should
haue speciall care of the auncient regard of the moneth: bycause the kings of Macedon did
neuer vse to put their armie into the field in the moneth of Dason, which is Iune. For that,
E said *Alexander*, we will remedy soone: let them call it the second moneth, Artemisium, which
is Maye. Furthermore *Parmenio* was of opinion, that he should not medle the first day, bycause
it was very late. *Alexander* made aunswere againe, that Hellespont would blush for shame,
if he were now affraid to passe ouer the riuer, since he had already commen ouer an arme of
the sea. Thereupon he him selfe first entred the riuer with thirteene guidons of horsemen, and
marched forwardes against an infinite nomber of arrowes which the enemies shot at him, as
he was comming vp the other bancke, which was very highe and steepe, and worst of all, full
of armed men and horsemen of the enemies: which stayed to receiue him in battell raye, thru-
sting his men downe into the riuer, which was very deepe, and ranne so swifte, that it almost
caried them downe the streame: insomuch that men thought him more rash than wise, to
F leade his men with such daunger. This notwithstanding, he was so wilfully bent that he would
needes ouer, & in thend with great a doe recouered the other side, specially bycause the earth
slidde away, by reason of the mudde. So when he was ouer, he was driuen to fight pelmel one

Wonderfull signes appearing vnto Alexander before his iourney into Asia.

Alexanders armie into Asia.

The liberalitie of Alexander.

Alexanders saying of Achilles.

Battell betwixt Alexãder and Darius at the riuer of Granicus.

vpon another, bycause his enemies did set vpon the first that were passed ouer, before they could put them selues into battell raye, with great cryes, keeping their horses very close together, and fought first with their dartes, and afterwardes came to the sworde when their dartes were broken. Then many of them set vpon him alone, for he was easely to be knowen aboue the rest by his shield & the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hong from thone side to thother, a maruelous faier white plume. *Alexander* had a blow with a dart on his thigh, but it hurt him not. Thereupon *Roesaces* & *Spithridates*, both two chiefe captaines of the PERSIANS, setting apon *Alexander* at once, he left the one, and riding straight to *Roesaces*, who was excellently armed, he gaue him such a blow with his launce, that he brake it in his hand, and straight drew out his sword. But so soone as they two had closed together, *Spithridates* comming at toe side of him, raised him selfe vpon his stirroppes and gaue *Alexander* with all his might such a blow of his head with a battell axe, that he cut the creast of his helmet, and one of the sides of his plume, and made such a gash, that the edge of his battell axe touched the very heare of his head. And as he was lifting vp his hand to strike *Alexander* againe, great *Clitus* preuenting him, thrust him through with a partisan, and at the very same instant, *Roesaces* also fell dead from his horse with a wound which *Alexander* gaue him with his sword. Now whilest the horsemen fought with such furie, the squadron of the battell of footemen of the MACEDONIANS had passed the riuer, and both the battells beganne to march one against the other. The PERSIANS stucke not manfully to it any long time, but straight turned their backes and fled, sauing the GRÆCIANS which tooke paie of king *Darius*: they drew together vpon a hill, and craued mercy of *Alexander*. But *Alexander* setting vpon them, more of will then discretion, had his horse killed vnder him, being thrust through the flancke with a sword. This was not Bucephal, but an other horse he had. All his men that were slaine or hurt at this battell, were hurte amongest them valliantly fighting against desperate men. It is reported that there were slaine at this first battell, twenty thowsand footemen of these barbarous people, & two thowsand fiue hundred horsemen. Of *Alexanders* side, *Aristobulus* writeth, that there were slaine foure and thirty men in all, of the which, twelue of them were footemen. *Alexander* to honor their valliantnes, caused euery one of their images to be made in brasse by *Lysippus*. And bycause he would make the GRÆCIANS partakers of this victorie, he sent vnto the ATHENIANS three hundred of their targettes, which he had wonne at the battell, and generally vpon all the other spoiles, he put this honorable inscription. *Alexander the sonne of Philip, and the Græcians, excepting the Lacedæmonians, haue vvonne this spoile apon the barbarous Asians.* As for plate of gold or siluer, also purple silkes, or other such precious ware which he gat among the PERSIANS: he sent them all vnto his mother, a few except. This first victorie of *Alexander*, brought such a sodaine chaunge amongest the barbarous people in *Alexanders* behalfe, that the citie selfe of SARDIS, the chiefe citie of the Empire of the barbarous people, or at the least through all the lowe contries and coastes apon the sea, they yeelded straight vnto him, sauing the cities of HALICARNASSVS and MILETVM, which did still resist him: howbeit at length he tooke thē by force. When he had also conquered all thereabouts, he stood in dout afterwards what he were best to determine. Sometime he had a maruelous desire, whotly to follow *Darius* whereseuer he were, and to venter all at a battell. An other time againe, he thought it better first to occupy himselfe in conquering of these low contries, & to make him selfe strong with the money and riches he should finde among them, that he might afterwardes be the better able to follow him. In the contrie of LYDIA neere vnto the citie XANTHVM, they say there is a springe that brake of it selfe, and ouerflowing the banckes about it, cast out a litle table of copper from the bottome, vpon the which were graued certen carectes in olde letters, which said: that the kingdome of the PERSIANS should be distroyed by the GRÆCIANS. This did further so encorage *Alexander*, that he made hast to cleere all the sea coast, euen as farre as CILICIA and PHOENICIA. But the wonderfull good successe he had, runninge alongest all the coast of PAMPHILIA, gaue diuers historiographers occasion to set forth his doinges with admiration, saying that it was one of the wonders of the worlde, that the furie of the sea, which vnto all other was extreame roughe, and many times would swell ouer the toppes of the highe rockes vpon the cliffes, fell calme vnto him. And it appeareth that *Menander*

Clitus saued Alexander.

Alexanders victory of the Persians at Granicus.

A *nander* him ſelfe in a comedie of his doth witneſſe this wonderfull happynes of *Alexander*, when merily he ſayeth:

O great Alexander, hovv great is thy ſtate?
For thou vvith thy ſelfe mayſt thus iuſtly debate.
If any man lyuing I liſt for too call,
He commeth and humbly before me doth fall.
And if through the ſourges my iorney doe lye,
The vvaues giue me vvay, and the Sea becomes drye.

Yet *Alexander* him ſelfe ſimply writeth in his epiſtles (without any great wonder) that by ſea he paſſed a place called the ladder, and that to paſſe there, he tooke ſhippe in the citie of B Phaselides. There he remained many dayes, and when he ſaw the image of *Theodectes* Phaselitan, ſtanding in the market place: he went in a daunce thither one euening after ſupper, and caſt flowers and garlandes apon his image, honoring the memorie of the dead, though it ſeemed but in ſporte, for that he was his companion when he lyued, by meanes of *Ariſtotle* and his philoſophie. After that he ouercame alſo the Pisidians, who thought to haue reſiſted him, and conquered all Phrygia beſides. There in the citie of Gordivs, which is ſaid to be the auncient ſeate of king *Midas*: he ſaw the charret that is ſo much ſpoke of, which is bound with the barcke of a cornell tree, and it was told him for a trothe, of the barbarous people, that they beleued it as a prophecy: that whoſoeuer could vndoe the bande of that barcke, was certenly ordeyned to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported, that *Alexander* prouing C to vndoe that bande, and finding no endes to vndoe it by, they were ſo many folde wreathed one within the other: he drew out his ſword, and cut the knot in the middeſt, So that then many endes appeared. But *Ariſtobulus* writeth, that he had quickly vndone the knot by taking the bolt out of the axtree, which holdeth the beame and body of the charret and ſo ſeuered them a ſoonder. Departing thence, he conquered the Paphlagonians & Cappadocians, and vnderſtood of the death of *Memnon*, that was *Darius* generall of his army by Sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withſtand *Alexander*: whereupon he was the bolder to goe on with his determination to leade his army into the highe contries of Asia. Then did king *Darius* him ſelfe come againſt *Alexander*, hauing leauied a great power at Svsa, of ſix hundred thowſand fighting men, truſting to that multitude, and alſo to a dreame, the which D his wiſards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. *Darius* dreamed that he ſaw all the armie of the Macedonians on a fire, and *Alexander* ſeruing of him in the ſelfe ſame attier that he him ſelfe wore when he was one of the chamber vnto the late king his predeceſſor: and that when he came into the temple of *Belus*, he ſodainely vaniſhed from him. By this dreame it plainly appeared, that the gods did ſignifie vnto him, that the Macedonians ſhould haue noble ſucceſſe in their doinges, & that *Alexander* ſhould conquer all Asia, euen as king *Darius* had done, when he was but Aſgandes vnto the king: and that ſhortly after, he ſhould end his life with great honor. This furthermore made him bolde alſo, when he ſaw that *Alexander* remained a good while in Cilicia, ſuppoſing it had bene for that he was afraid of him. Howbeit it was by reaſon of a ſickneſs he had, the which ſome ſay he got, by ex- E treame paines and trauell, & others alſo, by cauſe he waſhed him ſelfe in the riuer of Cydnus, which was cold as Iſe. Howſoeuer it came, there was none of the other phiſitians that durſt vndertake to cure him, thinking his diſeaſe vncurable, and no medicines to preuaile that they could giue him, and fearing alſo that the Macedonians would laie it to their charge, if *Alexander* miſcaried. But *Philip* Acarnanian, conſidering his maſter was very ill, and bearing him ſelfe of his loue and good will towardes him, thought he ſhoulde not doe that became him, if he did not proue (ſeeing him in extremitie and daunger of life) the vtmoſt remedies of phiſicke, what daunger ſo euer he put him ſelfe into: and therefore tooke apon him to miniſter phiſicke vnto *Alexander*, and perſwaded him to drincke it boldly if he would quickly be whole, & goe to the warres. In the meane time, *Parmenio* wrote him a letter from the campe, F aduertiſing him, that he ſhould beware of *Philip* his phiſitian, for he was bribed and corrupted by *Darius*, with large promiſes of great riches, that he would geue him with his daughter in mariage, to kill his maſter. *Alexander* when he had redde this letter, layed it vnder his beddes

The memorie of Theodectes honored by Alexander.

The citie of Gordius in Phrygia where king Midas kept.

Darius armie and dreame.

Alexandets ſickeneſſe in Cilicia. Cydnus fl.

The wonderfull truſt of Alexander in his phiſitian.

head, and made none of his neereſt familliers acquainted therewith. When the hower came that he ſhould take his medicine, *Philip* came into his chamber with other of the kings familliers, & brought a cup in his hand with the pocion he ſhould drinke. *Alexander* then gaue him the letter, & withall, cheerefully tooke the cup of him, ſhewing no maner of feare or miſtruſt of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing and worth the ſight, how one reading the letter, and thother drinking the medicine both at one inſtant, they looked one apon another, howbeit not both with like cheerefull countenaunce. For *Alexander* looked merily apon him, plainly ſhewing the truſt he had in his phiſitian *Philip*, and how much he loued him: and the phiſitian alſo beheld *Alexander*, like a man perplexed & amazed, to be ſo falſly accuſed, & ſtraight lift vp his handes to heauen, calling the goddes to witneſſe that he was innocent, and then came to *Alexanders* bed ſide, and prayed him to be of good cheere, and boldly to doe as he would aduiſe him. The medicine beginning to worke, ouercame the diſeaſe, and draue for the time, to the loweſt partes of his body, all his naturall ſtrength and powers: in ſomuch as his ſpeach failed him, and he fell into ſuch a weaknes, and almoſt ſooning, that his pulſe did ſcant beate, and his ſences were welneere taken from him. But that being paſt, *Philip* in few dayes recouered him againe. Now, when *Alexander* had gotten ſome ſtrength, he ſhewed him ſelfe openly vnto the MACEDONIANS: for they would not be pacified, nor perſwaded of his health vntill they had ſeene him. In king *Darius* campe, there was one *Amyntas* a MACEDONIAN, & baniſht out of his contrie, who knew *Alexanders* diſpoſition very well. He finding that *Darius* ment to meete with *Alexander* within the ſtraightes and vallies of the mountaines: beſought him to tarie rather where he was, being a plaine open contrie round about him, conſidering that he had a great hoſte of men to fight with a few enemies, and that it was moſt for his aduantage to meete with him in the open field. *Darius* aunſwered him againe, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. *Amyntas* replied, for that, O king, I praie you feare not: for I warrant you apon my life he will come to you, yea and is now onwards on his way comming towards you. All theſe perſwaſions of *Amyntas* could not turne *Darius* from making his campe to marche towardes CILICIA. At the ſelfe ſame time alſo, *Alexander* went towardes SYRIA to meete with him. But it chaunced one night, that the one of them miſſed of the other, and when day was come, they both retorned backe againe: *Alexander* being glad of this happe, & making haſt to meete with his enemy within the ſtraights. *Darius* alſo ſeeking to winne *Alexanders* lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army out of the ſtraites: beganne then to find the fault & error committed, for that he had ſhut him ſelfe vp in the ſtraights, (holden in on the one ſide with the mountaine, and on the other with the Sea, and the riuer of Pindarus that ranne betwene both) and that he was driuen to diſperſe his armie into diuers companies, in a ſtonie and ill fauored contrie, ill for horſemen to trauell, being on the contrarie ſide a great aduantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footemen, and but few in nomber. But now, as fortune gaue *Alexander* the field as he would wiſhe it to fight for his aduantage: ſo could he tell excellently well how to ſet his men in battell raye to winne the victorie. For albeit that *Alexander* had the leſſe nomber by many then his enemie, yet he had ſuch policy and caſt with him, that he foreſaw all, and would not be enuironned: For he did put out the right winge of his battell a great deale further, then he did his left winge, and fighting him ſelfe in the left winge in the foremoſt ranckes, he made all the barbarous people flie that ſtood before him: howbeit, he was hurt on his thighe with a blow of a ſword. *Chares* writeth, that *Darius* ſelfe did hurte him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithſtanding *Alexander* ſelfe writing of this battell vnto *Antipater* ſayeth, that in deede he was hurte on the thighe with a ſword, howbeit it did put him in no daunger: but he writeth not that *Darius* did hurte him. Thus hauing wonne a famous victory, and ſlaine about a hundred and tenne thowſand of his enemies, he could not yet take *Darius*, bycauſe he fled, hauing ſtill foure or fiue forlonges vantage before him: howbeit he tooke his charriot of battell wherein he fought, and his bow alſo. Then he retorned from the chaſe, & found the MACEDONIANS ſacking & ſpoiling all the reſt of the campe of the barbarous people, where there was infinite riches (although they had left the moſt parte of their cariage behind them in the citie of DAMAS, to come lighter to the battell) but yet reſerued for him ſelfe all king *Darius*

Darius contemneth Amyntas profitable counſell.

Battell betwext Alexander and Darius in Cilicia.

Alexanders victory of Darius in Cilicia.

tent,

A tent, which was full of a great nomber of officers, of riche moueables, and of gold and siluer. So, when he was come to the campe, putting of his armor, he entred into the bathe and sayed: come on, lette vs goe and washe of the sweate of the battell in *Darius* owne bathe. Naye, replyed one of his familliers againe, in *Alexanders* bathe: for the goodes of the vanquished are rightly the vanquishers. When he came into the bathe, and sawe the basons and yewers, the boxes, and vyolles for perfumes, all of cleane gold, excellently wrought, all the chamber perfumed passing sweetely, that it was like a parradise: then going out of his bathe, and comming into his tent, seeing it so stately and large, his bedde, the table, and supper, and all ready in such sumptuous sort, that it was wonderfull, he turned him vnto his familliers and

B said: this was a king in deede, was he not thinke ye? As he was ready to goe to his supper, word was brought him, that they were bringing vnto him amongest other Ladies taken prisoners, king *Darius* mother and his wife, and two of his daughters vnmaried: who hauing seene his chariot and bowe, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of them selues thinking *Darius* had bene slaine. *Alexander* pawsed a good while and gaue no aunswere, pitying more their misfortune, then reioycing at his owne goodhappe. Then he presently sent one *Leonatus* vnto them, to let them vnderstand, that *Darius* was a liue, and that they should not neede to be afraid of *Alexãder*, for he did not fight with *Darius*, but for his kingdome only: and as for them, that they should haue at his handes all that they had of *Darius* before, when he had his whole kingdome in his handes. As these wordes pleased the captiue Ladies, so the deedes that followed, made them finde his clemencie to be no lesse. For first he suffred them

C to burie as many of the Persian Lordes as they would, euen of them that had bene slaine in the battell, and to take as much silkes of the spoiles, iuells, and ornamentes, as they thought good to honor their funeralles with: & also did lessen no parte of their honor, nor of the nomber of their officers and seruauntes, nor of any iotte of their estate which they had before, but did allowe them also greater pencions, then they had before. But aboue all, the princelyest grace, and most noble fauor that *Alexander* shewed vnto these captiue princesses, which had alwayes liued in honorable fame and chastitie, was this: That they neuer heard worde, or so much as any suspition that should make them afrayed to be dishonored or deflowred: but were priuately among them selues vnuisited or repayred vnto by any man, but of their owne, not as if they had bene in a campe of their enemies, but as if they had bene kept in some close

D monasterie: although *Darius* wife (as it is written) was passing faire, as *Darius* also was a goodly prince, and that his daughters likewise did resemble their father and mother. *Alexander* thinking it more princely for a kinge, as I suppose to conquer him selfe, then to ouercome his enemies: did neither touche them nor any other, maide or wife, before he maried them, *Barsine* onely excepted, who being left *Memnons* widow (generall of kinge *Darius* by sea) was taken by the citie of Damas. She being excellently well learned in the Greeke tongue, and of good enterteinment (being the daughter of *Artabazus*, who came of a kinges daughter) *Alexander* was bolde with her by *Parmenioes* procurement, (as *Aristobulus* writeth) who intised him to embrace the companie of so excellent a woman, and passing faire besides. Furthermore, beholding the other Persian Ladies besides which were

E prisoners, what goodly faire women they were: he spake it pleasauntly, that the Ladies of Persia made mens eyes sore to behold them. Notwithstanding, preferring the beautie of his continencie, before their sweete faire faces: he passed by without any sparke of affection towardes them, more then if they had bene images of stone without life. To confirme this, *Philoxenus* whom he had left his lieutenaunt in the lowe contries apon the sea coast, wrote vnto him on a time, that one *Theodorus* a marchaunt of Tarentvm, had to sell two goodly young boies, maruelous faire: and therefore that he sent vnto him to knowe his pleasure, if he would bye them. Therewith he was so offended, that many times he cried out alowde: O, my frendes, what villany hath euer *Philoxenus* seene in me, that he should deuise (hauing nothing to doe there) to purchace me such infamie? whereuppon he wrote vnto him from

F the campe, with reprochfull wordes, that he should send that vile Tarentin marchaunt *Theodorus* and his marchaundise to the Deuill. He sharpely punished also one *Agnon*, that wrote vnto him he would bye a young boye called *Crobylus* (who for beautie bare the onely,

Darius mother, wife, and two daughters, taken by Alexander.

The clemency of Alexander vnto the captiue Ladies.

The chastitie of Alexander.

Alexanders pleasant speech of womens beawtie.

name in CORINTHE,) and bring hin to him. An other time alſo, when he heard that Damon and *Timotheus* MACEDONIANS, vnder *Parmenioes* charge, had deflowred two of the ſouldiers wiues that were ſtraungers, and waged of him: he wrote vnto *Parmenio* to looke vnto it, and to examine the matter. And if he found them giltie of the rape, that then he ſhould put them both to death, as brute beaſtes borne to deſtroie mankinde. And in that letter he wrote thus of him ſelfe. For my ſelfe, ſaid he, I haue neither ſeene, nor deſired to ſee *Darius* wife: neither haue I ſuffred any ſpeach of her beawtie before me. Moreouer he ſaied, that he did vnderſtand that he was mortall by theſe two thinges: to wit, ſleepe, and luſt: for, from the weakenes of our nature proceedeth ſleepe and ſenſualitie. He was alſo no greedy gutte, but temperate in eating, as he ſhewed by many prooſes: but chiefly in that he ſaide vnto the princeſſe *Ada*, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queene of CARIA. For wh (for the loue ſhe bare him) ſhe daily ſent him ſundrie delicate diſhes of meate, tartes, and marchpaines, and beſides the meate it ſelfe, the paſtlers and cookes to make them, which were excellent workemen: he aunſwered that he could not tell what to doe with them, for he had better cookes than thoſe appointed him by his gouernour *Leonidas*, to witte: for his diner, to riſe before daye; and to marche by night: and for his ſupper, to eate litle at diner. And my gouernour, ſaid he, would oftentimes open the cheſtes where my bedding and apparell lay, to ſee if my mother had put any fine knackes or conceites among them. Furthermore, he was leſſe geuen to wine, then men would haue iudged. For he was thought to be a greater bibber than he was, bycauſe he ſate longe at the bourde, rather to talke then drinke. For euer when he dranke, he would propound ſome tedious matter, and yet but when he was at leyſure. For hauing matters to doe, there was neither feaſte, bancket, plaie, mariage, nor any paſtime that could ſtaie him: as they had done other captaines. The which appeareth plainely by the ſhortenes of his life, and by the wonderfull and notable deedes he did, in that litle time he liued. When he had leyſure, after he was vp in the morning, firſt of all he would doe ſacrifice to the goddes, and then would goe to diner, paſſing awaie all the reſt of the daye, in hunting, writing ſome thinge, taking vp ſome quarell betwene ſouldiers, or els in ſtudying. If he went any iourney of no haſtie buſines, he would exerciſe him ſelfe by the waie as he went, ſhooting in his bowe, or learning to get vp or out of his charret ſodenly, as it ranne. Oftentimes alſo for his paſtime he would hunte the foxe, or ketche birdes, as appeareth in his booke of remembraunces for euerie daie. Then when he came to his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rubbe and nointe him ſelfe: and would aske his pantelers and caruers if his ſupper were ready. He would euer ſuppe late, and was very curious to ſee, that euery man at his bourde were a like ſerued, and would ſit longe at the table, bycauſe he euer loued to talke, as we haue told you before. Otherwiſe he was as noble a prince and gracious to waite apon, and as pleaſaunt, as any king that euer was. For he lacked no grace nor comelines to adorne a prince, ſauing that he would be ſomething ouer buſie in glorying in his owne deedes, much like vnto a bragging ſouldier: neither was he contented him ſelfe to pleaſe his owne humour that waie, but would alſo ſuffer his familliers to ſoothe him euen to his teeth. And this was many times the deſtruction of honeſt men about him, the which would neither praiſe him in his preſence, hating the flatterers, not yet durſt faye leſſe of the praiſes which they gaue him. For of the firſt they were aſhamed, and by the ſecond they fell in daunger. After ſupper, he would waſhe him ſelfe againe, and ſleepe vntill noone the next daye following, and oftentimes all daye longe. For him ſelfe, he was nothing curious of dainty diſhes: for when any did ſend him rare frutes, or fiſhe, from the countries neere the ſea ſide, he would ſend them abroad vnto his frendes, and ſeldom kepe any thinge for him ſelfe. His table notwithſtanding was alwayes very honorably ſerued, and did ſtill increace his fare, as he did enlarge his conqueſtes: till it came to the ſumme of tenne thowſand drachmas a daye. But there he ſtayed, and would not exceede that ſumme, and moreouer commaunded all men that would feaſt him, that they ſhould not ſpend aboue that ſumme. After this battell of ISSVS, he ſent vnto the citie of DAMAS, to take all the gold and ſiluer, the cariage, and all the women and children of the PERSIANS which were left there, where the men of armes of the THESSALIANS ſpedde them full well. For therefore did

Alexander temperate in eating.

How Leonidas brought vp Alexander.

Alexanders life when he was at leiſure.

Alexander a pleaſant prince as any could be.

A did he send them thither, bycause he sawe that they had fought valliantly at the daye of the battell: and so were the reste of his armie also well stored with money. There the MACEDONIANS hauing tasted first of the golde, siluer, women, and barbarous life: as dogges by cent doe follow the tracke of beastes, euen so were they greedy to follow after the goodes of the PERSIANS. First *Alexander* thought it best to winne all the sea coaste. Thether came the kinges of CYPRVS, and PHOENICIA, and deliuered vp to him the whole Iland & all PHOENICIA, sauing onely the citie of TYRE. That citie he beseeged seuen moneths together by lande, with great bulwarkes and diuers engines of batterie, and by sea, with two hundred gallies. During this sege, *Alexander* dreamed one night, that *Hercules* held out his hand vnto him ouer the walles of the citie, and called him by his name: and there were diuers TYRIANS B also that dreamed in likewise, that *Apollo* told them that he would goe vnto *Alexander*, bycause he was not pleased with their doinges in the citie. Thereupon they bound his image, (which was of a wonderfull bignes) with grat chaines, and nailed him downe fast to the base, as if he had bene a traitour that would haue yeelded him selfe vnto their enemies, and called him *Alexandrine*, as much as fauoring *Alexander*. *Alexander* had there also an other dreame. For he dreamed that he sawe a *Satyre* a farre of sporting with him, and when he thought to haue commen neere to haue taken him, he still escaped from him: vntill at the length, after he had ronne a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into his handes. The soothesayers being asked what this dreame should signifie, aunswered probably, by deuiding *Satyros* into two, and then it is Σὰ τύρος: which signifieth, the citie of TYRE shalbe thine. And they C doe yet show vnto this daie, the fountaine where *Alexander* thought he saw the *Satyre*. Continuing this seege, he went to make warre with the ARABIANS, that dwell apon the mountaine Antiliban, where he was in great daunger of being cast away, onely bycause he heard his tutor *Lysimachus* that followed him, saye bostingly, that he was not inferior, nor older than the Phœnix. For when they came at the foote of the mountaine, they left their horses, and went vp a foote: and *Alexander* was of so courteous a nature, that he would not leaue his tutor *Lysimachus* behind him (who was so wery that he could goe no further) but bycause it was darke night, & for that the enemies were not farre from them, he came behind to encorage his tutor, and in maner to carie him. By this meanes, vnwares, he was farre from his armie with very few men about him, and benighted besides: moreouer it was very colde, and D the waie was very ill. At the length, perceyuing diuers fires which the enemies had made, some in one place, and some in an other, trusting to his valliantnes, hauing alwayes prouided remedie in extremitie, when the MACEDONIANS were distressed, him selfe euer putting to his owne hand: he ranne vnto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of the barbarous people that laye by the fire side, he snatched awaye a fire brand, and ranne with it to his owne men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous people were so afraid, that they ranne their waye as fast as they could. Other also thinking to come and sette vppon him, he slue them euery man, and so laye there that night, him selfe and his men without daunger. Thus *Chares* reporteth this matter. Now for the seege of TYRE, that fell out thus. *Alexander* caused the most parte of his armie to take rest, being ouerharried and E wearyed with so many battelles as they had fought: and sent a few of his men onely to geue assault vnto the citie, to kepe the TYRIANS occupied, that they should take no rest. One daye the soothesayer *Aristander* sacrifycing vnto the goddes, hauing considered of the signes of the intralles of the beastes: did assure them that were present, that the citie should be taken by the later ende of the moneth. Euery bodie laughed to heare him: for that daye was the very last daye of the moneth. *Alexander* seeing him amated, as one that could not tell what to saie to it, seeking euer to bringe those tokens to effect, which the soothesayers did prognosticate: commaunded them that they should not reckon that daye the thirtie day, but the seuen and twentie, and immediatly vpon it, made the trompet sounde the allarme, & geue a hotter assault to the walle, then he had thought to haue done before. They fought valliantly F on both sides, in so much as they that were left in the campe, could not kepe in, but must needs runne to thassault to helpe their companions. The TYRIANS seeing thassault so hot on euery side, their hartes began to faile them, and by this meanes was the citie taken the selfe same day.

Alexander beseegeth the citie of Tyre.

Alexanders dreame at the citie of Tyre.

Alexanders secõd dreame againe at Tyre.

Alexanders iorney against the Arabians. Antiliban mons.

The corage and agilitie of Alexander.

The citie of Tyre beseged, and taken by Alexander.

An other time alſo, when *Alexander* was before GAZA, the chiefe citie of SYRIA, there fell a clodde of earth vpon his ſhoulder, out of the which there flewe a birde into the ayer. The birde lightinge apon one of the engines of his battrie, was cought with the nettes made of ſinewes which couered ouer the ropes of the engines. *Ariſtander* did prognoſticate, that it ſignified he ſhould be hurt in his ſhoulder, notwithſtāding, that he ſhould yet take the towne. And in deede ſo it came to paſſe. When he ſent great preſentes of ſpoiles which he wanne at the ſacke of this citie, vnto his mother *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, and diuers others of his frendes, among other thinges, he ſent vnto *Leonidas* his gouernor, fiue hundred talentes waight of frankenſence, and a hundred talentes waight of myrre: remembring the hope he put him into when he was a childe. For, as *Alexander* was vpon a daye ſacrifycing vnto the goddes, he tooke both his handes full of frankenſence to caſt into the fire, to make a perfume thereof. When his gouernour *Leonidas* ſaw him, he ſaied thus vnto him: When thou haſt conquered the contrie where theſe ſweete thinges grow, then be liberall of thy perfume: but now, ſpare that litle thou haſt at this preſent. *Alexander* calling to minde at that time his admonition, wrote vnto him in this ſorte: we do ſend thee plenty of frankenſence & myrre, bicauſe thou ſhouldeſt no more be a niggard vnto the goddes. There was brought vnto him a litle coffer alſo, which was thought to be the precioueſt thinge and the richeſt, that was gotten of all the ſpoiles and riches, taken at the ouerthrow of *Darius*. When he ſaw it, he asked his familliers that were about him, what they thought fitteſt, and the beſt thinge to be put into it. Some ſaid one thinge, ſome ſaid an other thinge: but he ſaid, he would put the Iliades of *Homer* into it, as the worthieſt thinge. This is confirmed by the beſt hiſtoriographers. Now if that which the ALEXANDRIANS report vpon *Heraclides* wordes, be true: then it appeareth that he did profitte him ſelfe much by *Homer* in this iorney. For it is reported that when he had conquered ÆGYPT, he determined to builde a great citie, and to repleniſh it with a great nomber of GRÆCIANS, and to call it after his name. But as he was about to incloſe a certen ground, which he had choſen by thaduiſe of his enginers and workemaſters: the night before he had a maruelous dreame, that he ſawe an olde man ſtanding before him, full of white heares, with an honorable preſence, and comming towardes him ſaid theſe verſes.

Alexander tooke the citie of Gaza.

The building of the citie of Alexandria.

Alexanders dreame in Egypt.

Within the foming ſea there lyes a certein Iland, right
Againſt the ſhore of Egypt, which of auncient Pharos hight.

Aſſoone as he roſe the next morning, he went to ſee this Ile of PHAROS, the which at that time was a litle aboue the mouth of the riuer of Nylus, called Canobia, howbeit it is now ioyned vnto firme lande, being forced by mans hand. This, he thought the meeteſt place that could be, to build the citie which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great barre of earth, broade enough, that ſeperateth a great lake on the one ſide, and the ſea on thother, the which doeth ioyne hard to a great hauen. Then he ſaid that *Homer* was wonderfull in all his thinges, but that amongeſt others, he was an excellent Architecture: and commaunded, that ſtraight they ſhould caſt the platforme of the citie, according to the ſituation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalke, nor white earth there to marke withall, wherefore they were driuen to take meale, and with that did marke out vpon the earth being blacke the compaſſe of the towne that was round and circular, and being deuided into two equall partes, either of them reſembled the skirtes and facion of the MACEDONIAN cloke. *Alexander* liked this draught paſſingly well. But there roſe apon the ſodaine out of the riuer or lake, ſuch an infinite multitude of great fowle of all ſortes, that they couered the element as it had bene a clowde, and lighting within this circuite, did eate vp all the meale, and left not a crumme. *Alexander* liked not theſe ſignes. Notwithſtanding, his ſoothſayers bad him not be diſcouraged, for they told him it was a ſigne that he ſhould build a citie there, ſo plentifull of all thinges, that he ſhould mainteine all ſortes of people. Then he commaunded them, vnto whom he had geuen the charge of the building, that they ſhould goe forward with their worke, and he him ſelfe in the meane time, tooke his iorney to goe viſite the temple of *Iupiter Hammon*. The Iorney was long, and there were many troubles by the waie, but two daungers aboue all the reſt moſt ſpeciall. The firſt, lacke of water, by cauſe they had to trauell many

The Ile of Pharos.

A wonder.

Alexanders iourney vnto the oracle of Hammon.

dayes

A dayes iorney through a great desert. The second was, the daunger of the rising of the southe winde by the waie, to blow the sand abroade, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is reported, that on a time there rose such a tempest in that desert, that blew vp whole hilles of sand, which slue fiftie thowsand men of *Cambyses* armie. Euery man in *Alexanders* traine did know these daungers very well: howbeit it was hard to dissuade *Alexander* from any thing which he had a desire vnto. For, fortune fauoring him in all his attemptes, made him constant and resolute in his determinations: and his noble corage besides, made him inuincible in all thinges he tooke in hand, in somuch as he did not only compell his enemies, but he had power also of time and place. In that voyage, in stead of these former daungers spoken of, he had many helpes, the which are supposed were sent him from the goddes, by the oracles B that followed afterwardes. For in a certen sorte, they haue beleued the oracles that were written of him. First of all, the wonderfull water and great showers that fell from the element did kepe him from feare of the first daunger, and did quenche their thirst, and moysted the drienes of the sand in such sorte, that there came a swete freshe ayer from it. Furthermore, when the markes were hidden from the guides to shew them the waie, and that they wandred vp and downe, they could not tell where: there came crowes vnto them that did guide them flying before them: flying fast when they saw them follow them, and stayed for them when they were behind. But *Callisthenes* writeth a greater wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the crowes, they brought them againe into the right waie which had lost their waie. Thus *Alexander* in thend, hauing passed through this wildernes, he came vnto C the temple he sought for: where, the prophet or chiefe priest saluted him from the god *Hammon*, as from his father. Then *Alexander* asked him, if any of the murtherers that had killed his father, were left aliue. The priest aunswered him, and bad him take heede he did not blaspheme, for his father was no mortall man. Then *Alexander* againe rehersing that he had spoken, asked him, if the murderers that had conspired the death of *Philip* his father were all punished. After that, he asked him touching his kingdome, if he would graunt him to be king ouer all the world. The god aunswered him by the mouth of his prophet, he should: and that the death of *Philip* was fully reuenged. Then did *Alexander* offer great presentes vnto the god, and gaue money large to the priests, & ministers of the temple. This is that the most parte of writers doe declare, touching *Alexanders* demaund, and the oracles geuen him. Yet did *Alex-* D *xander* him selfe write vnto his mother, that he had secret oracles from the god, which he would onely impart vnto her, at his retorne into MACEDON. Others saie also, that the prophet meaning to salute him in the Greeke tongue to welcome him the better, would haue said vnto him, *O Paidion*, as much as deere sonne: but that he tripped a litle in his tongue, by cause the Greeke was not his naturall tongue, and placed an s, for an n, in the latter ende, saying, *O Pai dios*, to wit, O sonne of Iupiter: and that *Alexander* was glad of that mistaking. Whereupon there ranne a rumor straight among his men, that *Iupiter* had called him his sonne. It is said also, that he heard *Psammon* the philosopher in EGYPT, and that he liked his E wordes very well, when he saide that god was king of all mortall men: For (q he) he that commaundeth all things, must needes be god. But *Alexander* selfe spake better, and like a philosopher, when he said: That god generally was father to all mortall men, but that particularly he did elect the best sorte for him selfe. To conclude, he shewed him selfe more arrogant vnto the barbarous people, and made as though he certainly beleued that he had bene begotten of some god: but vnto the GRÆCIANS he spake more modestly of diuine generation. For in a letter he wrote vnto the ATHENIANS touching the citie of SAMOS, he said: I gaue ye not that noble free citie, but it was geuen you, at that time by him whom they called my Lord & father: meaning *Philip*. Afterwardes also being striken with an arrow, and feeling great paine of it: My frendes said he, This blood which is spilt, is mans blood, and not as *Homer* said,

No such as from the immortall gods doth flowe.

And one day also in a maruelous great thunder, when euery man was afraid, *Anaxarchus* F the Rethoritian being present, said vnto him: O thou sonne of *Iupiter*, wilt thou doe as much? no said he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearefull to my frends, as thou wouldest haue me: disdaining the seruice of sishe to my borde, bycause thou seest not princes heades serued in.

Cambyses army slaine by sandehilles.

Crowes guided Alexãder in his Iorney.

The saying of Psammon the philosopher of the providẽce of God.

Alexander ascribeth godhead to himselfe.

And the report goeth also, that *Alexander* vpon a time sending a litle fishe vnto *Hephestion*, *Anaxarchus* should saye as it were in mockery, that they which aboue others seeke for fame with great trouble and hazard of life, haue either small pleasure in the world, or els as litle as others haue. By these proofes and reasons alleaged, we maie thinke that *Alexander* had no vaine nor presumptuous opinion of him selfe, to thinke that he was otherwise begotten of a god, but that he did it in policie to kepe other men vnder obedience, by the opinion conceiued of his godhead. Returning out of PHOENICIA into EGYPT, he made many sacrifices, feastes, and processions in honor of the goddes, sondry daunces, Tragedies, and such like pastimes goodly to behold: not onely for the sumptuous setting out of them, but also for the good will and diligence of the setters forth of them, which striued euery one to exceede the other. For the kings of the CYPRIANS were the setters of them forth, as at ATHENS they draw by lot a citizen of euery tribe of the people, to defraie the charges of these pastimes. These kinges were very earnest who should doe best, but specially *Nitocreon*, king of SALAMINE in CYPRVS: and *Pasicrates*, Lord of the citie of SOLES. For it fell to their lot to fourniish two of the excellentest plaiers, *Pasicrates* fournished *Athenodorus*, and *Nicocreon Thessalus*: whom *Alexander* loued singulerly well, though he made no shew of it, vntill that *Athenodorus* was declared victor, by the iudges deputed to geue sentence. For when he went from the plaies, he told them he did like the iudges opinion well, notwithstanding, he would haue bene contented to haue geuen the one halfe of his realme, not to haue seene *Thessalus* ouercome. *Athenodorus* being condemned vpon a time by the ATHENIANS, bycause he was not in ATHENS at the feastes of *Bacchus*, when the Comedies and Tragedies were plaied, and a fine set on his head for his absence: he besought *Alexãder* to write vnto them in his behalfe, that they would release his penalty. *Alexander* would not so doe, but sent thether his money whereof he was condemned, and paide it for him of his owne purse. Also when *Lycon* SCARPHIAN, an excellent stage player had pleased *Alexander* well, and did foiste in a verse in his comedy, containing a petition of tenne talents: *Alexander* laughing at it, gaue it him. *Darius* at that time wrote vnto *Alexander*, and vnto certen of his frendes also, to pray him to take tenne thousand tallentes for the raunsom of all those prisoners he had in his handes, and for all the contries, landes and signories on this side the riuer of Euphrates, and one of his daughters also in mariage, that from thence forth he might be his kinsman and frend. *Alexander* imparted this to his counsell. Amongest them *Parmenio* said vnto him: if I were *Alexander*, q he, surely I would accept this offer. So would I in deede, q *Alexander* againe, if I were *Parmenio*. In fine, he wrote againe vnto *Darius*, that if he would submit him selfe, he would vse him courteously: if not, that then he would presently marche towardes him. But he repented him afterwardes, when king *Darius* wife was dead with childe: For without dissimulation it greeued him much, that he had lost so noble an occasion to shew his courtesie and clemencie. This notwithstanding, he gaue her body honorable buriall, sparing for no cost. Amongest the Eunuches of the queenes chamber, there was one *Tireus* taken prisoner, among the women: who stealing out of *Alexanders* campe, taking his horse backe, rode vnto *Darius* to bring him newes of the death of his wife. Then *Darius* beating of his head, & weping bitterly, cried out alowd: Oh goddes! what wretched happe haue the PERSIANS? that haue not onely had the wife and sister of their king taken prisoners euen in his life time, but now that she is dead also in trauell of childe, she hath bene depriued of princely buriall? Then spake the Eunuch to him, and said: For her buriall, most gracious king, & for all due honor that might be wisshed her, PERSIA hath no cause to complaine of her hard fortune. For, neither did Queene *Statira* your wife whilest she liued prisoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any parte or iot of their honor they were wont to haue before, sauing onely to see the light of your honour, the which, god *Oromasdes* graunt to restore againe (if it be his will) vnto your maiestie: neither was there any honor wanting at her death (to set forth her stately funeralles) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the teares of your enemies. For *Alexander* is as mercifull in victorie, as he is valliant in battell. *Darius* hearing the Eunuches wordes, being vexed in minde for very griefe: tooke the Eunuche aside into the secretest place of his tent, and said vnto him. If thou be not, with the misfortune of the PERSIANS, becomen a MACEDONIAN, but dooest in thy hart

Alexander made playes and feastes.

Darius sens Ambassadours vnto Alexander.

Statira, king Darius wife, died in trauell of childe.

Tireus reporte to Darius of Statiraes buriall.

Darius talke with Tireus the Eunuch,

A hast acknowledge *Darius*, for thy soueraine Lord and master: I pray thee, and I also coniure thee, by the reuerence thou beareſt vnto this bright light of the ſunne, and to the right hande of the king, that thou doe tell me truely. Are theſe the leaſt euills which I lament in *Statira*, her imprisonment and death? And did ſhe not in her life make vs more miſerable by her diſhonor, than if we had diſhonorably fallen into the hands of a cruell enemy? For, what honeſt communication I pray thee, can a young victorious Prince haue with his enemies wife a priſoner hauing done her ſo much honor as he hath done? *Darius* going on with theſe ſpeeches, *Tireus* the eunuch fell downe on his knees, & beſought him not to ſay ſo, neither to blemiſh the vertue of *Alexander* in that ſorte, nor yet ſo to diſhonor his ſiſter and wife deceaſed, and thereby alſo to depriue him ſelfe of the greateſt comfort he could wiſh to haue in this calamitie, which was, to be ouercome by an enemy that had greater vertues than a man could poſſibly haue: but rather that he ſhould wonder at *Alexanders* vertue, who had ſhewed him ſelfe chaſter to the Ladies, than valliant againſt the PERSIANS. And therewithall, the eunuch confirmed the great honeſty, chaſtity, and noble minde of *Alexander*, by many great and deepe othes. Then *Darius* comming out among his frendes againe, holding vp his handes vnto the heauens, made this prayer vnto the gods. O heauenly gods, creators of men, & protectors of kings and realmes: firſt, I beſeech you graunt me, that reſtoring the PERSIANS againe to their former good ſtate, I may leaue the realme vnto my ſucceſſors, with that glorie and fame I receiued it of my predeceſſors: that obtaining victory, I may vſe *Alexander* with that great honor and curteſie, which he hath in my miſery ſhewed vnto thoſe I loued beſt in the world. Or otherwiſe, if the time appointed be come, that the kingdom of PERSIA muſt nedes haue end, either through diuine reuenge, or by naturall chaunge of earthly things: Then, good goddes yet graunt, that none but *Alexander* after me, may ſit in *Cyrus* throne. Diuers writers do agree, that theſe things came euen thus to paſſe. Now *Alexander* hauing conquered all ASIA on this ſide of the riuer of Euphrates, he went to meete with *Darius*, that came downe with ten hundred thouſand fighting men. It was told him by ſome of his frendes to make him laugh, that the ſlaues of his army had deuided them ſelues in two parts, and had choſen them a Generall of either parte, naming the one *Alexander*, and the other *Darius*: and that at the firſt, they beganne to skirmiſh only with cloddes of earth, and afterwardes with ſtiftes, but at the laſt, they grew ſo hot, that they came to plaine ſtones and ſtaues, ſo that they could not be parted. *Alexander* hearing that, would nedes haue the two Generalls fight hand to hand one with the other: and *Alexander* ſelfe did arme him that was called *Alexander*, & *Philotas* the other which was called *Darius*. All the army thereupon was gathered together to ſee this combat betweene the, as a thing that did betoken good or ill lucke to come. The fight was ſharp betweene them, but in thend, he that was called *Alexander* ouercame the other: and *Alexander* to reward him, gaue him twelue villages, with priuiledge to goe after the PERSIAN manet. Thus it is written by *Eratoſthenes*. The great battell that *Alexander* fought with *Darius*, was not (as many writers report) at Arbeles, but at Gauſameles, which ſignifieth in the PERSIAN tongue, the houſe of the cammell. For ſome one of the auncient kings of PERSIA that had ſcaped from the handes of his enemies, flying vpon a drumbledary cammell, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the reuenues of certaine villages to keepe the cammell there. There fell out at that time an eclipſe of the moone, in the moneth called Boedromion (now Auguſt) about the time that the feaſt of the miſteries was celebrated at ATHENS. The eleuenth night after that, both their armies being in ſight of the other, *Darius* kept his men in battell ray, and went him ſelfe by torche light viewing his bandes and companies. *Alexander* on thother ſide whileſt his MACEDONIAN ſouldiers ſlept, was before his tent with *Ariſtander* the Soothſayer, and made certaine ſecret ceremonies and ſacrifices vnto *Apollo*. The auncient Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, ſpecially *Parmenio*, ſeeing all the vallie betwixt the riuer of Niphates, and the mountaines of the GORDIEIANS, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadfull noiſe as of a confuſed multitude of people that filled their campe with the ſound thereof: they were amazed, and conſulted, that in one day it was in maner vnpoſſible to fight a battell with ſuch an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went vnto *Alexander* after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counſell him to geue battell by night,

The commendation of Alexanders chaſtity.

Darius prayer vnto the gods.

Darius army of tenne hundred thouſand fighting men againſt Alexander, at the riuer of Euphrates.

bicause the darkenes thereof should helpe to keepe all feare from his men, which the sight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gaue them this notable aunswere: I will not steale victorie, quoth he. This aunswere seemed very fonde and arrogant to some, that he was so pleasaunt, being neere so great daunger. Howebeit others thinke that it was a present noble corage, and a deepe consideration of him, to thinke what should happen: thereby to geue *Darius* no maner of occasion (if he were ouercomen) to take hart againe, and to proue an other battell, accusing the darkenes of the night as cause of his ouerthrow: as he had done at the first conflict, imputing his ouerthrowe to the mountaines, the straights, and the sea. For, sayd he, *Darius* will neuer leaue to make warres with vs for lacke of men, nor munition, hauing so large a realme as he hath, & such a world of people besides: but then he will no more hasard battell, when his hart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he seeth his army at noone dayes ouerthrowen by plaine battell. After his Captaines were gone from him, he went into his tent, and layed him downe to sleepe, and slept all that night more soundly than he was wont to doe before: insomuch as the Lordes and Princes of his campe comming to waite apon him at his vprising, marueled when they found him so sounde a sleepe, and therefore of them selues they commaunded the souldiers to eate. Afterwards, perceiuing that time came fast apon them, *Parmenio* went into *Alexanders* chamber, and comming to his bedde side, called him twise or thrise by his name, till at the last he waked him, and asked him how it chaunced that he slept so long, like one that had already ouercome, & that did not thinke he should fight as great and daungerous a battell as euer he did in his life. Why, sayd *Alexander* laughing on him: doest thou not thinke we haue already ouercomen, being troubled no more with running after *Darius* vp and downe a contrie vtterly destroyed, as we should otherwise haue bene compelled to haue done, if he would not haue comen to battell, and destroyed the contrie before vs? Now *Alexander* did not only shew him selfe before the battell, but euen at the very instant of battell, a noble man of corage, and of great iudgement. For *Parmenio* leading the left wing of his battell, the men of armes of the BACTRIANS gaue such a fierce onset vpon the MACEDONIANS, that they made them geue backe: and *Mazeus* also, king *Darius* Lieutenant, sent certaine troupes of horsemen out of their battell, to geue charge vpon them that were left in the campe to garde the cariage. *Parmenio* being amazed with either of both attempts, sent immediatly to aduertise *Alexander*, that all their campe and cariage would be lost, if he did not send presently to aide the rereward. When these newes came to *Alexander* from *Parmenio*, he had already geuen the signall of battell vnto his men for to geue charge. Whereupon he aunswered the messenger that brought him these newes, that he should tell *Parmenio* he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembring that if they wanne the battell, they should not only saue their owne cariage, but also winne the cariage of their enemies: & if it were their chaunce to lose it, then that they should not neede to care for their cariage, nor for their slaues, but only to thinke to dye honorably, valliantly fighting for his life. Hauing sent this message vnto *Parmenio*, he put on his helmet. The rest of his armor for his body, he had put it on before in his tent, which was, a SICILIAN cassocke, and vpon that a brigandine made of many foldes of canuas with oylet holes, which was gotten among the spoyles at the battell of ISSVS. His head peece was as bright as siluer, made by *Theophilus* the armorer: his coller sutelike to the same, all set full of pretious stones, and he had a sword by his side, marueious light, and of excellent temper, which the king of the CITIBIANS had geuen him, vsing commonly to fight with his sword at any set battel. His coate armor was marueious rich, and of sumptuous workemanshippe, farre aboue all the rest he ware. It was of the workemanshippe of *Hellicon*, the which the RHODIANS gaue him for a present, and this he commonly wore when he went to battell. Now when he did set his men in battell ray, or made any oration vnto them, or did ryde alongest the bands to take view of them: he alwayes vsed to ryde vpon an other horse to spare *Bucephal*, bicause he was then somewhat olde: notwithstanding, when he ment in deede to fight, then *Bucephal* was brought vnto him, and as soone as he was gotten vp on his backe, the tromper sounded, & he gaue charge. Then, after he had made long exhortacions to incorage the men of armes of the THESSALIANS, and the other GRECIANS also, and when they had all promised him they would sticke to him like men, and prayed him

The magnanimity of Alexander.

Alexanders third battell with Darius.

The armor of Alexander.

to

A to lead them, and geue charge vppon the enemies: he tooke his launce in his left hande, and holding vp his right hande vnto heauen, besought the goddes (as *Callisthenes* writeth) that if it were true, he was begotten of *Iupiter*, that it would please them that day to helpe him, and to encorage the GRÆCIANS. The Soothsayer *Aristander* was then a horsebacke hard by *Alexander*, apparelled all in white, & a crowne of gold on his head, who shewed *Alexander* when he made his prayer, an Eagle flying ouer his head, and pointing directly towards his enemies. This maruelously encoraged all the armie that saw it, and with this ioy, the men of armes of *Alexanders* side, encoraging one an other, did set spurres to their horse to charge apon the enemies. The battell of the footemen of the PERSIANS, beganne a litle to geue way, and before the foremest could come to geue them charge, the barbarous people turned their backs, B and fled. The chase was great, *Alexander* driuing them that fled vppon the middest of their owne battell, where *Darius* selfe was in person. He spied him a farre of ouer the foremest rankes in the middest of his battel, being a goodly tall Prince, standing in a charriot of warre, compassed in rounde with great troupes of horsemen, all set in goodly ordinaunce to receiue the enemy. But when they saw *Alexander* at hand with so grimme a looke, chasing them that fled, through those that yet kept their ranks: there fell such a feare among them, that the most parte dispersed them selues. Notwithstanding, the best and most valliantest men fought it out to the death before their king, and falling dead one apon an other, they did let them that the enemies could not so well follow *Darius*. For they lying one by an other on the ground, drawing on to the last gaspe, did yet take both men and horses by the legges to hinder them. *Darius* C then seeing nothing but terror and destruction before his eyes, and that the bandes which he had set before him for safegard, came backe vpon him, so as he could not deuise how to turne his charriot forward nor backward, the wheeles were so hindered and stayed with the heapes of dead bodies, and that the horse also being set apon and hidde in maner in this conflict, fell to leapinge and plunginge for feare, so that the charrettiers coulde no lenger guide nor driue them: he got vp vpon a mare that lately had fole, and so saued him selfe flying apon her. And yet had he not thus escaped, had not *Parmenio* once againe sent vnto *Alexander* to pray him to come and aide him: bicause there was yet a great squadron whole together that made no countenaunce to flie. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused *Parmenio* that day to haue delt but slackely and cowardly, either bicause his age had taken his corage from him, or else D for that he enuied *Alexanders* greatnes and prosperity, who against his will became ouer great as *Callisthenes* sayd. In fine, *Alexander* was angry with the second message, and yet told not his men truely the cause why, but faining that he would haue them leaue killing, and bicause also night came on: he caused the trompet sound retreate, and so went towards his army, whom he thought to be in distresse. Notwithstanding, newes came to him by the way, that in that place also, they had geuen the enemies the ouerthrowe, and that they fled euery way for life. The battell hauing this successe, euery man thought that the kingdom of the PERSIANS was vtterly ouerthrowen, and that *Alexander* likewise was become only king of all ASIA: whereupon he made sumptuous sacrifices vnto the goddes, and gaue great riches, houses, lands and possessions vnto his frendes and familliars. Furthermore, to shewe his liberalitie also vnto the E GRÆCIANS, he wrote vnto them, that he would haue all tyrannies suppressed through out all GRÆCE, and that all the GRÆCIANS should liue at libertie vnder their owne lawes. Particularly also he wrote vnto the PLATÆIANS, that he woulde reedifie their citie againe, bicause their predecessors in time past, had geuen their contrie vnto the GRÆCIANS, to fight against the barbarous people for the defence of the common libertie of all GRÆCE. He sent also into ITALIE vnto the CROTONIANS, parte of the spoyle, to honor the memory of the valliantnes, and good will of *Phayllus* their citizen, who in the time of the warres with the MEDES, (when all the GRÆCIANS that dwelt in ITALIE had forsaken their naturall contrie men of GRÆCE it selfe, bicause they thought they could not otherwise scape) went with a shippe of his vnto SALAMINA, which he armed and set forth at his owne charges, bicause he would be at the bat- F tell and partake also of the common daunger with the GRÆCIANS: such honor did *Alexander* beare vnto prowes, that he loued to reward & remember the worthy deedes of men. Then *Alexander* marching with his army into the contry of BABYLON, they all yelded straight vnto

An Eagle flying ouer Alexanders head, when he went to fight with Darius.

The flying of Darius.

Alexanders third victory of Darius, and liberalitie to all men.

rited)

him. When he came into the contrie of the ECBATANIANS, he marueled when he saw an opening of the earth, out of the which there came continuall sparkes of fire as out of a well: & that hard by also the earth spued out continually a kinde of *mawnd or chalkie clay somwhat lyquid, of such aboundaunce, as it seemed like a lake. This maund or chalke is like vnto a kind of lyme or clay, but it is so easie to be sette a fire, that not touching it with any flame, by the brightnes only of the light that commeth out of the fire, it is set afire, & doth also set the ayer a fire which is betwene both. The barbarous people of that contrie, being desirous to shewe *Alexander* the nature of that Naptha, scattered the streete that led to his lodging, with some of it. Then the day being shut in, they fired it at one of the endes, and the first droppes taking fire, in the twinckling of an eye, all the rest from one end of the streete to the other was of a flame, and though it was darke and within night, lightned all the place thereabout. *Alexander* being in bath at that time, and waited apon by a page called *Steuen*: (a hard fauored boy, but yet that had an excellent sweete voyce to sing) one *Athenophanes* an ATHENIAN, that alwayes nointed & bathed the king, & much delighted him with his pleasaunt conceites, asked him if he would see the triall of this Naptha apon *Steuen*: for if the fire tooke and went not out, then he would say it had a wonderfull force, and was vnquencheable. The page was contented to haue it proued apon him. But so soone as they had layed it on him, and did but touche it only, it tooke straight of such a flame, and so fired his body, that *Alexander* him selfe was in a maruelous perplexitie withall. And sure had it not bene by good happe, that there were many by ready with vessells full of water to put into the bath, it had bene vnpossible to haue saued the boy from being burnt to nothing: and yet so he escaped narrowly, and besides was sicke long after. Now some apply this Naptha vnto the fable of *Medea*, saying that therwith she rubbed the crowne and lawne she gaue vnto the daughter of *Creon* at her mariage, so much spoken of in the tragedies. For neither the crowne nor the lawne could cast fire of them selues, neither did the fire light by chaunce. But by oyling them with this Naptha she wrought a certaine aptnes to receiue more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride sate. For the beames which the fire casteth out, haue ouer some bodies no other force, but to heet and lighten them. But such as haue an oyly drie humor, and thereby a simpathy and proportionable conformitie with the nature of the fire: it easily enflameth and setteth a fire, by the forcible impression of his beames. Howbeit they make a great question of the cause of this naturall force of Naptha,* or whether this liquid substance and moyst humor that taketh fire so easily, doth come of the earth that is fatty and apt to conceiue fire. For this contrie of BABYLON is very hot, insomuch as oftentimes barley being put into the ground, it bloweth it vp againe, as if the earth by vehement inflammacion had a strong blast to cast it out: and men in the extreamest heate of the sommer, doe sleepe there, vpon great leather budgets filled full of fresh water. *Harpalus*, whom *Alexander* left there his Lieutenaunt & Gouernor of that contry, desiring to set forth and beawtifie the gardens of the kings pallace & walkes of the same, with all maner of plantes of GREECE: he brought all the rest to good passe, sauing Iuie only, which the earth could neuer abide, but it euer dyed, bicause the heate and temper of the earth killed it, and the Iuie of it selfe liketh fresh ayer and a cold ground. This digression is somwhat from the matter, but peraduenture the reader will not thinke it troublesome, howe hard soeuer he finde it, so it be not ouer tedious. *Alexander* hauing wonne the city of SVSA, he found within the castell foure thowsand talentes in ready coyne, gold and siluer, besides other infinite treasure and inestimable, amongest the which (it is sayd) he found to the value of fiue thousand talentes weight of * purple HERMIONA silke which they had safe locked vp & kept the space of two hundred yeres saue ten, and yet the colour kept as freshe as if it had bene newly made. Some say that the cause why it was so well kept, came by meanes of the dying of it, with Iuie, in silkes which before had bene dyed redde, and with white oyle in white silkes. For, there are silkes seene of that colour of as long a time, that keepe colour as well as the other. Plinie writeth furthermore, that the kinges of PERSIA made water to be brought from the riuers of Nylus and Ister (otherwise called Danubie) which they did locke vp with their other treasure for a confirmation of the greatnes of their Empire, and to shew that they were Lordes of the world. The wayes to enter into PERSIA being very hard of passage, and in maner vnpassable, (both

The strength and power of Naptha, in the contry of Ecbatania.

What Medaes enchantements was.

In this place there lacke certaine lynes in the Greeke originall.

No Iuie in the contrie of Babylon.

Treasure found by Alexander as the citie of Susa.

It seemeth that he meaneth of silke dyed in purple whereof the best that was in Europe was made in the citie of Hermiona, in Laconia.

A (both for the illnes of the wayes, as alſo for the gard that kept them, which were the choiſeſt men of PERSIA) *Darius* alſo being fled thither: there was one that ſpake the Greeke and PERSIAN tongue (whoſe father was borne in the contry of LYCIA, & his mother a PERSIAN) that guided *Alexander* into PERSIA, by ſome compaſſe fetched about not very long, according to the Oracles aunſwere of *Alexander* geuen by the mouth of Nunne *Pythias*, when he was a child: that a LYCIAN ſhould guide and lead him againſt the PERSIANS. There was then great ſlaughter made in PERSIA of the priſoners that were taken. For *Alexander* him ſelfe wryteth, that he commaunded the men ſhould be put to the ſword, thinking that the beſt way to ſerue his turne. It is ſayd alſo, that there he found a maruelous treaſure of gold and ſiluer in readie money, as he had done before in the citie of SVSA: the which he caried away with all the reſt B of the kinges rich wardroppe, and with it laded tenne thowſande moyles, and fiue thowſande cammells. *Alexander* entring into the caſtell of the chiefe citie of PERSIA, ſaw by chaunce a great image of *Xerxes* lye on the ground, the which vnwares was throwen downe by the multitude of the ſouldiers that came in, thronging one apon an other. Thereupon he ſtayed, and ſpake vnto it as if it had bene aliue, ſaying: I can not tell whether I ſhould paſſe by thee, and let thee lye, for the warre thou madeſt ſomtime againſt the GRÆCIANS: or whether I ſhould lift thee vp, reſpecting the noble minde & vertues thou haddeſt. In thend, when he had ſtoode mute a long time, conſidering of it, he went his way: and meaning to refreſh his weary army, bicauſe it was the winter quarter, he remained there foure monethes together. The reporte goeth, that the firſt time that *Alexander* ſate vnder the cloth of ſtate of king *Darius*, all of rich C golde: *Demarathus* CORINTHIAN (who firſt beganne to loue him euen in his father *Philippes* time) burſt out in teares for ioy, good old man, ſaying that the GRÆCIANS long time dead before, were depriued of this bleſſed happe, to ſee *Alexander* ſet in king *Xerxes* princely chaier. After that, preparing againe to goe againſt *Darius*, he would needes make mery one day, and refreſh him ſelfe with ſome bancket. It chaunced ſo, that he with his companions was bidden to a priuate feaſt priuately, where was aſſembled ſome fine curtiſans of his familiars who with their frendes taried at the banket. Amongeſt them was that famous *Thais*, borne in the contry of ATTICA, & then concubine to *Ptolomy*, king of ÆGYPT after *Alexanders* death. She finely praiſing *Alexander*, and partely in ſporting wiſe, began to vtter matter in affection of her contrie, but yet of greater importance than became her mouth: ſaying, that that day ſhe founde D her ſelfe fully recompenced to her great good liking, for all the paines ſhe had take, trauelling through all the contries of ASIA, following of his armie, now that ſhe had this fauor & good happe to be mery and pleaſaunt, in the prowde and ſtately pallace of the great kings of PERSIA. But yet it would doe her more good, for a recreation, to burne *Xerxes* houſe with the fire of ioy, who had burnt the city of ATHENS: and her ſelfe to geue the fire to it, before ſo noble a Prince as *Alexander*. Bicauſe euer after it might be ſaid, that the women following his campe, had taken more noble reuenge of the PERSIANS, for the wronges and iniuries they had done vnto GRÆCE: than all the Captaines of GRÆCE that euer were had done, either by lande or ſea. When ſhe had ſayd, *Alexanders* familiars about him, clapped their hands, and made great noiſe for ioy, ſaying: that it were as good a deede as could be poſſible, and perſwaded *Alexan-* E *der* vnto it. *Alexander* yeelding to their perſwaſions, roſe vp, and putting a garland of flowers apon his head, went formeſt him ſelfe: and all his familliars followed after him, crying and dauncing all about the caſtell. The other MACEDONIANS hearing of it alſo, came thither immediatly with torches light and great ioy, hoping that this was a good ſigne that *Alexander* ment to returne againe into MACEDON, and not to dwell in the contrie of the barbarous people, ſith he did burne and deſtroy the kings caſtell. Thus, and in this ſorte it was thought to be burnt. Some writers thinke otherwiſe: that it was not burnt with ſuch ſport, but by determination of the counſell. But howſoeuer it was, all they graunt, that *Alexander* did preſently repent him, and commaunded the fire to be quenched ſtraight. For his liberality, that good will and readines to geue, increaſed with his conqueſtes: and when he did beſtowe giftes of any, F he would beſides his gift euer geue them good countenance, on whom he beſtowed his grace and fauor. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. *Ariſto* being Collonell of the PAEONIANS, hauing ſlaine one of his enemies, he brought him his head, and ſayd: ſuch a preſent,

Alexanders iorney into Perſia.

Alexander found a maruelous treaſure in Perſia.

The inſolent boldnes of Thais the harlot.

Perſepolis ſet a fire by Alexander.

O king, by vs, is euer rewarded with a cuppe of golde. Yea, q. *Alexander*, ſmyling apon him: A
with an emptie cuppe. But I drinke to thee this cuppe full of good wine, and doe geue thee
cuppe & all. An other time, he met with a poore MACEDONIAN that led a moyle loden with
gold of the kings: and when the poore moyle was ſo weary that ſhe could no lenger cary her
burden, the moyleter put it apon his owne backe, and loded him ſelfe withall, carying it ſo a
good pretie way: howbeit in thende being ouerloden, was about to throwe it downe on the
ground. *Alexander* perceiuing it, asked him what burden he caried. When it was tolde him
well, q. he to the moyletter, be not weary yet, but carie it into the tent, for I geue it thee. To
be ſhort, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, then he was with thoſe
that would aske him ſomewhat. He wrote alſo vnto *Phocion*, that he would take him no more
for his frend, if he would refuſe his giftes. It ſeemed that he had geuen nothing vnto a young B
boy called *Serapion* (who euer did ſerue them the ball that played at tenis) bicauſe he asked him
nothing. Wherefore, the king playing on a time, this young boy threw the ball to others that
played with him, and not to him ſelfe. The king marueling at it, at the length ſayd vnto him:
why, my boy, doeſt thou not geue me the ball? Bicauſe your maieſtie doth not aske it me, q.
he. *Alexander* then vnderſtanding his meaning, laughed at the boy, & did much for him after-
wards. There was attending on him alſo one *Proteas*, a pleaſaunt conceited man, & that could
ſlent finely. It chaunced vpon ſome occaſion that *Alexander* fell out with him: whereuppon
ſome of his frends were interceſſors to the king for him, & beſought him to pardon him: and
Proteas him ſelfe alſo being preſent, craued pardon with teares in his eyes. *Alexander* there-
upon forgaue him. Then pleaſauntly replied *Proteas*, I deſire it may pleaſe your grace, that I C
may receiue ſome teſtimonie to aſſure me I am in your fauor. Thereuppon the king ſtraight
commaunded one to geue him fiue talents. The goods and riches he gaue vnto his familliars
and gard about him, were very great, as it appeareth plainly by a letter which his mother O-
lympias wrote vnto him, to this effect: I know thou ſpareſt not to geue thy frends large giftes,
and that thou makeſt much of them: but thereby thou makeſt them kings fellowes, they get
many frendes, and leaue the poſte alone without any. His mother did many times write ſuch
like matters vnto him, the which *Alexander* kept very ſecret, ſauing one day when he opened
one of them, *Hephæſtion* being preſent drew neere, and red the letter with him, as he was wont
to do. *Alexander* did let him alone, but when he had red it, he plucked the ſeale of armes from
his finger, wherewith he did vſe to ſeale his letters, and put it to *Hephæſtions* mouth. He gaue D
alſo vnto the ſonne of *Mazeus*, (that was the chiefeſt man about *Darius*) a ſeconde gouern-
ment, beſides that which he had before, and greater than the firſt. This young noble man re-
fuſed it, ſaying: why, and it pleaſe your grace, before there was but one *Darius*, but you now
make many *Alexanders*. He gaue vnto *Parmenio* alſo, *Bagoas* houſe, where (as is reported) he
found a thowſand talents worth, of the ſpoyles and goods of the SVSIANS. He wrote alſo vn-
to *Antipater*, that he ſhould keepe a gard about his perſon, for he had many enemies that lay
in waite for him. He did ſend alſo many goodly preſents vnto his mother, but withall he wrote
vnto her, that ſhe would meddle no more with his matters nor gifts, taking vpon her the office
of a Captaine. She ſtorming at it, he paciently did brooke her anger. *Antipater* an other time,
wryting a long letter vnto him againſt his mother *Olympias*, when he had red it ouer: loe, ſaid E
he, *Antipater* knoweth not, that one teare of the mothers eye will wipe out tenne thowſande
ſuch letters. Furthermore, *Alexander* perceiuing on a time, that his frendes became very diſ-
ſolute & licentious in dyet and life, and that *Agnon* TEIAN had his corked ſhooes nayled with
ſiluer nayles, that *Leonatus* alſo cauſed diuers cammells to be loden amongeſt his cariage with
powder of ÆGYPT, to put apon him when he wreſtled or vſed any other exerciſe of body: &
that alſo they caried after *Philotas*, toyles for chaſe and hunting, of a hundred furlong long,
and that there were alſo that vſed pretious perfumes & ſwete ſauors when they bathed them-
ſelues, more then there were that rubbed them ſelues with plaine oyle, and that they had fine
chamberlaines to rubbe them in the bath, and to make their beddes ſoft and delicate: he wiſe-
ly and curteouſly rebuked them and ſayd. I maruell, ſayd he, that you which haue fought in ſo F
often and great battells, doe not remember that they which trauell, doe ſleepe more ſweete
and ſoundly, than they that take their eaſe and doe nothing: and that you doe not marke, that

Alexanders prodigalitie reproued by his mother Olympias.

Alexander reproueth the fineneſs and curioſitie of his frendes.

comparing

A comparing your life, with the manner of the life of the PERSIANS, to liue at pleasure is a vile thinge, and to trauell is Princely. And howe I pray you, can a man take paine to dresse his owne horse, or to make cleane his launce or helmet, that for slothfull curiosities sake, disdaineth to rubbe his owne bodie with his fine fingers? Are you ignorant, that the type of honor in all our victorie consisteth, in scorning to doe that which we see them doe, whom we haue vanquished and ouercome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint them selues with hardnes: he tooke more paines in warres and in hunting, and did hazard him selfe more daungerously, then euer he had done before. Whereuppon an Ambassador of LACEDÆMON being present to see him fight with a Lyon, and to kill him, sayd vnto him: truely your grace hath fought well with this Lyon, and tried which of you two should be king. *Craterus* after B that, caused this hunting to be set vp in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES: where are the images of the Lyon, of the dogges, and of the king fighting with the Lyon, and of him selfe also that came to helpe him, all those images being of copper, some made by *Lysippus*, the rest by *Leochares*. Thus *Alexander* did put him selfe vnto all iuberdies, as well to exercise his strength and corage, as also to allure his men to doe the like. This notwithstanding, his frendes and familiars hauing wealth at will, as men exceeding riche, they would needes liue delicately and at ease, and woulde take no more paines, misliking vtterly to goe vp and downe the contries to make warre here and there: and thereuppon beganne a litle to finde fault with *Alexander*, and to speake euill of him. Which at the first *Alexander* tooke quietly, saying, that it was honor for a king to suffer him selfe to be slaundered and ill spoken of, for doing of good. And yet the C least good turnes he did vnto his frendes, did shewe his hartie loue and honor he bare them, as shall appeare vnto you by some examples that followe. *Peucestas* being bitten by a beare, did let his frendes vnderstande it by letters, but he wrote nothing thereof vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander* was offended therewith, and wrote vnto him thus. Sende me worde at the least yet how thou doest, and whether any of thy fellowes did forsake thee at the hunting, to thende they may be punished. *Hephestion* being absent about certaine businesse he had, *Alexander* wrote vnto him, that as they were hunting a beast called Ichnewmon, *Craterus* vnfortunately crossinge *Perdiccas* darte, was striken through both his thighes. *Peucestas* being cured of a great disease, *Alexander* wrote vnto *Alexippus* his Phisitian that had cured him, and gaue him thankes. *Craterus* also being sicke, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certaine D sacrifices for the recouerie of his health, and sent vnto him, willing him to doe the like. And when the Phisitian *Pausanias* ment to geue him a drinke of Eelleborum, he wrote letters vnto him, telling him what daunger he was in, and prayed him to be carefull how he receiued that medicine. He did also put *Ephialtes* and *Cissus* in prison, who brought him the first newes of *Harpalus* flying, bicause they did wrongfully accuse & slaũder him. When he had cõmaunded there should be a bill made of all the olde mens names, and diseased persones that were in his campe, to sende them home againe into their contry: there was one *Eurylochus* ÆGEIAN that made his name be billed among the sicke persons, & it was found afterwardes that he was not sicke, and confessed that he did it only to follow a young woman called *Telesippa*, with whom he was in loue, who was returning homewardes towardes the sea side. *Alexander* asked him, E whether this woman were free or bond: he answered him, that she was a curtisan free borne. Then sayd *Alexander* vnto *Eurylochus*, I would be glad to further thy loue, yet I can not force her to tarie: but seeke to winne her by giftes and fayer wordes to be contented to tarie, sithence she is a free woman. It is a wonderfull thing to see what paines he would take, to write for his frendes, euen in such trifles as he did. As, when he wrote into CILICIA for a seruaunt of *Seleucus* that was fled from his master, sending straight commaundement, that they should carefully lay for him. And by an other letter he commendeth *Peucestas*, for that he had stayed and taken one *Nicon*, a slaue of *Craterus*. And by one other letter also vnto *Megabizus*, touching an other bondman that had taken sanctuarie in a temple: he commaunded him also to seeke to intise him out of the sanctuarie, to laye hold on him if he could, but otherwise not to F meddle with him in any case. It is sayd also, that at the first when he vsed to sit in iudgement to heare criminall causes, whilest the accuser went on with his complaint and accusation: he alwayes vsed to lay his hande vppon one of his eares to keepe that cleane from the matter of

Alexander, enemy to idlenes.

Alexanders care of his frendes and wonderfull curtesie towards them.

Alexander keps one eare for the condined person.

accusation, thereby reseruing it to heare the purgacion and iustificacion of the person condemned. But afterwardes, the number of accusations that were brought before him, did so prouoke and alter him, that he did beleue the false accusations, by the great number of the true that were brought in. But nothinge put him more in rage, then when he vnderstoode they had spoken ill of him: and then he was so fierce, as no pardon would be graunted, for that he loued his honor, more then his kingdome or life. Then at that time he went against *Darius*, thinking that he ment to fight againe: but vnderstanding that *Bessus* had taken him, then he gaue the THESSALIANS leaue to departe home into their contrie, and gaue them two thowsand talentes, ouer and aboue their ordinarie pay. *Alexander* had then a marueilous long, hard, and painefull iorney in following of *Darius*: for in eleuen dayes, he rode three thowsande three hundred furlong, insomuch as the most parte of his men were euen wearie, and done, for lacke of water. It chaunced him one day to meete with certaine MACEDONIANS that caried (vppon moyles) goate skinnes full of water, which they had fetched from a riuer. They seeing *Alexander* in manner deade for thirst, being about noone ranne quickely to him, and in a headpeece brought him water. *Alexander* asked them, to whom they caried this water. They answered him againe, that they caried it to their children, but yet we would haue your grace to liue: for though we lose them, we may get more children. When they had sayd so, *Alexander* tooke the helmet with water, and perceiuing that the men of armes that were about him, and had followed him, did thrust out their neckes to looke vpon this water, he gaue the water backe againe vnto them that had geuen it him, and thanked them, but dranke none of it. For, sayd he, if I drinke alone, all these men here will faint. Then they seeing the noble corage and curtesie of *Alexander*, cried out that he should lead them: and therewithall beganne to spurre their horses, saying, that they were not wearie nor a thirst, nor did thinke them selues mortall, so long as they had such a king. Euerie man was a like willing to followe *Alexander*, yet had he but three score only that entred with him into the enemies campe. There, passinge ouer much golde and siluer which was scattered abroade in the market place, and going also by many charriottes full of women and children, which they found in the fields, flying away at all aduenture: they ranne vpon the spurre vntill they had ouertaken the foremost that fled, thinking to haue founde *Darius* amongest them. But at the length, with much a doe, they founde him layed along in a coche, hauing many woundes vpon his bodie, some of darts and some speares. So, he being almost at the last cast, called for some drinke, and dranke colde water, which *Polystratus* gaue him. To whom when he had dronke, he sayd: this is my last mishappe, my frend, that hauing receiued this pleasure, I can not requite thee: howbeit *Alexander* will recompence thee, and the goddes, *Alexander*, for the liberalitie and curtesie which he hath shewed vnto my wife and children, whom I pray thee embrace for my sake. At these last wordes, he tooke *Polystratus* by the hande, and so gaue vp the goast. *Alexander* came immediatly after, and plainely shewed that he was sorie for his death and misfortune: and vndoing his owne cloke, he cast it vpon the body of *Darius*. After that, hauing by good happe gotten *Bessus* into his hands, he tare him in peces with two high straight trees which he bowed downewards, and tied his legges to eche of them: so that when the trees were let goe, they gaue a sodaine cruell ierke vp and caried either tree, a peece of his bodie with it. Then *Alexander* hauing geuen *Darius* corse Princely buriall, and embalned him: he sent it vnto his mother, and receiued his brother *Exathres* for one of his frendes. From thence he went into the contrie of HYRCANIA with all the flower of his armie, where he sawe the gulfe of the sea Caspium, which he thought of no lesse greatnesse, then the sea of PONTVS, howbeit calmer then the other seas be. He could not then certainly finde out what it was, nor from whence it came: but of likelyhoode he thought it was some breaking out of the lake or marrish of Meotin. Yet some auncient naturall Philosophers seemed to know truely what it was. For many yeares before *Alexanders* voyage and conquest, they wrote, that of the foure chiefest gulfes of the sea that commeth from the Ocean, and doe entre within maine land, that which is most northerly, is the sea Caspium, which they call also Hyrcanium. As *Alexander* went through the contrie, certaine barbarous people sodainely sette vppon them that led *Bucephal* his horse, and tooke him: but with that he was in such a rage, that

Alexander would not pardon ill wordes spoken of him.

Alexanders painefull iorney, in following of Darius.

The loue of Alexander to his souldiers, and abstinence.

Alexander regarded not the spoyle of gold & siluer, in respect of pursuing his flying enemy.

The death of Darius.

The punishment and execution of Bessus.

The sea Hyrcanium or Caspium.

A that he sent a Heraulde into their contrie to proclaime open warres vppon them, and that he would put man, woman, and childe to the sword, if they brought him not his horse againe. Whereuppon, when his horse was returned home, and that they yeelded vp their cities and fortes into his handes: he did vse them all very curteously, and moreouer did gene them mo-ney for the raunsome of his horse, which they restored. Departing thence, he entred into the contrie of PARTHIA. There hauinge leasure enough, he beganne to apparell him selfe after the facion of the barbarous people, bicause he thought thereby the better to winne the harts of the contriemen, framing him selfe vnto their owne facions: or else to trye the hartes of the MACEDONIANS, to see how they would like the maner of the PERSIANS (which he ment to bring them vnto) in reuerencing of him as they did their king, by litle and litle acquainting B them to allow the alteracion and chaunge of his life. This notwithstanding, he would not at the first take vp the apparell of the MEDES, which was verie straunge, and altogether barba-rous. For he went not without briches, nor did weare a long gowne trailing on the grounde, nor a high coptan cap hatte, but tooke a meane apparell betwext the MEDES & the PERSIANS, more modest then theirs, and more costly than the last: and yet at the first he did not weare it, but when he would talke with the barbarous people, or else priuately amongest his frendes and familliars. Afterwards notwithstanding, he shewed him selfe openly to the people in that apparel, when he gaue them audience. This sight grieued the MACEDONIANS much, but they had his vertues in such admiration, that they thought it meete in some things he should take his owne pleasure, sithence he had bene often hurt in the warres, and not long before had his C legge broken with an arrow, and an other time, had such a blow with a stone full in his necke, that it made him spurre blinde a great while after, and yet neuertheless he neuer eschewed any bodely daunger. For he passed ouer the riuer of Orexartes, which he tooke to be Tanais, and hauinge in battell ouerthrowen the SCYTHIANS, he followed them in chase about a hundred furlong, notwithstanding that at that instant he had a loosenesse of bodie. Thither came vnto him (as it is reported) the Queene of the AMAZONES, as many wryters doe testi-fie: among the which are these, *Clitarchus*, *Polycritus*, *Onesicritus*, *Antigenes*, and *Hister*. But *Chares*, *Ptolomy*, *Anticlides*, & *Philon* THEBAN, *Philip* the historiographer, *Hecateus* ERETRIAN, *Philip* CHALCIDIAN, and *Duris* SAMIAN, all these doe wryte that it was not true: and it see-meth also that *Alexander* selfe doth confirme it. For, wryting all things particularly vnto *An-*D *tipater* as they happened vnto him, he wrote vnto him that the king of SCYTHIA offered him his daughter in mariage: but there he maketh no mencion at all of any AMAZON. It is also sayd, that *Onesicritus* long time after that did reade vnto king *Lysimachus*, the fourth booke of his historie, where he did speake of the AMAZON. *Lysimachus* smyling, sayd vnto him: Why, and where was I then? But for that matter, to credit or not credit it, *Alexander's* estimacion thereby is neither impayred nor aduaunced. Furthermore, *Alexander* fearing that the MA-CEDONIANS, being wearie with this long warre, would goe no further: he left all the rest of his armie behinde, and tooke only twentie thowsande footemen, and three thowsand horse-men of the choycest men of his armie, and with them inuaded the contrie of HYRCANIA. There he made an oration vnto them, and told them, that the barbarous people of ASIA had E but seene them as it were in a dreame, and if they should now returne backe into MACEDON, hauing but onely sturred them, and not altogether subdued ASIA: the people offended with them, woulde sette vppon them as they went home, as if they were no better than women. Neuertheless, he gaue any man leaue to returne that would, protesting therewith against them that would goe, how they did forsake him, his frends, and those who had so good harts towards him, as to follow him in so noble a iorney, to conquer the whole earth vnto the MA-CEDONIANS. This selfe matter is reported thus in a letter which *Alexander* wrote vnto *Anti-pater*: and there he wryteth furthermore, that hauing made this oration vnto them, they all cried out, and bad him leade them into what parte of the world he would. When they had graunted their good wills, it was no hard matter afterwards, to winne the rest of the common F sorte who followed the example of the chiefest. Thereuppon he did frame him selfe the more to liue after the facion of the contrie there, and enterchaungeablie also to bring the men of that contrie vnto the manner of the MACEDONIANS: being perswaded, that by this mixture

Alexander goeth after the maner of the Persians.

Some faultes are to be borne with, in a man of great vertues.

Orexartes fl.

Alexander with one word of his mouth brought the Macedonians to obedience.

and enterchaunge of manners one with an other, he ſhould by frendſhippe more then force make them agree louingly together, when that he ſhould be ſo farre from the contry of PERSIA. For this purpoſe therefore, he choſe thirty thowſand of their children of that contry, and ſet them to learne the Greke tongue, and to be brought vp in the diſcipline of warres, after the MACEDONIANS maner: and gaue them ſchoolemaſters and Captaines to traine them in ech facultie. And for the marrying of *Roxane*, he fancied her, ſeeing her at a feaſt where he was, which fell out as well for his turne, as if he had with better aduiſe and counſell loued her. For the barbarous people were verie prowde of this matche when they ſawe him make alliance with them in this ſorte, inſomuch as they loued him better then they did before, bicauſe they ſaw in thoſe things he was alwayes ſo chaſt and continent, that notwithſtanding he was marueilouſly in loue with her, yet he would not diſhonorably touche this young Ladie, before he was maried vnto her. Furthermore, *Alexander* conſidering that of the two men which he loued beſt, *Hephæſtion* liked well of his matche, and went apparelled as him ſelfe did, and that *Craterus* contrarily did ſtill vſe the MACEDONIAN manner: he delt in all affayres with the barbarous people, by *Hephæſtion*, and with the GRÆCIANS and MACEDONIANS, by *Craterus*. To be ſhort, he loued the one, and honored the other: ſaying, that *Hephæſtion* loued *Alexander*, and *Craterus* loued the king. Hereuppon theſe two perſons bare one an other grudge in their harts, and oftentimes brake out in open quarrell: inſomuch as on a time being in INDIA, they drewe their ſwordes and fought together, and diuers of their frendes ranne to take part with either ſide. Thither came *Alexander* ſelfe alſo, who openly before them all, bitterly tooke vp *Hephæſtion*, and called him foole and bedlem, ſaying: doeſt thou not know, that whatſoeuer he be that ſhould take *Alexander* from me, he ſhould neuer liue? Priuatly alſo, he ſharply rebuked *Craterus*, and calling them both before him, he made them frendes together, ſwearing by *Iupiter Hammon*, and by all the other gods, that he loued them two of all men liuing, neuertheles if euer he founde that they fell out together againe, they ſhould both dye for it, or him at the leaſt that firſt beganne to quarrell. So euer after that, they ſay, there was neuer fowle word nor deede betwene them, not ſo much as in ſport only. There was alſo one *Philotas*, the ſonne of *Parmenio*, a man of great authority among the MACEDONIANS, who next vnto *Alexander* was the moſt vallianteſt man, the pacienteſt to abide paine, the liberalleſt, and one that loued his men & frends better then any noble man in the campe whatſoeuer. Of him it is reported, that a frend of his came to him on a time to borrow money: and he commaunded ſtraight one of his men to let him haue it. His purſe bearer aunſwered him, that he had none. Why, ſayd his maſter, doeſt thou tell me ſo? Haſt thou not plate, and apparell to ſell or gage to helpe him to ſome? Howbeit otherwiſe, he had ſuch a pride & glory to ſhew his riches, to apparell himſelfe ſo ſumptuouſly, and to be more fine and princked then became a priuate man, that this made him to be hated: bicauſe he tooke vpō him to be a great man & to looke bigge on the matter, which became him ill fauoredly, and therfore euery man through his owne folly, fell in miſliking with him. Inſomuch as his owne father ſaid one day vnto him: ſonne I pray thee be more humble & lowly. This *Philotas* had long before bene cōplained vpon vnto *Alexander*, bicauſe that when the cariage of king *Darius* armie (which was in the citie of DAMAS) was taken after the battell of CILICIA, among many priſoners that were taken and brought vnto *Alexanders* campe, there was one *Antigona*, a paſſing fayer young curtiſan, borne in the citie of PIDNA. *Philotas* founde meanes to gette her, and like a young man that was in loue with her, making merie with her at the table, fondly lette fall braue wordes and boaſtes of a ſouldier, ſaying, that what notable thinges were done, they were done by him ſelfe and his father: and called *Alexander* at euerie worde, young man, and ſayd that by their meanes he helde his name and kingdome. This courtiſan tolde one of his frendes what he ſayd, and that frende tolde an other frende, and ſo went from man to man (as commonly it doth) till at the length it came to *Craterus* eares. He tooke the courtiſan, and brought her vnto *Alexander*, vnto whom ſhe told as much as ſhe had ſayd before. *Alexander* bad her ſtill make much of *Philotas*, and to tell him euery word what he ſayd of him. *Philotas* knowing nothing that he was thus circumuented, did euer frequent her companie, and would be bold commonly to ſpeake many fooliſh and vndiſcreete words againſt the king, ſomtime in anger, & ſomtime againe in a brauery.

Alexander maried Roxane, a Perſian.

Quarrell betwext Hephæſtion and Craterus.

VVhy Philotas was ſuſpected, and enuied of Alexander.

Alexander

A *Alexander* this notwithstanding, though he had manifest proofe and cause to accuse *Philotas*, yet he dissembled it for that time, and would not be knowen of it: either for that he knew *Parmenio* loued him, or else for that he was affrayed of their great power and authoritie. About that time there was one *Limnus Chalastrian* a MACEDONIAN, that layed great and secret waite to kill *Alexander*: and being in loue with a young man called *Nicomachus*, entised him to helpe him to doe this deede. The young man wisely denied it, & told the same to his brother called *Balinus*. He went vnto *Philotas*, and prayed him to bring them both before *Alexander*, for they had a matter of great importance to impart vnto him. *Philotas* would not let him speake with the king (but why, no man could tell) telling them that the king had greater matters in hande, and was not at leasure. Then they went vnto an other, and he brought them vnto *Alexander*, B vnto whome first they opened the treason of *Limnus* conspired against him: and by the way they tolde also, how they had bene twise before with *Philotas*, who would not let them come in, nor speake with them. That angred *Alexander* greatly, and he was the more offended also when *Limnus* was slaine by him, whome he sent to apprehende him, resisting him for that he would not be taken: and thought that by his death he had lost a great meanes to come to the light of this treason and conspiracie. Then *Alexander* frowning vppon *Philotas*, brought all his enemies vpon his backe, that of long time had hated him. For they beganne to speake boldly, that it was time for the kinge to looke about him, for it was not to be supposed that this *Limnus Chalastrian* of him selfe durst haue entred into that treason, but rather that he was a minister, and a chiefe instrument, set on by a greater personage then he: and therefore C that it stoode *Alexander* vpon to examine them straightly, which had cause to kepe this treason secret. After *Alexander* once gaue eare vnto such wordes and vehement presumptions, there was straight brought in a thowsand accusations against *Philotas*. Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the presence of diuers Lordes and familliars of the king put to the torter, *Alexander* selfe being behinde a hanginge, to heare what he would say. It is reported, that when he heard howe faintly and pitiefully he besought *Hephestion* to take pitie of him, he sayd vnto him selfe: alas, poore *Philotas*, thou that hast so faint a hart, howe durst thou take vppon thee so great matters? In fine, *Philotas* was put to death, and immediatly after he was executed, *Alexander* sent also with speede vnto the realme of MEDIA to kill *Parmenio*, who was his Lieutenaunt there, and one that had serued king *Philippe* his father, in his greatest af- D fayers, and who onely of all other the olde seruauntes of his father had procured *Alexander* to take in hande the conquest of ASIA: and who also of three sonnes which he brought out with him, had seene two of them dye before him, and afterwardes was slaine him selfe with the third. This crueltie of *Alexander* made his frendes affrayed of him, and specially *Antipater*: who secretly sent Ambassadors vnto the ÆTOLIANS, to make league with them, because they them selues also were affrayed of *Alexander*, for that they had put the *Oeniades* to death. *Alexander* hearing that, sayd, that he him selfe, and not the sonnes of the *Oeniades*, would be reuenged of the ÆTOLIANS. Not long after that, followed the murther of *Clitus*, the which to heare it simplie tolde, would seeme much more cruell than the death of *Philotas*. But reporting the cause and the time together in which it chaunced: it will be founde E that it was not of sette purpose, but by chaunce, and vnfortunately, that *Alexander* being ouercome with wine, did vnluckely wreake his anger vpon *Clitus*. The manner of his misfortune was this. There came certaine men of the lowe contries from the seaside, that brought apples of GRÆCE vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander* wondering to see them so greene and fayer, sent for *Clitus* to shewe him them, and to geue him some of them. *Clitus* by chaunce did sacrifice at that time vnto the goddes, and left his sacrifice to goe vnto *Alexander*: howebeit there were three weathers that followed him, on whome the accustomed sprincklinges had bene done alreadie to haue sacrificed them. *Alexander* vnderstandinge that, tolde it to his Soothsayers, *Aristander*, and *Cleomantis* LACONIAN, who both did answere him, that it was an ill signe. *Alexander* thereuppon gaue order straight, that they shoulde doe sacrifice F for the health of *Clitus*, and specially for that three dayes before he dreamed one night that he sawe *Clitus* in a mourninge gowne, sittinge amongest the sonnes of *Parmenio*, the which were all dead before. This notwithstanding, *Clitus* did not make an ende of his sacrifice, but

Limnus trayterously seeketh to kill Alexander.

Philotas and his father Parmenio put to death.

Antipater was affrayed of Alexander.

VVhy Alexander slue Clitus.

Alexanders dreame of Clitus.

came straight to supper to the kinge, who had that day sacrificed vnto *Castor* and *Pollux*. At this feast there was olde drinking, and all the supper time there were certaine verses song and made by a Poet, called *Pranichus*, (or as others say, of one *Pierion*) against certaine Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, which had not long before bene ouercome by the barbarous people, and only to shame them, and to make the compania laugh. With these verses, auncient men that were at this feast, became much offended, and grewe angrie with the Poet that made them, and the minstrell that song them. *Alexander* on thother side, and his familiars liked them verie well, and commaunded the minstrell to sing still. *Clitus* therewithall being ouertaken with wine, and besides of a churlish nature, prowde and arrogant, fell into greater choller, and sayd: that it was neither well nor honestlie done in that sorte to speake ill of those poore MACEDONIAN Captaines (and speciallie amongest the barbarous people their enemies) which were farre better men then they, that laughed them to scorne, although their fortune much worse then theirs. *Alexander* then replied, and sayd, that saying so, he pleaded for him selfe, calling cowardlinesse, misfortune. Then *Clitus* standing vp, sayd againe: but yet this my cowardlynes saued thy life, that callest thy selfe the sonne of the goddes, when thou turnedst thy backe from *Spithridates* sword: and the blood which these poore MACEDONIANS did shedde for thee, and the woundes which they receiued of their bodies fighting for thee, haue made thee so great, that thou disdainest now to haue king *Philip* for thy father, and wilt needes make thy selfe the sonne of *Iupiter Hammon*. *Alexander* being moued with these words, straight replied: O, villen, thinkest thou to scape vnpunished for these prowde words of thine, which thou vsest continually against me, making the MACEDONIANS rebell against *Alexander*? *Clitus* answered againe, too much are we punished, *Alexander*, for our paines and seruice to receiue such reward: nay, most happy thinke we them that long sence are dead and gone, not now to see the MACEDONIANS scourged with roddes of the MEDES, & compelled to curry fauor with the PERSIANS, to haue accesse vnto their king. Thus *Clitus* boldly speaking against *Alexander*, and *Alexander* againe answering and reuiling him: the grauest men sought to pacifie this sturre and tumult. *Alexander* then turning him selfe vnto *Xenodochus* CARDIAN, and *Artemius* COLOPHONIAN: doe you not thinke (sayd he) that the GREEKS are amongest the MACEDONIANS, as demy goddes that walke among brute beastes? *Clitus* for all this would not geue ouer his impudency and mallapertnesse, but cried out, and bad *Alexander* speake openlie what he had to say, or else not to bidde free men come to supper with him that were wont to speake franckely: if not, to keepe with the barbarous slaues that honored his PERSIAN girdell, and long white garment. Then coulde *Alexander* no longer hold his choller, but tooke an apple that was vpon his table, and threw it at *Clitus*, and looked for his sworde, the which *Aristophanes*, one of his gard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when euerie man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented: he immediatly rose from the borde, and called his gard vnto him in the MACEDONIAN tongue, (which was a signe of great trouble to followe after it) and commaunded a trompetor to sound the allarme. But he drawing backe, would not sound: whereuppon *Alexander* strake him with his fist. Notwithstanding, the trompetor was greatly commended afterwards, for that he only kept the campe that they rose not. All this could not quiet *Clitus*, whereupon his frends with much a doe thrust him out of the halle: but he came in againe at an other dore, and arrogantly and vnreuerently rehearsed this verse of the Poet *Euripides*, out of *Andromaches* tragedie:

Alas for sorowe, euill wayes
Are into Grece crept nowe a dayes.

The malapertnes of Clitus against Alexander.

Then *Alexander* taking a partisan from one of his gard, as *Clitus* was comming towardes him, and had lift vp the hanging before the dore, he ranne him through the body, so that *Clitus* fell to the ground, and fetching one grone, died presently. *Alexanders* choller had left him straight, and he became maruelous sorowfull: and when he saw his frendes round about him say neuer a word, he pluckt the partisan out of his body, & would haue thrust it into his owne throte. Howbeit his gard about him caught him by the hands, & caried him perforce into his chamber: & there he did nothing all that night but weepe bitterly, & the next day following,

Alexander slue Clitus, & grieuously repented him.

vntill

A vntill such time as he was able to crie no more, but lying on the ground, onely laie sighing. His frendes hearing his voice no more, were afraid, and came into his chamber by force to comfort him. But *Alexander* would heare none of them, saving *Anaxander* the Soothesayer, who remembred him of his dreame he had of *Clitus* before, which was a prognostication of that which had happened: whereby it appeared that it was his destenie before he was borne. This seemed to comfort *Alexander*. Afterwardes they brought in *Callisthenes* the philosopher, a kinsman of *Aristotles*, and *Anaxarchus* borne in Abdera. Of these two, *Callisthenes* sought by gentle talke, not mouing any matter offensiue to comfort *Alexanders* sorow. But *Anaxarchus* that from the beginning had taken a way by him selfe in the studie of philosophie, being accompted a braine sicke man, and one that despised his companions: he comming into *Alexanders* chamber also with him, cryed out at the dore as he came in: See, yonder is *Alexander* the great whom all the world lookes apon, and is affraid of. See where he lies, weeping like a slaue on the ground, that is affraid of the lawe, and of the reproche of men: as if he himselfe should not geue them law, and stablish the boundes of iustice or iniustice, sithence he hath ouercome to be Lord and master, and not to be subiect and slaue to a vaine opinion. Knowest thou not that the poets saie, that *Iupiter* hath Themis, to wit, right and iustice placed of either hand on him? what signifieth that, but all that the prince doth, is wholy right, and iust? These wordes of *Anaxarchus* did comfort the sorowfull harte of king *Alexander* at that time, but therewithall, they made *Alexanders* maners afterwardes more fierce and dissolute. For, as he thereby did marueilously grow in fauor with the king, euen so did he make the company of *Callisthenes*, (who of him selfe was not very pleasaunt, because of his grauety and sowrenes) much more hatefull and misliked then before. It is written also that there was certain talke one night at king *Alexanders* borde touching the seasons of the yeare, & temperatenes of the ayer, and that *Callisthenes* was of their opinion which maintained, that the contry they were in at that time was much colder, and the winter also sharper then in Greece. *Anaxarchus* held the contrary opinion, and stiffly maintained it, in so much as *Callisthenes* said vnto him: and yet must thou graunt, that it is colder here then there. For there, all the winter time thou couldest goe with a single cloke on thy backe onely, and here thou must haue three or foure garments vpon thee when thou art at thy borde. This galled *Anaxarchus* to the quicke, and made him more angry then before: and for the other rethoritians and flatterers, they did also hate him, bicause they saw him followed of young men for his eloquence, and beloued also of olde men for his honest life, the which was very graue, modest, and contented with his owne, desiring no mans els. Whereby men found, that the reason he alleaged for following of *Alexander* in this voyage, was true: for he said that he came to be an humble suter to the king to restore his banished citizens into their contrie againe, and to repleniish their citie with inhabitantes. Now, though his estimation made him chiefly to be enuyed, yet did he him selfe geue his enemies occasion to accuse him. For often times being inuited by the king to supper, either he would not come, or if he came, he would be mute, and say nothing, showing by his grauety and silence, that nothing pleased him that was either said or done. Whereupon *Alexander* selfe said on a time vnto him:

Callisthenes, and Anaxarchus, do comfort Alexander.

The cause why Callisthenes was enuyed.

I can not thinke that person wyse,
That in his owne case hath no eyes.

It is reported of him also, that being at supper on a time with the king, diuers requesting him to make an oration on the suddein in commendation of the Macedonians, he made such an eloquent oration vpon that matter, that all they that heard him rose from the boorde, and clapping their handes for ioy, cast nosegayes and flowers vpon him. But yet *Alexander* at that time said vnto him that, which the Poet *Euripides* said:

It is no maystry to be eloquent,
In handling of a plentious argument.

Nay, but vtter then thy eloquence in reprouing of the Macedonians, that hearing their faultes, they may learne to amend. Then *Callisthenes* chaunging copy, spake boldly many thinges against the Macedonians: Declaring, that the dissention amongest the Grecians did increase king *Philips* power, alleaging these verses:

Where discord reignes in Realm or towne,
Euen vvicked folke doe vvin renovvne.

But by this occasiõ, he purchased him selfe great ill will of the MACEDONIANS: in somuch, as *Alexander* selfe said at that time, that he had not so much shewed his eloquence, as the malice he bare vnto the MACEDONIANS. *Hermippus* the historiographer writeth, that one *Stesibius* a clearke of *Callisthenes* did afterwardes tell it vnto *Aristotle* in this sorte: and that *Callisthenes* seeing king *Alexander* offended with him, did recite these verses of *Homer* three or foure times as he went.

Patroclus vvho farre passed thee,
VV as slaine as thou art like to be.

Aristotle thought Callisthenes eloquent, but not wise.

And therefore very wisely said *Aristotle*, that *Callisthenes* was eloquent, but not wise. For like a philosopher, he stowtely stood against kneeling to the king, and said that openly, which the noblest & auncientest men among the MACEDONIANS durst but whisper one in an others eare, though they did all vtterly mislike it: whereby he did yet deliuer GRÆCE from open shame, & *Alexander* from a greater, bringing him from that maner of adoration of his person. This notwithstanding, he vndid him selfe bicause he would seeme rather by presumption to bringe him to it, then by reason to perswade him. *Chares* MITYLENIAN hath written, that *Alexander* hauing dronke at a certain feast where he hapned to be, reached his cuppe vnto one of his frendes, who after he had taken it of him, rose vp first on his feete, and dranke also, turning him towardes the goddes, and first making solemne reuerence, he went and kissed *Alexander*, and then sate him downe againe. All the rest that were at the feast, did the like one after an other, and *Callisthenes* also, who tooke the cuppe when it came to his turne, (the king not looking on him, but talking with *Hephestiõ*,) after he had dronke, came to the king to kisse him as others had done. Howbeit one *Demetrius* called *Phidõ*, said vnto the king: kisse him not, I pray your grace, for he of all men hath done you no reuerence. *Alexander* turned his head a side, and would not kisse him. Then cryed *Callisthenes* out alowde: well, q[uo]he, then I will goe my waie, with lesse then others, by a kisse. And thus beganne *Alexanders* grudge first against *Callisthenes*, by meanes whereof *Hephestion* was credited the better, when he said that *Callisthenes* had promised him to reuerence *Alexander*, although that he had broken promise. After him also *Lysimachus*, *Agnon*, and diuers others beganne to plaie their partes against him, saying, that this Sophister went bragging vp and downe, as if he had destroyed a whole tyrannie, and that all the young men followed him to honor him, as if among so many thowsand souldiers, neuer a man of them had so noble a harte as he. And therefore, when the treason of *Hermolaus* against *Alexanders* person was discouered, they found the accusation probable, the which some false detracters had informed against *Callisthenes*: who had aunswered *Hermolaus* that asked him, how he could come to be famous aboue all men, thus: in killing the famousest person. And to animate him to goe forward with this treason, he had told him further, that he should not be affraid of a golden bedde, but remember that he had to doe with a man, which was somtime sicke and hurte as other men were. This notwithstanding, there was neuer a one of *Hermolaus* confederates, that would once name *Callisthenes*, what tormentes soeuer they abidde, to bewray who were their companions. And *Alexander* selfe also writing of this treason immediatly after, vnto *Craterus*, *Attalus*, and *Alcetas*, said, that their seruauntes which had bene tacked and put to the torter, did constantly affirme that they onely had conspired his death, and no man els was priuie vnto it. But afterwardes, he sent an other letter vnto *Antipater*, wherein he directly accused *Callisthenes*, and said, that his seruauntes had already bene stoned to death by the MACEDONIANS, howbeit that he him selfe would afterwardes also punish the master, and those that had sent vnto him, and that had receiued the murtherers into their cities, who came of purpose to kill him. And therein he plainly shewed the ill will he bare vnto *Aristotle*, for that *Callisthenes* had bene brought vp with him, being his kinsman, and the sonne of *Hero*, *Aristotles* neece. Some saie, that *Alexander* trussed *Callisthenes* vp. Others againe report, that he died of sickenes in prison. Neuertheles *Chares* writeth, that *Callisthenes* was kept prisoner seuen moneths together, bicause he should haue had his indgement in open counsaill euen in the presence of *Aristotle* him selfe: howbeit, being very farte, he

Callisthenes suspected of treaso against Alexander.

Alexander offended with Aristotle.

The death of Callisthenes the rethorician.

A he was eaten in the ende by lice, and so died, about the time that *Alexander* was hurt, fighting against the MALLIANS OXYDRACIANS, in the conquest of INDIA, but these thinges chaunced a good while after. *Demaratus* CORINTHIAN being very old, had a great desire to goe see *Alexander*: and when he had seene him, he said that the GRECIANS which were dead long before, were depriued of that blisse and happynes, that they could not see *Alexander* sitte in the royall seate of king *Darius*. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the kinges goodwill vnto him, for he died of a sicknes soone after he came vnto his campe, & *Alexander* did honor his funeralls: for all the armie in their armor did cast vp a mounte of earth facioned like a tombe, which was a great compasse about, & foure score cubittes high. His asshes afterwardes were brought with an honorable conuoye, vnto the sea side, in a charriot with foure horses richely set out.

The iourney of Demaratus Corinthiã vnto Alexander, and his death.

B *Alexander* being ready to take his iorney to goe conquer INDIA, perceyuing that his armie was very heauy & vnwildsom to remoue, for the wonderfull cariage and spoiles they had with them: the cartes one morning being loden, he first burnt his owne cariage, & next his frendes, & then commaunded that they should also set the cariage of the MACEDONIANS a fire, which counsell seemed more daungerous to be resolued of, then the proofe of the execution fell out difficulte. For there are very few of them that were angry therewith, & the most part of them (as if they had bene secretly moued by some god) with lowde cryes of ioy, one of them gaue vnto an other such necessary thinges as they had neede of, and afterwardes of them selues did burne and spoile all the rest. This made *Alexander* much more rigorous then he was before, besides that he was already become cruell enough, and without mercy or perdon, did sharpely

Alexanders iourney into India.

Alexander burns his cariages.

C punish euery man that offended. For hauing commaunded *Menander* one of his frendes, to kepe him a strong holde: he put him to death, bicause he would not remaine there. Furthermore, he him selfe slue *Orsodates* (a captaine of the barbarous people) with a darte, for that he rebelled against him. About that time, there was an eawe that had eaned a lambe, which had apon her head, the forme and purple culler of the kinges hatte, after the PERSIAN maner, called Tiara, hauing two stones hanging on ech side of it. *Alexander* abhorred this monsterous signe, insomuch as he pourged him selfe by certain BABYLONIAN priestes, which he alwayes caried about with him for that purpose, and said vnto his frendes: that this monster did not so much moue him for respect of him selfe, as it did for them, fearing that the goddes after his death had predestined the force and power of his kingdom to fall into the handes of some

The crueltie of Alexander towardes his men.

A monsterous lamme appeared vnto Alexander.

D base cowardly person. This notwithstanding, an other signe and token which chaunced in the necke of that, did take away this feare and discouragement he had. For a MACEDONIAN called *Proxenus*, that had charge of the kinges cariage, as he digged in a certain place by the riuer of Oxus, to set vp the kinges tent and his lodging, he found a certain fatte and oylie vaine, which after they had drawen out the first, there came out also an other cleerer, which differed nothing, neither in smell, taste, nor sauor, from naturall oyle, hauing the glosse and fattnes so like, as there could be discerned no difference betwene them: the which was so much more to be wondred at, bicause that in al that contry there were no olyues. They say also, that the water of the riuer selfe of Oxus is very soft, & maketh their skinnes fatte, which wash or bathe them selues therein. And yet it appeareth by that which *Alexander* selfe wrote vnto *Antipater*, that

A spring of oyle found by the riuer of Oxus.

E he was very glad of it, putting that amongest the greatest signes which the goddes had sent vnto him. The Soothesayers did interprete this wonder, that it was a signe, that he should haue a noble, but yet a painefull voyage: for the goddes, said they, haue geuen oyle vnto men to refresh their wearynes. And truly so did he susteine many daungers in those warres, and was oftentimes hurt in fight. But the greatest losse he had of his men, was for lacke of vittells, and by the infection of the ayer. For he, striuing to ouercome fortune by valiantnes, and her force by vertue, thought nothing impossible for a valiant man, neither any thing able to withstand a noble harte. It is reported, that when he went to besiege a strong holde which *Sisimethres* kept, being thought vnsaltable, and that his souldiers were in dispeire of it: he asked one *Oxyarthes*, what hart *Sisimethres* had. *Oxyarthes* answered him, that he was the veriest coward

Oyle refresheth wearynes.

F in the world. O, that is well, q. *Alexander*: then it is to be wonne, if that be true thou saiest, sithence the captaine of the peece is but a coward. So he tooke it of a sodaine, by putting *Sisimethres* in a great feare. After that also, he did besiege an other peece of as great strength, and

difficultie to assault as the other, and making the young souldiers of the MACEDONIANS to go A
to thassault, he called one of them vnto him, whose name also was *Alexander*, vnto whom he
said thus. *Alexander*, this daie thou must fight like a man, and it be but for thy name sake. The
yong man did not forget his words, for he fought so valliantly, that he was slaine, for whom A-
lexander was very sory. At an other time when his men were affraid, & durst not come neere vn-
The citie of Nysa. to the citie of NISA to assault it, bicause there ranne a very deepe riuer hard by the walles: he
came to the riuers side, and said; oh, what a coward am I, that neuer learned to swimme? and
so prepared him selfe to swimme ouer apon his shielde. After he had caused them to retire
from the assault, there came ambassadors vnto him from the cities besieged, to craue pardon
of him. They wondered at him at the first, when they saw him armed, without any pompe or
other ceremonie about him: but much more, when a chaier was brought him to sit downe B
on, that he commaunded the oldest man amongest them called *Acuphis*, to take it to him, and
sit him downe. *Acuphis* mareling at *Alexanders* great curtesie, asked him: what they should
doe for him, thenceforth to be his good frendes. I will, said *Alexander*, that they from whom
thou comest as ambassador vnto vs, doe make thee their king: and withall that they doe send
Acuphis wise aunswer vnto Alexander. me a hundred of their best men for ostages. *Acuphis*, smiling, aunswered him againe: but I shall
rule them better, O king, if I send you the worst, and not the best. There was a king called Ta-
xiles a very wise man, who had a great contrie in INDIA, no lesse in biggenes and circuit then
all ÆGYPT, and as full of good pasture and frutes as any country in the world could be: who
King Taxiles talke with Alexander. came on a tyme to salute *Alexander*, and sayd vnto him. What should we neede, *Alexander*, to C
fight, and make warres one with an other, if thou comest not to take away our water, and our
necessary commoditie to liue by: for which thinges, men of iudgement must needes fight?
As for other goods, if I be richer then thou, I am ready to giue thee of myne: and if I haue
lesse, I will not thinke skorne to thanke thee, if thou wilt giue me some of thine. *Alexander* be-
Alexanders aunswer to Taxiles. ing pleased to heare him speake thus wisely, imbraced him, and sayd vnto him. Thinkest thou
this meeting of ours can be without fight, for all these goodly fayre wordes? no, no, thou hast
wonne nothing by that: for I will fight and contend with thee in honestie and curtesie, by-
cause thou shalt not exceede me in bowntie and liberalitie. So *Alexander* taking diuers giftes
of him, but giuing more vnto *Taxiles*: he dranke to him one night at supper, and said, I drinke
to thee a thowsand talents in golde. This gifte misliked *Alexanders* frendes: but in recom-
pence thereof, he wanne the hartes of many of those barbarous Lordes and Princes of that D
country. There was a certeine number of souldiers of the INDIANS, the warlikest men of all
that country: who beeing mercenary souldiers, were euer enterteyned in seruice of the great
free cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt vnto *Alexander* in diuers places.
Alexander disshonorably brake the peace he had made. *Alexander* hauing made peace with them in a citie where they were kept in: when they came
abrode apon suertie of this peace which they had made, he met with them as they went their
way, and put them all to the sworde. There was but this onely fault, to bleamish the honor of
his noble deedes in all his warres: for in all thinges els, he shewed mercy and equitie. Further-
more, the graue Philosophers and wise men of INDIA did greatly trouble him also. For they
reproued the kinges and Princes of the INDIANS for that they yelded vnto *Alexander*, & pro-
cured the free cities to take armes against him. But by their occasion, he tooke diuers of their E
Alexanders actes against king Porus. Hydaspes fl. cities. For king *Porus*, *Alexander* selfe writeth in his Epistles, all his actes at large which he did
against him. For he sayth, that both their campes lying on either side of the riuer of Hydaspes,
king *Porus* set his Elephants apon the banke of the riuer with their heades towards their ene-
mies, to keepe them from passing ouer: and that he him selfe did continually make a noise and
tumult in his campe, to acquaint his men not to be afraid of the barbarous people. Further-
more, that in a darke night when there was no moone light, he tooke part of his footemen, &
the choice of his horsemen, and went farre from his enemies to get ouer into a litle Ilande.
When he was come into the Iland, there fel a wonderful shower of raine, great windes, light-
nings and thunders apon his campe, insomuch as he saw many of his men burnt by lightning
in this litle Ilande. This notwithstanding, he did not leaue to get ouer to the other side of the F
riuer. The riuer being swollen with the great flud of rayne that fell the night before, ouerflow-
ing the bankes, it did eate into the ground where the water ranne: so that *Alexander* when he
had

A had passed ouer the riuer, and was come to the other side, found him selfe in very ill case, for that he could hardly keepe his feete, bicause the earth was very slippery vnder him, and the rage of the water had eaten into it, and broke it downe on euery side. It is written of him, that then he sayd vnto the ATHENIANS: O ATHENIANS, could ye thinke that I could take such paines, and put my selfe into so many daungers, onely to be praised of you? Thus *Onesicritus* reporteth it. But *Alexander* selfe writeth, that they left their rafters or great peeces of tymber pinned together whereuppon they had passed ouer the streame of the mayne riuer: and that they waded thorow the other arme or gutt of the water which had broken the earth, vppe to their breasts with their harnesse on their backes. Furthermore, when he had passed ouer both waters, he rode with his horsemen twenty furlonges before the battell of his footemen: thin-
B king that if his enemies came to giue him charge with their men of armes, that he was the stronger: and if they would also aduawnce their footemen forwarde, that his footemen also should come tyme enough. One of the twaine fel out as he had gessed. For, a thowsand horsemen, and three skore charrets armed with his ennemies, gaue him charge before their great company, whom he ouerthrew, and tooke all their charrets, & slue foure hundred of the men of armes in the fielde. King *Porus* then knowing by those signes that *Alexander* was there in person, and had passed ouer the riuer: he marched towardes him with all his armie in battell ray, sauing a few which he left behinde to resist the MACEDONIANS, if they shewed force to passe ouer the riuer. *Alexander* being afraid of the great multitude of his ennemies, and of the terror of the *Elephants*, did not giue charge apon the middest of the battell, but being him selfe
C in the left winge, gaue charge apon the corner of the enemies left winge, and also commaunded them that were in the right winge to doe the like. So, both the endes of the enemies armie were broken and put to flight: and they that fled, ranne vnto the Elephants, & gathered them selues together about them. Thus the battell being begon, the conflict continued long, insomuch as the enemies were scantly all ouerthrowne by three of the clocke in the afternoone. Many writers doe agree, that *Porus* was foure cubits and a shaft length hier and bigger then the Elephant, although the Elephant was very great, and as bigge as a horse: and besides that the Elephant did shew great wit and care, to saue the king his Maister. For whilest he perceyued his Maister was stronge enough, he lustily repulsed those which came to assayle him: but when he found that he began to faint, hauing many woundes apon his body, and arrowes stic-
D king in it: then being afraid lest his Maister should fall downe from his backe, he softely fell on his knees, and gently taking his dartes and arrowes with his troncke, which he had in his body, he pluckt them all from him one after an other. *Porus* beeing taken, *Alexander* asked him, howe he should handle him, princely, aunswered *Porus*. *Alexander* asked him agayne, if he would saye any thing els. I comprehend all, sayde he, in this word princely. Thereupon *Alexander* did not onely leaue him his prouinces and Realmes, whereof before he was king, by the name of his Liefetenant: but gaue him many other contries also. When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteene seuerall nations, fiue thowsand of no small cities, besides an infinite number of villages, and thryse as many other contries: he made *Philip* one of his friendes, his Liefetenant of all those contries: his horse Bucephal dy-
E ed at this battell, not in the fielde, but afterwardes whilest he was in cure for the woundes he had on his body: but as *Onesicritus* sayth, he dyed euen worne for very age. *Alexander* was as sory for his death, as if he had lost any of his familiar friendes: and for proofe thereof, he built a great citie in the place where his horse was buryed, apon the riuer of Hydaspes, the which he called after his name, *Bucephalia*. It is reported also, that hauing lost a dogge of his called Peritas, which he had brought vppe of a whelpe, and loued very dearely: he built also a citie, and called it after his name. *Sotion* writeth, that he hearde it reported thus of *Potamon* LESBIAN. This last battell against king *Porus*, killed the MACEDONIANS hartes, and made them that they had no desire to goe any further to conquer INDIA. For, finding that they had such a doe to ouercome them, though they were but twenty thowsand footemen,
F and two thowsand horse, they spake yll of *Alexander* when he went about to compell them to passe ouer the ryuer of Ganges, vnderstanding by the contrymen that it was two and thirty furlong ouer, and a hundred fadam deepe: and howe that the banke of the ryuer was

The stature of king Porus.

The quicke wit and care of the Elephant to saue the king his maister.

Alexanders conquests in the Indiaes.

The death of Bucephal Alexanders horse.

Bucephalia, a great citie built by Alexander, apon the riuer of Hydaspes: & why so named.

Peritas, Alexanders dogge

Ganges fl.

Gangaride, and Presij, people of India.

full of ſouldiers, horſemen, and Elephants. For it was reported, that the kings of the GANGARIDES, & the PRÆSIANS were on thother ſide with foure ſcore thowſand horſemen, two hundred thowſand footemen, eight thowſand charrets or carts of warre wel armed, and ſix thowſand Elephants of warre. This was no fable, nor fryuolous tale. For, a king called *Androcottus* (who raigned not long after,) gaue vnto *Seleucus*, fiue hundred Elephants at one time, & conquered all INDIA with ſixe hundred thowſand fighting men. *Alexander* then offended with his mens refuſall, kept cloſe in his tent for certeine daies, and lay vpon the ground, ſaying, that he did not thanke them, for all that they had done thithervnto, vnles they paſſed ouer the ryuer of Ganges alſo: And that to returne backe againe, it was as much as to confeſſe that he had bene ouercome. At the length, when he ſawe and conſidered that there was great reaſon in his friendes perſwaſions which labored to comfort him, and that his ſouldiers came to the dore of his tent, crying and lamenting, humbly beſeeching him to leade them backe againe: in thende he tooke pitie of them, and was contented to returne. This notwithſtanding, before he departed from thoſe parties, he put forth many vaine and falſe deuiſes to make his name immortall amonge that people. He made armors of greater proportion then his owne, and mangers for horſes, higher then the common ſort: moreouer, he made bytts alſo farre heauier then the common ſort, and made them to be throwen and ſcattered abroad in euery place. He built great aultars alſo in honor of the godds, the which the kings of the PRÆSIANS haue in great veneration at this day: and paſſing ouer the riuer, doe make ſacrifices there, after the manner of the GRÆCIANS. *Androcottus* at that time was a very young man, and ſawe *Alexander* him ſelfe, and ſayd afterwards, that *Alexander* had well neare taken and wonne all the contry, the king which then raigned, was ſo hated of all his ſubiectes, for his wicked life, and baſe parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to ſee the great ſea Oceanum, and made diuers botes with ores, in the which he eaſily went downe the riuers at his pleaſure. Howbeit, this his pleaſant going by water, was not without warre: for he would land oftentymes, and did aſſaile cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in aſſailing the citie of the MALLIANS, (which they ſay are the warlikeſt men of all the INDIANS) he was almoſt ſlaine there. For, hauing with darts repulſed the ennemies from the wall, he him ſelfe was the firſt man that ſette foote on a ladder to gett vp, the which brake aſſoone as euer he was gotten vpon the ramper. Then the barbarous people comming together againſt the wall, did throwe at him from beneathe, and many tymes lighted vpon him. *Alexander* hauing fewe of his men about him, made no more a doe, but leaped downe from the wall in the middeſt of his ennemies, and by good happe lighted on his feete. His harnes making a great noyſe with the fall, the barbarous people were afraid, thinking they had ſeene ſome light or ſpirite goe before him: ſo that at the firſt they all betooke them to their legges, and ranne ſcatteringly here and there. But after that, when they came againe to them ſelues, and ſawe that he had but two gentlemen onely about him, they came and ſette apon him of all handes, and fought with him at the ſworde or puſhe of the pyke, and ſo hurt him very ſore through his armor: but one amonge the reſt, being ſomewhat further of, gaue him ſuch a terrible blowe with an arrowe, that he ſtrake him through his curats, and ſhot him in at the ſide vnder his breſt. The blow entred ſo into his body, that he fell downe on one of his knees. Whereuppon, he that had ſtriken him with his arrow, ranne ſodainly to him with a cimiter drawen in his hand. Howbeit *Peuceſtas* & *Limneus* ſtepped before him, and were both hurt: *Limneus* was ſlaine preſently, and *Peuceſtas* fought it out, till at the length, *Alexander* ſelfe ſlew the barbarous man with his owne hand, after he had many greeuous woundes vpon his body. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his necke that ſo aſtonied him, that he leaned againſt the wall looking apon his enemies. In the meane time, the MACEDONIANS compaſſing him round about, tooke him, and caried him into his tent halfe in a ſownde, and was paſt knowledge: Whereupon, there ranne a rumor ſtraight in the campe, that *Alexander* was dead. They had much a doe to cut the arrow aſonder that was of wodde: ſo his curats being plucked of with great paine, yet were they to plucke the arrow head out of his body, which ſtucke in one of his bones: the which as it is reported, was foure fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he ſownded ſo oft, that he was almoſt dead. This notwithſtanding, he ouercame the daunger, and eſcaped. Being very weake,

Alexanders returne out of India.

Alexanders vaine deuiſes to make him ſelfe immortall.

King Androcottus.

Alexander in daunger at the citie of the Mallians.

A weake, he kept diet a long time to recouer him selfe, and neuer came out of his tent vntill he heard the MACEDONIANS cry, and make great noyse about his tent, desirous to see him. Then he put on a night gowne, and came out amongest them all: and after he had done sacrifice vnto the godds for recouery of his health, he went on his iorney againe, and in the same did conquer many great contreyes, and tooke diuers goodly cities. He did also take tenne of the wise men of the contry, which men doe all go naked, and therefore are called GYMNOSOPHISTAE, (to wit, Philosophers of INDIA) who had procured *Sabbas* to rebell against him, and had done great hurt vnto the MACEDONIANS. And bicause they were taken to be the sharpest and readiest of aunswer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard questions, & told them he would put the first man to death, that aunswered him worst, and so the rest in order: and made the el-

B dest amonge them Iudge of their aunswers. The question he asked the first man, was this:

Whether the dead or the liuing, were the greater number. He aunswered, the liuing. For the dead sayd he, are no more men.

The second man he asked: whether the earth, or the sea brought forth most creatures. He aunswered, the earth. For the sea sayd he, is but a part of the earth.

To the third man: which of all beastes was the subtilleste. That (sayd he) which man hetherto neuer knew.

To the fourth: why he did make *Sabbas* rebell? bicause sayd he, he should liue honorably, or dye vilely.

To the fift, which he thought was first, the daye, or the night? He aunswered, the daye, by a

C day. The kinge finding his aunswer straunge, added to this speech: straunge questions, must needes haue straunge aunswers.

Comming to the sixt man, he asked him: how a man should come to be beloued: If he be a good man sayd he, not terrible.

To the seuenth, how a man should be a god? In doing a thing, said he, impossible for a man.

To the eight, which was the stroger: life or death? life, said he, that suffreth so many troubles.

And vnto the ninth and last man: how long a man should liue? vntill sayd he, he thinke it better to dye, then to liue.

When *Alexander* had heard these aunswers, he turned vnto the Iudge, & bad him giue his iudgement vpon them. The Iudge said, they had all aunswered one worse then another. Then

D shalt thou die first, said *Alexander*, bicause thou hast giuen such sentence: not so, O king, q. he, if thou wilt not be a lier: bicause thou saidst, that thou wouldest kil him first, that had aunswered worst. In fine, *Alexander* did let them go with rewardes. He sent *Onesicritus* also vnto the other wise men of the INDIANS, which were of greatest fame among the, & that led a solitary & quiet life: to pray them to come vnto him. This *Onesicritus* the Philosopher, was *Diogenes* the Cinika scholler. It is reported, that *Calanus* one of these wise men, very sharply & proudly, bad him put of his clothes, to heare his words naked: or otherwise that he would not speake to him, though he came from *Iupiter* him self. Yet *Dandamis* aunswered him more gently. For he hauing learned what maner of men *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and *Diogenes* were, said, that they seemed to haue bene wise men, & wel borne, notwithstanding that they had reuerenced the lawe too much in

E their life time. Others write notwithstanding, that *Dandamis* said nothing els, but asked why *Alexander* had take so painful a iorney in hand, as to come into INDIA. For *Calanus* (whose right name other wise was *Sphines*) king *Taxiles* perswaded him to go vnto *Alexander*, who bicause he saluted those he met, in the INDIAN tongue, saying *Cale*, as much to say, as God saue ye: the GRECIANS named him *Calanus*. It is reported, that this *Calanus* did shew *Alexander* a figure & similitude of his kingdom, which was this. He threw down before him a dry seare peece of leather, & then put his foote apon one of the endes of it. The leather being troden down on that side, rose vp in al partes els, & going vp & down with all still treading vpon the sides of the leather: he made *Alexander* see, that the leather being troden down on the one side, did rise vp on

F al sides els, vntil such time as he put his foote in the middest of the leather, & then al the whole leather was plain alike. His meaning thereby, was to let *Alexander* vnderstand, that the most part of his time he should keepe in the middest of his contry, & not to goe farre from it. *Alexander* cotinued seuen moneths trauelling vpon the riuers, to go see the great sea Oceanum. Then he

The wise men of India.

Alexanders questions propounded to the ten Philosophers of India.

1.
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Alexander rewarded the ten wise men, and did let them goe.
Onesicritus a Philosopher.
Calanus, other wise called Sphines.
Dandamis.

Calanus wise man of India.
The similitude of a kingdom, shewed by a peece of leather.

Pfitulcis an Iland.

tooke ship, & sailed into a litle Iland called SCYLLVRIS, howbeit others call it PSITVLCIS. There he landed, made sacrifices vnto the gods, & viewed the greatnes & nature of the sea Oceanū, & all the situacion of the coast apon that sea, as farre as he could go. Then he made his praiers vnto the gods, that no conqueror liuing after him should go beyond the bounds of his iorney & conquest, & so returned homeward. He cōmaunded his ships should fetch a cōpasse about, & leaue INDIA on the right hand: & made *Nearchus* Admirall of all his fleete, & *Onesicritus* chiefe Pilote. He him self in the meane time went by land through the contry of the ORITES, & there he found great scarsitye of vittels, & lost many of his men: so that he caried not out of INDIA the fourth part of his men of war which he brought thither, which were in all six score thowsand foote men, & fiftéen thowsand horsmen. Some of thē died of greuous diseases, others, by ill diet, others, by extreme heat & drowght, & the most of thē by hunger, trauailing through this barren contry, where the poore men liued hardly, & had onely a few sheepe which they fed with sea fish, that made their flesh sauor very il fauoredly. At the lēgth, when three score daies iorney he had painfully trauelled through this contry, he thē entred into the cōtry called GEDROSIA, where he found great plēty of al kind of vittels, which the gouernors, kings, & princes, neighbours vnto the same, did sēd vnto him. After he had refreshed his army there a litle, he wēt through the cōtry of CARMANIA, where he continued seuē daies together banketing, going stil through the cōntry. For night & day, he was feasting continually with his frends apon a scaffold lōger then broad, rising vp of height, & drawn with eight goodly horse. After that scaffold followed diuers other charrets couered ouer, some with goodly rich arras, & purple silk, others with trim fresh boughes which they renued at euery fields end: & in those were *Alexanders* other frends & captaines with garlands of flowers apon their heades, which drank & made merry together. In all this armie, there was neither helmet, pike, dart, nor targe seene: but gold & siluer bowles, cups, & flagons in the souldiers hands, al the way as they went, drawing wine out of great pipes & vessels which they caried with them, one drinking to another, some marching in the fields going forward, & others also set at the table. About thē were the minstrels playing & piping on their flutes & shalmes, & womē singing & daunsing, & fooling by the way as they wēt. In all this dissolute marching through the cōtry, & in the middest of their dronkēnes, they mingled with it sport: that euery mā did striue to coūterfeat all the insolēcies of *Bacchus*, as if god *Bacchus* him self had ben there in person, & had led the mommery. Whē he came vnto the kings castel of GEDROSIA, he staied there also certein daies to refresh his army with feasting & bāketing. It is said, that one day whē he had dronke hard, he went to see the games for daunsing: & amongst thē, the games which a yong man called *Bagoas* had set forth, (with whō *Alexander* fel in liking) & bare the bel. This *Bagoas* being in his daunsing gamēts, came through the Theater, & sat him downe by *Alexander*. The MACEDONIANS were so glad of it, that they showted & clapped their hands for ioy, crying out alowde, to kisse him: so that in fine he toke him in his armes, & kissed him, before them all. Thither came *Nearchus* his Admiral vnto him: who made report what he had sene & done in his nauigatiō. *Alexander* was so glad of that, as he was desirous to saile by sea him self: & so, entring into the sea oceanum by the mouth of Euphrates, with a great fleete of ships, to cōpasse in all the coasts of ARABIA & AFRICKE, & thēce into Mare Mediterraneū, by the straights of the pillers of *Hercules*. To this intēt he built a great nūber of ships in the city of THAPSACVS, & sent for mariners, shipmasters, & pilots, out of al parts. But now, the difficultie of the iorney which he tooke apon him for the cōquest of INDIA, the daunger he was in whē he fought with the MALLIANS, & the nūber of his mē which he lost besides which was very great, al these things cōsidered together, making mē beleue that he should neuer return with safetie: they made all the people (which he had cōquered) bold to rise against him, & gaue his gouernors & Lieuetenants of prouinces occasion to cōmit great insolēcies, robberies, & exactiōs of people. To be short, it put al his kingdom in broile & sedition. Insomuch as *Olympias* & *Cleopatra* rising against *Antipater*, they deuided his gouernmēt betweene thē: *Olympias* choosing for her, the kingdō of EPIRVS: & *Cleopatra*, the kingdō of MACEDON. Which whē *Alexander* had heard, he said his mother was the wisest: for the realme of MACEDON would neuer haue suffred a womā to raigne ouer thē. Therupon he sent *Nearchus* back again to the sea, determining to fil all the sea coasts with warre. As he trauelled through

Alexanders nauie in the sea Oceanum.

Alexanders armie going in to India.

Sheepe fed with fishe.

The contry of Gedrosia.

The contry of Carmania.

The riot of Alexanders souldiers.

The citie of Thapsacus.

The prouinces conquered by Alexander, rebelled against him.

A through the cõtries farre frõ the ſea, he put his capteines & gouernors to death, which had reuolted againſt him: & of thoſe he ſlue *Oxyarthes*, one of *Abulites* ſonnes, by his own hãd, rõning him thorow with a pike. And whẽ *Abulites* ſelf alſo had brought *Alexãder* iij thowſãd talẽts only, without any other prouiſiõ made for vittels for his army: he made him put the money before his horſe, which would not once touch it. Then ſayd he vnto him: I pray thee to what purpoſe ſerueth this prouiſiõ? & therwithal immediatly cõmitted him to priſõ. As he came through the cõtry of PERSIA, he firſt renued the old cuſtõ there, which was: that as often times as the kings did return home frõ any far iorney, they gaue vnto euery womã a crown a peece. It is ſaid therfore that for this cauſe, ſome of their natural kings many times did not returne again into their cõtry: & that *Ochus* amõgſt others did not ſo much as once returne back again, willingly bani-

B ſhing him ſelf out of his cõtry, of niggardlines, becauſe he would not be at this charg. After that, *Cyrus* tomb (king of PERSIA) being toũd & brokẽ vp, he put him to death that did it, although he were a MACEDONIAN of the citye of PELLA, (and none of the meaneſt) called *Polymachus*. Whẽ he had red the inſcriptiõ writtẽ apõ it in the Perſian tõgue, he would needes alſo haue it writtẽ in the Greeke tõgue: & this it was. *O mã, vvhat ſo thou art, & vvhẽceſoeuer thou cõmeſt, fro I knovve thou ſhalt come: I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Perſia, I pray thee enuy me not for this litle earth that couereth my body.* Theſe words pearced *Alexanders* hart, whẽ he cõſidered the vncertainty of worldly things. There alſo, *Calanus* the INDIAN Philoſopher, hauing had a flyxe a litle while, praied that they would make him a ſtacke of wod, ſuch as they vſe to burne dead bodies on, & then rode thither a horſe back: & after he had made his praier vnto the godds, he

C caſt thoſe ſprincklings apon him, which were vſed to be ſprinckled at the funerals of the dead. Then cutting of a locke of his heare before he went vp on the wodſtacke, he bad al the MACEDONIANS that were there farewel, & ſhooke them by the hands, praying thẽ that day to be mery, and drinke freely with the king, whom he would ſee ſhortly after in the citye of BABYLON. When he had ſaid theſe words, he layd him down vpon the wodſtack, couered his face, & neuer ſturred hand nor foote, nor quinched when the fire tooke him, but did ſacrifice him ſelf in this ſort, as the maner of his contry was, that the wiſe men ſhould ſo ſacrifice thẽſelues. An other INDIAN alſo, who followed *Iulius Cæſar*, did the like many yeares after in the citye of ATHENS: & there is his tombe yet to be ſeene, cõmonly called the INDIANS tombe. When *Alexander* came from ſeing this ſacrifice of *Calanus*, he did bid diuers of his frends & Capteines to

D ſupper to him: & there did bring forth a crown for a reward vnto him that drank beſt. He that drank moſt of al other, was one *Promachus*, that drank foure gallons of wine, & wan the crown, worth a talent: but he liued not aboue three dayes after. And of other alſo that fell in ſport to quaffing, who ſhould drink moſt, there died of thẽ (as *Chares* writeth) one & forty perſons: of an extreme cold that tooke thẽ in their dronkennes & wine. When they were in the citie of SVSA, he married certein of his frends, & him ſelf alſo married *Statira*, one of king *Darius* Daughters, diſpoſing alſo of the other PERSIAN Ladies (according to their eſtate and birth) vnto his beſt frends. He made alſo a ſolemne feaſt of cõmon mariages amongſt the MACEDONIANS, of thẽ that had ben maried before: At which feaſt, it is writtẽ, that nine thowſand perſons ſitting at the bords, he gaue vnto euery one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honor of the gods.

E And there alſo amongſt other wõderful gifts, he did pay al the dets the MACEDONIANS ought vnto their creditors, the which amounted vnto the ſumme of tenne thowſand talents ſauing a hundred & thirty leſſe. Wherupon *Antigenes* with one eye, falſely putting in his name amongeſt the number of the detters, & bringing in one that ſaid he had lent him money: *Alexander* cauſed him to be paid. But afterwards, when it was proued to his face, that there was no ſuch matter: *Alexander* then was ſo offended with him, that he baniſhed him his court, & depriued him of his captainſhip, notwithſtanding that he had before ſhewed him ſelf a valiant mã in the warrs. For whẽ he was but a yong man, he was ſhot into the eye, before the city of PERINTHE, which king *Philip* did beſeege: & at that preſent time they would haue pluckt the arrow out of his eye, but he neuer fainted for it, neither would ſuffer thẽ to pul it out, before he had firſt dri-

F uẽ his enemies within the wals of their citie. He toke this infamy very inwardly, & he was ſo ſory for it, that euery mã might ſee he was like to die for ſorow. Thẽ *Alexander* fearing he ſhould die, did pardõ him, & bad him beſides kepe the money which was giuẽ him. Now the 30000.

The death of Polymachus Pelleian.

Cyrus Epitaph ouer his tomb

Calanus the Indian did ſacrifice him ſelfe aliue.

Alexander made men drinke to wyn a game and price.

The Macedonians maried vnto the Perſians

The wonderfull giftes of Alexander.

Alexander payed the ſoldiers dets.

Antigenes with one eye, a valiant Captaine, baniſhed the court for making a lye.

Thirty thowsand boyes of the Persians, taught the discipline of wars by Alexanders commaundement.

young boyes which *Alexander* had left to the gouernment of Capteines, to trayne & exercise them in the discipline of warre: they being growen stronge men, & lusty youthes, excellently well trained & ready in armes: *Alexander* reioyced when he saw them. This notwithstanding did much discorage the MACEDONIANS, & made them greatly affraid, bicause they thought that from thenceforth the king would make lesse accompt of thē. For when *Alexander* would haue sent the sicke and impotent persons, which had bene maimed in the warres, into the low contry, to the sea side: they aunswered him, that so doing he should do them great wronge, to send these poore men frō him in that sort, (after they had done him all the seruice they could) home to their contry & frends, in worse case then he tooke them from thence. And therefore they said, if he would send away some, let him send them all away as men vnseruiceable, specially sithence he had now such goodly yong daunsers about him, with whom he might go conquer the world. *Alexander* was maruelously offended with their prowd words, insomuch that in his anger he reuiled them all, put away his ordinary gard, & tooke other PERSIANS in their place, making some the gard about his owne person, others, his vshers, heraulds, & ministers to execute his will and commaundement. The poore MACEDONIANS seeing *Alexander* thus waited on, & them selues so shamefully reiected: they let fall their stoutnes, and after they had cōmoned of the matter together, they were ready to teare thēselues for spite & malice. In fine whē they had laid their heads together, they cōsented to go vnto his tent & without weapōs, naked in their shirts to yeld thēselues vnto him, weping & howling, beseching him to do with thē what pleased him, & so vse thē like wretched vnthankful creatures. But *Alexander*, though his anger was now somwhat pacified, did not receiue thē the first time, neither did they also go their waies, but remained there 2. daies & nights together, in this pitiful state, before the dore of his tent, lamenting vnto him, & calling him their soueraine & king: vntill that he came him self out of his tent the third day, & seing the poore wretches in this greeuous & pitiful state, he him self fel a weeping a long time. So, after he had a litle rebuked thē, he called thē curteously, & gaue the impotēt & sick persons leaue to depart home, rewarding thē very honorably. Furthermore, he wrote vnto *Antipater* his Lieutenant, that he should alwaies giue thē the highest place in al cōmon sports & assemblies, & that they should be crowned with garlands of flowers. Moreouer, he cōmaūded that the orphans whose parents were slaine in the warrs, should receiue the pay of their fathers. After *Alexander* was come vnto the citie of ECBATANA, in the kingdō of MEDEA, & that he had dispatched his waightiest causes: he gaue him self again vnto publike sportes, feasts, & pastimes, for that there were newly come vnto him out of GRÆCE, thowsand excellent masters & deuisers of such sports. About that time it chaūced, that *Hephæstion* fell sicke of an agew. But he beeing a young man of warre, did not regard his mouth as he should haue done, but hauing spyed oportunitie that his Phisitian *Glaucus* was gone vnto the Theater, to see the sports & pastimes: He went to dinner, and eate a roasted Capon whole, and dranke a great pot full of wine, which he had caused to be set in water: whereuppon his feuer tooke him so sorely, that he liued not long after. *Alexander* vnwisely tooke the chaunce of his death, & cōmaūded all the heares of his horse & mules to be presently shorn in tokē of mourning, & that al the battlemēts of the wals of cities should also be ouerthrown, & hong vp pore *Glaucus* his Phisitian vpon a crosse, & cōmaūded that no minstrel should be heard play of any kind of instrument within his campe: vntil that there was brought him an oracle from *Iupiter Hammon*, cōmaūding that *Hephæstion* should be worshipped & sacrificed vnto, as a demy god. In thend, to passe ouer his mourning and sorow, he went vnto the warres, as vnto a hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the COSSÆIANS, whom he pluckt vp by the rootes, and slue man, woman, and childe. And this was called the sacrifice of *Hephæstions* funeralls. *Alexander* furthermore beeing desirous to bestowe tenne thowsand talents coste vppon his obsequies and funeralls, and also to exceede the charge by the rarenes and excellencie of workemanshippe: amongest all other excellent workemasters, he desired one *Stasicrates*, for he had euer passing inuention, and his worke was alwayes stately and sumptuous in any newe thinges he tooke in hande. For he talking one daye with *Alexander*, tolde him, that of all the Mountaynes he knewe in the worlde, he thought there was none more excellent to resemble the statue or image of a man, then was Mount Atho in THRACIA: and that if it were his

The clemencie and liberalitie of Alexander vnto his soldiers

The death of Hephæstion.

Alexanders sorow for the death of Hephæstion.

Stasicrates an excellent image maker.

A his pleaſure, he would make him the nobleſt and moſt durable image, that ſhould bee in the world, which in his left hand ſhould hold a citie to conteine ten thowſand perſons, and out of his right hand, there ſhould ronne a great riuer into the ſea. Yet *Alexander* would not harken to him, but then was talking with other workemen of more ſtraunge inuentions, & farre greater coſt. Now as he was ready to take his iorney to go vnto BABYLON: *Nearchus* his Admirall came againe vnto him from the great ſea Oceanum, by the riuer of Euphrates, and tolde him, how certaine CHALDEAN Soothſayers came vnto him, who did warne him that he ſhould not goe into BABYLON. Howbeit *Alexander* made no reckoning of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the walls of BABYLON, he ſaw a great number of crowes fighting & killing one of another, & ſome of them fell downe deade hard by him. Afterwards being told him that *A-*
B *pollodorus* the gouernor of the citie of BABYLON, hauing ſacrificed vnto the goddes, to knowe what ſhould happen to him: he ſent for the Soothſayer *Pithagoras*, to knowe of him if it were true. The Soothſayer denied it not. Then *Alexander* asked him, what ſignes he had in the ſacrifice. He aunſwered, that the lyuer of the beaſt had no head. O gods, ſaid *Alexander* then, this is an ill ſigne: notwithſtanding he did *Pithagoras* no hurt, but yet he repented him that he did not beleue *Nearchus* words. For this reſpect therefore *Alexander* lay much abroade in the contry from BABYLON, & did take his pleaſure rowing vp & downe the riuer of Euphrates. Yet had he many other ill ſignes & tokēs one vpō another, that made him afraid. For there was a tame aſſe that killed one of the greateſt & goodlieſt Lions in all BABYLON, with one of his feete. A- *Diuers ſignes before Alexanders death.*
nother time when *Alexander* had put of his clothes, to be nointed to play at tennis: When he
C ſhould put on his apparel again, the yong gentlemen that plaied with him, found a man ſet in his chaier of eſtate, hauing the kings diademe on his head, & his gowne on his back, & ſaid neuer a word. Then they asked him what he was? It was long before he made them aunſwer, but at the length comming to him ſelf, he ſaid his name was *Dionyſius*, borne in MESSINA: & being accuſed for certein crimes committed, he was ſent from the ſea thether, where he had bene a long time priſoner, & alſo that the god *Serapis* had appeared vnto him, & vndone his irons, & that he commaunded him to take the kings gowne & his diademe, and to ſit him downe in his chaier of eſtate, & ſay neuer a word. When *Alexander* heard it, he put him to death according to the counſail of his Soothſayers: but then his mind was troubled, & feared that the gods had forſaken him, & alſo grew to ſuſpect his frends. But firſt of al, *Alexander* feared *Antipater* & his *Alexander feared Antipater.*
D ſonnes, aboue all other. For one of them called *Iolas*, was his firſt cupbearer: & his brother called *Caſſander*, was newly come out of GRÆCE vnto him. The firſt time that *Caſſander* ſaw ſome of the barbarous people reuerencing *Alexander*, he hauing bene brought vp with the libertie of GRÆCE, & had neuer ſeene the like before: fel into a lowd laughing very vnreuerētly. Therwith king *Alexander* was ſo offended, that he tooke him by the heare of his head with both his hands, & knocked his head & the wal together. Another time alſo whēn *Caſſander* did aunſwer ſome that accuſed his father *Antipater*: king *Alexander* tooke him vp ſharply, & ſaid vnto him. What ſaieſt thou, ſaid he? Dooſt thou thinke that theſe men would haue gon ſo long a iorney as this, falſly to accuſe thy father, if he had not done them wrong? *Caſſander* again replyed vnto *Alexander*, & ſaid, that that was a manifeſt proofe of their falſe accuſatiō, for that they did now
E accuſe him being ſo farre of, bicauſe they thought they could not ſodainly be diſproued. *Alexander* thereat fel a laughing a good, & ſaid, lo, theſe are *Ariſtotles* quiddities to argue *pro & cōtra*: but this wil not ſaue you from puniſhment, if I find that you haue done theſe men wronge. In fine, they report that *Caſſander* tooke ſuch an inward feare & conceit vpon it, that long time after when he was king of MACEDON, and had all GRÆCE at his commaundement: going vp and downe the citie of DELPHES, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of *Alexander*, which put him into ſuch a ſodaine feare, that the heares of his head ſtoode vpright, and his body quaked in ſuch ſort, that it was a great time before he could come to him ſelfe againe. Nowe aftet that *Alexander* had left his truſt and confidence in the goddes, his minde was ſo troubled and affraide, that no ſtraunge thinge happened vnto him,
F (how litle ſo euer it was) but he tooke it ſtraight for a ſigne and prediction from the godds: ſo that his tent was alwayes full of Prieſtes and Soothſayers that did nothing but ſacrifice and purifie, and tende vnto diuinements. So horrible a thing, is the miſtruſt and contempt of the

godds, when it is begotten in the harts of men, and ſuperſticion alſo ſo dreadfull, that it filleth the gilty conſciences and fearefull hartes like water diſtilling from aboue: as at that time it filled *Alexander* with all folly, after that feare had once poſſeſſed him. This notwithſtãding, after that he had receiued ſome aunſwers touching *Hephæſtion* from the oracle of *Iupiter Hammon*, he left his ſorow, and returned again to his bankets and feaſting. For he did ſumptuouſly feaſt *Nearchus*, and one day when he came out of his bathe according to his manner, beeing ready to goe to bed, *Medius* one of his Capteines beſought him to come to a banket to him at his lodging. *Alexander* went thither, and dranke there all that night and the next day, ſo that he got an agew by it. But that came not (as ſome write) by drinking vppe *Hercules* cuppe all at a drawght: neither for the ſodaine paine he felt betweene his ſhowlders, as if he had beene thruſt into the backe with a ſpeare. For all theſe were thought to be written by ſome, for lyes and fables, bicauſe they would haue made the ende of this great tragedie lamentable and pitifull. But *Ariſtobulus* writeth, that he had ſuch an extreame feuer and thirſt withall, that he dranke wine, & after that fel a rauing, & at the lẽgth dyed the thirtie day of the month of Iune. In his houſhold booke of things paſſed dayly, it is written, that his feuer beeing apon him, he ſlept in his hottehouſe on the eyghtenth day of Iune. The next morning after he was come out of his hottehouſe, he went into his chamber, and paſſed away all that daye with *Medius*, playing at dyce: and at nyght very late, after he had bathed him ſelfe and ſacrificed vnto the goddes, he fell to meate, and had his feuer that nyght. And the twenty daye alſo, bathing him ſelfe againe, and making his ordinary ſacrifice to the goddes, he did ſitte downe to eate within his ſtooue, harkening vnto *Nearchus* that tolde him ſtraunge thinges he had ſeene in the great ſea Oceanum. The one and twenty day alſo hauing done the like as before, he was much more inflamed then he had bene, & felt him ſelfe very ill all night, and the next day following in a great feuer: and on that day he made his bed to be remoued, and to be ſet vppe by the fiſh pondes, where he commoned with his capteines touching certaine roomes that were void in his armie, and commaunded them not to place any men that were not of good experience. The three and twenty day hauing an extreame feuer vpon him, he was caried vnto the ſacrifices, and commaunded that his chiefeſt Capteines onely ſhould remaine in his lodging, and that the other meaner ſort, as centiniers or Lieuetenants of bands, that they ſhould watch & ward without. The foure and twenty day, he was caried vnto the other pallace of the kings, which is on thother ſide of the lake, where he ſlept a litle, but the feuer neuer left him: & when his Capteines & noble men came to doe him humble reuerence, & to ſee him, he lay ſpeechles. So did he the fiue and twenty day alſo: inſomuch as the MACEDONIANS thought he was dead. Then they came & knocked at the pallace gate, & cried out vnto his friendes and familiers, and threatned them, ſo that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereuppon the gates were opened, & they comming in their gownes went vnto his bed ſide to ſee him. That ſelfe day *Python* & *Seleucus* were appointed by the kings friends to go to the temple of the god *Serapis*, to knowe if they ſhould bringe king *Alexander* thither. The god aunſwered them, that they ſhould not remoue him from thence. The eight and twenty day at night *Alexander* dyed. Thus it is written word for word in manner, in the houſhold booke of remembrance. At that preſent tyme, there was no ſuſpition that he was poyſoned. Yet they ſay, that ſix yeares after, there appeared ſome proofe that he was poiſoned. Whereupon his mother *Olympias* put many men to death, and caſt the aſhes of *Iolas* into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was ſaid he gaue him poyſon in his drinke. They that thinke it was *Ariſtotle* that counſelled *Antipater* to do it, by whoſe meane the poyſon was brought: they ſay that *Agnothemis* reported it, hauing heard it of king *Antigonus* owne mouth. The poyſon (as ſome ſay) was cold as Iſe, and falleth from a rocke in the territory of the citie of NONACRIS, & it is gathered as they would gather a deawe into the horne of the foote of an aſſe, for there is no other kinde of thinge that wil keepe it, it is ſo extreme cold & percing. Others defend it, & ſay, that the report of his poyſoning is vntrue: & for proofe therof they alleage this reaſon, which is of no ſmal importance, that is: That the chiefeſt Capteines fel at great variance after his death, ſo that the corps of *Alexander* remained many dayes naked without buriall, in a whot dry contry, & yet there neuer appeared any ſigne or token apon his body, that he was poyſoned, but was ſtill a cleane and fayre

Alexander fell ſicke of an agew.

Ariſtobulus reports of the ſicknes and death of Alexander.

The death of Alexander the great.

Ariſtotle ſuſpected for the poyſoning of Alexander.

A faire corps as could be. *Alexander* left *Roxane* great with childe, for the which the MACEDONIANS did her great honor: but ſhe did malice *Statira* extreamely, & did finely deceiue her by a counterfeat letter ſhe ſent, as if it had comen from *Alexander*, willing her to come vnto him. But when ſhe was come, *Roxane* killed her and her ſiſter, and then threw their bodies into a well, and filled it vp with earth, by *Perdiccas* helpe and conſent. *Perdiccas* came to be king, immediatly after *Alexanders* death, by meanes of *Arideus*, whom he kept about him for his gard and ſafety. This *Arideus*, beeing borne of a common ſtrumpet and common woman, called *Philinna*, was halfe lunaticke, not by nature nor by chaunce: but, as it is reported, put out of his wits when he was a young towardly boy, by drinkes, which *Olympias* cauſed to be geuen him, and thereby continued franticke.

Statira ſlaine by Roxane.

Arideus, Alexanders baſtard brother.

B

The end of Alexanders life.

THE LIFE OF *Iulius Cæſar.*

C

D

AT what time *Sylla* was made Lord of all, he would haue had *Cæſar* put away his wife *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Cinna* Dictator: but when he ſaw, he could neither with any promiſe nor threate bring him to it, he tooke her ioynter away from him. The cauſe of *Cæſars* ill will vnto *Sylla*, was by meanes of mariage: for *Marius* thelder, maried his fathers own ſiſter, by whom he had *Marius* the younger, whereby *Cæſar* & he were coſin germaines. *Sylla* being troubled in waightie matters, putting to death ſo many of his enemies, when he came to be cõqueror, he made no reckoning of *Cæſar*: but he was not contented to be hidden in ſafety, but came and made ſute vnto the people for the Prieſthoodſhippe that was voyde, when he had ſcant any heare on his face. Howbeit he was repulſed by *Syllaes* meanes, that ſecretly was againſt him. Who, when he was determined to haue killed him, ſome of his frendes told him, that it was to no purpoſe to put ſo young a boy as he to death. But *Sylla* told them againe, that they did not conſider that there were many *Marians* in that young boy. *Cæſar* vnderſtanding that, ſtale out of ROME, and hidde him ſelfe a long time in the contrie of the SABINES, wandring ſtill from place to place. But one day being caried from houſe to houſe, he fell into the handes of *Syllaes* ſouldiers, who ſearched all thoſe places, and tooke them whom they found

Cæſar ioyned with Cinna & Marius.

E

F

hidden. *Cæſar* bribed the Captaine, whoſe name was *Cornelius*, with two talentes which he gaue him. After he had eſcaped them thus, he went vnto the ſea ſide, and tooke ſhippe, and ſailed into BITHYNIA to goe vnto king *Nicomedes*. When he had bene with him a while, he tooke ſea againe, and was taken by pyrates about the Ile of PHARMACVSA: for thoſe pyrates kept all vppon that ſea coaſt, with a great fleete of ſhippes and botes. They asking him at the firſt twentie talentes for his ranſome, *Cæſar* laughed them to ſcorne, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, & of him ſelfe promiſed them fiftie talents. Then he ſent his men vp and downe to get him this money, ſo that he was left in maner alone among theſe theeues of the CILICIANS, (which are the cruelleſt butchers in the world) with one of his frends, and two of his ſlaues only: and yet he made ſo litle reckoning of them, that when he was deſirous to ſleepe, he ſent vnto them to commaunde them to make no noyſe. Thus was he eight and thirtie dayes among them, not kept as priſoner, but rather waited vppon by them as a Prince. All this time he woulde boldly exerciſe him ſelfe in any ſporte or paſtime they would goe to. And other while alſo he woulde wryte verſes, and make orations, and call them together to ſay them before them: and if any of them ſeemed as though they had not vnderſtoode him, or paſſed not for them, he called them blockeheades, and brute beaſtes, and laughing, threatned them that he would hang them vp. But they were as merie with the matter as could be, and tooke all in good parte, thinking that this his bold ſpeach came, through the ſimplicity of his youth. So when his raunſome was come from the citie of MILETVM, they being payed their money, and he againe ſet at libertie: he then preſently armed, and manned out certaine ſhips out of the hauen of MILETVM, to follow thoſe theeues, whom he found yet riding at ancker in the ſame Iland. So he tooke the moſt of them, & had the ſpoile of their goods, but for their bodies, he brought them into the city of PERGAMVM, & there committed thē to priſon, whileſt he him ſelfe went to ſpeake with *Iunius*, who had the gouernment of ASIA, as vnto whom the execution of theſe pirats did belong, for that he was Prætor of that contrie. But this Prætor hauing a great fancie to be fingering of the money, bicauſe there was good ſtore of it: anſwered, that he would conſider of theſe priſoners at better leaſure. *Cæſar* leauing *Iunius* there, returned againe vnto PERGAMVM, and there hung vp all theſe theeues openly vpon a croſſe, as he had oftentimes promiſed them in the Ile he would doe, when they thought he did but ieaſt. Afterwardes when *Syllaes* power beganne to decay, *Cæſars* frendes wrote vnto him, to pray him to come home againe. But he ſailed firſt vnto RHODES, to ſtudie there a time vnder *Apollonius* the ſonne of *Molon*, whoſe ſcholler alſo *Cicero* was, for he was a very honeſt man, & an excellent good Rethoritian. It is reported that *Cæſar* had an excellent naturall gift to ſpeake well before the people, & beſides that rare gift, he was excellently well ſtudied, ſo that doubteleſſe he was counted the ſecond man for eloquence in his time, and gaue place to the firſt, bicauſe he would be the firſt and chiefeſt man of warre and authoritie, being not yet comen to the degree of perfection to ſpeake well, which his nature coulde haue performed in him, bicauſe he was geuen rather to followe warres and to mannage great matters, which in thende brought him to be Lord of all ROME. And therefore in a booke he wrote againſt that which *Cicero* made in the praiſe of *Cato*, he prayeth the readers not to compare the ſtile of a ſouldier, with the eloquence of an excellent Orator, that had followed it the moſt parte of his life. When he was returned againe vnto ROME, he accuſed *Dolabella* for his ill behauior in the gouernment of his prouince, and he had diuers cities of GRÆCE that gaue in euidence againſt him. Notwithſtanding, *Dolabella* at the length was diſmiſſed. *Cæſar*, to requite the good will of the GRÆCIANS, which they had ſhewed him in his accuſation of *Dolabella*, tooke their cauſe in hand, when they did accuſe *Publius Antonius* before *Marcus Lucullus*, Prætor of MACEDON: and followed it ſo hard againſt him in their behalfe, that *Antonius* was driuen to appeale before the Tribunes at ROME, alleaging, to colour his appeale withall, that he coulde haue no iuſtice in GRÆCE againſt the GRÆCIANS. Now *Cæſar* immediatly wan many mens good willes at ROME, through his eloquence, in pleading of their cauſes: and the people loued him maruelouſly alſo, bicauſe of the curteous manner he had to ſpeake to euery man, and to vſe them gently, being more ceremonious therein, then was looked for in one of his yeres. Furthermore, he euer kept a good bourde, and fared well at his table, and was very liberall beſides:

Cæſar tooke ſea, and went vnto Nicomedes, king of Bithynia.

Cæſar taken of pirats.

Iunius Prætor of Aſia.

Cæſars eloquence.

Cæſar loued hoſpitalitie.

besides: the which in deede did aduaunce him forward, and brought him in estimacion with the people. His enemies iudging that this fauor of the common people would soone quaile, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expence: suffered him to runne on, till by litle and litle he was growen to be of great strength & power. But in fine, when they had thus geuen him the bridell to grow to this greatnes, and that they could not then pull him backe, though in dede in sight it would turne one day to the destruction of the whole state and common wealth of Rome: too late they found, that there is not so litle a beginning of any thing, but continuaunce of time will soone make it strong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatnes. Thereuppon, *Cicero* like a wise shipmaster that feareth the calmnes of the sea, was the first man that mistrusting his manner of dealing in the common wealth, found out his craft & malice, which he cunningly cloked vnder the habit of outward curtesie and familliaritie. And yet, sayd he, when I consider howe finely he combeth his faire bush of heare, and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scrat his head with one finger only: my minde giues me then, that such a kinde of man should not haue so wicked a thought in his head, as to ouerthrow the state of the common wealth. But this was long time after that. The first shewe and proofe of the loue and good will which the people did beare vnto *Cæsar*, was: when he sued to be Tribune of the souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thowsand footemen) standding against *Caius Pompilius*, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second & more manifest proofe then the first, was at the death of his aunt *Iulia*, the wife of *Marius* the elder. For being her nephew, he made a solemne oration in the market place in commendacion of her, and at her buriall did boldly venter to shew foorth the images of *Marius*: the which was the first time that they were seene after *Syllaes* victorie, bicause that *Marius* and all his confederates had bene proclaimed traitors and enemies to the common wealth. For when there were some that cried out apon *Cæsar* for doing of it: the people on thother side kept a sturre, and reioyced at it, clapping of their handes, and thanked him, for that he had brought as it were out of hell, the remembraunce of *Marius* honor againe into Rome, which had so long time bene obscured & buried. And where it had bene an auncient custom of long time, that the Romanes vsed to make funerall orations in praise of olde Ladies and matrons when they dyed, but not of young women: *Cæsar* was the first that praised his owne wife with funerall oration when she was deade, the which also did increase the peoples good willes the more, seeing him of so kinde & gentle nature. After the buriall of his wife, he was made Treasorer, vnder *Antistius Vetus* Prætor, whom he honored euer after: so that when him selfe came to be Prætor, he made his sonne to be chosen Treasorer. Afterwardes, when he was come out of that office, he maried his thirde wife *Pompeia*, hauing a daughter by his first wife *Cornelia*, which was maried vnto *Pompey* the great. Now for that he was very liberal in expences, bying (as some thought) but a vaine and short glorie of the fauor of the people: (where in deede he bought good cheape the greatest thinges that coulde be.) Some say, that before he bare any office in the common wealth, he was growen in debt, to the summe of thirteene hundred talentes. Furthermore, bicause he was made ouerseer of the worke, for the high way going vnto *Appius*, he disbursed a great summe of his owne money towardes the charges of the same. And on the other side, when he was made Ædilis, for that he did show the people the pastime of three hundred & twentie cople of sword players, and did besides exceede all other in sumptuousnes in the sportes and common feastes which he made to delight them withall: (and did as it were drowne all the stately shewes of others in the like, that had gone before him) he so pleased the people, & wan their loue therwith, that they deuised daily to giue him new offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in Rome, to wit, the faction of *Sylla*, which was very strong and of great power, & the other of *Marius*, which then was vnder foote & durst not shew it selfe. But *Cæsar*, bicause he would renue it again, euen at that time when he being Ædilis, all the feasts and common sports were in their greatest ruffe: he secretly caused images of *Marius* to be made, and of victories that caried triumphes, and those he set vp one night within the Capitol. The next morning when euery man saw the glistering of these golden images excellently well wrought, shewing by the inscriptions, that they were the victories which *Marius* had wonne apon the Cimbres: euery one marueled much at the boldnes

Cæsar a follower of the people.

Ciceroes iudgement of Cæsar.

The loue of the people in Rome vnto Cæsar.

Cæsar chosen Tribunus militum.

Cæsar made the funerall oration, at the death of his aunt Iulia.

Cæsar the first that praised his wife in funerall oration.

Cæsar made Quæstor.

Pompeia, Cæsars third wife.

Cæsars prodigality.

of him that durſt ſet them vp there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereuppon, it ranne A
Cæſar accuſed to make a rebellion in the ſtate. ſtraight through all the citie, and euerie man came thither to ſee them. Then ſome cried out apon *Cæſar*, and ſayd it was a tyranny which he ment to ſet vp, by renuing of ſuch honors as before had bene troden vnder foote, and forgotten, by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a baite to gage the peoples good wils, which he had ſet out in the ſtately ſhewes of his cõmon playes, to ſee if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide ſuch partes to be played, and a new alteracion of things to be made. They of *Marius* faction on thother ſide, incoraging one an other, ſhewed them ſelues ſtraight a great nũber gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitoll ring againe with their cries and clapping of handes: inſomuch as the teares ranne downe many of their cheekes for very ioy, when they ſawe the images of *Marius*, and they extolled *Cæſar* to the skies, iudging him the B
worthieſt man of all the kinred of *Marius*. The Senate being aſſembled thereuppon, *Catulus Luctatius* one of the greateſt authoritie at that time in Rome, roſe, and vehemently inueyed againſt *Cæſar*, and ſpake that then which euer ſince hath bene noted much: that *Cæſar* did not now couertly go to worke, but by plaine force ſought to alter the ſtate of the common wealth. Neuertheleſſe, *Cæſar* at that time aunſwered him ſo that the Senate was ſatisfied. Thereupon they that had him in eſtimacion did grow in better hope then before, & perſwaded him, that hardily he ſhoulde geue place to no man, and that through the good will of the people, he ſhould be better than all they, and come to be the chiefeſt man of the citie. At that time, the
The death of Metellus chiefe Biſhop of Rome. chiefe Biſhoppe *Metellus* dyed, and two of the notableſt men of the citie, and of greateſt au- C
thoritie (*Iſauricus*, and *Catulus*) contended for his roome: *Cæſar* notwithſtanding their contention, would geue neither of them both place, but preſented him ſelfe to the people, and made ſute for it as they did. The ſute being equall betwext either of them, *Catulus*, bicauſe he was a man of greater calling and dignitie than the other, doubting the vncertaintie of the election: ſent vnto *Cæſar* a good ſumme of money, to make him leaue of his ſute. But *Cæſar* ſent him word againe, that he would lend a greater ſumme then that, to maintaine the ſute againſt him. When the day of thelection came, his mother bringing him to the dore of his houſe, *Cæſar* weeping, kiſſed her, and ſayd: Mother, this day thou ſhalt ſee thy ſonne chiefe Biſhoppe of Rome, or baniſhed from Rome. In fine, when the voyces of the people were gathered toge-
Cæſar made chiefe Biſhop of Rome. ther, and the ſtrife well debated: *Cæſar* wanne the victorie, and made the Senate and noble
Cæſar ſuſpected to be cõfederate with Catiline in his conſpiracy. men all affrayed of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do D
what he thought good. Then *Catulus* and *Piſo* fell flatly out with *Cicero*, and condemned him, for that he did not bewray *Cæſar*, when he knew that he was of conſpiracie with *Catiline*, and had oportunitie to haue done it. For when *Catiline* was bent and determined, not onely to ouerthrow the ſtate of the common wealth, but vterly to deſtroy the Empire of Rome, he ſcaped out of the handes of iuſtice for lacke of ſufficient proofe, before his full treaſon and determination was knowen. Notwithſtanding he left *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* in the citie, companions of his conſpiracie: vnto whom, whether *Cæſar* did geue any ſecret helpe or comfort, it is not well knowen. Yet this is manifeſt, that when they were conuinced in open Senate, *Cicero* being at that time Conſul, asking euery mans opinion in the Senate, what puniſhment they
Cæſar went about to deliuer the conſpirators. ſhould haue, and euery one of them till it came to *Cæſar*, gaue ſentence they ſhould dye: *Cæſar* E
then riſing vp to ſpeake, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and ſayd, that it was neither lawefull, nor yet their cuſtome did beare it, to put men of ſuch nobilitie to death (but in an extremitie) without lawefull inditement and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in priſon in ſome citie of Italie, where *Cicero* thought beſt, vntill that *Catiline* were ouerthrowen: the Senate then might at their pleaſure quietly take ſuch order therein, as might beſt appeare vnto their wiſedoms. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withall was vttered with ſuch a paſſing good grace and eloquence, that not only they which were to ſpeake after him did approue it: but ſuch alſo as had ſpoken to the contrarie before, reuoked their opinion and ſtucke to his, vntil it came to *Cato* and *Catulus* to ſpeake. They both
Catoes oration againſt Cæſar. did ſharpely inuey againſt him, but *Cato* chiefly: who in his oration made *Cæſar* ſuſpected to F
be of the conſpiracie, and ſtowtly ſpake againſt him, inſomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death. *Cæſar* comming out of the Senate, a company

of

A of young men which garded *Cicero* for the safetie of his person, did sette upon him with their swordes drawen. But some say, that *Curio* couered *Cæsar* with his gowne, and tooke him out of their handes. And *Cicero* selfe, when the young men looked upon him, beckened with his head that they should not kil him, either fearing the fury of the people, or else that he thought it too shamefull and wicked a parte. But if that were true, I maruell why *Cicero* did not put it into his booke he wrote of his Consulshippe. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he tooke not the opportunitie offered him against *Cæsar*, onely for ouermuch feare of the people, that loued him verie dearely. For shortly after, when *Cæsar* went into the Senate, to cleere him selfe of certaine presumptions and false accusations obiected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer then they were wont: the
B people came about the counsell house, and called out alowde for him, bidding them let him out. *Cato* then fearing the insurrection of the poore needie persons, which were they that put all their hope in *Cæsar*, and did also mone the people to stirre: did perswade the Senate to make a franke distribucion of corne vnto them, for a moneth. This distribucion did put the common wealth to a new charge of fiue hundred & fiftie Myriades. This counsell quenched a present great feare, and did in happie time scatter and disperse abroade the best parte of *Cæsars* force and power, at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer, he neuer sought any alteration in the common wealth, but contrarily he him selfe had a great misfortune fell in his owne house, which was this. There was a young nobleman of the order of the PATRICIANS, called *Publius*
C *Clodius*, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence, but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person, as any was else in ROME. He became in loue with *Pompeia Cæsars* wife, who misliked not withall: notwithstanding she was so straightly looked to, and that *Aurelia* (*Cæsars* mother) an honest gentlewoman had such an eye of her, that these two louers could not meete as they would, without great perill and difficultie. The ROMANES doe vse to honour a goddesse which they call the good goddesse, as the GRECIANS haue her whom they call *Gynæcia*, to wit, the goddesse of women. Her, the PHRYGIANS doe claime to be peculiar vnto them, saying: that she is king *Midas* mother. Howbeit the ROMANES hold opinion, that it is a nimphe of woodde, maried vnto god *Faunus*. The GRECIANS, they say also, that she was one of the mothers of
D the god *Bacchus*, whom they dare not name. And for proofe hereof, on her feast day the women make certaine tabernacles of vine twigges, and leaues of vine braunches, and also they make as the tale goeth, a holie dragon for this goddesse, and doe set it by her: besides, it is not lawful for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no not within the house it selfe where they are made. Furthermore, they say that the women in these sacrifices do many things amongst them selues, much like vnto the ceremonies of *Orpheus*. Now when the time of this feast is in the husband, (whether he were Prætor or Consul) and all his men & the boyes in the house, doe come out of it, and leaue it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, & there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most parte of the night, and they vse besides passe the night away in songes and musicke. *Pompeia*, *Cæsars* wife, being that yeare to celebrate this
E feast, *Clodius* who had yet no heare on his face, & thereby thought he should not be discouered disguised him selfe in a singing wenches apparell, but his face was verie like vnto a young wenche. He finding the gates open, being secretly brought in by her chamberlaine that was made priuie vnto it: she left him, and tolde to *Pompeia* her mistres, to tell her of whom she was come. The chamber maide tarried long before she came againe, in so much as *Clodius* being wearie waiting for her where she left him, he tooke his pleasure, and went from one place to another in the house, which had very large roomes in it, still shunning the lights, vntil he by chaunce met with all by one of *Aurelias* maides, who taking him for a woman, prayed him to play. *Clodius* refusing to play, the maide pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: *Clodius* then answered her, that he taried for *Abra* one of *Pompeias* women. So *Aurelias* maide knowing him by his voyce, ranne straight where the lightes and Ladies were, and cried out
F that there was a man disguised in womans apparell. The women there with were soe amazed, that *Aurelia* caused them presently to leaue of the ceremonies of the feastiue, and to hide their secret thinges, and hauing seene the gates fast locked, went immediatly vp and downe

The loue of P. Clodius vnto Pompeia, Cæsars wife.

The good goddesse what she was, and her sacrifices.

Cæsar sent out of the Senate.

Cæsar vnder pretence of the good goddesse.

Cæsar called him Impure.

to

Clodius taken in the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

the house with torche light to seeke out this man: who at the last was found out in the chamber of *Pompeias* maide, with whom he hidde him selfe. Thus *Clodius* being found out, & knowen of the women, they thrust him out of the dores by the shoulders. The same night the women tolde their husbandes of this chaunce as soone as they came home. The next morning, there ranne a great rumor through the citie, how *Clodius* had attempted a great villanie, and that he deserued, not only to be punished of them whom he had slaundred, but also of the common wealth and the goddes. There was one of the Tribunes of the people that did indite him, & accuse him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefest of the nobilitie and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burdened him with many horrible and detestable facts, and specially with incest committed with his owne sister, which was maried vnto *Lucullus*. Notwithstanding, the people stowtly defended *Clodius* against their accusations: and this did helpe him much against the Iudges, which were amazed, & afraid to time the people. This notwithstanding, *Cæsar* presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by *Clodius* accuser to be a witnes against him, he aunswered, he knew nothing of that they obiected against *Clodius*. This aunswere being cleane contrarie to their expectacion that heard it, the accuser asked *Cæsar*, why then he had put away his wife: bicause I will not, sayd he, that my wife be so much as suspected. And some say, that *Cæsar* spake truely as he thought. But others thinke, that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to saue *Clodius*. So *Clodius* was discharged of this accusation, bicause the most parte of the Iudges gaue a confused iudgement, for the feare they stoode one way of the daunger of the common people if they condemned him; and for the ill opinion of thother side of the nobilitie, if they did quit him. The gouernment of the prouince of SPAYNE being fallen vnto *Cæsar* for that he was Prætor: his creditors came and cried out apon him, and were importunate of him to be payed. *Cæsar* being vnable to satisfie them, was compelled to goe vnto *Crassus*, who was the richest man of all ROME, and that stoode in neede of *Cæsars* boldnes and courage to withstand *Pompeys* greatnes in the common wealth. *Crassus* became his suretie vnto his greediest creditors for the summe of eight hundred and thirtie talentes: whereuppon they suffered *Cæsar* to departe to the gouernment of his prouince. In his iorney it is reported, that passinge ouer the mountaines of the Alpes, they came through a litle poore village that had not many householdes, and yet poore cotages. There, his frendes that did accompanie him, asked him merily, if there were any contending for offices in that towne, and whether there were any strife there amongest the noble men for honor. *Cæsar* speaking in good earnest, aunswered: I can not tell that sayd he, but for my parte, I had rather be the chiefest man here, then the second person in ROME. An other time also when he was in SPAYNE, reading the history of *Alexanders* actes, when he had red it, he was sorowfull a good while after, & then burst out in weeping. His frends seeing that, marueled what should be the cause of his sorow. He answered them, do ye not thinke sayd he, that I haue good cause to be heauie, when king *Alexander* being no older than my selfe is now, had in old time wonne so many nations and countries, and that I hitherunto haue done nothing worthy of my selfe? Therefore when he was come into SPAYNE, he was very carefull of his busines, and had in few dayes ioyned ten ensignes more of footemen, vnto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against the GALLACIANS and LVSITANIANS, he conquered all, & went as farre as the great sea Oceanum, subduing all the people which before knew not the ROMANES for their Lordes. There he tooke order for pacifying of the warre, and did as wisely take order for the establishing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them frendes one with an other, but specially he pacified all sutes of law, & strife, betwext the detters and creditors, which grewe by reason of vsurie. For he ordained that the creditors shoulde take yearely two partes of the reuenue of their detters, vntill such time as they had payed them selues: and that the detters should haue the third parte to them selues to liue withall. He hauing wonne great estimacion by this good order taken, returned from his gouernment very riche, and his souldiers also full of rich spoyles, who called him Imperator, to say souraine Captaine. Now the ROMANES hauing a custome, that such as demaunded honor of triumphe, should remaine a while without the city, and that they on thother side which sued for the Consulship, should

Clodius accused for prophaning the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

Cæsar putteth away his wife Pompeia.

Clodius quite by the Iudges for prophaning the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

Cæsar Prætor of Spaine.

Crassus suretie for Cæsar to his creditors.

Cæsars actes in Spayne.

Cæsars order betwext the creditor and detter.

Cæsars souldiers called him Imperator.

of

A of neceſſitie be there in perſon: *Cæſar* comming vnhappely at that very time when the Conſuls were choſen, he ſent to pray the Senate to do him that fauor, that being abſent, he might by his frendes ſue for the Conſulſhippe. *Cato* at the firſt did vehemently inuey againſt it, vowching an expreſſe law forbidding the contrarie. But afterwards, perceiuing that notwithſtanding the reaſons he alleaged, many of the Senators (being wonne by *Cæſar*) fauored his requeſt: yet he cunningly ſought all he could to preuent them, prolonging time, dilating his oration vntill night. *Cæſar* thereupon determined rather to geue ouer the ſute of his triumphe, and to make ſute for the Conſulſhippe: and ſo came into the citie, and had ſuch a deuiſe with him, as went beyond them all, but *Cato* only. His deuiſe was this. *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, two of the greateſt perſonages of the city of Rome, being at iarre together, *Cæſar* made them frends, B and by that meanes got vnto him ſelfe the power of them both: for, by colour of that gentle acte and frendſhippe of his, he ſubtilly (vnwares to them all) did greatly alter and chaunge the ſtate of the common wealth. For it was not the priuate diſcord betwene *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, as many men thought, that cauſed the ciuill warre: but rather it was their agreement together, who ioyned all their powers firſt to ouerthrowe the ſtate of the Senate and nobilitie, and afterwardes they fell at iarre one with an other. But *Cato*, that then foreſaw and prophecied many times what woulde followe, was taken but for a vaine man: but afterwardes they found him a wiſer man, then happie in his counſell. Thus *Cæſar* being brought vnto the aſſemblie of the election, in the middeſt of theſe two noble perſons, whom he had before reconciled together: he was there choſen Conſull, with *Calphurnius Bibulus*, without gaine C ſaying or contradiction of any man. Now when he was entred into his office, he beganne to put foorth lawes meeter for a ſeditious Tribune of the people, than for a Conſull: bicauſe by them he preferred the diuiſion of landes, and diſtributing of corne to euerie citizen, Gratis, to pleaſe them withall. But when the noble men of the Senate were againſt his deuiſe, he deſiring no better occaſion, beganne to crie out, and to proteſt, that by the ouerhardneſſe and auſteritie of the Senate, they draue him againſt his will to leane vnto the people: and thereupon hauing *Craſſus* on thone ſide of him, and *Pompey* on thother, he asked them openly in thaſſemblie, if they did geue their conſent vnto the lawes which he had put forth. They both aunſwered, they did. Then he prayed them to ſtande by him againſt thoſe that threatned him with force of ſworde to let him. *Craſſus* gaue him his worde, he would. *Pompey* alſo did the D like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his ſword and target both, againſt them that would withſtand him with their ſwords. Theſe wordes offended much the Senate, being farre vnmeete for his grauetie, and vndecent for the maieſtie and honor he caried, and moſt of all vncomely for the preſence of the Senate whome he ſhould haue reuerenced: and were ſpeaches fitter for a raſh light headed youth, than for his perſon. Howbeit the common people on thother ſide, they reioyced. Then *Cæſar* bicauſe he would be more aſſured of *Pompeis* power and frendſhippe, he gaue him his daughter *Iulia* in mariage, which was made ſure before vnto *Seruilius Cæpio*, and promiſed him in exchaunge *Pompeis* wife, the which was ſure alſo vnto *Fauſtus* the ſonne of *Sylla*. And ſhortly after alſo, *Cæſar* ſelfe did marie *Calphurnia* the daughter of *Piſo*, whom he cauſed to be made Conſul, to ſucceede him the next yeare follow- E ing. *Cato* then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witnes, that it was a ſhamefull matter, and not to be ſuffered, that they ſhould in that ſorte make haucke of the Empire of Rome, by ſuch horrible bawdie matches, diſtributing among them ſelues through thoſe wicked mariages, the gouernments of the prouinces, and of great armies. *Calphurnius Bibulus*, fellow Conſul with *Cæſar*, perceiuing that he did contend in vaine, making all the reſiſtaunce he could to withſtand this lawe, and that oftentimes he was in daunger to be ſlaine with *Cato*, in the market place and aſſemblie: he kept cloſe in his houſe all the reſt of his Conſulſhippe. When *Pompey* had maried *Iulia*, he filled all the market place with ſouldiers, & by open force authoriſed the lawes which *Cæſar* made in the behalfe of the people. Furthermore, he procured that *Cæſar* had Gavle on this ſide, and beyond the Alpes, and all Illyria, with foure le- F gions graunted him for fiue yeares. Then *Cato* ſtanding vp to ſpeake againſt it: *Cæſar* bad his officers lay holde of him, and carie him to priſon, thinking he would haue appealed vnto the Tribunes. But *Cato* ſayd neuer a worde, when he went his way. *Cæſar* perceiuing then, that

Cæſar reconcileth Pompey and Craſſus together.

Catoes foreſight and prophecy.

Cæſars firſt Conſulſhip with Calphurnius Bibulus.

Cæſars lawes. Lex agraria.

Cæſar maried his daughter Iulia vnto Pompey.

Cæſar maried Calphurnia the daughter of Piſo.

Pompey by force of armes authoriſed Cæſars lawes.

Cæſar ſent Cato to priſon.

not onely the Senators and nobilitie were offended, but that the common people alſo for the reuerence they bare vnto *Catoes* vertues, were aſhamed, and went away with ſilence: he him ſelfe ſecretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take *Cato* from the officers. But after he had played this parte, there were few Senators that would be Preſident of the Senate vnder him, but left the citie, bicauſe they could not away with his doinges. And of them, there was an old man called *Conſidius*, that on a time boldly told him, the reſt durſt not come to counſel, bicauſe they were afrayed of his ſouldiers. *Cæſar* aunſwered him againe: and why then, doeſt not thou kepe thee at home, for the ſame feare? *Conſidius* replied, bicauſe my age taketh away feare from me: for hauing ſo ſhort a time to liue, I haue no care to prolonge it further. The ſhamefulleſt parte that *Cæſar* played while he was Conſul, ſeemeth to be this: when he choſe *P. Clodius* Tribune of the people, that had offred his wife ſuch diſhonor, and profaned the holy auncient miſteries of the women, which were celebrated in his owne houſe. *Clodius* ſued to be Tribune to no other end, but to deſtroy *Cicero*: & *Cæſar* ſelfe alſo departed not from Rome to his army, before he had ſet them together by the eares, and driuen *Cicero* out of Italy. All theſe things they ſay he did, before the warres with the Gavles. But the time of the great armies & cõqueſts he made afterwards, & of the warre in the which he ſubdued al the Gavles: (entring into an other courſe of life farre contrarie vnto the firſt) made him to be knowen for as valliant a ſouldier & as excellent a Captaine to lead men, as thoſe that afore him had bene counted the wiſeſt and moſt valliantest Generalles that euer were, and that by their valliant deedes had atchieued great honor. For whoſoeuer would compare the houſe of the *Fabians*, of the *Scipioes*, of the *Metellians*, yea thoſe alſo of his owne time, or long before him, as *Sylla*, *Marius*, the two *Lucullians*, and *Pompey* ſelfe,

Cæſar by Clodius, draue Cicero out of Italy.

Cæſar, a valliant ſouldier, and a skilfull Captaine.

VVhoſe fame aſcendeth vp vnto the heauens:

It will appeare that *Cæſars* prowes and deedes of armes, did excell them all together. The one, in the hard contries where he made warres: an other, in enlarging the realmes and contries which he ioyned vnto the Empire of Rome: an other, in the multitude and power of his enemies whome he ouercame: an other, in the rudeneſſe and auſtere nature of men with whom he had to doe, whoſe maners afterwardes he ſoftned and made ciuill: an other, in curteſie and clemencie which he vſed vnto them whome he had conquered: an other in great bountie and liberality beſtowed vpon them that ſerued vnder him in thoſe warres: and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of battells he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had ſlaine in battell. For in leſſe then tenne yeares warre in Gavle he tooke by force and aſſault aboue eight hundred townes, he conquered three hundred ſeuerall nations: and hauing before him in battell thirty hundred thowſand ſouldiers, at ſundrie times he ſlue tenne hũdred thowſand of them, & tooke as many more priſoners. Furthermore, he was ſo entirely beloued of his ſouldiers, that to doe him ſeruice (where otherwiſe they were no more then other men in any priuate quarrell) if *Cæſars* honor were touched, they were inuincible, & would ſo deſperatly venter them ſelues, & with ſuch furie, that no man was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainly by the exãple of *Acilius*: who in a battell by ſea before the city of Marſelles, bording one of his enemies ſhippes, one cut of his right hand with a ſword, but yet he forſooke not his target which he had in his left hand, but thruſt it in his enemies faces, & made them flie, ſo that he wanne their ſhippe from them. And *Caſſius Scæua* alſo, in a conflict before the city of Dyrrachivm, hauing one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his ſhoulder ſtriken through with a dart, and his thigh with an other, and hauing receiued thirty arrowes vpon his ſhield: he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yeelde vnto them. But when two of them came running to him, he claue one of their ſhoulders from his bodie with his ſword, and hurt the other in the face: ſo that he made him turne his backe, & at the length ſaued him ſelfe, by meanes of his companions that came to helpe him. And in Britayne alſo, when the Captaines of the bandes were driuen into a marriſſe or bogge full of mire and durt, and that the enemies did fiercelie aſſaile them there: *Cæſar* then ſtandinge to viewe the battell, he ſawe a priuate ſouldier of his thruſt in among the Captaines, and fought ſo valliantlie in their defence, that at the length he draue the barbarous people to flye, and by his meanes ſaued the Captaines, which otherwiſe were in great daunger to haue bene caſt away.

Cæſars conqueſtes in Gaule.

The loue and reſpect of Cæſars ſouldiers vnto him.

The wonderfull valliantneſs of Acilius, Caſſius Scæua, & diuers others of Cæſars ſouldiers.

Then

A Then this ſouldier being the hindemoſt man of all the Captaines, marching with great paine through the myre & durt, halfe ſwimming, and halfe a foote: in the end got to the other ſide, but left his ſhield behinde him. *Cæſar* wondring at his noble corage, ranne to him with ioy to imbrace him. But the poore ſouldier hanging downe his head, the water ſtanding in his eyes, fell downe at *Cæſars* feete, and beſought him to pardon him, for that he had left his targate behinde him. And in AFRICKE alſo, *Scipio* hauing taken one of *Cæſars* ſhippes, and *Granius Petronius* abourde on her amongeſt other, not long before choſen Treaſorer: he put all the reſt to the ſword but him, and ſayd he would geue him his life. But *Petronius* aunſwered him againe: that *Cæſars* ſouldiers did not vſe to haue their liues geuen them, but to geue others their liues: and with thoſe wordes he drewe his ſworde, and thruſt him ſelfe through. Nowe

B *Cæſars* ſelfe did breede this noble corage and life in them. Firſt, for that he gaue them bountifully, & did honor them alſo, ſhewing thereby, that he did not heape vp riches in the warres to maintaine his life afterwards in wantonneſſe and pleaſure, but that he did keepe it in ſtore, honorably to reward their valliant ſeruice: and that by ſo much he thought him ſelfe riche, by howe much he was liberall in rewarding of them that had deſerued it. Furthermore, they did not wonder ſo much at his valliantneſſe in putting him ſelfe at euery inſtant in ſuch manifeſt daunger, and in taking ſo extreame paines as he did, knowing that it was his greedie deſire of honor that ſet him a fire, and pricked him forward to doe it: but that he alwayes continued all labour and hardneſſe, more then his bodie could beare, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the conſtitucion of his bodie, he was leane, white, and ſoft skinned, and often ſubiect to headache, and otherwhile to the falling ſickenes: (the which tooke him the firſt time, as it is reported, in CORDVBA, a citie of SPAYNE) but yet therefore yeelded not to the diſeaſe of his bodie, to make it a cloke to cheriſhe him withall, but contrarilie, tooke the paines of warre, as a medicine to cure his ſicke bodie fighting alwayes with his diſeaſe, trauelling continually, liuing ſoberly, and commonly lying abroade in the field. For the moſt nights he ſlept in his coch or litter, and thereby beſtowed his reſt, to make him alwayes able to do ſome thing: and in the day time, he would trauell vp and downe the contrie to ſee townes, caſtels, and ſtrong places. He had alwayes a ſecretarie with him in his coche, who did ſtill wryte as he went by the way, and a ſouldier behinde him that caried his ſword. He made ſuch ſpeede the firſt time he came from ROME, when he had his office: that in eight dayes

D he came to the riuer of Rhone. He was ſo excellent a rider of horſe from his youth, that holding his handes behinde him, he would galloppe his horſe vpon the ſpurre. In his warres in GAVLE, he did further exerciſe him ſelfe to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupie two ſecretaries at once with as much as they could wryte: and as *Oppius* wryteth, more then two at a time. And it is reported, that *Cæſar* was the firſt that deuiſed frendes might talke together by wryting ciphers in letters, when he had no leaſure to ſpeake with them for his vrgent buſines, and for the great diſtaunce beſides from ROME. How litle accompt *Cæſar* made of his dyet, this example doth proue it. *Cæſar* ſupping one night in MILANE with his frende *Valerius Leo*, there was ſerued ſparrage to his bourde, and oyle of perfume put into it in ſtead of fallet oyle. He ſimplie eate it, and found no fault, blaming his frendes that were offended:

E and told them, that it had bene enough for them to haue abſteyned to eate of that they miſliked, and not to ſhame their frend, and how that he lacked good manner that found fault with his frend. An other time as he trauelled through the contrie, he was driuen by fowle weather on the ſodaine to take a poore mans cottage, that had but one litle cabin in it, and that was ſo narrowe, that one man could but ſcarce lye in it. Then he ſayd to his frendes that were about him: greateſt roomes are meeteſt for greateſt men, and the moſt neceſſarie roomes, for the ſickeſt perſons. And thereuppon he cauſed *Oppius* that was ſicke to lye there all night: and he him ſelfe, with the reſt of his frendes, lay with out dores, vnder the eaſing of the houſe. The firſt warre that *Cæſar* made with the GAVLES, was with the HELVETIANS and TIGVRINIANS, who hauing ſette fire of all their good cities, to the number of twelue, and foure hun-

F dred villages beſides, came to inuade that parte of GAVLE which was ſubiect to the ROMANES, as the CIMBRI and TEVTONS had done before: vnto whome for valliantneſſe they gaue no place, & they were alſo a great number of them (for they were three hundred thouſ-

Granius Petronius

Cæſar had the falling ſickenes.

The temperance of Cæſar in his dyet.

Cæſars ciuilitie not to blame his frend.

and soules in all) whereof there were a hundred, foure score, and tenne thowsande fighting men. Of those, it was not *Cæsar* him selfe that ouercame the TIGVRINIANS, but *Labienus* his Lieutenaunt, that ouerthrewe them by the riuer of Arax. But the HELVETIANS them selues came sodainly with their armie to set apon him, as he was going towardes a citie of his confederates. *Cæsar* perceiuing that, made haste to get him some place of strength, and there did sette his men in battell raye. When one brought him his horse to gette vp on which he vsed in battell, he sayd vnto them: when I haue ouercome mine enemies, I will then get vp on him to followe the chase, but nowe lette vs geue them charge. Therewith he marched forward a foote, and gaue charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he coulde make them flie that were in battell. But the greatest trouble he had, was to distresse their campe, and to breake their strength which they had made with their cartes. For there, they that before had fledde from the battell, did not onely put them selues in force, and valliantly fought it out: but their wiues and children also fighting for their liues to the death, were all slaine, and the battell was scant ended at midnight. Nowe if the act of this victorie was famous, vnto that he also added an other as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had escaped from this battell, he gathered together againe aboue a hundred thowsande of them, and compelled them to returne home into their contrie which they had forsaken, and vnto their townes also which they had burnt: bicause he feared the GERMAINES would come ouer the riuer of Rheyne, and occupie that contrie lying voyde. The second warre he made, was in defence of the GAVLES against the GERMAINES: although before, he him selfe had caused *Ariouistus* their king, to be receiued for a confederate of the ROMANES. Notwithstanding, they were growen very vnquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainely, that hauing any occasion offered them to enlarge their territories, they woulde not content them with their owne, but ment to inuade and possesse the rest of GAVLE. *Cæsar* perceiuing that some of his Captaines trembled for feare, but specially the young gentlemen of noble houses of ROME, who thought to haue gone to the warres with him, as onely for their pleasure and gaine: he called them to counsell, and commaunded them that were affrayed, that they should depart home, and not put them selues in daunger against their willes, sith they had such womanishe faint hartes to shrinke when he had neede of them. And for him selfe, he sayd, he would set apon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion onely, saying, that the enemies were no vallianter than the CIMBRI had bene, nor that he was a Captaine inferior vnto *Marius*. This oration being made, the souldiers of the tenth legion sent their Lieutenauntes vnto him, to thanke him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fell out with their Captaines, and all of them together followed him many dayes iorney with good will to serue him, vntill they came within two hundred furlonges of the campe of the enemies. *Ariouistus* corage was well cooled, when he sawe *Cæsar* was come, and that the ROMANES came to seeke out the GERMAINES, where they thought, and made accompt, that they durst not haue abidden them: and therefore nothinge mistrustinge it woulde haue come so to passe, he wondered much at *Cæsars* corage, and the more when he sawe his owne armie in a maze withall. But muche more did their corages fall, by reason of the foolishe women propheciers they had among them, which did foretell thinges to come: who, consideringe the waues and trouble of the riuers, and the terrible noyse they made runninge downe the streame, did forewarne them not to fight, vntill the newe moone. *Cæsar* hauinge intelligence thereof, and perceiuinge that the barbarous people thereuppon sturred not: thought it best then to sette vppon them, being discoraged with this superstitious feare, rather then losinge time, he shoulde tarie their leasure. So he did skirmishe with them euen to their fortes, and litle hilles where they lay, and by this meanes prouoked them so, that with great furie they came downe to fight. There he ouercame them in battell, and followed them in chase, with great slaughter, three hundred furlonge, euen vnto the riuer of Rheyn: and he filled all the fieldes thitherto with deade bodies and spoyles. Howebeit *Ariouistus* flyinge with speede, gotte ouer the riuer of Rheyn, and escaped with a fewe of his men. It is sayd that there were slaine foure score thowsande persons at this battel. After this exployte, *Cæsar* left his armie amongest the SEQVANES to winter there, and

The Tigurinians slaine by Labienus. Arax fl.

Cæsar refused his horse, whē he fought a battell.

The Heluetians slaine by Cæsar.

Rheynus fl. Cæsar made warre with king Ariouistus.

The wise women of Germany how they did foretell thinges to come.

King Ariouistus ouerthrowen by Cæsar.

A & he him ſelfe in the meane time, thinking of thaffayres at Rome, went ouer the mountaines into Gavle about the riuer of Po, being parte of his prouince which he had in charge. For there, the riuer called Rubico, deuideth the reſt of Italie from Gavle on this ſide the Alpes. *Ceſar* lying there, did practiſe to make frendes in Rome, bicauſe many came thither to ſee him: vnto whom he graunted their ſutes they demaunded, and ſent them home alſo, partely with liberall rewards, and partely with large promiſes and hope. Now during all this conqueſt of the Gavles, *Pompey* did not conſider how *Ceſar* enterchaungeablie did conquer the Gavles with the weapons of the Romanes, and wanne the Romanes againe with the money of the Gavles. *Ceſar* being aduertiſed that the Belgæ (which were the warlikeſt men of all the Gavles, and that occupied the third parte of Gavle) were all vp in armes,

B and had raiſed a great power of men together: he ſtraight made towardes them with all poſſible ſpeede, and founde them ſpoyling and ouerrunninge the contrie of the Gavles, their neighbours, and confederates of the Romanes. So he gaue them battell, and they fighting cowardly, he ouerthrew the moſt parte of them which were in a troupe together, & ſlue ſuch a number of them, that the Romanes paſſed ouer deepe riuers and lakes a foote, vpon their dead bodies, the riuers were ſo full of them. After this ouerthrow, they that dwelt neereſt vnto the ſea ſide, and were next neighbours vnto the Ocean, did yeeld them ſelues without any compulſion or fight: whereupon, he led his army againſt the Nervians, the ſtowreſt warriers of all the Belgæ. They dwelling in the wodde contrie, had conueyed their wiues, children and goods, into a maruelous great forreſt, as farre from their enemies as they could: and be-

C ing about the number of fiue ſcore thowſand fighting men and more, they came one day and ſet apon *Ceſar*, when his armie was out of order, and fortifying of his campe, litle looking to haue fought that day. At the firſt charge, they brake the horſemen of the Romanes, and compaſſing in the twelfth & ſeuenth legion, they ſlue all the Centurions & Captaines of the bands. And had not *Ceſar* ſelfe taken his ſhield on his arme, and flying in amongeſt the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: & the tenth legion alſo ſeeing him in daunger, ronne vnto him from the toppe of the hill where they ſtoode in battell, and broken the rankes of their enemies: there had not a Romane eſcaped a liue that day. But taking example of *Ceſars* valliantnes, they fought beſperatly beyond their power, and yet could not make the Nervians flie, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in manner

D ſlaine in the field. It is wrytten that of three ſcore thowſand fighting men, there eſcaped only but fiue hundred: and of foure hundred gentlemen and counſellers of the Romanes, but three ſaued. The Senate vnderſtanding it at Rome, ordained that they ſhoulde doe ſacrifice vnto the goddes, and keepe feaſtes and ſolemne proceſſions fifteene dayes together without intermiſſion, hauing neuer made the like ordinaunce at Rome, for any victorie that euer was obteined. Bicauſe they ſaw the daunger had bene maruelous great, ſo many nations riſing as they did in armes together againſt him: and further, the loue of the people vnto him made his victory much more famous. For when *Ceſar* had ſet his affaires at a ſtay in Gavle, on the other ſide of the Alpes: he alwayes vſed to lye about the riuer of Po in the winter time, to geue direction for the eſtabliſhing of thinges at Rome, at his pleaſure. For, not only they that made

E ſute for offices at Rome were choſen Magiſtrates, by meanes of *Ceſars* money which he gaue them, with the which, bribing the people, they bought their voyces, and when they were in office, did al that they could to increaſe *Ceſars* power and greatnes: but the greateſt & chiefeſt men alſo of the nobilitie, went vnto Luca vnto him. As *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, *Appius* Prætor of Sardinia, and *Nepos*, Proconſull in Spayne. Inſomuch that there were at one time, fiue ſcore ſergeaunts carying roddes and axes before the Magiſtrats; and aboue two hundred Senators beſides. There they fell in conſultation, and determined that *Pompey* & *Craſſus* ſhould againe be choſen Conſuls the next yere following. But furthermore, they did appoint, that *Ceſar* ſhould haue money againe deliuered him to pay his armie, and beſides, did proroge the time of his gouernment, fiue yeares further. This was thought a very ſtraunge & an vnreaſonable matter

F vnto wiſe men. For they thē ſelues that had taken ſo much money of *Ceſar*, perſwaded the Senate to let him haue money of the cōmon treaſure, as though he had had none before: yea to ſpeake more plainly, they compelled the Senate almoſt, ſighing & lamenting to ſee the decrees

The Belge ouercome by Ceſar.

Nervij the ſtowreſt warriers of all the Belgæ.

The Nervij ſlaine by Ceſar.

The greateſt Lordes of Rome, came to Luca to Ceſar.

they passed. *Cato* was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into Gaule. Howbeit *Faonius* that followed *Catoes* steppes, when he sawe that he could not preuaile, nor withstande them: he went out of the Senate in choller, and cried out amongest the people, that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him: some for the reuerence they bare vnto *Pompey*, and *Crassus*, and others fauoring *Cæsars* proceedinges, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet them selues, and sturred not. Then *Cæsar* returning into Gaule beyonde the Alpes vnto his armie, founde there a greate warre in the contrie. For two great nations of Germanie had not long before passed ouer the riuer of Rheyn, to conquer newe landes: and the one of these people were called Ipes, and the other Tenterides. Now touching the battell which *Cæsar* fought with them, he him selfe doth describe it in his commentaries, in this sorte. That the barbarous people hauing sent Ambassadours vnto him, to require peace for a certaine time: they notwithstanding, against lawe of armes, came and sette apon him as he trauelled by the way, insomuch as eight hundred of their men of armes ouerthrewe fiue thowsande of his horsemen, who nothinge at all mistrusted their comming. Againe, that they sent him other Ambassadours to mocke him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole armie to marche against them, thinking it a follie, and madnesse, to keepe faith with such trayterous barbarous breakers of leagues. *Canutius* wryteth, that the Senate appointing againe to doe newe sacrifice, processions, and feastes, to geue thankes to the goddes for this victorie: *Cato* was of contrarie opinion, that *Cæsar* should be deliuered into the handes of the barbarous people, for to pourge their city and common wealth of this breache of faith, and to turne the curse apon him, that was the author of it. Of these barbarous people, which came ouer the Rheyn (being about the number of foure hundred thowsand persons) they were all in maner slaine, sauing a very fewe of them, that flying from the battell got ouer the riuer of Rheyn againe, who were receiued by the Sicambrians, an other people of the Germaines. *Cæsar* taking this occasion against them, lacking no good will of him selfe besides, to haue the honor to be counted the first Romane that euer passed ouer the riuer of Rheyn with an armie: he built a bridge ouer it. This riuer is maruelous broade, and runneth with great furie. And in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great bredth from one side to thother, and it hath so strong and swift a streame besides: that men casting downe great bodies of trees into the riuer (which the streame bringeth downe with it) did with the great blowes and force thereof maruelously shake the postes of the bridge he had set vp. But to preuent the blowes of those trees, and also to breake the furie of the streame: he made a pile of great wodde aboue the bridge a good way, and did forcibly ramme them in to the bottome of the riuer, so that in ten dayes space, he had set vp and finisht his bridge of the goodliest carpenters worke, and most excellent inuention to see to, that could be possibly thought or deuised. Then passing ouer his army vpon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the Svevians, which were the warlikest people of all Germany, had gotten them selues with their goodes into wonderfull great valleis and bogges, full of woddes and forrestes. Nowe when he had burnt all the contrie of his enemies, and confirmed the league with the confederats of the Romanes: he returned backe againe into Gaule after he had taried eighteene dayes at the most in Germany, on thother side of the Rheyn. The iorney he made also into England, was a noble enterprise, and very commendable. For he was the first that sailed the west Ocean with an army by sea, & that passed through the sea Atlanticum with his army, to make warre in that so great & famous Ilande: (which many auncient wryters would not beleue that it was so in deede, and did make them vary about it, saying that it was but a fable & a lye) and was the first that enlarged the Romane Empire, beyonde the earth inhabitable. For twise he passed ouer the narrowe sea against the firme lande of Gaule, and fighting many battells there, did hurt his enemies more, then enriche his owne men: because, of men hardlie brought vp, and poore, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon his warre had not such successe as he looked for, and therefore takinge pledges onely of the kinge, and imposing a yearely tribute apon him, to be payed vnto the people of Rome: he returned againe into Gaule. There he was no sooner landed, but he founde letters ready to be sent ouer the sea vnto him,

Ipes, & Tenterides, people of Germany.

Cæsars horsemen put to flight.

The Ipes and Tenterides slaine by Cæsar.

Sicambri, a people of the Germaines.

Cæsar made a bridge ouer the riuer of Rheyn.

Cæsars iorney into England.

in

A in the which he was aduertised from ROME, of the death of his Daughter, that she was dead with child by *Pompey*. For the which, *Pompey* & *Cæsar* both, were maruelous sorowfull: & their friends mourned also, thinking that this alliance which maintained the common wealth (that otherwise was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now seuered, and broken a sonder, and the rather likely, because the childe liued not long after the mother. So the common people at ROME tooke the corps of *Iulia*, in dispite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the fielde of *Mars*. Now *Cæsar* being driuen to deuide his armie (that was very great) into sundry garrisons for the winter time, and returning againe into ITALY as he was wont: all GAVLE rebelled againe, and had raysed great armies in euery quarter to set apon the ROMANES, and to assay if they could distresse their forts where they lay in garrison. The greatest number and most warlike men of these GAVLES, that entred into action of rebellion, were led by one *Ambiorix*: and first did set vpon the garrisons of *Cotta*, and *Titurius*, whom they slue, and all the souldiers they had about them. Then they went with three score thowsand fighting men to beseege the garrison which *Quintus Cicero* had in his charge, and had almost taken them by force, because all the souldiers were euery man of them hurt: but they were so valiant and courageous, that they did more then men (as they say) in defending of them selues. These newes being come to *Cæsar*, who was farre from thence at that time, he returned with all possible speede, and leuying seuen thowsand souldiers, made haste to helpe *Cicero* that was in such distresse. The GAVLES that did beseege *Cicero*, vnderstanding of *Cæsars* comming, raysed their seege incontinently, to goe and meete him, making accompt that he was but a handfull in their handes, they were O so fewe. *Cæsar* to deceiue them, still drewe backe, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meete for a Captaine that had but a few, to fight with a great number of his enemies, and commaunded his men in no wise to sturre out to skirmish with them, but compelled them to rayse vp the rampers of his campe, and to fortifie the gates, as men that were afraid, because the enemies should the lesse esteeme of them: vntill that at length he tooke opportunitie, by their disorderly coming to assaile the trenches of his campe, (they were growen to such a presumptuous boldnes and brauery) and then salying out apon them, he put them all to flight with slaughter of a great number of them. This did suppresse all the rebellions of the GAVLES in those parties, and furthermore, he him selfe in person went in the middest of winter thether, where he heard they did rebell: for that there was come a newe supply out of D ITALY of three whole legions in their roome, which he had lost: of the which, two of them *Pompey* lent him, and the other legion, he him selfe had leuyed in GAVLE about the riuer of Po. During these sturres, brake forth the beginning of the greatest & most daungerous warre that he had in all GAVLE, the which had bene secretly practised of long time by the chiefest & most warlike people of that contry, who had leuied a wonderfull great power. For euery where they leuied multitudes of men, & great riches besides, to fortesse their stronge holdes. Furthermore the contry where they rose, was very ill to come vnto, and specially at that time being winter, when the riuers were frosen, the woodes and forrests couered with snowe, the meadowes drowned with fluddes, and the fieldes so deepe of snow, that no wayes were to be found, neither the marishes nor riuers to be decerned, all was so ouerflowen and drowned with E water: all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keepe *Cæsar* from setting vpon the rebels. Many nations of the GAVLES were of this conspiracy, but two of the chiefest were the ARVERNIANS and CARNVTES: who had chosen *Vercingentorix* for their Lieuetenant generall, whose father the GAVLES before had put to death, because they thought he aspired to make him selfe king. This *Vercingentorix* deuiding his armie into diuers partes, and appointing diuers Captaines ouer them, had gotten to take his part, all the people and contries thereabout, euen as farre as they that dwell towards the * sea Adriatick, hauing further determined (vnderstanding that ROME did cõspire against *Cæsar*) to make all GAVLE rise in armes against him. So that if he had but taried a litle lenger, vntill *Cæsar* had entred into his cruell warres: he had put all ITALY in as great feare and daunger, as it was when the CIMBRI did F come and inuade it. But *Cæsar*, that was very valiant in all assaies and daungers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and oportunitie, so soone as he vnderstoode the newes of the rebellion, he departed with speede, and returned backe the selfe same way which he had

The death of Iulia, Cæsars Daughter.

The rebellion of the Gaules

Cotta, and Titurius, with their armie slaine.

Cæsar slue the Gaules led by Ambiorix.

The second rebellion of the Gaules against Cæsar.

Vercingentorix Captaine of the rebells against Cæsar

* *Some say, that in this place is to be redde in the Greeke χρὶς ἐν Ἀραρὶ which is, the riuer Saone.*

gone, making the barbarous people know, that they ſhould deale with an armie vnuincible, A
which they could not poſſibly withſtand, conſidering the great ſpeede he had made with the
ſame, in ſo ſharpe and hard a winter. For where they would not poſſibly haue beleeued, that a
poſte or currer could haue come in ſo ſhort a time from the place where he was, vnto them:
they wondred when they ſaw him burning and deſtroying the contry, the townes and ſtronge
forts where he came with his armie, taking all to mercy that yelded vnto him: vntil ſuch time
The Hedui rebell againſt the Romanes. as the HEDVI tooke armes againſt him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the
ROMANES, and were greatly honored of them. Wherfore *Cæſars* men when they vnderſtoode
that they had ioyned with the rebells, they were maruelous ſory, and halfe diſcouraged. There-
vppon, *Cæſar* departing from thoſe parties, went through the contry of the LINGONES, to en-
** Sequani.* ter the contry of the *BVRGONIANS, who were confederats of the ROMANES, and the neareſt B
vnto ITALY on that ſide, in reſpect of all the reſt of GAVLE. Thither the enemies came to ſet
apon him, and to enuironne him of all ſides, with an infinit number of thowſands of fighting
men. *Cæſar* on thother ſide taried their comming, and fighting with them a long time, he made
Vercingentorix ouerthrowen by Cæſar. them ſo affraid of him, that at length he ouercame the barbarous people. But at the firſt, it ſeem-
meth notwithſtanding, that he had receyued ſome ouerthrowe: for the ARVERNIANS ſhew-
ed a ſworde hanged vppe in one of their temples, which they ſayde they had wonne from *Ce-*
ſar. Inſomuch as *Cæſar* ſelfe comming that way by occaſion, ſawe it, and fell a laughing at it.
But ſome of his friendes going about to take it away, he would not ſuffer them, but bad them
let it alone, and touch it not, for it was a holy thinge. Notwithſtanding, ſuch as at the firſt had
ſaued them ſelues by fleeing, the moſt of them were gotten with their king into the citie of A- C
The ſeege of Alexia. LEXIA, the which *Cæſar* went and beſeeged, although it ſeemed inexpugnable, both for the
height of the wals, as alſo for the multitude of ſouldiers they had to defend it. But now during
this ſeege, he fell into a maruelous great daunger without, almoſt incredible. For an armie of
Cæſars daunger, and wiſe policie. three hundred thowſand fighting men of the beſt men that were among all the nations of the
GAVLES, came againſt him, being at the ſeege of ALEXIA, beſides them that were within the
citie, which amounted to the number of three ſcore and tenne thowſand fighting men at the
leaſt: ſo that perceiuing he was ſhut in betwixt two ſo great armies, he was driuen to fortifie
him ſelfe with two walls, the one againſt them of the citie, and the other againſt them with-
out. For if thoſe two armies had ioyned together, *Cæſar* had bene vtterly vndone. And there-
fore, this ſeege of ALEXIA, and the battell he wanne before it, did deſeruedly winne him more D
honor and fame, then any other. For there, in that inſtant and extreame daunger, he ſhewed
more valiantnes and wiſdom, then he did in any battell he fought before. But what a wonder-
Cæſars great victorie at Alexia. full thing was this? that they of the citie neuer heard any thing of them that came to ayde
them, vntill *Cæſar* had ouercome them: and furthermore, that the ROMANES them ſelues
which kept watch vpon the wall that was built againſt the citie, knew alſo no more of it, then
they, but when it was done, and that they heard the cryes and lamentacions of men & women
in ALEXIA, when they perceiued on thother ſide of the citie ſuch a nũber of gliſtering ſhields
of gold and ſiluer, ſuch ſtore of bloody corſelets and armors, ſuch a deale of plate and mouen
ables, and ſuch a number of tents and pauilyons after the facion of the GAVLES, which the
ROMANES had gotten of their ſpoyles in their campe. Thus ſodainely was this great armie va- E
niſhed, as a dreame or viſion: where the moſt part of them were ſlaine that day in battell. Fur-
Alexia yelded vp to Cæſar. thermore, after that they within the citie of ALEXIA had done great hurt to *Cæſar*, and them
ſelues alſo: in the ende, they all yelded them ſelues. And *Vercingentorix* (he that was their king
and Capteine in all this warre) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horſe fur-
niſhed with riche cappariſon accordingly, and rode round about *Cæſar*, who ſate in his chayer
of eſtate. Then lighting from his horſe, he tooke of his cappariſon and furniture, and vnarmed
him ſelfe, and layed all on the ground, and went and ſate downe at *Cæſars* feete, and ſayd neuer
a word. So *Cæſar* at length committed him as a priſoner taken in the warres, to leade him af-
terwards in his triumphe at ROME. Nowe *Cæſar* had of long time determined to deſtroy *Pom-*
pey, and *Pompey* him alſo. For *Craſſus* being killed amongeſt the PARTHIANS, who onely did ſee, F
that one of them two muſt needes fall: nothing kept *Cæſar* from being the greateſt perſon, but
bicauſe he deſtroied not *Pompey*, that was the greater: neither did any thing let *Pompey* to with-
ſtand

A ſtand that it ſhould not come to paſſe, but becauſe he did not firſt ouercome *Cæſar*, whom onely he feared. For till then, *Pompey* had not long feared him, but alwayes before ſeelight by him, thinking it an eaſie matter for him to put him downe when he would, ſithe he had brought him to that greatnes he was come vnto. But *Cæſar* contrarily, hauing had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wreſtler that ſtudieth for trickes to ouerthrowe his aduerſary: he went farre from Rome, to exerciſe him ſelfe in the warres of Gavle, where he did trayne his armie, and preſently by his valiant deedes did increaſe his fame and honor. By theſe meanes became *Cæſar* as famous as *Pompey* in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterpriſe in execution, but ſome occaſions of quarrell, which *Pompey* partly gaue him, and partly alſo the tyme deliuered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill gouernment at that tyme of the com-

The diſcord betwixt Cæſar and Pompey, and the cauſe of the ciuill warres. Cæſars craftines.

B mon wealth at Rome. For they that made ſute for honor and offices, bought the voyces of the people with ready money, which they gaue out openly to vſury, without ſhame or feare. Thereupon, the common people that had ſold their voyces for money, came to the market place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hyered them: not with their voices, but with their bowes, ſlings, and ſwordes. So that the aſſembly ſeldom tyme brake vp, but that the pulpit for orations was defiled and ſprinckled with the bloode of them that were ſlayne in the market place, the citie remayning all that tyme without gouernment of Magiſtrate, like a ſhippe left without a Pilote. Inſomuch, as men of deepe iudgement & diſcreſſion ſeing ſuch furie & madnes of the people, thought thẽ ſelues happy if the cõmon wealth were no worſe troubled, thẽ with the abſolut ſtate of a Monarchy & ſoueraine Lord to gouerne them. Furthermore, there

The peoplet voices bought at Rome for money.

C were many that were not affraid to ſpeake it openly, that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the cõmon wealth, but by the authority of one man only, that ſhould cõmaund thẽ all: & that this medicine muſt be miniſtred by the hands of him, that was the getleſt Phiſition, meaning couertly *Pompey*. Now *Pompey* vſed many fine ſpeeches, making ſemblance as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly vnder hand did lay all the yrons in the fire he could, to bring it to paſſe, that he might be choſen Dictator. *Cato* finding the mark he ſhot at, & fearing leaſt in the end the people ſhould be compelled to make him Dictator: he perſwaded the Senat rather to make him ſole Conſul, that contenting him ſelf with that more iuſt & lawful gouernment, he ſhould not couet the other vnlawfull. The Senate following his counſel, did not only make him Conſul, but further did prorogue his gouernment of the prouinces he had. For

Pompey gouerned Spain and Aſrick.

D he had two prouinces, all Spayne, & Affrick, the which he gouerned by his Lieuetenants: & further, he receiued yearely of the common treaſure to pay his ſouldiers a thowſand talents. Hereuppon *Cæſar* tooke occaſion alſo to ſend his men to make ſute in his name for the Conſulſhip, & alſo to haue the gouernment of his prouinces proroged. *Pompey* at the firſt held his peace. But *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* (that otherwiſe hated *Cæſar*) withſtood them, and to ſhame and diſhonor him, had much needeles ſpeech in matters of weight. Furthermore, they tooke away the fredom from the Colonyes which *Cæſar* had lately brought vnto the citie of Novvm Comvm in Gavle towards Italy, where *Cæſar* not long before had lodged them. And moreouer, when *Marcellus* was Conſul, he made one of the Senators in that citie to be whipped with roddes, who came to Rome about thoſe matters: & ſaid, he gaue him thoſe markes,

Cæſar ſueth the ſecond time to be Conſul, and to haue his gouernment proroged.

E that he ſhould know he was no Romane Citizen, and bad him goe his way, and tel *Cæſar* of it. After *Marcellus* Conſulſhip, *Cæſar* ſetting open his cofers of the treaſure he had gotte among the Gavles, did franckely giue it out amongeſt the Magiſtrates at Rome, without reſtrainte or ſpare. Firſt, he ſet *Curio*, the Tribune cleare out of debt: and gaue alſo vnto *Paule* the Conſul a thowſand fiue hundred talents, with which money he built that notable pallace by the market place, called *Paules* Baſilicke, in the place of *Fulvius* Baſilicke. Then *Pompey* being affraid of this practiſe, began openly to procure, both by him ſelfe and his friends, that they ſhould ſend *Cæſar* a ſucceſſor: and moreouer, he ſent vnto *Cæſar* for his two legions of men of warre which he had lent him, for the conqueſt of Gavle. *Cæſar* ſent him them againe, and gaue euery priuate ſouldier, two hundred and fiftie ſiluer drachmas. Now, they that brought theſe two legi-

Cæſar bribeth the Magiſtrates at Rome.

F ons backe from *Cæſar*, gaue out ill and ſeditious wordes againſt him amonge the people, and did alſo abuſe *Pompey* with falſe perſwaſions and vaine hopes, informing him that he was maruelouſly deſired and wiſhed for in *Cæſars* campe: and that though in Rome, for the ma-

Pompey abuſed by flatterers.

lice and secret spite which the gouernours there did beare him, he could hardly obteyne that A
he desired: yet in GAVLE he might assure him selfe, that all the armie was at his commaunde-
ment. They added further also, that if the souldiers there did once returne ouer the moun-
taines againe into ITALY, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate *Cæsar*: bicause
he wearied them with too much labor and continuall fight, and withal, for that they suspected
he aspired to be king. These words breeding securitie in *Pompey*, & a vaine conceit of him selfe,
made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparatiō for warre, as though he had
no occasion to be affraid: but onely studied to thwart *Cæsar* in speech, & to crosse the sutes he
made. Howbeit *Cæsar* passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of *Cæsars* Captaines
which was sent to ROME to prosecute his sute, being at the Senate dore, and hearing that they
denied to proroge *Cæsars* time of gouernment which he sued for: clapping his hand vpon his B
sword, he said, sith you wil not graūt it him, this shal giue it him. Notwithstanding, the requests
Cæsars requests vnto the Senate. that *Cæsar* propownded, caried great semblance of reason with them. For he said, that he was
contented to lay downe armes, so that *Pompey* did the like: & that both of them as priuat per-
sons should come & make sute of their Citizens to obtaine honorable recompence: declaring
vnto them, that taking armes from him, & graunting them vnto *Pompey*, they did wrongefully
accuse him in going about to make him selfe a tyranne, & in the meane time to graunt the o-
ther meanes to be a tyranne. *Curio* making these offers & perswasions openly before the people,
in the name of *Cæsar*: he was heard with great reioycing & clapping of hands, and there were
some that cast flowers and nosegayes vpon him when he went his way, as they commonly vse
to doe vnto any man, when he hath obteined victorye, and wonne any games. Then *Antonius* C
one of the Tribunes, brought a letter sent from *Cæsar*, and made it openly to be read in despite
of the Consuls. But *Scipio* in the Senate, *Pompeys* father in law, made this motion: that if *Cæsar*
did not dismisse his armie by a certaine day appoynted him, the ROMANES should proclayme
him an enemie vnto ROME. Then the Consuls openly asked in the presence of the Senators, if
they thought it good that *Pompey* should dismisse his armie: But few agreed to that demaund.
After that againe they asked, if they liked that *Cæsar* should dismisse his armie: thereto they
all in manner aunswered, yea, yea. But when *Antonius* requested agayne that bothe of them
should lay downe armes: then they were all indifferently of his minde. Notwithstanding, bi-
cause *Scipio* did insolently behaue him selfe, and *Marcellus* also, who cryed that they must vse
force of armes, & not mens opinions against a theefe: the Senate rose straight vpon it without D
further determination, & men chaunged apparel through the citie bicause of this dissention,
as they vse to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from *Cæsar*, which
semed much more reasonable: in the which he requested that they would graunt him GAVLE,
that lyeth betwene the Mountaines of the Alpes & ITALY, & ILLYRIA, with two legions only,
& then that he would request nothing els, vntil he made sute for the second Consulship. *Cice-
ro* the Orator, that was newly come from his gouernment of CILICIA, trauelled to reconcile
them together, & pacified *Pompey* the best he could: who told him, he would yeld to any thing
he would haue him, so he did let him alone with his armie. So *Cicero* perswaded *Cæsars* friends
to be contented, to take those two prouinces, and six thowsand men onely, that they might be
friends & at peace together. *Pompey* very willingly yelded vnto it, & graunted them. But *Lentu-* E
lus the Consul would not agree to it, but shamefully draue *Curio* and *Antonius* out of the Se-
nate: whereby they them selues gaue *Cæsar* a happy occasion & culler, as could be, stirring vp
his souldiers the more against them, whē he shewed them these two notable men & Tribunes
of the people that were driuen to flie, disguised like slaues, in a cariers cart. For, they were dri-
Antonius & Curio, Tribunes of the people, fly from Rome to Cæsar. uen for feare to steale out of ROME, disguised in that manner. Nowe at that time, *Cæsar* had not
in all about him, aboue fiue thowsand footemen, and three thowsand horsemen: for the rest of
his armie, he left on thother side of the Mountaines to be brought after him by his Lieuete-
nants. So, considering that for the execution of his enterprise, he should not neede so many men
of warre at the first, but rather sodainly stealing vpon them, to make them affraid with his va-
liantnes, taking benefit of the oportunitie of tyme, bicause he should more easily make his e- F
nemies affraid of him, comming so sodainly when they looked not for him, then he should o-
therwise distresse them, assailing them with his whole armie, in giuing them leysure to pro-

uide

A uide further for him: he commaunded his Captaines and Lieuetenants to go before, without any other armor then their ſwords, to take the citie of ARIMINVM, (a great citie of GAVLE, being the firſt citie men come to, when they come out of GAVLE) with as litle bloodſhed and tumult, as they could poſſible. Then committing that force and armie he had with him, vnto *Hortenſius* one of his friends: he remeyned a whole day together, openly in the ſight of euery man, to ſee the ſworde players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and bathing his body a litle, came afterwards into the hall amongeſt them, and made mery with them a while, whome he had bidden to ſupper. Then when it was well forwarde night, and very darke, he roſe from the table, and prayed his company to be mery, and no man to ſturre, for he would ſtraight come to them againe: howebeit he had ſecretly before com-
B maunded a fewe of his truſtieſt friendes to followe him, not altogether, but ſome one way, and ſome an other way. He him ſelfe in the meane tyme tooke a coche he had hyered, and made as though he woulde haue gonne ſome other waye at the firſt, but ſodainely he turned backe againe towardes the citie of ARIMINVM. When he was come vnto the litle ryuer of Rubicon, which deuideth GAVLE on this ſide the Alpes from ITALY: he ſtayed vppon a ſodaine. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpoſe, the more remorſe he had in his conſci-
C ence, to thinke what an enterpriſe he tooke in hand: & his thoughts alſo fell out more doubtfull, when he entred into conſideration of the deſperatnes of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with him ſelfe, and ſpake neuer a word, wauing ſometime one way, ſometime an other way, and often times chaunged his determination, contrary to him ſelfe. So did he talke much alſo with his friends he had with him, amongeſt whom was *Aſinius Pollio*, telling them what miſchieues the beginning of this paſſage ouer that riuer would breede in the world, and how much their poſteritie and them that liued after them, would ſpeake of it in time to come. But at length, caſting from him with a noble courage, all thoſe perillous thoughts to come, & ſpeaking theſe words which valiant men commonly ſay, that attempt daungerous and deſperat enterpriſes, *A deſperat man feareth no daunger*, come on: he paſſed ouer the riuer, and when
D he was come ouer, he ranne with his coche and neuer ſtaied, ſo that before day light he was within the citie of ARIMINVM, and tooke it. It is ſaid, that the night before he paſſed ouer this riuer, he dreamed a damnable dreame, that he carnally knew his mother. The citie of ARIMINVM being taken, and the rumor thereof diſperſed through all ITALY, euen as if it had bene open warre both by ſea & land, & as if all the lawes of ROME, together with thextreme bounds and confines of the ſame had bene broken vp: a man would haue ſayd, that not onely the men and women for feare, as experience proued at other times, but whole cities them ſelues leauing their habitations, fled from one place to another through all ITALY. And ROME it ſelfe
E alſo was immediatly filled with the flowing repaire of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parties like droues of cattell, that there was neither officer nor Magiſtrate that could any more commaund them by authoritie, neither by any perſwaſion of reaſon bridle ſuch a confuſed and diſorderly multitude: ſo that ROME had in maner deſtroyed it ſelfe for lacke of rule and order. For in all places, men were of contrary opinions, and there were daungerous ſturres and tumults euery where: bicauſe they that were glad of this
F trouble, could keepe in no certaine place, but running vp and downe the citie, when they met with others in diuers places, that ſeemed either to be affraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwiſe it is impoſſible in ſo great a citie) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatned them with that that was to come. *Pompey* him ſelfe, who at that time was not a litle amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill wordes ſome gaue him on the one ſide, and ſome on the other. For ſome of them reproued him, and ſayd that he had done wiſely, and had paid for his folly, becauſe he had made *Cæſar* ſo great and ſtronge againſt him & the common wealth. And other againe did blame him, bicauſe he had refuſed the honeſt offers and reaſonable condicions of peace, which *Cæſar* had offered him, ſuffering *Lentulus* the Conſul to abuſe him too much. On thother ſide, *Phaonius* ſpake vnto him, and bad him ſtampe on the ground with his foote: For *Pompey* beeing one day in a brauerie in the Senate, ſayd openly: let no man take thought for preparation of warre, for when he lyſted, with one ſtampe of his foote on the ground, he would fill all ITALY with ſouldiers. This notwithſtanding, *Pompey* at that tyme had

Cæſars doubtfull thoughts at the riuer of Rubicon.

The Greeke vſeth this phraſe of ſpeech, caſt the dye.

Cæſar tooke the citie of Ariminum.

Cæſars damnable dreame.

Rome in vprore with Cæſars comming.

greater number of ſouldiers then *Cæſar*: but they would neuer let him follow his owne determination. For they brought him ſo many lyes, and put ſo many examples of feare before him, as if *Cæſar* had bene already at their heeles, and had wonne all: ſo that in the ende he yelded vnto them, and gaue place to their furie and madnes, determining (ſeeing all thinges in ſuch tumult and garboyle) that there was no way but to forſake the citie, and thereuppon commaunded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tary there, vnles he loued tyrannie, more then his owne libertie and the common wealth. Thus the Conſuls them ſelues, before they had done their common ſacrifices accuſtomed at their going out of the citie, fled euery man of them. So did likewiſe the moſte parte of the Senators, taking their owne thinges in haſte, ſuch as came firſt to hande, as if by ſtealth they had taken them from another. And there were ſome of them alſo that alwayes loued *Cæſar*, whoſe witts were then ſo troubled and beſides them ſelues, with the feare they had conceyued: that they alſo fled, and followed the ſtreame of this tumult, without manifeſt cauſe or neceſſitie. But aboue all thinges, it was a lamentable ſight to ſee the citie it ſelfe, that in this feare and trouble was left at all aduenture, as a ſhippe toſſed in ſtorme of ſea, forſaken of her Pilots, and diſpairing of her ſafetie. This their departure being thus miſerable, yet men eſteemed their baniſhment (for the loue they bare vnto *Pompey*) to bee their naturall contry, and reckoned Rome no better then *Cæſars* campe. At that tyme alſo *Labienus*, who was one of *Cæſars* greateſt friendes, and had bene alwayes vſed as his Lieuetenant in the warres of Gavle, and had valiantly fought in his cauſe: he likewiſe forſooke him then, and fled vnto *Pompey*. But *Cæſar* ſent his money and cariage after him, and then went and encamped before the citie of Corfinivm, the which *Domitius* kept, with thirty cohorts or enſignes. When *Domitius* ſawe he was beſeeged, he ſtraight thought him ſelfe but vndone, and diſpayring of his ſucceſſe, he bad a Phiſition, a ſlaue of his, giue him poyſon. The Phiſition gaue him a drinke which he dranke, thinking to haue dyed. But ſhortly after, *Domitius* hearing them reporte what clemencie and wonderfull curteſie *Cæſar* vſed vnto them he tooke: repented him then that he had dronke this drinke, and beganne to lament and bewayle his deſperate reſolucion taken to dye. The Phiſition did comfort him againe, and tolde him, that he had taken a drinke, onely to make him ſleepe, but not to deſtroy him. Then *Domitius* reioyced, and went ſtraight and yelded him ſelfe vnto *Cæſar*: who gaue him his life, but he notwithſtanding ſtale away immediatly, and fled vnto *Pompey*. When theſe newes were brought to Rome, they did maruelouſly reioyce and comfort them that ſtill remayned there: and moreouer there were of them that had forſaken Rome, which returned thither againe. In the meane time, *Cæſar* did put all *Domitius* men in paye, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any Captaines, that leauied men for *Pompey*. Now *Cæſar* hauing aſſembled a great and dreadfull power together, went ſtraight where he thought to finde *Pompey* him ſelfe. But *Pompey* taried not his comming, but fled into the citie of Brvndvsivm, from whence he had ſent the two Conſuls before with that armie he had, vnto Dyrrachivm: and he him ſelfe alſo went thither afterwards, when he vnderſtoode that *Cæſar* was come, as you ſhall heare more amply hereafter in his life. *Cæſar* lacked no good will to follow him, but wanting ſhippes to take the ſeas, he returned forthwith to Rome: So that in leſſe then three skore dayes, he was Lord of all Italy, without any blood ſhed. Who when he was come to Rome, and found it much quietter then he looked for, and many Senatours there alſo: he curteouſly intreated them, and prayed them to ſend vnto *Pompey*, to pacifie all matters betweene them, apon reaſonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, eyther bicauſe they feared *Pompey* for that they had forſaken him, or els for that they thought *Cæſar* ment not as he ſpake, but that they were wordes of courſe, to culler his purpoſe withall. And when *Metellus* alſo, one of the Tribunes, would not ſuffer him to take any of the common treaſure out of the temple of *Saturne*, but tolde him that it was againſt the lawe: Tuſhe, ſayd he, tyme of warre and lawe are two thinges. If this that I doe, quoth he, doe offende thee, then get thee hence for this tyme: for warre can not abyde this francke and bolde ſpeeche. But when warres are done, and that we are all quiet agayne, then thou ſhalt ſpeake in the pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I doe tell thee this of fauor, impayring ſo much my right, for thou art myne, both thou, and all them that haue riſen againſt me, and whom I haue in my hands.

Pompey flyeth from Rome.

Labienus forſooke Cæſar, and fled to Pompey.

Domitius eſcaped from Cæſar, & fled to Pompey.

Pompey flyeth into Epirus.

Silent leges inter arma.

When

A When he had ſpoken thus vnto *Metellus*, he went to the temple dore where the treaſure laye: and finding no keyes there, he cauſed Smythes to be ſent for, and made them breake open the lockes. *Metellus* thereuppon beganne agayne to withſtande him, and certen men that ſtoode by prayſed him in his doing: but *Cæſar* at length ſpeaking biggely to him, threatned him he would kill him preſently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore, younge man, quoth he, thow knoweſt it is harder for me to tell it thee, than to doe it. That word made *Metellus* quake for feare, that he gotte him away rowndly: and euer after that, *Cæſar* had all at his commaundement for the warres. From thence he went into SPAYNE, to make warre with *Petreius* and *Varro*, *Pompeys* Lieuetenants: firſt to gette their armies and prouinces into his hands which they gouerned, that afterwardes he might follow *Pompey* the better, B leauing neuer an enemie behinde him. In this iorney he was oftentymes him ſelfe in daunger, through the ambuſhes that were layde for him in diuers ſtraunge ſortes and places, and likely alſo to haue loſt all his armie for lacke of vittells. All this notwithſtanding, he neuer left following of *Pompeys* Lieuetenants, prouoking them to battell, and intrenching them in: vntill he had gotten their campe & armies into his handes, albeit that the Lieuetenants them ſelues fled vnto *Pompey*. When *Cæſar* returned agayne to ROME, *Piſo* his father in lawe gaue him counſell to ſende Ambaſſadors vnto *Pompey*, to treate of peace. But *Iſauricus*, to flatter *Cæſar*, was againſt it. *Cæſar* beeing then created Dictator by the Senate, called home againe all the baniſhed men, and reſtored their children to honor, whoſe fathers before had beene ſlayne in *Syllaes* tyme: and did ſomewhat cutte of the vſuries that did oppreſſe them, and be- C ſides, did make ſome ſuch other ordinances as thoſe, but very fewe. For he was Dictator but eleuen dayes onely, and then did yeld it vppe of him ſelfe, and made him ſelfe Conſul, with *Seruilius Iſauricus*, and after that determined to followe the warres. All the reſt of his armie he left comming on the way behind him, and went him ſelfe before with ſix hundred horſe, and fiue legions onely of footemen, in the winter quarter, about the moneth of Ianuary, which after the ATHENIANS, is called POSIDEON. Then hauing paſt ouer the ſea Ionium, and landed his men, he wanne the cities of ORICVM and APOLLONIA. Then he ſent his ſhippes backe againe vnto BRVNDVSIVM, to tranſport the reſt of his ſouldiers that could not come with that ſpeede he did. They as they came by the way, (like men whoſe ſtrength of bo- dy, & luſty youth, was decayed) being wearied with ſo many ſundry battells as they had fought D with their enemies: complayned of *Cæſar* in this ſorte. To what ende and purpoſe doth this man hale vs after him, vp and downe the world, vſing vs like ſlaues and drudges? It is not our armor, but our bodies that beare the blowes away: and what, ſhall we neuer be without our harnes of our backes, and our ſhieldes on our armes? ſhould not *Cæſar* thinke, at the leaſt when he ſeeth our blood and woundes, that we are all mortall men, and that we feele the miſerie and paynes that other men doe feele? And now euen in the dead of winter, he putteth vs vnto the mercie of the ſea and tempeſt, yea which the gods them ſelues can not withſtand: as if he fled before his enemies, and purſued them not. Thus ſpending time with this talke, the ſouldiers ſtill marching on, by ſmall iorneys came at length vnto the citie of BRVNDVSIVM. But when they were come, & found that *Cæſar* had already paſſed ouer the ſea, then they ſtraight chaun- E ged their complaints and mindes. For they blamed them ſelues, and tooke on alſo with their Captaines, bicauſe they had not made them make more haſte in marching: and ſitting vpon the rockes and clyffes of the ſea, they looked ouer the mayne ſea, towards the Realme of EPIRVS, to ſee if they could diſcerne the ſhippes returning backe, to tranſport them ouer. *Cæſar* in the meane time being in the citie of APOLLONIA, hauing but a ſmall armie to fight with *Pompey*, it greued him for that the reſt of his armie was ſo long a comming, not knowing what way to take. In the ende he followed a daungerous determinacion, to imbarke vnknowen in a litle pynnaſe of twelue ores onely, to paſſe ouer the ſea againe vnto BRVNDVSIVM: the which he could not doe without great daunger, conſidering that all that ſea was full of *Pompeys* ſhippes and armies. So he tooke ſhippe in the night apparelled like a ſlaue, and went aborde vpon this F litle pynnaſe, & ſaid neuer a word, as if he had bene ſome poore man of meane condicion. The pynnaſe laye in the mouth of the riuer of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calme & quiet, by reaſon of a litle wind that came from the ſhore, which euery morning draue

Cæſar taketh money out of the temple of Saturne.

Cæſars iorney into Spayne, againſt Pompeys Lieuetenants.

Cæſar Dictator.

Cæſar and Iſauricus Conſulls.

Cæſar goeth into the kingdom of Epirus

Complaints of the olde ſouldiers againſt Cæſar.

A great aduenture of Cæſar.

Anius fl.

backe the waues farre into the maine sea. But that night, by il fortune, there came a great wind from the sea that ouercame the land wind, insomuch as the force & strength of the riuer fighting against the violence of the rage & waues of the sea, the encownter was maruailous daungerous, the water of the riuer being driuen backe, and rebounding vpward, with great noyse and daunger in turning of the water. Thereuppon the Maister of the pynnase seeing he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this riuer, bad the Maryners to cast about againe, and to returne against the streame. *Cæsar* hearing that, straight discouered him selfe vnto the Maister of the pynnase, who at the first was amazed when he saw him: but *Cæsar* then taking him by the hand sayd vnto him, good fellow, be of good cheere, and forwardes hardily, feare not, for thou hast *Cæsar* and his fortune with thee. Then the Maryners forgetting the daunger of the storme they were in, laid on lode with ores, and labored for life what they could against the winde, to get out of the mouth of this riuer. But at length, perceiuing they labored in vaine, and that the pynnase tooke in aboundance of water, and was ready to sincke: *Cæsar* then to his great griefe was driuen to returne backe again. Who when he was returned vnto his campe, his souldiers came in great companies vnto him, & were very sory, that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to ouercome his enemies, but would put his person in daunger, to goe fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the meane time *Antonius* arriued, and brought with him the rest of his armie from Brvndvsivm. Then *Cæsar* finding him selfe strong enough, went & offered *Pompey* battel, who was passingly wel lodged, for vittelling of his campe both by sea & land. *Cæsar* on thother side, who had no great plenty of vittels at the first, was in a very hard case: insomuch as his men gathered rootes, & mingled thē with milke, & eate them. Furthermore, they did make breade of it also, & sometime when they skirmished with the enemies, & came alongest by them that watched and warded, they cast of their bread into their trenches, and sayd: that as longe as the earth brought forth such frutes, they would neuer leaue beseeging of *Pompey*. But *Pompey* straightly commaunded them, that they should neither cary those words nor bread into their campe, fearing least his mens hartes would faile them, and that they would be affraid, when they should thinke of their enemies hardnes, with whome they had to fight, sithe they were weary with no paynes, no more then brute beastes. *Cæsars* men did daily skirmishe hard to the trenches of *Pompeys* campe, in the which *Cæsar* had euer the better, sauing once only, at what tyme his men fled with such feare, that all his campe that daye was in greate hazarde to haue beene caste awaye. For *Pompey* came on with his battell apon them, and they were not able to abyde it, but were fought with, and dryuen into their campe, and their trenches were filled with deade bodyes, which were slayne within the very gate and bullwarkes of their campe, they were so valiantly pursued. *Cæsar* stoode before them that fledde, to make them to turne heade agayne: but he coulde not preuayle. For when he woulde haue taken the ensignes to haue stayed them, the ensigne bearers threw them downe on the grounde: so that the enemyes tooke two and thirtye of them, and *Cæsars* selfe also scaped hardely with lyfe. For stryking a greate bigge souldier that fledde by him, commaunding him to staye, and turne his face to his enemie: the souldier beeing affrayde, lift vppe his sworde to stryke at *Cæsar*. But one of *Cæsars* Pages preuenting him, gaue him suche a blowe with his sworde, that he strake of his showlder. *Cæsar* that daye was brought vnto so greate extremitie, that (if *Pompey* had not eyther for feare, or spytefull fortune, left of to followe his victorie, and retyred into his campe, beeing contented to haue dryuen his enemyes into their campe) returning to his campe with his friendes, he sayde vnto them: the victorie this daye had beene our enemies, if they had had a Captayne, that coulde haue tolde howe to haue ouercome. So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bedde, and that nyght troubled him more, then any nyght that euer he had. For still his mynde ranne with great sorowe of the fowle faulte he had committed in leading of his armie, of selfe will to remaine there so longe by the sea side, his enemies being the stronger by sea: considering that he had before him a goodly contrie, riche and plentifull of all thinges, and goodly cities of Macedon and Thessaly, and had not the witte to bringe the warre from thence, but to lose his tyme in a place, where he was rather beseeged of his enemyes for lacke of vittells, then that he did beseege them by force

Cæsars daungers & troubles in the Realme of Epirus.

Cæsars armie fled from Pompey.

Cæsars wordes of Pompeys victory.

Cæsar troubled in mind, after his losse.

A force of armes. Thus, fretting and chafing to see him selfe so strayghted with vittells, and to thinke of his yll lucke, he rayſed his campe, intending to goe sette vppon *Scipio*, making accompt, that either he ſhould drawe *Pompey* to battell againſt his will, when he had not the ſea at his backe to furniſh him with plentye of vittells: or els that he ſhould eaſily ouercome *Scipio*, finding him alone, vnles he were ayded. This remoue of *Cæſars* campe, did much encourage *Pompeys* armie and his captaines, who would needes in any caſe haue followed after him, as though he had bene ouercome, and had fled. But for *Pompey* him ſelfe, he would in no reſpect hazard battell, which was a matter of ſo great importance. For finding him ſelfe wel prouided of all thinges neceſſary to tary tyme, he thought it better to drawe this warre out in length, by tract of time, the rather to conſume this litle ſtrength that remayned in *Cæſars* armie: of the which, the beſt men were marueilous well trayned and good ſouldiers, and for valiantnes, at one daies battell, were incomparable. But on thother ſide againe, to remoue here and there ſo ofte, and to fortifie their campe where they came, and to beſeege any wall, or to keepe watch all night in their armor, the moſt part of them could not doe it, by reaſon of their age, beeing then vnable to away with that paynes, ſo that the weakenes of their bodies did alſo take away the life and courage of their hartes. Furthermore, there fell a peſtilent diſeaſe amonge them that came by ill meates hunger draue them to eate: yet was not this the worſt. For beſides, he had no ſtore of money, neither could tell how to come by vittells: ſo that it ſemed in all likelihood, that in very ſhort tyme he would come to nothing. For theſe reſpectes, *Pompey* would in no caſe fight, and yet had he but *Cato* onely of his minde in that, who ſtucke in it the rather, bicauſe he would auoyde ſheding of his contry mens bloode. For when *Cato* had viewed the deade bodies ſlayne in the campe of his enemies, at the laſt skirmiſh that was betweene them, the which were no leſſe then a thowſand perſons: he couered his face, and went away weeping. All other but he, contrarily fell out with him, and blamed him, bycauſe he ſo long refrayned from battell: and ſome prickt him forward, and called him *Agamemnon*, and king of kinges, ſaying, that he delayed this warre in this ſort, bicauſe he would not leaue his authoritie to commaund them all, and that he was glad alwaies to ſee ſo many Captaines round about him, which came to his lodging to honor him, and waite vpon him. And *Faonius* alſo, a harebrayned fellowe, frantykly counterfeating the round and playne ſpeeche of *Cato*, made as though he was maruailous angry, and ſayd: is it not great pitie, that we ſhall not eate this yeare of TVSCVLVM figges, and all for *Pompeys* ambicious minde to raigne alone? and *Afranius*, who not long before was but lately come out of SPAYNE, (where, bicauſe he had but ill ſucceſſe, he was accuſed of treaſon, that for money he had ſolde his armie vnto *Cæſar*:) he went buſily asking, why they fought not with that Marchant, vnto whom they ſayde he had ſolde the prouince of SPAYNE? So that *Pompey* with theſe kinde of ſpeeches, againſt his will, was driuen to followe *Cæſar*, to fight with him. Then was *Cæſar* at the firſt, maruailouſly perplexed, and troubled by the waye: bicauſe he founde none that would giue him any vittells, beeing deſpiſed of euery man, for the late loſſe and ouerthrowe he had receyued. But after that he had taken the citie of GOMPHES in THESSALY, he did not onely meete with plentie of vittells to relieue his armie with: but he ſtraungely alſo did ridde them of their diſeaſe. For the ſouldiers meeting with plentie of wyne, drinking harde, and making mery: draue awaye the infection of the peſtilence. For they diſpoſed them ſelues vnto dauncing, masking, and playing the BACCHERIANS by the waye: inſomuch that drinking droncke they ouercame their diſeaſe, and made their bodies newe agayne. When they both came into the contry of PHARSALIA, and both campes laye before thother: *Pompey* returned agayne to his former determination, and the rather, bicauſe he had ill ſignes and tokens of misfortune in his ſleepe. For he thought in his ſleepe that when he entred into the Theater, all the ROMANES receyued him with great clapping of handes. Whereuppon, they that were about him grewe to ſuche boldnes and ſecuritie, aſſuring them ſelues of victorie: that *Domitius*, *Spinther*, and *Scipio*, in a brauery contended betweene them ſelues, for the chiefe Biſhoppricke which *Cæſar* had. Furthermore, there were diuers that ſent vnto ROME to hyre the neareſt houſes vnto the market place, as beeing the fitteſt places for Prætors, and Conſuls: making their accompt already, that thoſe offices could not ſcape them,

Pompeys determination for the warre.

Pompey called Agamemnon, and king of kings.

The citie of Gomphes in Theſſaly.

Pompeys dreame in Pharſalia.

The ſecuritie of the Pompeians.

incontinently after the warres. But beſides thoſe, the younge gentlemen, and ROMANE knightes were maruelous deſirous to fight, that were brauely mounted, and armed with gliſtering gilt armors, their horſes fat and very finely kept, and them ſelues goodly young men, to the number of ſeuen thowſand, where the gentlemen of *Cæſars* ſide, were but one thowſand onely. The number of his footemen alſo were much after the ſame reckoning. For he had fiue and forty thowſand againſt two and twenty thowſand. Wherefore *Cæſar* called his ſouldiers together, & told thē how *Cornificius* was at hande, who brought two whole legions, and that he had fifteene enſignes led by *Calenus*, the which he made to ſtay about MEGARA & ATHENS. Then he asked them if they would tary for that ayde or not, or whether they would rather them ſelues alone venter battell. The ſouldiers cryed out to him, and prayed him not to deferre battell, but rather to deuiſe ſome fetche to make the enemy fight aſſoone as he could. Then as he ſacrificed vnto the gods, for the purifying of his armie: the firſt beaſt was no ſooner ſacrificed, but his Soothſayer aſſured him that he ſhould fight within three dayes. *Cæſar* asked him againe, if he ſaw in the ſacrifices, any lucky ſigne, or token of good lucke. The Soothſayer aunſwered, for that, thou ſhalt aunſwer thy ſelfe, better then I can doe: for the gods doe promiſe vs a maruelous great chaunge, and alteracion of thinges that are now, vnto an other cleane contrary. For if thou beeſt wel now, doeſt thou thinke to haue worſe fortune hereafter? and if thou be ill, aſſure thy ſelf thou ſhalt haue better. The night before the battell, as he went about midnight to viſite the watch, men ſaw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came ouer *Cæſars* campe, and fell downe in *Pompeys*. In the morning alſo when they releeued the watche, they heard a falſe alarom in the enemies campe, without any apparant cauſe: which they commonly call, a ſodaine feare, that makes men beſides them ſelues. This notwithſtāding, *Cæſar* thought not to fight that day, but was determined to haue raiſed his camp from thence, and to haue gone towards the citie of SCOTVSA: and his tents in his campe were already ouerthrowen when his skowtes came in with great ſpeede, to bringe him newes that his enemies were preparing them ſelues to fight. Then he was very glad, & after he had made his prayers vnto the gods to helpe him that day, he ſet his men in battell ray, & deuided them into three ſquadrons: giuing the middle battell vnto *Domitius Caluinus*, and the left winge vnto *Antonius*, and placed him ſelfe in the right winge, chooſing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But ſeeing that againſt that, his enemies had ſet all their horſemen: he was halfe affraid when he ſaw the great number of them, and ſo braue beſides. Wherefore he cloſely made ſix enſignes to come from the rerewarde of his battell, whom he had layd as an ambuſhe behind his right winge, hauing firſt appointed his ſouldiers what they ſhould do, when the horſemen of the enemies came to giue them charge. On thother ſide, *Pompey* placed him ſelf in the right winge of his battell, gaue the left winge vnto *Domitius*, and the middle battell vnto *Scipio* his father in law. Now all the ROMANE knightes (as we haue told you before) were placed in the left winge, of purpoſe to enuyrone *Cæſars* right wing behinde, and to giue their hotteſt charge there, where the generall of their enemies was: making their accompt, that there was no ſquadron of footemen how thicke ſoeuer they were, that could receiue the charge of ſo great a trowpe of horſemen, and that at the firſt onſet, they ſhould ouerthrow them all, and marche vpon their bellies. When the trompets on either ſide did ſound the alarom to the battell, *Pompey* commaunded his footemen that they ſhould ſtande ſtill without ſturring, to receyue the charge of their enemies, vntill they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore *Cæſar* afterwardes ſayde, that *Pompey* had committed a fowle faulte, not to conſider that the charge which is giuen ronning with furie, beſides that it giueth the more ſtrength alſo vnto their blowes, doth ſette mens hartes alſo a fire: for the common hurling of all the ſouldiers that ronne together, is vnto them as a boxe of the eare that ſettes men a fire. Then *Cæſar* making his battell marche forwarde to giue the onſette, ſawe one of his Captaines (a valiant man, and very skillfull in warre, in whome he had alſo greate confidence) ſpeaking to his ſouldiers that he had vnder his charge, encouraging them to fight lyke men that daye. So he called him alowde by his name, and ſayde vnto him: well, *Caius Craſſinius*, what hope ſhall we haue to day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully? Then *Craſſinius* caſting vp his hand, aunſwered him alowd: this day, O *Cæſar*, we ſhall haue a noble victory, and I promiſe thee

Pompeys armie as great againe as Cæſars.

A wonder ſeene in the element, before the battell in Pharſalia.

Cæſars armie and his order of battell, in the fieldes of Pharſalia.

Pompeys army, and his order of battel

An ill counſel and fowle faults of Pompey.

A thee ere night thou ſhalt prayſe me alyue or dead. When he had told him ſo, he was him ſelfe the foremoſt man that gaue charge vpon his enemies, with his band following of him, beeing about ſix ſcore men, and making a lane through the foremoſt rankes, with great ſlaughter he entred farre into the battell of his enemies: vntill that valiantly fighting in this ſort, he was thruſt in at length in the mouth with a ſworde, that the poynt of it came out agayne at his necke. Nowe the footemen of both battells being come to the ſworde, the horſemen of the left winge of *Pompey*, did marche as fiercely alſo, ſpreading out their trowpes, to compaſſe in the right winge of *Cæſars* battell. But before they beganne to giue charge, the ſix enſignes of footemen which *Cæſar* had layed in ambuſhe behinde him, they beganne to runne full apon them, not throwing away their dartes farre of as they were wont to doe, neyther ſtriking
B their enemies on the thighes nor on the legges, but to ſeeke to hit them full in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as *Cæſar* had taught them. For he hoped that theſe luſty younge gentlemen that had not bene often in the warres, nor were vſed to ſee them ſelues hurt, & the which, beeing in the pryme of their youth and beautie, would be affrayd of thoſe hurtes, aſwell for the feare of the preſent daunger to be ſlayne, as alſo for that their faces ſhould not for euer be deformed. As in deede it came to paſſe, for they coulde neuer abyde that they ſhoulde come ſo neare their faces, with the poyntes of their dartes, but honge downe their heades for feare to be hitte with them in their eyes, and turned their backes, couering their face, becauſe they ſhoulde not be hurt. Then, breaking of them ſelues, they beganne at length cowardly to flye, and were occaſion alſo of the loſſe of all the reſt of *Pompeys* armie. For they
C that had broken them, ranne immediatly to ſette vpon the ſquadron of the footemen behind, and ſlue them. Then *Pompey* ſeeing his horſemen from the other winge of his battell, ſo ſcattered and diſperſed, flying away: forgate that he was any more *Pompey* the great which he had bene before, but rather was like a man whoſe wittes the goddes had taken from him, being affrayde and amazed with the ſlaughter ſent from aboue, and ſo retyred into his tent ſpeaking neuer a worde, and ſate there to ſee the ende of this battell. Vntill at length all his army beeing ouerthrowen, and put to flight, the enemies came, and gotte vp vpon the rampers and defence of his campe, and fought hande to hande with them that ſtoode to defende the ſame. Then as a man come to him ſelfe agayne, he ſpake but this onely worde: What, euen into our campe? So in haſte, caſting of his coate armor and apparell of a generall, he
D ſhifted him, and put on ſuch, as became his miſerable fortune, and ſo ſtale out of his campe. Furthermore, what he did after this ouerthrowe, and howe he had put him ſelfe into the handes of the ÆGYPTIANS, by whome he was miſerably ſlayne: we haue ſette it forthe at large in his life. Then *Cæſar* entring into *Pompeys* campe, and ſeeing the bodies layed on the grounde that were ſlayne, and others alſo that were a killing, ſayde, fetching a great ſighe: it was their owne doing, and againſt my will. For *Caius Cæſar*, after he had wonne ſo many famous conqueſts, and ouercome ſo many great battells, had beene vtterly condemned notwithſtanding, if he had departed from his armie. *Aſinius Pollio* writeth, that he ſpake theſe wordes then in Latyn, which he afterwards wrote in Greeke, and ſayeth furthermore, that
E the moſte parte of them which were put to the ſworde in the campe, were ſlaues and bondmen, and that there were not ſlayne in all at this battell, aboue ſix thowſand ſouldiers. As for them that were taken priſoners, *Cæſar* did put many of them amongeſt his legions, and did pardon alſo many men of eſtimation, amonge whome *Brutus* was one, that afterwardes ſlue *Cæſar* him ſelfe: and it is reported, that *Cæſar* was very ſory for him, when he could not immediatly be founde after the battell, and that he reioyced againe, when he knewe he was alyue, and that he came to yeelde him ſelfe vnto him. *Cæſar* had many ſignes and tokens of victorie before this battell: but the notableſt of all other that hapned to him, was in the citie of TRALLES. For in the temple of victorie, within the ſame citie, there was an image of *Cæſar*, and the earth all about it very hard of it ſelfe, and was paued beſides with hard ſtone: and yet ſome ſay that there ſprange vppe a palme hard by the baſe of the ſame image. In the citie of PADUA,
F *Caius Cornelius* an excellent Soothſayer, (a contry man and friende of *Titus Liuius* the Hiſtoriographer) was by chaunce at that time ſet to beholde the flying of birdes. He (as *Liuie* reporteth) knewe the very tyme when the battell beganne, and tolde them that were preſent,

The battell in the fieldes of Pharſalia.

Cæſars ſtratageme.

Cæſar ouercommeth Pompey.

Pompeys flight.

Brutus that ſlue Cæſar, taken priſoner as the battell of Pharſalia.

Signes & tokens of Cæſars victory.

A ſtraunge tale of Cornelius an excellent Prognoſticator.

euen now they gaue the onset on both sides, and both armies do meete at this instant. Then A
sitting downe againe to consider of the birdes, after he had bethought him of the signes: he
sodainely rose vp on his feete, and cryed out as a man possessed with some spirit, oh, *Cæsar*, the
victory is thine. Euery man wondring to see him, he tooke the crowne he had on his heade,
and made an othe that he would neuer put it on againe, till the euent of his prediction had
proued his arte true. *Liuie* testifieth, that it so came to passe. *Cæsar* afterwards giuing freedom
vnto the THESSALIANS, in respect of the victory which he wanne in their contry, he followed
after *Pompey*. When he came into ASIA, he gaue freedom also vnto the GVIDIANS for *Theo-*
pompus sake, who had gathered the fables together. He did release ASIA also, the thirde part of
the tribute which the inhabitants payd vnto the ROMANES. Then he came into ALEXAN-
DRIA, after *Pompey* was slaine: and detested *Theodotus*, that presented him *Pompeys* heade, and B
turned his head at toe side bicause he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he tooke his seale,
and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he curteously vsed all *Pompeys* friendes and families,
who wandring vp and downe the contry, were taken of the king of ÆGYPT, and wanne them
Cæsars clemē- all to be at his commaundement. Continuing these curtesies, he wrote vnto his friendes at
cy in victory. ROME, that the greatest pleasure he tooke of his victorie, was, that he dayly saued the liues of
some of his contry men that bare armes against him. And for the warre he made in ALEXAN-
The cause of DRIA, some say, he needed not haue done it, but that he willingly did it for the loue of *Cleopa-*
Cæsars warre *tra*: Wherein he wanne litle honor, and besides did put his person in great daunger. Others
in Alexan- doe lay the fault vpon the king of ÆGYPTS Ministers, but specially on *Pothinus* the Euenuke,
dria. *Pothinus the* who bearing the greatest swaye of all the kinges seruaunts, after he had caused *Pompey* to be C
Euenuke caus- slaine, and driuen *Cleopatra* from the Court, secretly layd waite all the wayes he could, how he
sed Pompey might likewise kill *Cæsar*. Wherefore *Cæsar* hearing an inckling of it, begaune thenceforth to
to be slayne. spend all the night long in feasting and bancketing, that his person might be in the better safe-
tie. But besides all this, *Pothinus* the Euenuke spake many thinges openly not to be borne, one-
ly to shame *Cæsar*, and to stirre vp the people to enuie him. For he made his souldiers haue the
worst and oldest wheate that could be gotten: then if they did complayne of it, he told them,
they must be contented, seeing they eate at anothers mans coste. And he would serue them
also at the table in treene and earthen dishes, saying, that *Cæsar* had away all their gold and sil-
uer, for a debt that the kings father (that then raigned) did owe vnto him: which was, a thou-
sand seuen hundred and fiftie Miriades, whereof *Cæsar* had before forgiuen seuen hundred & D
fiftie thowsand vnto his children. Howbeit then he asked a Myllion to paye his souldiours
withall. Thereto *Pothinus* aunswered him, that at that tyme he should doe better to follow his
other causes of greater importance, and afterwardes that he should at more leysure recouer
his dette, with the kinges good will and fauor. *Cæsar* replyed vnto him, and sayd, that he would
not aske counsell of the ÆGYPTIANS for his affayres, but would be payd: and thereupon se-
Cleopatra cretly sent for *Cleopatra* which was in the contry to come vnto him. She onely taking *Apollodo-*
came to Cæ- *rus* SICILIAN of all her friendes, tooke a litle bote, and went away with him in it in the night,
sar. and came and landed hard by the foote of the castell. Then hauing no other meane to come
Cleopatra truſ- in to the court, without being knowen, she laid her selfe downe vpon a mattresse or flockbed,
sed vp in a which *Apollodorus* her frend tied & bound vp together like a būdel with a great leather thong, E
mattresse, and and so tooke her vp on his backe, and brought her thus hamperd in this fardell vnto *Cæsar*, in
so brought to at the castell gate. This was the first occasion, (as it is reported) that made *Cæsar* to loue her
Cæsar, vpon *Apollodorus* *backe.* but afterwards, when he sawe her sweete conuersation and pleasaunt entertainment, he fell
then in further liking with her, & did reconcile her again vnto her brother the king, with con-
dition, that they two ioyntly should raigne together. Apon this newe reconciliation, a great
feast being prepared, a slaue of *Cæsars* that was his barber, the fearefullest wretch that liued, ful
busily prying and listening abroad in euery corner, being mistrustfull by nature: found that *Po-*
thinus and *Achillas* did lie in waite to kill his Maister *Cæsar*. This beeing proued vnto *Cæsar*, he
did sette such sure watch about the hall, where the feaste was made, that in fine, he slue the
Euenuke *Pothinus* him selfe. *Achillas* on thother side, saued him selfe, and fled vnto the kinges F
campe, where he raysed a maruelous daūgerous & difficult warre for *Cæsar*: bicause he hauing
then but a few men about him as he had, he was to fight against a great & strong city. The first

daunger

A daunger he fell into, was for the lacke of water he had: for that his enemies had stopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conueyed the water vnto the castell. The seconde daunger he had, was, that seeing his enemies came to take his shippes from him, he was driuen to repulse that daunger with fire, the which burnt the arsenall where the shippes lay, and that notable librarie of ALEXANDRIA withall. The third daunger was in the battell by sea, that was fought by the tower of Phar: where meaning to helpe his men that fought by sea, he dept from the peere, into a boate. Then the ÆGYPTIANS made towardes him with their oares on euerie side: but he leaping into the sea, with great hazard saued him selfe by swimming. It is sayd, that then holding diuers bookes in his hand, he did neuer let them go, but kept them alwayes vpon his head aboue water, & swamme with the other hand, notwithstanding that they shot

The great librarie of Alexandria burnt.

Cæsar swimming with bookes in his hand.

B maruelously at him, and was driuen sometime to ducke into the water: howbeit the boate was drowned presently. In fine, the king comming to his men that made warre with *Cæsar*, he went against him, and gaue him battell, and wanne it with great slaughter, and effusion of blood. But for the king, no man could euer tell what became of him after. Thereupon *Cæsar* made *Cleopatra* his sister, Queene of ÆGYPT, who being great with childe by him, was shortly brought to bedde of a sonne, whom the ALEXANDRIANS named *Cæsarion*. From thence he went into SYRIA, and so going into ASIA, there it was told him that *Domitius* was ouerthrowen in battell, by *Pharnaces*, the sonne of king *Mithridates*, and was fled out of the realme of PONTE, with a few men with him: and that this king *Pharnaces* greedily following his victorie, was not contented with the winning of BITHYNIA, & CAPPADOCIA, but further would

Cæsar made Cleopatra Queene of AEgypt.

Cæsarion, Cæsars sonne, begotte of Cleopatra.

C needes attempt to winne ARMENIA the lesse, procuring all those kinges, Princes, and Gouernors of the prouinces thereabouts, to rebell against the ROMANES. Thereupon *Cæsar* went thither straight with three legions, and fought a great battell with king *Pharnaces*, by the citie of ZELA, where he slue his armie, & draue him out of all the realme of PONTE. And bicause he would aduertise one of his frendes of the sodainnes of this victorie, he onely wrote three words vnto *Anitius* at ROME: *Veni, Vidi, Vici*: to wit, I came, I saw, I ouercame. These three wordes ending all with like sound and letters in the Latin, haue a certaine shorte grace, more pleasaunt to the eare, then can be well expressed in any other tongue. After this, he returned againe into ITALIE, and came to ROME, ending his yeare for the which he was made Dictator the seconde time, which office before was neuer graunted for one whole yeare, but vnto

Cæsars victorie of king Pharnaces.

Cæsar writeth three wordes to certifie his victory.

D him. Then he was chosen Consul for the yeare following. Afterwardes he was very ill spoken of, for that his souldiers in a mutine hauing slaine two Prætors, *Cosconius*, and *Galba*, he gaue them no other punishment for it, but in steade of calling them souldiers, he named them citizens, and gaue vnto euery one of them, a thousand Drachmas a man, and great possessions in ITALIE. He was much misliked also for the desperate parts and madnes of *Dolabella*, for the couetousnes of *Anitius*, for the dronkennes of *Antonius* and *Cornificius*, which made *Pompeys* house be pulled downe and builded vp againe, as a thing not bigge enough for him, wherewith the ROMANES were maruelously offended. *Cæsar* knew all this well enough, and would haue bene contented to haue redressed them: but to bring his matters to passe he pretended, he was driuen to serue his turne by such instrumentes. After the battell of Pharsalia, *Cato* and

E *Scipio* being fled into AFRICKE, king *Iuba* ioyned with them, & leauied a great puissant armie. Wherefore *Cæsar* determined to make warre with them, & in the middest of winter, he tooke his iorney into SICILE. There, bicause he would take all hope from his Captaines and souldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged vpon the very sander by the sea side, and with the next gale of winde that came, he tooke the sea with three thousand footemen, and a few horsemen. Then hauing put them a land, whwares to them, he hoysed sayle againe, to goe fetche the rest of his armie, being afrayed least they should meete with some daunger in passing ouer, and meeting them midde way, he brought them all into his campe. Where, when it was tolde him that his enemies trusted in an auncient Oracle, which sayd, that it was predestined vnto the family of the *Scipises* to be conquerors in AFRICKE: either of purpose

Cæsars iorney into Africke, against Cato and Scipio.

F to mocke *Scipio* the Generall of his enemies, or otherwise in good earnest to take the benefit of this name (geuen by the Oracle) vnto him selfe, in all the skirmishes & battells he fought, he gaue the charge of his army, vnto a man of meane quality and accompt, called *Scipio Sal-*

Iutius, who came of the race of *Scipio* AFRICAN, and made him alwayes his Generall whom he fought. For he was eftsoones compelled to weary and harrie his enemies: for that neither his men in his campe had corne enough, nor his beasts forrage, but the souldiers were driuen to take sea weedes, called Alga: and (washing away the brackishnes thereof with fresh water) putting to it a litle erbe called doggestooth) to cast it to their horse to eate. For the NVMIDIANS (which are light horsemen, and very ready of seruice) being a great number together, would be on a sodaine in euery place, and spred all the fieldes ouer thereabout, so that no man durst peepe out of the campe to goe for forrage. And one day as the men of armes were staying to beholde an AFRICAN doing notable thinges in dauncing, and playing with the flute, they being set downe quietly to take their pleasure of the viewe thereof, hauing in the meane time geuen their slaues their horses to hold, the enemies stealing sodainly vpon them, compassed them in round about, and slue a number of them in the field, and chasing the other also so that fled, followed them pell mell into their campe. Furthermore had not *Cæsar* him selfe in person, and *Asinius Pollio* with him gone out of the campe to the rescue, and stayed them that fled: the warre that day had bene ended. There was also an other skirmish where his enemies had the vpper hande, in the which it is reported, that *Cæsar* taking the ensigne bearer by the coller that caried the Eagle in his hande, stayed him by force, and turning his face, tolde him: see, there be thy enemies. These aduantages did lift vp *Scipions* hart aloft, and geue him corage to hazard battell: and leauing *Afranius* on the one hand of him, and king *Iuba* on the other hande, both their campes lying neere to other, he did fortifie him selfe by the citie of THAPSACVS, aboue the lake, to be a safe refuge for them all in this battell. But whilest he was busie intrenching of him selfe, *Cæsar* hauing maruelous speedily passed through a great countrie full of wod, by bypathes which men would neuer haue mistrusted, he stale vpon some behinde, and sodainly assailed the other before, so that he ouerthrewe them all, and made them flie. Then following this first good happe he had, he went forthwith to set apon the campe of *Afranius*, the which he tooke at the first onset, and the campe of the NVMIDIANS also, king *Iuba* being fled. Thus in a litle peece of the day only, he tooke three campes, & slue fifty thousand of his enemies, and lost but fifty of his souldiers. In this sorte is set downe the effect of this battell by some wryters. Yet others doe wryte also, that *Cæsar* selfe was not there in person at the execution of this battell. For as he did set his men in battell ray, the falling sickenesse tooke him, whereunto he was geuen, and therefore feeling it comming, before he was ouercome withall, he was caried into a castell not farre from thence, where the battell was fought, and there tooke his rest till the extremity of his disease had left him. Now, for the Prætors & Consulls that scaped from this battell, many of them being taken prisoners, did kill them selues, and others also *Cæsar* did put to death: but he being specially desirous of all men else to haue *Cato* aliue in his hands, he went with all possible speede vnto the citie of VTICA, whereof *Cato* was Gouernor, by meanes whereof he was not at the battell. Notwithstanding being certified by the way that *Cato* had slaine him selfe with his owne handes, he then made open shew that he was very sory for it, but why or wherfore, no man could tell. But this is true, that *Cæsar* sayd at that present time: O *Cato*, I enuy thy death, bicause thou diddest enuy my glory, to saue thy life. This notwithstanding, the booke that he wrote afterwardes against *Cato* being dead, did shew no very great affection nor pitifull hart towardes him. For how could he haue pardoned him, if liuing he had had him in his handes: that being dead did speake so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would haue pardoned him, if he had taken him aliue, by the clemencie he shewed vnto *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and diuers others that had borne armes against him. Some reporte, that he wrote that booke, not so much for any priuate malice he had to his death, as for a ciuil ambition, apon this occasion. *Cicero* had written a booke in praise of *Cato*, which he intituled, *Cato*. This booke in likelyhoode was very well liked of, by reason of the eloquence of the Orator that made it, and of the excellent subiect thereof. *Cæsar* therewith was maruelously offended, thinking that to praise him, of whose death he was author, was euen as much as to accuse him self: & therfore he wrote a letter against him, & heaped vp a number of accusations against *Cato*, and intituled the booke *Anticaton*. Both these bookes haue fauorers vnto this day, some defending the one for the loue they bare to *Cæsar*,

Cæsars troubles in Africke.

Alga, and doggestooth, geuen to the horse to eate.

Cæsars dangers in Africke.

Cæsars great victorie and small losse.

Cæsar troubled with the falling sickenes.

Cæsar was sory for the death of Cato.

Cæsar wrote against Cato being dead.

Cicero wrote a booke in praise of Cato being dead.

A and others allowing the other for *Catoes* sake. *Cæsar* being now returned out of Africke, first of all made an oration to the people, wherein he greatly praised and commended this his last victorie, declaring vnto them, that he had conquered so many contries vnto the Empire of Rome, that he coulde furnishe the common wealth yearely, with two hundred thowsande bussheils of wheate, & twenty hundred thowsand pound weight of oyle. Then he made three triumphes, the one for Ægypt, the other for the kingdom of Ponte, and the third for Africke: not bicause he had ouercome *Scipio* there, but king *Iuba*. Whose sonne being likewise called *Iuba*, being then a young boy, was led captiue in the showe of this triumphe. But this his imprisonment fel out happily for him: for where he was but a barbarous Nvmidian, by the study he fell vnto when he was prisoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the

Iuba, the sonne of king Iuba, a famous historiographer.

B wisest historiographers of the Græcians. After these three triumphes ended, he very liberally rewarded his souldiers: and to curry fauor with the people, he made great feasts & common sportes. For he feasted all the Romanes at one time, at two and twenty thowsand tables, and gaue them the pleasure to see diuers sword players to fight at the sharpe, and battells also by sea, for the remembraunce of his daughter *Iulia*, which was dead long afore. Then after all these sportes, he made the people (as the manner was) to be mustered: and where there were at the last musters before, three hundred and twenty thowsande citizens, at this muster only there were but a hundred and fifty thowsand. Such misery and destruction had this ciuill warre brought vnto the common wealth of Rome, and had consumed such a number of Romanes not speaking at all of the mischieues and calamities it had brought vnto all the rest of

Cæsars feasting of the Romanes.

The muster taken of the Romanes.

C Italie, and to the other prouinces pertaining to Rome. After all these thinges were ended, he was chosen Consul the fourth time, and went into Spayne to make warre with the sonnes of *Pompey*: who were yet but very young, but had notwithstanding raised a maruelous great army together, and shewed to haue had manhoode and corage worthie to commaunde such an armie, insomuch as they put *Cæsar* him selfe in great daunger of his life. The greatest battell that was fought betwene them in all this warre, was by the citie of Mvnda. For then *Cæsar* seeing his men sorely distressed, and hauing their hands full of their enemies: he ranne into the prease among his men that fought, and cried out vnto them: what, are ye not ashamed to be beaten and taken prisoners, yeelding your selues with your owne handes to these young boyes? And so, with all the force he could make, hauing with much a doe put his enemies to

Cæsar Consull the fourth time.

Battell fought betwext Cæsar and the young Pompeyes, by the city of Munda.

D flight: he slue aboue thirty thowsand of them in the fielde, and lost of his owne men a thowsand of the best he had. After this battell he went into his tent, and told his frends, that he had often before fought for victory, but this last time now, that he had fought for the safety of his owne life. He wanne this battell on the very feast day of the Bacchanalians, in the which men say, that *Pompey* the great went out of Rome, about foure yeares before, to beginne this ciuill warre. For his sonnes, the younger scaped from the battell: but within few dayes after, *Diddius* brought the heade of the elder. This was the last warre that *Cæsar* made. But the triumphe he made into Rome for the same, did as much offend the Romanes, and more, then any thing that euer he had done before: bicause he had not ouercome Captaines that were straungers, nor barbarous kinges, but had destroyed the sonnes of the noblest man in Rome,

Cæsars victory of the sonnes of Pompey.

Cæsars triumphe of Pompeis sonnes.

E whom fortune had ouerthrowen. And bicause he had plucked vp his race by the rootes, men did not thinke it meete for him to triumphe so, for the calamities of his contrie, reioycing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to alleage in his defence, vnto the gods and men: that he was compelled to doe that he did. And the rather they thought it not meete, bicause he had neuer before sent letters nor messengers vnto the common wealth at Rome, for any victorie that he had euer wonne in all the ciuill warres: but did alwayes for shame refuse the glorie of it. This notwithstanding, the Romanes inclining to *Cæsars* prosperity, and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good meane for them to take breth a litle, after so many troubles and miseries as they had abidden in these ciuill warres: they chose him perpetuall Dictator. This was a plaine tyranny: for to this ab-

Cæsar Dictator perpetuall.

F solute power of Dictator, they added this, neuer to be affraied to be deposed. *Cicero* propounded before the Senate, that they should geue him such honors, as were meete for a man: howbeit others afterwardes added to, honors beyonde all reason. For, men striuing who shoulde

moſt honor him, they made him hatefull and troubleſome to them ſelues that moſt fauored him, by reaſon of the vnmeaſurable greatnes and honors which they gaue him. Thereuppon it is reported, that euen they that moſt hated him, were no leſſe fauorers and furtherers of his honors, then they that moſt flattered him: bicauſe they might haue greater occaſions to rise, and that it might appeare they had iuſt cauſe and colour to attempt that they did againſt him. And now for him ſelfe, after he had ended his ciuill warres, he did ſo honorably behaue himſelfe, that there was no fault to be founde in him: and therefore me thinkes, amongeſt other honors they gaue him, he rightly deſerued this, that they ſhould builde him a temple of clemency, to thanke him for his curteſie he had vſed vnto them in his victorie. For he pardoned many of them that had borne armes againſt him, and furthermore, did preferre ſome of them to honor and office in the common wealth: as amongeſt others, *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, both the which were made Prætors. And where *Pompeys* images had bene throwen downe, he cauſed them to be ſet vp againe: whereupon *Cicero* ſayd then, that *Cæſar* ſetting vp *Pompeys* images againe, he made his owne to ſtand the ſurer. And when ſome of his frends did counſell him to haue a gard for the ſafety of his perſon, and ſome alſo did offer them ſelues to ſerue him: he would neuer conſent to it, but ſayd, it was better to dye once, then alwayes to be affrayed of death. But to win him ſelfe the loue and good will of the people, as the honorableſt gard and beſt ſafety he could haue: he made common feaſts againe, & generall diſtributions of corne. Furthermore, to gratifie the ſouldiers alſo, he repleniſhed many cities againe with inhabitantes, which before had bene deſtroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repaire vnto: of the which the nobleſt & chiefeſt cities were theſe two, Carthage, & Corinthe, and it chaunced ſo, that like as aforetime they had bene both taken and deſtroyed together, euen ſo were they both ſet a foote againe, and repleniſhed with people, at one ſelfe time. And as for great perſonages, he wanne them alſo, promiſing ſome of them, to make them Prætors and Conſulls in time to come, and vnto others, honors and preferrements, but to all men generally good hope, ſeeking all the wayes he coulde to make euerie man contented with his raigne. Inſomuch as one of the Conſulls called *Maximus*, chaunсing to dye a day before his Conſulſhippe ended, he declared *Caninius Rebilius* Conſull onely for the day that remained. So, diuers going to his houſe (as the manner was) to ſalute him, & to congratulate with him of his calling and preferrement, being newly choſen officer: *Cicero* pleaſauntly ſayd, come, let vs make haſt, and be gone thither, before his Conſulſhippe come out. Furthermore, *Cæſar* being borne to attempt all great enterpriſes, & hauing an ambitious deſire beſides to couet great honors: the proſperous good ſucceſſe he had of his former conqueſtes bred no deſire in him quietly to enioy the frutes of his labours, but rather gaue him hope of thinges to come, ſtill kindling more and more in him, thoughts of greater enterpriſes, and deſire of new glory, as if that which he had preſent, were ſtale and nothing worth. This humor of his was no other but an emulation with him ſelfe as with an other man, and a certaine contencion to ouercome the thinges he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, & made preparacion alſo, to make warre with the Perſians. Then when he had ouercome them, to paſſe through Hyrcania (compaſſing in the ſea Caſpium, and mount Caucaſus) into the realme of Pontus, and ſo to inuade Scythia: and ouerrunning all the contries and people adioyning vnto high Germany, and Germany it ſelfe, at length to returne by Gavle into Italie, and ſo to enlarge the Romane Empire round, that it might be euery way compaſſed in with the great ſea Oceanum. But whileſt he was preparing for this voiage, he attempted to cut the barre of the ſtraight of Peloponnesvs, in the place where the city of Corinthe ſtandeth. Then he was minded to bring the riuers of Anienes and Tiber, ſtraight from Rome, vnto the citie of Circeis, with a deepe channell and high banckes caſt vp on either ſide, and ſo to fall into the ſea at Terracina, for the better ſafety and commodity of the marchants that came to Rome to trafficke there. Furthermore, he determined to draine and ſeawe all the water of the mariſſes betwext the cities of Nomentvm and Setivm, to make it firme land, for the benefit of many thowſandes of people: and on the ſea coaſt next vnto Rome, to caſt great high bankes, and to cleanſe all the hauen about Ostia, of rockes and ſtones hidden vnder the water, and to take away all other impedimentes that made the harborough daungerous

The temple of clemency, dedicated vnto Cæſar, for his curteſie.

Caſſius and Brutus Prætors.

Cæſars ſaying of death.

Good will of ſubiectes, the beſt gard and ſafety for Princes.

Caninius Rebilius Conſull for one day.

Anienes. Tiber. flu.

for

A or shippes, and to make new hauens and arsenalls meete to harbor such shippes, as did continually trafficke thither. All these thinges were purposed to be done, but tooke no effecte. But, the ordinaunce of the kalender, and reformation of the yeare, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the Mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a great commoditie vnto all men. For the ROMANES vsing then the auncient computacion of the yeare, had not only such incertainty and alteracion of the moneth and times, that the sacrifices and yearely feasts came by litle and litle to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the reuolution of the sunne (which is called Annus Solaris) no other nation agreed with them in account: and of the ROMANES them selues, only the priests vnderstood it. And therefore when they listed, they sodainly (no man being able to controll them) B did thrust in a moneth, aboue their ordinary number, which they called in old time, * Mercedonius. Some say, that *Numa Pompilius* was the first, that deuised this way, to put a moneth betwene: but it was a weake remedy, and did litle helpe the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the yeare, to frame them to perfection. But *Cæsar* committing this matter vnto the Philosophers, and best expert Mathematicians at that time, did set foorth an excellent and perfect kalender, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before: the which the ROMANES doe vse vntill this present day, and doe nothing erre as others, in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding that enuied his greatnes, did not sticke to finde fault withall. As *Cicero* the Orator, when one sayd, to morow the starre Lyra will rise: yea, sayd he, at the commaundement of *Cæsar*, as if men were compelled so to say and thinke, C by *Cæsars* edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, was the couetous desire he had to be called king: which first gaue the people iust cause, and next his secret enemies, honest colour to beare him ill will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honor & dignity, gaue it out among the people, that it was written in the Sybilline prophecies, how the ROMANES might ouercome the PARTHIANS, if they made warre with them, and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were vnconquerable. And furthermore they were so bold besides, that *Cæsar* returning to ROME from the citie of ALBA, when they came to salute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and *Cæsar* also angry, he said he was not called king, but *Cæsar*. Then euery man keeping silence, he went his way heauy and sorowfull. When they had decreed diuers honors for him in the Senate, the Consulls and Prætors ac- D companied with the whole assembly of the Senate, went vnto him in the market place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honors they had decreed for him in his absence. But he sitting still in his maiesty, disdaining to rise vp vnto them when they came in, as if they had bene priuate men, aunswered them: that his honors had more neede to be cut of, then enlarged. This did not onely offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteeme of the Magistrates of the common wealth: insomuch as euery man that might lawfully goe his way, departed thence very sorrowfully. Thereupon also *Cæsar* rising, departed home to his house, and tearing open his doblet coller, making his necke bare, he cried out alowde to his frendes, that his throte was readie to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithstanding, it is reported, that afterwardes to excuse this folly, E he imputed it to his disease, saying, that their wittes are not perfit which haue his disease of the falling euil, when standing of their feete they speake to the common people, but are soone troubled with a trembling of their body, and a sodaine dimnes and guidines. But that was not true. For he would haue risen vp to the Senate, but *Cornelius Balbus* one of his frendes (but rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying: what, doe you not remember that you are *Cæsar*, and will you not let them reuerence you, and doe their dueties? Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproache, abusing the Tribunes of the people in this sorte. At that time, the feast Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in olde time men say was the feast of sheapheards or heard men, and is much like vnto the feast of the LYCÆANS in ARCADIA. But howesoeuer it is, that day there are diuers noble mens sonnes, young F men, (and some of them Magistrats them selues that gouerne then) which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meete in their way, with leather thonges, heare and all on, to make them geue place. And many noble women, and gentle women also, goe of purpose

Cæsar reformed the inequality of the yeare.

* *Mercedonius, mensis intercalaris.*

Why Cæsar was hated.

The feast Lupercalia.

to ſtand in their way, and doe put forth their handes to be ſtriken, as ſchollers hold them out to their ſchoolemaſter, to be ſtriken with the ferula: perſwading them ſelues that being with childe, they ſhall haue good deliuerie, and alſo being barren, that it will make them to conceiue with child. *Cæſar* ſate to beholde that ſport apon the pulpit for orations, in a chayer of gold, apparelled in triumphing manner. *Antonius*, who was Conſull at that time, was one of them that ranne this holy courſe. So when he came into the market place, the people made a lane for him to runne at libertie, and he came to *Cæſar*, and preſented him a Diadeame wreathed about with laurell. Whereuppon there roſe a certaine crie of reioycing, not very great, done onely by a few, appointed for the purpoſe. But when *Cæſar* refuſed the Diadeame, then all the people together made an outcrie of ioy. Then *Antonius* offering it him againe, there was a ſecond ſhoute of ioy, but yet of a few. But whē *Cæſar* refuſed it againe the ſecond time, then all the whole people ſhowted. *Cæſar* hauing made this proofe, found that the people did not like of it, and thereuppon roſe out of his chayer, and commaunded the crowne to be caried vnto *Iupiter* in the Capitoll. After that, there were ſet vp images of *Cæſar* in the city with Diadeames vpon their heades, like kinges. Thoſe, the two Tribunes, *Flauius* and *Marullus*, went and pulled downe: and furthermore, meeting with them that firſt ſaluted *Cæſar* as king, they committed them to priſon. The people followed them reioycing at it, and called them *Brutes*: bicauſe of *Brutus*, who had in old time driuen the kings out of Rome, & that brought the kingdom of one perſon, vnto the gouernment of the Senate and people. *Cæſar* was ſo offended withall, that he depriued *Marullus* and *Flauius* of their Tribuneſhippes, and accuſing them, he ſpake alſo againſt the people, and called them *Bruti*, and *Cumani*, to witte, beaſtes and fooles. Hereuppon the people went ſtraight vnto *Marcus Brutus*, who from his father came of the firſt *Brutus*, and by his mother, of the houſe of the *Seruilians*, a noble houſe as any was in Rome, and was alſo nephew and ſonne in law of *Marcus Cato*. Notwithſtanding, the great honors and fauor *Cæſar* ſhewed vnto him, kept him backe that of him ſelfe alone, he did not conſpire nor conſent to depoſe him of his kingdom. For *Cæſar* did not onely ſaue his life, after the battell of Pharſalia when *Pompey* fled, and did at his requeſt alſo ſaue many moe of his frendes beſides: but furthermore, he put a maruelous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Prætorſhippe for that yeare, and furthermore was appointed to be Conſul, the fourth yeare after that, hauing through *Cæſars* frendſhippe, obtained it before *Caſſius*, who likewiſe made ſute for the ſame: and *Cæſar* alſo, as it is reported, ſayd in this contention, in deede *Caſſius* hath alleaged beſt reaſon, but yet ſhall he not be choſen before *Brutus*. Some one day accuſing *Brutus* while he practiſed this conſpiracy, *Cæſar* would not heare of it, but clapping his hande on his bodie, told them, *Brutus* will looke for this skinne: meaning thereby, that *Brutus* for his vertue, deſerued to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions ſake, he woulde not ſhewe him ſelfe vnthankefull nor diſhonorable. Nowe they that deſired chaunge, and wiſhed *Brutus* only their Prince and Gouernour aboue all other: they durſt not come to him them ſelues to tell him what they woulde haue him to doe, but in the night did caſt ſundrie papers into the Prætors ſeate where he gaue audience, and the moſt of them to this effect. Thou ſleepeſt *Brutus*, and art not *Brutus* in deede. *Caſſius* finding *Brutus* ambition ſturred vp the more by theſe ſeditious billes, did pricke him forwarde, and egge him on the more, for a priuate quarrell he had conceiued againſt *Cæſar*: the circumſtance whereof, we haue ſette downe more at large in *Brutus* life. *Cæſar* alſo had *Caſſius* in great gelouzie, and ſuſpected him much: whereuppon he ſayed on a time to his frendes, what will *Caſſius* doe, thinke ye? I like not his pale lookes. An other time when *Cæſars* frendes complained vnto him of *Antonius*, and *Dolabella*, that they pretended ſome miſchiefe towardes him: he aunſwered them againe, as for thoſe fatte men and ſmooth comed heades, q he, I neuer reckon of them: but theſe pale viſaged and carian leane people, I feare them moſt, meaning *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. Certainly, deſtenie may eaſier be foreſeene, then auoyded: conſidering the ſtraunge & wonderfull ſignes that were ſayd to be ſeene before *Cæſars* death. For, touching the fires in the element, and ſpirites running vp and downe in the night, and alſo theſe ſolitarie birdes to be ſeene at noone dayes ſittinge in the great market place: are not all theſe ſignes perhappes worth the noting, in ſuch a wonderfull chaunce as happened. But *Strabo* the Philoſopher wryteth,

Antonius being Conſull, was one of the Lupercalians.

Antonius preſented the Diademe to Cæſar.

Cæſar ſaued Marcus Brutus life, after the battell of Pharſalia.

Brutus conſpireth againſt Cæſar.

Caſſius ſtirreth vp Brutus againſt Cæſar.

Predictions, & foreſhewes of Cæſars death.

A wryteth, that diuers men were ſeene going vp and downe in fire: and furthermore, that there was a ſlaue of the ſouldiers, that did caſt a maruelous burning flame out of his hande, inſomuch as they that ſaw it, thought he had bene burnt, but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. *Cæſar* ſelfe alſo doing ſacrifice vnto the goddes, found that one of the beaſtes which was ſacrificed had no hart: and that was a ſtraunge thing in nature, how a beaſt could liue without a hart. Furthermore, there was a certaine Soothſayer that had geuen *Cæſar* warning long time affore, to take heede of the day of the Ides of Marche, (which is the fifteenth of the moneth) for on that day he ſhoulde be in great daunger. That day being come, *Cæſar* going vnto the Senate houſe, and ſpeaking merily to the Soothſayer, tolde him, the Ides of Marche be come: ſo be they, ſoftly aunſwered the Soothſayer, but yet are they not paſt. And

Cæſari day of his death prognoſticated by a Soothſayer.

B the very day before, *Cæſar* ſupping with *Marcus Lepidus*, ſealed certaine letters as he was wont to do at the bord: ſo talke falling out amongeſt them, reaſoning what death was beſt: he preuenting their opinions, cried out alowde, death vnlooked for. Then going to bedde the ſame night as his manner was, and lying with his wife *Calpurnia*, all the windowes and dores of his chamber flying open, the noyſe awooke him, and made him affrayed when he ſaw ſuch light: but more, when he heard his wife *Calpurnia*, being faſt a ſleepe, weepe and ſigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable ſpeaches. For ſhe dreamed that *Cæſar* was ſlaine, and that ſhe had him in her armes. Others alſo doe denie that ſhe had any ſuche dreame, as amongeſt other, *Titus Liuius* wryteth, that it was in this ſorte. The Senate hauing ſet vpon the toppe of *Cæſars* houſe, for an ornament and ſetting foorth of the ſame, a certaine pinnacle: *Calpurnia*

The dreame of Calpurnia, Cæſars wife.

C dreamed that ſhe ſawe it broken downe, and that ſhe thought ſhe lamented and wept for it. Inſomuch that *Cæſar* riſing in the morning, ſhe prayed him if it were poſſible, not to goe out of the dores that day, but to adiorne the ſeſſion of the Senate, vntill an other day. And if that he made no reckoning of her dreame, yet that he woulde ſearche further of the Soothſayers by their ſacrifices, to knowe what ſhould happen him that day. Thereby it ſeemed that *Cæſar* likewiſe did feare and ſuſpect ſomewhat, bicauſe his wife *Calpurnia* vntill that time, was neuer geuen to any feare or ſuperſticion: and then, for that he ſaw her ſo troubled in minde with this dreame ſhe had. But much more afterwardes, when the Soothſayers hauing ſacrificed many beaſtes one after an other, tolde him that none did like them: then he determined to ſende *Antonius* to adiorne the ſeſſion of the Senate. But in the meane time came *Decius Bru-*

D *tus*, ſurnamed *Albinus*, in whom *Cæſar* put ſuch confidence, that in his laſt will and teſtament he had appointed him to be his next heire, and yet was of the conſpiracie with *Caſſius* and *Brutus*: he fearing that if *Cæſar* did adiorne the ſeſſion that day, the conſpiracie woulde out, laughed the Soothſayers to ſcorne, and reproued *Cæſar*, ſaying: that he gaue the Senate occaſion to miſlike with him, and that they might thinke he mocked them, conſidering that by his commaundement they were aſſembled, and that they were readie willingly to graunt him all thinges, and to proclaime him king of all the prouinces of the Empire of ROME out of ITALIE, and that he ſhould weare his Diadeame in all other places, both by ſea and land. And furthermore, that if any man ſhould tell them from him, they ſhould departe for that preſent time, and returne againe when *Calpurnia* ſhoulde haue better dreames: what would his ene-

Decius Brutus Albinus perſwaſion to Cæſar.

E mies and ill willers ſay, and how could they like of his frendes wordes? And who could perſwade them otherwiſe, but that they would thinke his dominion a ſlauerie vnto them, and tirannicall in him ſelfe? And yet if it be ſo, ſayd he, that you vtterly miſlike of this day, it is better that you goe your ſelfe in perſon, and ſaluting the Senate, to diſmiſſe them till an other time. Therewithall he tooke *Cæſar* by the hand, and brought him out of his houſe. *Cæſar* was not gone farre from his houſe, but a bondman, a ſtraunger, did what he could to ſpeake with him: and when he ſawe he was put backe by the great preaſe and multitude of people that followed him, he went ſtraight vnto his houſe, and put him ſelfe into *Calpurnias* handes to be kept, till *Cæſar* came backe againe, telling her that he had great matters to imparte vnto him. And one *Artemidorus* alſo borne in the Ile of GNIDOS, a Doctor of Rethoricke in the Greeke

Decius Brutus brought Cæſar into the Senate houſe. The tokens of the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar.

F tongue, who by meanes of his profeſſion was verie familliar with certaine of *Brutus* confederates, and therefore knew the moſt parte of all their practiſes againſt *Cæſar*: came & brought him a litle bill wrytten with his owne hand, of all that he ment to tell him. He marking howe

Cæsar receiued all the supplications that were offered him, and that he gaue them straight to his men that were about him, presſed neerer to him, and sayed: *Cæsar*, reade this memoriall to your selfe, and that quickely, for they be matters of great waight and touche you neerely. *Cæsar* tooke it of him, but coulde neuer reade it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him: but holding it still in his hande, keeping it to him selfe, went on withall into the Senate house. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was some man else that gaue him that memoriall, and not *Artemidorus*, who did what he could all the way as he went to geue it *Cæsar*, but he was alwayes repulsed by the people. For these things they may seeme to come by chaunce: but the place where the murther was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stoode vp an image of *Pompey* dedicated by him selfe amongest other ornamentes which he gaue vnto the Theater: all these were manifest proofes that it was the ordinaunce of some god, that made this treason to be executed, specially in that verie place. It is also reported, that *Cassius* (though otherwise he did fauour the doctrine of *Epicurus*) beholding the image of *Pompey*, before they entred into the action of their traiterous enterprise: he did softely call vpon it, to aide him. But the instant daũger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did sodainly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man halfe besides him selfe. Now *Antonius*, that was a faithfull frende to *Cæsar*, and a valliant man besides of his handes, him, *Decius Brutus* *Albinus* entertained out of the Senate house, hauing begon a long tale of set purpose. So *Cæsar* comming into the house, all the Senate stoode vp on their feete to doe him honor. Then parte of *Brutus* companie and confederates stoode rounde about *Cæsars* chayer, and parte of them also came towardes him, as though they made sute with *Metellus Cimber*, to call home his brother againe from banishment: and thus prosecuting still their sute, they followed *Cæsar*, till he was set in his chayer. Who, denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after an other, bicause the more they were denied, the more they presſed vpon him, and were the earnester with him: *Metellus* at length, taking his gowne with both his handes, pulled it ouer his necke, which was the signe geuen the confederates to sette apon him. Then *Casca* behinde him strake him in the necke with his sword, howbeit the wounde was not great nor mortall, bicause it seemed, the feare of such a deuelish attempt did amaze him, and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blowe. But *Cæsar* turning straight vnto him, caught hold of his sword, and held it hard: and they both cried out, *Cæsar* in Latin: O vile traitor *Casca*, what doest thou? And *Casca* in Greeke to his brother, brother, helpe me. At the beginning of this sturre, they that were present, not knowing of the conspiracie were so amazed with the horrible sight they sawe: that they had no power to flie, neither to helpe him, not so much, as once to make any outcrie. They on thother side that had conspired his death, compassed him in on euerie side with their swordes drawen in their handes, that *Cæsar* turned him no where, but he was striken at by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was hacked and mangeled amonge them, as a wilde beaste taken of hunters. For it was agreed among them, that euery man should geue him a wound, bicause all their partes should be in this murther: and then *Brutus* him selfe gaue him one wounde about his priuities. Men reporte also, that *Cæsar* did still defende him selfe against the rest, running euerie waye with his bodie: but when he sawe *Brutus* with his sworde drawen in his hande, then he pulled his gowne ouer his heade, and made no more resistaunce, and was driuen either casually, or purposedly, by the counsell of the conspirators, against the base whereupon *Pompeys* image stoode, which ranne all of a goare bloude, till he was slaine. Thus it seemed, that the image tooke iust reuenge of *Pompeys* enemie, being throwen downe on the ground at his feete, and yelding vp his ghost there, for the number of wounds he had vpon him. For it is reported, that he had three and twenty wounds apon his body: and diuers of the conspirators did hurt them selues, striking one body with so many blowes. When *Cæsar* was slaine, the Senate (though *Brutus* stood in the middest amongest them as though he would haue sayd somwhat touching this fact) presently ran out of the house, and flying, filled all the city with maruelous feare and tumult. Insomuch as some did shut to their dores, others forsooke their shops & warehouses, and others ranne to the place to see what the matter was: and others also that had seene it, ran

The place where Cæsar was slaine.

Antonius, Cæsars faithfull frend.

Casca, the first that strake at Cæsar.

Cæsar slaine and had 23. wounds apon him.

A ran home to their houſes againe. But *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, which were two of *Cæſars* chiefeſt frends, ſecretly conueying them ſelues away, fled into other mens houſes, and forſooke their owne. *Brutus* and his confederats on thother ſide, being yet hotte with this murther they had committed, hauing their ſwordes drawen in their hands, came all in a troupe togither out of the Senate, and went into the market place, not as men that made countenance to flie, but otherwiſe boldly holding vp their heades like men of corage, and called to the people to defende their libertie, and ſtayed to ſpeake with euery great perſonage whome they met in their way. Of them, ſome followed this troupe, and went amongeſt them, as if they had bene of the conſpiracie, and falſely chalenged parte of the honor with them: among them was *Caius Octauius*, and *Lentulus Spinther*. But both of them were afterwards put to death, for their vaine B couetouſnes of honor, by *Antonius*, and *Octauius Cæſar* the younger: and yet had no parte of that honor for the which they were put to death, neither did any man beleue that they were any of the confederates, or of counſell with them. For they that did put them to death, tooke reuenge rather of the will they had to offend, then of any fact they had committed. The next morning, *Brutus* and his confederates came into the market place to ſpeake vnto the people, who gaue them ſuch audience, that it ſeemed they neither greatly reproued, nor allowed the fact: for by their great ſilence they ſhowed, that they were ſory for *Cæſars* death, and alſo that they did reuerence *Brutus*. Nowe the Senate graunted generall pardonne for all that was paſte, and to pacifie euery man, ordained beſides, that *Cæſars* funerals ſhoulde bee honored as a god, and eſtabliſhed all thinges that he had done: and gaue certaine prouinces alſo, and C conuenient honors vnto *Brutus* and his confederates, whereby euery man thought all things were brought to good peace & quietnes againe. But when they had opened *Cæſars* teſtamẽt, and found a liberall legacie of money, bequeathed vnto euery citizen of Rome, and that they ſaw his body (which was brought into the market place) all bemangled with gaſhes of ſwords: then there was no order to keepe the multitude and common people quiet, but they plucked vp formes, tables, and ſtooles, and layed them all about the body, & ſetting them a fire, burnt the corſe. Then when the fire was well kindled, they tooke the firebrandes, and went vnto their houſes that had ſlaine *Cæſar*, to ſet them a fire. Other alſo ranne vp and downe the citie to ſee if they could meete with any of them, to cut them in peeces: howbeit they could meete with neuer a man of them, bicauſe they had locked them ſelues vp ſafely in their houſes.

The maruelous vertue of Cæſars dead body. Caſsius.

Cæſars funerals.

D There was one of *Cæſars* frends called *Cinna*, that had a maruelous ſtraunge & terrible dreame the night before. He dreamed that *Cæſar* bad him to ſupper, & that he refuſed, and would not goe: then that *Cæſar* tooke him by the hand, and led him againſt his will. Now *Cinna* hearing at that time, that they burnt *Cæſars* body in the market place, notwithſtanding that he feared his dreame, and had an agew on him beſides: he went into the market place to honor his funeralls. When he came thither, one of the meane ſorte asked what his name was? He was ſtraight called by his name. The firſt man told it to an other, and that other vnto an other, ſo that it ranne ſtraight through them all, that he was one of them that murdered *Cæſar*: (for in deede one of the traitors to *Cæſar*, was alſo called *Cinna* as him ſelfe) wherefore taking him for *Cinna* the murderer, they fell vpon him with ſuch furie, that they preſently diſpatched him in E the market place. This ſturre and furie made *Brutus* and *Caſſius* more affrayed, then of all that was paſt, and therefore within fewe dayes after, they departed out of Rome: and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamity they ſuffered till their deathes, we haue wrytten it at large, in the life of *Brutus*. *Cæſar* dyed at ſix and fifty yeres of age: and *Pompey* alſo liued not paſſing foure yeares more then he. So he reaped no other frute of all his raigne & dominion, which he had ſo vehemently deſired all his life, and purſued with ſuch extreame daunger: but a vaine name only, and a ſuperficiall glory, that procured him the enuy and hatred of his contrie. But his great proſperitie and good fortune that fauored him all his life time, did continue afterwards in the reuenge of his death, purſuing the murtherers both by ſea & land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of al them that were actors or counſellers in the conF ſpiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chaunces that happen vnto men vpon the earth, that which came to *Caſſius* aboue all other, is moſt to be wondred at. For he being ouercome in battell at the iorney of Philippes, ſlue him ſelfe with the ſame ſworde, with the which he

Cinnaes dreame of Cæſar.

The murther of Cinna.

Cæſar 56. yere olde at his death.

The reuenge of Cæſars death.

Caſſius being ouerthrowen at the battell

of Philippes, slue himselfe with the selfe same sword wherewith he stroke Cæsar.

strake *Cæsar*. Againe, of signes in the element, the great comet which seuen nightes together was seene very bright after *Cæsars* death, the eight night after was neuer seene more. Also the brightnes of the sunne was darkened, the which all that yeare through rose very pale, and shined not out, whereby it gaue but small heate: therefore the ayer being very clowdy & darke, by the weakenes of the heate that could not come foorth, did cause the earth to bring foorth but raw and vnrype frute, which rotted before it could rype. But aboue all, the ghost that appeared vnto *Brutus* shewed plainly, that the goddes were offended with the murther of *Cæsar*.

VVonders seene in the element after Cæsars death.

A great Comet.

Brutus vision.

The vision was thus. *Brutus* being ready to passe ouer his army from the citie of ABYDOS, to the other coast lying directly against it, slept euery night (as his manner was) in his tent, and being yet awake, thinking of his affaires: (for by reporte he was as carefull a Captaine, and liued with as litle sleepe, as euer man did) he thought he heard a noyse at his tent dore, & looking towards the light of the lampe that waxed very dimme, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderfull greatnes, and dreadfull looke, which at the first made him maruelously afraid. But when he sawe that it did him no hurt, but stoode by his bedde side, and sayd nothing: at length he asked him what he was. The image aunswered him: I am thy ill angell, *Brutus*, and thou shalt see me by the citie of PHILIPPES. Then *Brutus* replied againe, and sayd: well, I shall see thee then. Therewithall, the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time *Brutus* being in battell neere vnto the citie of PHILIPPES, against *Antonius* and *Octauius Cæsar*, at the first battell he wan the victorie, and ouerthrowing all them that withstoode him, he draue them into young *Cæsars* campe, which he tooke. The second battell being at hand, this spirit appeared again vnto him, but spake neuer a word. Thereuppon *Brutus* knowing he should dye, did put him selfe to all hazard in battell, but yet fighting could not be slaine. So seeing his men put to flight and ouerthrowen, he ranne vnto a litle rocke not farre of, and there setting his swordes point to his breast, fell vpon it, and slue him selfe, but yet as it is reported, with the helpe of his frend, that dispatched him.

A spirit appeared vnto Brutus.

The second appearing of the spirit, vnto Brutus.

The end of Cæsars life.

THE LIFE OF *Phocion.*

THE Orator *Demades* on a time floriſhed in ATHENS, bicauſe in all his doings and ſayings in the adminiſtration and gouernment of the common wealth, he alwayes fauored the MACEDONIANS and *Antipater:* in reſpect whereof he was eftſoones compelled, both in his counſell and lawes, to preferre many things to the diſhonor of his city, ſaying, that they muſt pardon him, bicauſe he gouerned the ſhippewrackes of his contrie. This was an arrogant ſpeache: but yet referring it to the gouernment of *Phocion* he ſayd truely. For in deede *Demades* ſelfe was the ſhippewracke of the common weale, bicauſe he liued ſo inſolently, and gouerned ſo lewdly. Inſomuch as *Antipater* ſayd of him, after he was very old: that there was nothing left of him, no more then of a beaſt ſacrificed, but the tongue and belly. But the vertues of *Phocion*, which had to fight againſt the cruell and bitter enemy of the time, were ſo obſcured by the calamities of GREECE: that his fame was nothing ſo great as he deſerued. For we muſt not credit *Sophocles* words, making vertue of it ſelfe but weake, in theſe verſes,

VVhen ſtormes of ſore aduerſities (o king) doe men aſſaile,
It dauntes their corage, cuts their combs, and makes their harts to quaile.

Demades arrogãt ſaying.

The power of vertue and fortune.

But we muſt onely geue place to fortune, who when ſhe frowneth vppon any good and vertuous men, her force is ſo great, that where they deſerue honor and fauor, ſhe violently heapeth falſe & malicious accuſations againſt them, which maketh their vertue lame, & not of that credit which in dede it deſerueth. And yet it ſeemeth to many, that free cities are moſt cruel vnto their good citizens in time of proſperity: bicauſe they ſlow in wealth & liue at eaſe, which maketh them of hauty mindes. But it is cleane contrary. For aduerſity commonly maketh mens maners ſower, chollericke, and very haſty: beſides, ſlow to heare, churliſh, and offended with euery litle ſharpe word. For he that correcteth them that offend, ſeemeth to caſt their aduerſitie in their teeth: and he that telleth them plainly of their faultes, ſeemeth alſo to deſpiſe them. For like as honnie ſweete by nature, applied vnto woundes, doth bring both ſmart and paine: euen ſo, ſharpe wordes, though profitable, doe bite the vnfortunate man, if they be not tempered with diſcretion & curteſie. And therefore *Homer* the Poet calleth ſweete

Aduerſitie maketh men haſty.

and pleasaunt thinges μετοχὴν, as yeelding and not striuing with contrariety, against that parte of the minde, whereby we be angrie and froward. For euen as sore eyes doe like to looke on blacke and darke colours, and can not abide the bright and glaring: so in a city, where for want of foresight and gouernment, things goe not well, men be so diuers and vnwilling to heare of their owne fault and estate, that they had rather continue in their follie and daunger, then by sharpnes of words to be rebuked and restored. So that it being impossible to amend one fault with a greater, that common wealth must be in great daunger, that when it hath most nede of helpe, is lotheste to receiue any: and he also hazardeth him selfe, that plainly telleth them their faultes. Like as therefore the Mathematician sayth, that the sunne doth not altogether follow the motion of the higheste heauen, nor yet is moued directly contrary, but fetching a compase a litle ouerthwart, maketh an oblique circle, and by variety of approching and departing preserueth all things, & kepeth the world in good temperature. Euen so, too seuere gouernment, contrarying the peoples mindes in all things, is not good: as also it is maruelous daungerous, not to correct offendors when they offend, for feare of the peoples displeasure. But the meane, sometime to yeelde vnto the people to make them the more willing to obey, and to graunt them things of pleasure, to demaund of them againe things profitable: that is a good way to gouerne men the better by. For, by gentle meanes they are brought to doe many profitable things, when they seeke it not of them, by rigor & authority. In deede this meane is very hard to be obserued, bicause authority is hardly tempered with lenity. But when they meete together, there is no harmony more musicall, nor concordance more perfit then that: and therfore it is said, that thereby God doth gouerne the world, working rather a voluntary, then a forced obediēce in men. But this fault of seuerenes was in *Cato* the younger, for he could not fashion him selfe to the peoples maners, neither did they like his: neither did he win his estimacion in the common wealth by flattering of them. And therefore *Cicero* sayd, that he was put by the Consulship, for that he behaued him selfe as though he liued in the common wealth deuised by *Plato*, & not amongest the disordered and corrupt posterity of *Romulus*. Me thinketh I can liken him properly vnto vntimely frute: the which though men doe take pleasure to see and wonder at, yet they eate them not. Euen so, the auncient simplicity of *Catoes* maner (hauing so long time bene out of vse, & comming then to shew it selfe in that corrupt time & ill maners of the city) was in deede much praiseworthy: but yet not the conuenientest, nor the fittest for him, bicause it aunswered nor respected not the vse and maners of his time. For he found not his contry (as *Phocion* did) vtterly destroyed, but tossed in a daungerous tempest: & being not of authority like the pilot to take the sterne in hand, & gouerne the shippe: he tooke him selfe to tricking the sailes, and preparing the tacle, so to assist men of greater power. And yet being in no greater place, he so thwarted fortune (which seemed to haue sworne the ouerthrowe of the estate of Rome) that with much a doe, with great difficulty, & a long time after, she executed her malice. And yet the common wealth had almost gotten the victory of her, by meanes of *Cato* & his vertue: with whom I doe compare the vertue of *Phocion*, who yet in my opinion, were not in all thinges alike, neither in their honesty, nor policy of gouernment. For there is difference betwext manhood & manhood, as there was betwext that of *Alcibiades*, and that of *Epaminondas*: betwext wisedom & wisedom, as betwext that of *Aristides*, & that of *Themistocles*: & betwext iustice & iustice, as betwext that of *Numa*, & that of *Agesilaus*. But the vertues of these men (to him that shall superficially regard, & slightly consider them) seeme all one in quality, in maner, & vse, both alike in temperance of curtesie with seuerity, & manhood with wisdom: a vigilant care for others, with presence of corage & security of mind for them selues, abhorring all filthines & corruption, & imbrasing cōstancy & loue of iustice: that for any man to discerne the difference betwene thē, it requireth an excellent good wit & iudgement. Now touching *Cato*, euery man knoweth that he was of a noble house, as we wil shew you hereafter in his life: but for *Phocion*, I gesse he came of no base parentage. For if he had bene the sonne of a spoonemaker, as *Idomeneus* testifieth: *Glaucippus* the sonne of *Hyperides*, hauing in an inuectiue he wrote against him, rehersed all the mischiefes he could of him, he would not haue forgotte to haue vpbraid him with his base parētage, neither he him selfe also (if that had bene true) had bene so well brought vp as he was. For when he was but a young man, he was *Platoes* scholler;

Ciceroes saying of Cato, & the common wealth at Rome.

Catoes plaine maner, became not the corrupt and fatile time.

The parētage of Phocion.

and

A and afterwards *Xenocrates* ſcholler, in the ſchoole of Academia: and ſo, euen from his firſt beginning, he gaue him ſelfe to followe them that were learned. For as *Duris* writeth, neuer ATHENIAN ſaw him weepe nor laugh, nor waſhe him ſelfe in any common bathe, nor his hands out of his ſleeues when he ware a long gowne. For when he went to the warres, he would alwaies goe afoote, and neuer wore gowne, vnles it were extreame cold: and then the ſouldiers to mocke him withall, would ſay it was a ſigne of a ſharpe winter, when they ſawe *Phocion* in his gowne. Nowe, though in deede he was very curteous and gentle of nature, yet he had ſuch a grymme looke withall, that no man had any deſire to talke with him, but ſuch as were of his familliar acquaintance. And therefore when *Chares* the Orator one day mocked him for the bending of his browes, and that the ATHENIANS fell in a laughter withall: My Maiſters, ſay *Phocion*, the bending of my browes haue done you no hurt, but the foolery and laughing of theſe flatterers, haue made ye oftentymes to weepe. Furthermore, his maner of ſpeech was very profitable, for the good ſentences and counſells he vttered: but it was mixed with an imperious, auſtere, and bitter ſhortnes. For as *Zeno* the Philoſopher ſayeth, that the wiſe man ſhould temper his wordes with witte and reaſon, before he vtter them: euen ſo was *Phocions* ſpeech, the which in few words comprehended much matter. And thereupon it ſeemeth that *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN ſayd, that *Demoſthenes* was an excellent Orator, but in ſpeech, *Phocion* was very wittie. For like as coynes of gold or ſiluer, the lighter they waye, the finer they be of goodnes: euen ſo the excellencie of ſpeeche conſiſteth in ſignifying much, by fewe wordes. And touching this matter, it is reported, that the Theater being full of people, *Phocion* walked all alone vpon the ſcaffold where the players played, and was in a great muſe with him ſelfe: whereuppon, one of his friendes ſeeing him ſo in his muſes, ſaid vnto him, Surely *Phocion*, thy minde is occupied about ſomewhat. In deede ſo is it, ſayd he: for I am thinking with my ſelfe, if I could abridge any thing of that I haue to ſay to the people. For *Demoſthenes* ſelfe litle eſteming all other Orators, when *Phocion* roſe vp to ſpeake, he would round his friendes in their eares, and told them: See, the cutter of my wordes riſeth. Peraduenture he ment it by his maners alſo: For when a good man ſpeaketh, not a word onely, but a wincke of an eye, or a nod of his head, doth counteruaile many artificiall words & ſpeeches of Rethoritians. Furthermore, when he was a young man, he went to the warres vnder Captaine *Chabrias*, and followed him: of whom he learned to be a perfit ſouldier, and in recompence thereof, he reformed many of his Captaines imperfections, and made him wiſer then he was. For *Chabrias* otherwiſe beeing very dull and ſlothfull of him ſelfe, when he came to fight, he was ſo hotte and corageous, that he would thruſt himſelfe into daunger, with the deſperateſt perſons: & therefore for his raſhnes, it afterwards coſt him his life, in the citie of CHIO, where launching out with his gally before the reſt, he preſſed to land in deſpite of his enemies. But *Phocion* being wiſe to loke to him ſelfe, and very quicke to execute: on the one ſide quickned *Chabrias* ſlownes, and on the other ſide alſo, by wiſedom cooled his heate and furie. *Chabrias* therefore, being a good man & curteous, loued *Phocion* very well, and did preferre him in matters of ſeruice, making him famous amongeſt the GRÆCIANS, and employed him in his hardieſt enterpriſes. For by his meanes he atchieued great fame and honor in a battell by ſea, which he wanne by the Ile of NAXOS, giuing him the left winge of his armie: on which ſide the fight was ſharpeſt of all the battell, and there he ſooneſt put the enemies to flight. This battel being the firſt which the citie of ATHENS wanne with their owne men onely, after it had bene taken: gaue the people cauſe to loue *Chabrias*, and made them alſo to make accompt of *Phocion*, as of a noble ſouldier, & worthy to haue charge. This victory was gotten on the feaſt day of the great miſteries, in memory whereof, *Chabrias* did yearly, on the ſixtenth day of the moneth Boedromion (now called Auguſt) make all the people of ATHENS drinke. After that time, *Chabrias* ſending *Phocion* to receiue the tribute of the Ilanders, their confederats, and the ſhippes which they ſhould ſend him: he gaue him twenty gallies to bringe him thither. But *Phocion* then (as it is reported) ſaid vnto him: if he ſent him to fight with his enemies, he had neede to haue moe ſhippes: but if he ſent him as an Ambaſſador vnto his friendes, then, that one ſhippe would ſerue his turne. So he went with one gallie onely: and after he had ſpoken with the cities, and curteouſly dealt with the gouernors of euery one of them, he returned backe, furniſhed of their confederats,

Phocion neuer wept, nor laughed.

Phocions maners.

Wherein excellencie of ſpeech conſiſteth.

Phocions firſt ſouldierſhip.

The victory of Chabrias and Phocion, in the Ile of Naxos.

with a great fleete of ſhippes and money, to carry vnto ATHENS. So *Phocion* did not onely re- A
uerence *Chabrias* while he liued, but after his death alſo he tooke great care of his friendes and
kinſmen, and ſought to make his ſonne *Cteſippus*, an honeſt man: whom, though he ſawe very
wilde and vntoward, yet he neuer left to reforme him, and hide his fault. It is ſayde alſo, that
when this young man did trouble him much with vaine friuolous queſtions, ſeruing then vn-
der him, he being Captaine, and taking vpon him to giue him counſell, to reproue him, and
to teache him the dutie of a Captaine: he could not but ſay, O *Chabrias, Chabrias*: now doe I
paye for the loue thou dideſt beare me when thou wert aliue, in bearing with the folly of thy
ſonne. But when he ſaw that the heads of the citie of ATHENS had as it were by lot deuided a-
monge them ſelues the offices of warre and peace, and that ſome of them, as *Eubulus*, *Ariſto-*
phon, *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, and *Hyperides* were common ſpeakers and preferrers of matters in B
counſells and Senate: and that others, as *Diopithes*, *Meneſtheus*, *Leoſthenes*, and *Chares*, became
great men by the warres, and had charge of armies: he determined rather to follow the man-
ner of gouernment, of *Pericles*, *Ariſtides*, & *Solon*, as being mingled of both. For either of them,
ſeemed (as the Poet *Archilochus* ſayth)

To bee both Champions ſtowt, of Marſis vvarlyke band,
And of the Muſes eke, the artes to vnderſtand.

He knew alſo, that *Pallas* the goddeſſe and protector of ATHENS, was called *Polemica*, and
Politica: to wit, skilfull to rule both in warre and peace. So, hauing thus diſpoſed of him ſelfe in
gouernment, he alwaies perſwaded peace and quietnes, and yet was often choſen Captaine,
and had charge of armies, being the onely man that of all the Captaines afore him, and in his C
time, did neuer ſue for charge, neither yet refuſed it at any time, when he was called to ſerue
the common wealth. It is certen that he was choſen fiue and forty times Prætor, and was al-
waies abſent at the elections, but yet ſent for. Whereuppon all the wiſe men wondred to ſee
the manner of the people towards him, conſidering that *Phocion* had neuer done nor ſayd any
thing to flatter them withall, but commonly had bene againſt their deſires: and how they v-
ſed other gouernours notwithſtanding, that were more pleaſant and delightfull in their orati-
ons, like men to ſport at, as it is ſayd of kings, who after they haue waſhed their handes to goe
to their meate, doe vſe to haue Ieſters and flatterers to make them mery: but on thother ſide
when they had occaſion of warres in deede, how then like wiſe men they could bethinke them
ſelues, and chooſe the wiſeſt and ſtowteſt man of the citie, & that moſt would withſtand their D
mindes and deſires. For on a time an oracle of *Apollo Delphias*, beeing openly red before them,
which ſayd, that all the other ATHENIANS being agreed, yet there was one amonge them that
was contrary to all the reſt of the citie: *Phocion* ſtepping forth before them all, bad them ne-
uer ſeeke further for the man, for it was he that liked none of all their doings. Another time he
chanced to ſay his opinion before all the people, the which they all praiſed and approued:
but he ſaw they were ſo ſodeinly become of his minde, he turned backe to his friendes, and aſ-
ked them: alas, hath not ſome euill thing ſlipped my mouth vnwares? Another time a gene-
rall collection being gathered of the people at ATHENS, towardes the ſolemnizing of a ſacri-
fice: other men of his eſtate hauing payd their part, he was often alſo called vpon to pay his.
But he aunſwered them againe, aske them that be rich, for it were a ſhame for me to giue you E
any thing, being yet in this mans debt: pointing to *Callicles* the Vſurer, who had lent him mo-
ney. But when they left him not for all this, to cry out apon him for the contribution, he began
to tell them this tale: that on a time there was a coward preparing to goe to the warres, and
as he was ready to depart, he heard the Rauens what a crying they made, and taking it for an
ill ſigne, he put of his harnes, and kept him at home. After that he put on his harnes againe, &
went on his way towards the campe: the Rauens beganne againe to make a goodlier cry be-
hind him. But thereuppon he ſtaied ſtraight, and at length ſayd: ye ſhall crooke as lowd as yo
liſt, before ye feede of my carkas. An other time the ATHENIANS being in warre vnder his
charge, would needes haue him to leade them to giue charge vppon their enemies, but he
would not: thereuppon they called him coward, and ſayd he durſt not. Well, ſayd he againe, F
it is not you can make me valiant, no more then my ſelfe can make you cowards: and yet ond
of vs know an other. Another time in a maruelous daungerous time, the people handled him

very

Phocions no-table ſayings.

A very churliſhly, and would needes haue him preſently deliuer accompt of his charge: but he aunſwered them, O my friendes, firſt ſaue your ſelues. Furthermore, the people beeing very lowly and humble, for feare, in time of warres: and preſently in peace againe waxing braue in wordes againſt *Phocion*, charging him that he had taken the victorie out of their handes: he onely ſayd this to them, you are happy that haue a Captaine that knowes you, els you would ſinge a new ſonge. Another time there was a quarrell betwixt the BOEOTIANS, and them, about their bounds and fronters: the which they would not try by lawe, but by battel. But *Phocion* told them, they did they wiſt not what, & counſelled them rather to fight it out in words, in which they were the ſtronger, and not with weapons, where they were the weaker. Another time they ſo much miſliked his opinion in the aſſembly, that they woulde not abide to heare
B him, nor ſuffer him to ſpeake. Wel, my Maiſters, q he then, you may make me doe that which is not to be done: but you ſhall neuer compell me, againſt my minde, to ſay that which is not to be ſpoken. He would as gallantly alſo gird the Orators his aduerſaries, when they were buſie with him. As on a time he aunſwered *Demoſthenes*, that ſayd vnto him: the people, *Phocion*, will kill thee one day, and if it take them in the heades. Yea thee, q he, if they be wiſe. Agayne, when *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN, in a hotte day perſwaded the people of ATHENS to make warre with king *Philip*, ſweating, and with much a doe fetching his breath, being a fatte man, that he was driuen oftentymes to drinke water, to ende his oration: ſurely ſayd *Phocion*, ye ſhall doe maruelous wiſely, to make warre at ſuch a mans motion. Why, what thinke ye will he doe, when he hath his curats and his target vpon him, and that the enemies be ready to fight: that
C now in making an oration onely before you, which he hath ſtudied long before, is almoſt ſtifled? Another time alſo whē *Lycurgus* in his oration had openly reproued him for many things before the people, and among the reſt, for that *Alexander* demaunding tenne Citizens of ATHENS to do with them what he thought good, that he had counſelled them to deliuer them: *Phocion* aunſwered him, I haue oftentimes counſelled them for the beſt, but they would neuer follow my councell. There was one *Archibiades* at that time in ATHENS, that counterfeated the LACEDÆMONIAN, with a maruelous long beard, a beggerly cloke, and a ſower looke. *Phocion* being checkt one day before the people, appealed vnto *Archibiades* for a witnes, to confirme that he ſpake. But he riſing vp, counſelled the people contrarily, to flatter them withall. *Phocion* perceiuing it, tooke him by the beard, and ſayd vnto him: alas *Archibiades*, why diddeſt
D thou not then clippe thy beard, ſeeing thou wouldeſt needes flatter? There was another great pleader, one *Ariſtogiton*, that in all aſſemblies of the cities, did nothing but buſſe warres continually in their eares. Afterwards when men were to be leauied and muſtered, and their names entred that ſhould goe to the warres: *Ariſtogiton* came halting into the market place with a ſtaffe in his hand, and both his legges bound vp, to make the people beleeue that he was ſicke and diſeaſed. *Phocion* ſpying *Ariſtogiton* farre of, cryed out to the Clearke that wrote the billes: put in *Ariſtogiton*, lame, and impudent. So that oftentymes it makes me muſe, howe, or wherefore ſo ſharpe and ſeuere a man (as by theſe examples it appeareth he was) could come to the ſurname of good. Notwithſtanding, in the ende I find it a hard thing, but not impoſſible, that
E a man ſhould be like wine, both ſweete and ſharpe together: as there are others to the contrary, that at the firſt ſight, ſeeme very curteous and gentle of conuerſation, and apon better acquaintance, proue churliſhe and dogged. It is reported alſo, that *Hyperides* the Orator one day ſhould ſay to the ATHENIANS: I pray you (my Lords) note me not for my ſharpenes, but conſider if my ſharpenes be without profit. As who ſhould ſay, men were not troubleſom, but for couetouſnes onely, and as if the people did not rather feare and hate them, that of inſolencie & malice did abuſe & contemne their authority. *Phocion* on thother ſide, he neuer did Citizen hurt, for any priuate malice he bare him: but was euer ſharpe and cruell to them, which were againſt any matter he preferred for the benefit of the common wealth. For in all other things, he ſhewed him ſelf maruelous lowly and curteous to euery body, and would be familliar with his aduerſaries, and helpe them if they wanted, or were otherwiſe in daunger of diſpleaſure
F with the ſtate. Inſomuch as his friendes therefore reproued him on a time, when he ſpake in the behalfe of a naughty man, an offender: O, ſayd he, honeſt men neede no helpe. An other time, *Ariſtogiton* the Sycophant, beeing clapped vp in priſon, ſent vnto *Phocion* to pray him ſo

Ariſtogiton, a Sycophant, & coward.

Phocion called by ſurname, good.

come and speake with him, after he was condemned. *Phocion* went into the prison to him, A
though his friendes perswaded him the contrary, and aunswered them: O, let me alone, sayd
he, for where could I see *Aristogiton* more gladly then in prison? Furthermore, when there
went any army to sea out of ATHENS, if there were any other chosen generall but *Phocion*: the
townes and Ilandes all alongest the sea coast, (which were friendes and confederats of the A-
THENIANS) fortified their walls, filled vp their hauens, and brought their wiues, slaues, and cat-
tell, and all their goods into their townes and cities, as if they had bene enemies, & open warre
proclaimed. Contratily also, if *Phocion* had bene Capteine and generall: they would send out
their shippes to the sea to meete him farre of, crowned with garlands in token of common
ioy, and so would bringe him to their cities. King *Philip* secretly seking to winne the Ile of EU-
BOEA, sent an armie thither out of MACEDON, and intised the townes by tyrannes to rebell: B
whereuppon, *Plutarke* ERETRIAN praied in ayde of the ATHENIANS, to take this Iland from
the MACEDONIANS, which they daily wanne more and more, if they came not presently to
Phocions iorney into Euboea. ayde them. So *Phocion* was sent general thither, but with a fewe men onely, bicause they made
account the men of that contry would straight ioyne with him, for the good will they bare
him. But when he came thither, he found them all traytors, and rebells, and brybed with king
Philippes money, which he lauished out amonge them: so that he was brought into great
daunger. Thereupon he retyred to a litle hill that is seuered from the fieldes of Tamynes, with
a great large valley, and there fortified him selfe with that litle armie he had. Then he persua-
Phocion perswadeth his Captaines, to suffer the mutinous soulditers & cowards to depart the campe. ded his Captaines not to care for all those rebels, pratlers, and cowards which fled out of their
tents, and forsooke their ensignes and Captaines, but that they should let them goe out of the C
campe where they would. For, sayd he, such disobedient souldiers here will doe vs no seruice,
and moreouer will hinder them that haue good will to serue well: and at home also, knowing
them selues in faulte, for that they forsooke the campe without licence, they dare not com-
playne apon vs. Afterwards when the enemies came to set apon him, he commaunded his
men to arme, and put them selues in readines, and not to sturre, vntill he had done sacrifice:
but he stayed long before he came, either bicause he could haue no lucky signes of the sacrifi-
ces, or els for that he would draw his enemies nearer. Thereuppon *Plutarke* ERETRIAN sup-
posing he deferred to marche for feare, went him selfe first into the field, with certen light
horsemen he had in pay. Then the men of armes seeing them giue charge, could hold no lon-
ger, but followed him also, stragling out of the campe one after an other disorderly, and so did D
set apon their enemies. The first being ouerthrowen, all the other dispersed them selues, and
Plutarke him self fled. Then certen bandes of the enemies thinking all had bene theirs, follow-
ed them euen into their campe, and came to throw downe their rampiers. In the meane time,
Phocions victory in Euboea. *Phocion* hauing ended his sacrifice, the ATHENIANS came out of their campe, and set apon
them, and made part of them flie immediatly, and part of them also they slue hard by the tren-
ches of their campe. Then *Phocion* commaunded that the battell should stand still, to receiue
their men that were scattered vp and downe the fieldes: and in the meane space, he him selfe,
with the choyceste men of his armie, gaue charge apon the enemies. The fight was cruell be-
twene them. For the ATHENIANS fought very valiantly, ventring their persons: but of them
all, two young men fighting by their generall, (*Glaucus*, the sonne of *Polymedes*, and *Thallus*, the E
sonne of *Cineas*) caried the praise away. And so did *Cleophanes* that daye also shewe him selfe
very valiant. For he crying out still apon the horsemen that fled, & perswading them to come
and helpe their generall that was in daunger: brought them backe againe, and thereby gotte
the footemen the victorie. After this battell he draue *Plutarke* out of ERETRIA, and tooke the
castell of ZARETRA, standing in a very commodious place for this warre, where the Ile draw-
eth to a straighnes, enuyronned on either side with the sea: and would not suffer his men to
take any GRAECIANS prisoners, fearing least the Orators at ATHENS might moue the people
sodeinly in a rage, to put them to death. After all these thinges were done, *Phocion* returned
backe to ATHENS. But then did the confederats of the ATHENIANS straight wishe for his iu-
stice and curtesie: and the ATHENIANS them selues also knewe his skilfulnes and manhood. F
For his successor *Molossus*, that was generall for the rest of the warre, delt so vndiscretely, that
he him selfe was taken prisoner there. Then king *Philip* beeing put in maruailous great hope,

went

A went with all his armie into HELLESPONT, perſwading him ſelfe, that he ſhould ſtraight take all CHERRONESVS, the cities of PERINTHE and BYZANTIVM. The ATHENIANS thereuppon determining to ſend ayde, to preuent king *Philips* comming: the Orators made great ſute, that *Chares* might be choſen Captaine. But he being ſent thither with a good number of ſhippes, did no ſeruice worthy commendacion, neither would the cities receiue his nauie into their hauens: but being ſuſpected of euery man, and deſpiſed of his enemies, he was driuen to ſayle vp and downe, and to get money of the allyes. The people being incenſed by the Orators, were maruelouſly offended, & repented them ſelues that they had ſent ayde vnto the BYZANTINES. Then *Phocion* riſing vp, ſpake vnto the people, & told them, that it was no reaſon that miſtruſting their confederats they ſhould be offended with them: but to be angry with their Cap-
B taines that deſerued to be miſtruſted. For they, ſaid he, doe make your confederats affraide of you, who without you notwithſtanding can not ſaue themſelues. The people chaunging their mindes by his oration, made *Phocion* againe their Captaine, and ſent him with an armie into HELLESPONT to helpe their confederats there, which was of great importance to ſaue the citie of BYZANTIVM. Furthermore, *Phocions* fame was ſo great, that *Cleon*, the greateſt man of vertue and authoritie in BIZANTIVM, and had before bene *Phocions* companion and familiar in the Academy: he made ſute for him vnto the citie. Then the BYZANTINES would not ſuffer him (though he deſired it) to campe without the walls of their citie, but opening their gates, receiued him in, and mingled the ATHENIANS amongeſt them. Who, perceiuing how much the Citizens truſted them, did ſo honeſtly behaue them ſelues in their conuerſation amongeſt
C them, that they gaue them no maner of cauſe to complaine of them: and ſhewed them ſelues ſo valiant beſides in all battells and conflicts, that *Philip* (which before was thought dreadfull and inuincible, euery man beeing affraid to fight any battell with him) returned out of HELLESPONT without any thing done, and to his great diſcredit: where *Phocion* wanne ſome of his ſhippes, and recouered againe the ſtrong holdes, in the which he had placed his garriſons. Furthermore, making diuers inuaſions into his contries, he deſtroyed his borders: till that at length he was ſore hurt there, and ſo driuen to returne home againe, by meanes of a great armie that came againſt him, to defend the contry: Shortly after, the MEGARIANS ſecretly ſent vnto him, to deliuer their citie into his hands. *Phocion* fearing if the BOEOTIANS vnderſtood it, that they would preuent him: he called a common aſſembly earely in the morning, & told the
D people what meſſage the MEGARIANS had ſent vnto him. The people apon his motion being determined to ayde them: *Phocion* ſtraight ſounding the trumpet at the breaking vp of the aſſembly, gaue them no further leyſure, but to take their weapons, and ſo led them incontinently to MEGARA. The MEGARIANS receiuing him, *Phocion* ſhut vp the hauen of NISÆA, and brought two long walls from the citie vnto it, and ſo ioyned it vnto the ſea: Whereby he ſtood not greatly in feare of his enemies by land, and for the ſea, the ATHENIANS were Lordes of it. Now when the ATHENIANS had proclaimed open warre againſt king *Philip*, and had choſen other Captaines in his abſence, and that he was returned from the Iles: aboue all thinges, he perſwaded the people (king *Philip* requiring peace, and greatly fearing the daunger) to accept the condicions of peace. Then one of theſe buſy Orators that was ſtill accuſing one or other,
E ſaid vnto him: why, *Phocio*, how dareſt thou attept to turne the ATHENIANS frō warre, hauing now their ſwordes in their handes? yes truely, ſaid *Phocion*: though in warre I know I ſhal commaund thee, & in peace thou wilt commaund me. But when the people would not harken to him, and that *Demoſthenes* caried them away with his perſwaſions, who counſelled them to fight with king *Philip*, as farre from ATTICA as they could: I pray thee friend, ſaid *Phocion* vnto him, let vs not diſpute where we ſhall fight, but conſider how we ſhall ouercome, the which if we can ſo bring to paſſe, be ſure we ſhall put the warre farre enough from vs. For men that are ouercome, be euer in feare and daunger, whereſoeuer they be. When the ATHENIANS had loſt a battell againſt *Philip*, the ſeditious Orators that hunted after innouacion, preferred *Charidemus* to be choſen generall of the ATHENIANS: whereuppon, the Magiſtrates & Senatours
F being affraid, and taking with them all the Court and Senate of the AREOPAGITS, they made ſuch earneſt ſute to the people, with the teares in their eyes, that at laſt (but with much a doe) they obteyned, that the affaires of the citie might be put into *Phocions* handes & gouernment.

Phocion ſaued the citie of Byzantium.

Phocio draue Philip out of Helleſpont.

Phocion ioyned Megara vnto Athens.

He thought good to accept the articles and gentle condicions of peace which *Philip* offered them. But after that the Orator *Demades* moued that the citie of ATHENS would enter into the common treatie of peace, & common assembly of the states of GRÆCE, procured at king *Philips* requeſt: *Phocion* would not agree to it, vntill they might vnderſtand what demaunds *Philip* would make at the assembly of the GRÆCIANS. When his opinion through the peruerſnes of time could not be liked of them, & that he ſaw the ATHENIANS ſoone after repented them that they did not followe his counſell, when they heard they ſhould furniſh king *Philip* with ſhippes and horſemen: then he told them, the feare whereof ye now complaine, made me to withſtand that, which now ye haue conſented vnto. But ſithence it is ſo that you haue nowe paſt your conſents, you muſt be contented, and not be diſcoraged at it: remembring that your aunceſtors in times paſt haue ſometyme commaunded, and other while obeyed others, and yet haue ſo wiſely and diſcreetely gouerned them ſelues in both fortunes, that they haue not onely ſaued their citie, but all GRÆCE beſides. When newes came of king *Philips* death, the people for ioy would ſtraight haue made bonfires and ſacrifices to the goddes for the good newes: but *Phocion* would not ſuffer them, and ſayd, that it was a token of a baſe minde, to reioyce at any mans death, & beſides that, the armie which ouerthrew you at CHÆRONEA, hath not yet loſt but one man. And when *Demoſthenes* alſo would commonly ſpeake ill of *Alexander*, and ſpecially when he was ſo neare THEBES with his armie: *Phocion* rehearſed vnto him theſe verſes of *Homer*:

To reioyce at any mans hurt, ſheweth a baſe mind, & vile nature.

Howu great a folly is it for to ſtand
Againſt a cruell king,
Which beeing armd and hauing ſword in hand,
Seekes fame of euery thing?

What, when there is ſuch a great fire kindled, wilt thou caſt the citie into it? for my part therefore, though they were willing, yet will I not ſuffer them to caſt them ſelues away: for to that ende haue I taken vpon me this charge and gouernment. And afterwards alſo, when *Alexander* had raſed the citie of THEBES, and had required the ATHENIANS to deliuer him *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides*, and *Caridemus*, and that the whole aſſembly and counſell not knowing what aunſwer to make, did all caſt their eyes vppon *Phocion*, and cryed vnto him to ſay his opinion: he then roſe vppe, and taking one of his friendes vnto him called *Nicocles*, whome he loued and truſted aboue all men els, he ſayd thus openly vnto them. Theſe men whome *Alexander* requireth, haue brought this citie to this extremitie, that if he required *Nicocles* here, I would giue my conſent to deliuer him: For I would thinke my ſelfe happy to loſe my life, for all your ſafetie. Furthermore, though I am right hartely ſory (ſayd he) for the poore afflicted THEBANS, that are come into the citie for ſuecour: yet I aſſure ye, it is better one citie mourne, then two. And therefore I thinke it is beſt to intreate the Conqueror for both, rather then to our certeine deſtruction to fight with him that is the ſtronger. It is ſayd alſo that *Alexander* refuſed the firſt decree which the people offered him vppon *Phocions* requeſt, and ſent awaye the Ambaſſadors, and would not ſpeake with them. But the ſecond, which *Phocion* him ſelfe brought, he tooke: beeing tolde by his fathers olde ſeruaunts, that king *Philip* made great accompt of him. Whereuppon, *Alexander* did not onely giue him audience, and graunt his requeſt, but further followed his counſell. For *Phocion* perſwaded him, if he loued quietnes, to leaue warre: if he deſired fame, then, that he ſhould make warre with the barbarous people, but not with the GRÆCIANS. So *Phocion* feeding *Alexanders* humor with ſuch talke and diſcourſe as he thought would like him beſt: he ſo altered and ſoftened *Alexanders* diſpoſition, that when he went from him, he willed him that the ATHENIANS ſhould looke to their affayres, for if he ſhould dye, he knewe no people fitter to commaund then they. Furthermore, bicauſe he would be better acquainted with *Phocion*, and make him his friend: he made ſo much of him, that he more honored him, then all the reſt of his friends. To this effect, *Duris* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that when *Alexander* was growen very great, and had ouercome king *Darius*: he left out of his letters this worde Chærin (to wit, ioy, and health) which he vſed commonly in all the letters he wrote, and would no more honor any other with that maner of ſalutacion, but *Phocion*, & *Antipater*. *Chares* alſo writeth the ſame. And

Alexander pacified with the Athenians, by Phocions meanes.

they

A they all doe confesse, that *Alexander* sent *Phocion* a great gift out of Asia, of a hundred siluer talents. This money being brought to Athens, *Phocion* asked them that brought it, why *Alexander* gaue him such a great reward, aboue all the other Citizens of Athens. Because, sayd they, he onely esteemeth thee to be a good, and honest man. *Phocion* replied againe, then let him giue me leaue to be that I seeme, & am, whilest I liue. The Messengers would not so leaue him, but followed him home to his house, where they saw his great husbandrie, & thriftines: For they found his wife her selfe baking, and he him selfe drewe water before them, out of the well, to wash his feete. But then they were more earnestly in hand with him than before, and prayed him to take the kings present, and were offended with him, saying it was a shame for *Alexanders* friend to liue so miserably and beggerly as he did. Then *Phocion* seeing a poore old

B man goe by, in a threede bare gowne, asked them, whether they thought him worse then he? No, God forbid, aunswered they againe. Then replied he againe, he liues with lesse then I do, and yet is contented, and hath enough. To be short, said he, if I should take this summe of money and occupy it not, it is as much as I had it not: on thother side, if I occupy it, I shall make all the citie speake ill of the king and me both. So this great present was sent backe from Athens, whereby he shewed the Græcians, that he was richer that needed not such golde & siluer, then he that gaue it him. But when *Alexander* wrote againe vnto *Phocion*, that he did not reckon them his friendes, that would take nothing of him: *Phocion* notwithstanding would not take the money, but onely requested him for his sake, that he would set these men at liber-

Phocions vertue and integrity, refusing of Alexanders money.

C tie, which were kept prisoners in the citie of Sardis, for certeine accusations layde against them: *Echecratides* the Rhetorician, *Athenodorus* borne in the citie of Imbros, and two Corinthians, *Demaratus* and *Spartus*. *Alexander* presently set them at libertie, and sent *Craterus* into Macedon, commaunding him to giue *Phocion* the choyce of one of these foure cities of Asia, which he liked best: Cios, Gergitha, Mylassis, Elea: sending him worde, that he would be much more angrier with him now, if he did refuse this offer, then he was at the first. But *Phocion* would neuer accept any one of them: and *Alexander* shortly after dyed. *Phocions* house is seene yet at this day in the village of Melita, set forth with plates of copper, but otherwise very meane, and without curiositie. For his wiues he maryed, there is no mention made of the first, saue that *Cephisodotus* the image grauer was her brother. But for his second wife, she was no lesse famous at Athens, for her honestie, and good housewiuerie: then *Pho-*

Phocions house and wiues.

D *cion*, for his iustice and equitie. And for proofe thereof, it is reported, that the Athenians beeing one daye assembled in the Theater, to see newe tragedies played, one of the players when he shoulde haue comen apon the scaffolde, to haue played his parte, asked the setter forth of the playes, the apparell of a Queene, and certeine Ladyes to wayte vpon her, because he was to playe the parte of the Queene. The setter forth of the playes denying him, the player went awaye in a rage, and left the people staring one at another, and woulde not come out vpon the stage. But *Melanthius* the setter forth of the playes, compelling him, brought him by force on the stage, and cryed out vnto him: Doost thou not see *Phocions* wife, that goeth vppe and downe the citie, with one mayde onely wayting on her? and wilt thou playe the foole, and marre the modestie of the women of Athens? The people hea-

E ring his wordes, filled all the Theater with ioye and clapping of handes. The same Ladye, when a certaine gentlewoman of Ionia came to Athens to see her, and shewed her all her riche iewells and precious stones she had: she aunswered her againe, all my riches and iewells, is my husband *Phocion*, who these twenty yeares together, hath continually beene chosen generall for the Athenians. *Phocions* sonne telling his father on a tyme, that he was desirous to contend with other younge men for the victorie, who should cunninglest leape out, and gette vppe againe into the charretts or coches, running their full course, at the feastes Panathenæa at Athens: his father was contented he shoulde, not that he was desi-

Phocus, Phocions sonne, what he was.

rous his sonne shoulde haue the honor of the victorie, but because by this honest exercise he should growe to better manner, for that he was a dissolute younge man, and much giuen to

F wine. Yet he wanne the victorie at that tyme, and there were diuers of his fathers friendes, that prayed him to doe them that honour, that they might keepe the feast of this victorie in their houses. *Phocion* denyed them all, but one man, and him he suffered to shewe his good

will vnto his house, and went thither him selfe to supper to him. Where amongest many fine and superfluous thinges prepared, he found passing bathes of wine and sweete smelling spices to washe the feete of the bydden guestes as they came to the feast: Whereuppon he called his sonne to him, and asked him, howe canst thou abyde *Phocus*, that our friend should thus disgrace thy victorie with excesse? But bicause he would withdrawe his sonne from that licentious life, he brought him to SPARTA, and placed him there amonge younge boyes brought vppe after the LACONIAN discipline. The ATHENIANS were much offended at it, to see that *Phocion* did so much despise his owne contrie manner and facions. Also when *Demades* the Orator one daye sayde vnto *Phocion*: why doe we not perswade the ATHENIANS to liue after the LACONIAN manner? As for me (sayde he) if thou wilt make one to sette it forwarde: I am ready to be the first man to moue the matter. In deede, q *Phocion*, thou art a meete man to perswade the ATHENIANS to liue LACONIAN like, in common together at their meales, and to prayse *Lycurgus* straight lawe: that art thy selfe commonly so perfumed, and fine in thy apparell. Another tyme when *Alexander* wrote letters vnto ATHENS to sende him some shippes, and that the Orators perswaded them not to graunt him, the people called vppon *Phocion* chiefly to saye his opinion: then *Phocion* tolde them plainely, me thinkes ye must eyther make your selues the strongest in warres, or beeing the weaker, procure to be friendes vnto the stronger. *Pythias*, a newcome Orator, beeing full of tongue, and impudent, would still make one to speake in euery matter: Wherefore *Phocion* sayde vnto him, good goddes, will this noues neuer leaue babling? And when *Harpalus* king *Alexanders* Lieuetenant of the prouince of BABYLON, fledde out of ASIA, and came to ATTICA with a greate summe of golde and siluer: straight these men that solde their tongues to the people for money, flocked about him like a sight of swallowes. And he stucke not to giue euery one of them a peece of money to baste them with: for it was a trifle to him, considering the great summes of money he brought. But to *Phocion* him selfe, he sent vnto him seuen hundred talents, and offered him selfe and all that he had into his handes of trust. But *Phocion* gaue him a sharpe aunswer, and tolde him, that he woulde make him repent it, if he corrupted the citie of ATHENS in that manner. So *Harpalus* beeing amated therewith, left him at that tyme, and went vnto them that had taken money of him. But shortly after, when the ATHENIANS sate in counsell about him, he perceiued that those which had taken his money, were shronke from him, and that they did accuse him, where they should haue excused him, to bleere the world, that men should not suspecte them they had beene corrupted: and that *Phocion* on thother side which had refused his money, hauing respect to the common wealth, had also some regarde to saue his life: he once more attempted all the wayes he could to wynne him. Howbeit he found him so constant, that no money could cary the man. Then *Harpalus* falling in friendshippe with *Charicles* (*Phocions* sonne in lawe) he made him to be ill spoken of, and greatly suspected, bicause men sawe that he trusted him in all thinges, and employed him in all his affayres. As, in committing to his trust the making of a sumptuous tombe for *Pythonicé*, the famous Curtisan that was deade, whom he loued, and by whome he had a Daughter: the taking apon him whereof was no lesse shame vnto *Charicles*, then the finishing thereof was disgrace vnto him. This tombe is seene vnto this daye in a place called Hermium, in the hie waye from ATHENS to ELEVSIN: the workemanshippe thereof being nothing like neare the charge of thirtie talents, which was reported to be giuen by *Harpalus* vnto *Charicles*, for the finishing of the same. Furthermore, after *Harpalus* death, *Charicles* and *Phocion* tooke his Daughter, and carefully brought her vppe. Afterwardes also, *Charicles* beeing accused for the money he had taken of *Harpalus*, he besought his father in lawe *Phocion*, to helpe to ease him in his iudgement. But *Phocion* flatly denyed him, and sayde: *Charicles*, I tooke thee for my sonne in lawe, in all honest and iust causes onely. Furthermore, when *Asclepiades*, the sonne of *Hipparchus*, brought the first newes of the deathe of Kinge *Alexander*, *Demades* the Orator woulde not beleeue him: for, sayde he, if it were true, all the earthe woulde smell of the sauour of his corse. *Phocion* then perceyuing the people beganne to bee highe minded, and sought innouacion: he went about to brydle and pacifie them. But when many of the Orators gotte vppe-

to

Phocion despiseth Harpalus money.

Phocion refused to defend his sonne in law in an ill cause.

A to the pulpitte for orations, and cryed out, that *Asclepiades* newes were true of *Alexanders* deathe: well then, q *Phocion*, if it bee true to daye, it shall be true also to morrowe, and the next day after. And therefore my Maisters, bee not too hastye, but thinke of it at better leysure, and sette your affayres at a sure staye. When *Leosthenes* also by his practise had brought the citie of ATHENS into the warre called the GREEKES warre, and in skorne asked *Phocion*, that was offended at it, what good he had done to the common wealth so many yeares together as he had beene Generall ouer the ATHENIANS: *Phocion* aunswered him, no small good, sayde he, for all my contrye men haue beene buryed at home in their owne graues. Another tyme *Leosthenes* speaking prowdely and insolently to the people, *Phocion* one daye sayde vnto him: younge man my friende, thy wordes are
B lyke to a Cypres tree, which is highe and greate, but beareth no frute. Then *Hyperides* rising vppe, asked *Phocion*: when wilt thou then counsell the ATHENIANS to make warre? when I shall see younge men, sayde he, not forsake their rancks, ne the men liberall, and Orators leaue to robbe the common wealth. When the ATHENIANS wondred to see suche a goodly greate armie as *Leosthenes* had leauied: and that they asked *Phocion* howe he lyked it: A goodly armie, q he, for a furlonge, but I feare their returne, and the continuance of this warre: for I doe not see the citie able to make any more money, nor moe shippes, neyther yet any moe souldiers than these. The which proued true, as it fell out afterwardes. For at the first, *Leosthenes* did notable exployts. He ouercame the BOEOTIANS in battell, and draue *Antipater* into the citie of LAMIA: the which did put the ATHENIANS in suche a hope and
C iolitie, that they made continuall feastes and sacrifices through the citie, to thanke the gods for these good newes. And there were some amonge them, that to take *Phocion* in a trippe, asked him if he did not wish that he had done all those things? yes in deede, aunswered he, I would I had done them, but yet I would not haue giuen the counsel to haue done them. Another tyme also when letters came, dayly, one after an other, bringing good newes, good gods, sayde he, when shall we leaue to ouercome. When *Leosthenes* was deade in this voyage, they that feared *Phocion* shoulde bee appoynted Captayne in his place, and that he woulde pacifie the warre: did thrust in a man of meane hauior, and vnknowen, that sayde in the assemblie, he was *Phocions* friende and schoolefellowe, and therefore besought the people that they woulde spare *Phocion*, bicause they had not suche another man as he, and that they
D woulde make *Antiphilus* Generall of their armie. The people were contented withall. But then *Phocion* stoode vppe, and sayde, that this man was neuer scholler with him, neyther did he euer knowe him before that tyme: but nowe sayde he, from henceforth I will take thee for my friende, for thou hast giuen the people the best counsell for me. The people notwithstanding determining to make warre with the BOEOTIANS, *Phocion* spake agaynst it all he coulde. Thereuppon, his friendes bidding him beware of suche speeches, howe he did offende the people, least they killed him: he aunswered them, they shall wrongefully put me to death, q he, speaking for the benefitte of my contrye, but otherwise they shall haue reason to doe it, if I speake to the contrarye. But when he sawe nothing woulde pacifie them, and that they went on still with their intent: then he commaunded the Herawlde
E to proclayme by sownde of tromper, that all Citizens from fourteene yeares to three score, able to cary weapon, shoulde presently vppon breaking vp of thassembly, arme themselues, and followe him with fiue dayes prouision for victells. Then was there greate stirre amonge them in the citie, and the olde men came and complayned vnto him, for his ouerstraight commaundement. He tolde them agayne, I doe you no wronge: for I am fourescore my selfe, and yet will goe with you. By this meanes he pacified them at that tyme, and quenched their fond desire of warre. But when all the sea coast was full of souldiers, both of the MACEDONIANS, and other straungers which were ledde by *Alcetas* their Captaine, that landed in the territorie of the village RHAMNVS, and spoyled the countrey thereabomes: then *Phocion* ledde the ATHENIANS thither. But when he was there, diuers taking vpon them the
F office of a Lieuetenant, and going about to counsell him, some to lodge his campe vpon such a hill, and others to send his horsemen to such a place, and others to campe here: O *Hercules*, q he, how many Captaines doe I see, and how fewe souldiers? Afterwardes which he had set

his footemen in battell raye, there was one amonge them that left his rancke, and ſtepped out before them all. Thereuppon one of his enemies alſo made towardes him, to fight with him: but the ATHENIANS hart failed him, and he went backe againe to his place. Then ſayd *Phocion* vnto him: art thou not aſhamed young lowte to haue forſaken thy rancke twiſe? the one, where thy Captaine had placed thee, and the other in the which thou haddeſt placed thy ſelfe? So *Phocion* giuing charge apon the enemies, he ouerthrew them, and ſlue *Micion* their Captaine, with diuers others. Furthermore, the armie of the GRÆCIANS being at that time in THESSALY, wanne a battell againſt *Antipater*, and *Leonatus*, that ioyned with him with the MACEDONIANS which he had brought out of ASIA: where *Leonatus* was ſlaine in the field, *Antiphilus* beeing generall of the footemen, and *Menon* THESSALIAN, Colonell of the horſemen. Shortly after, *Craterus* comming out of ASIA into EVROPE with a great armie, they fought a battell by the citie of CRANON, where the GRÆCIANS were ouerthrowen: yet was not the ouerthrowe nor ſlaughter greate, although it came through the diſobedience of the ſouldiers to their Captaines, which were but young men, and vſed them ouer gently. Moreouer, when *Antipater* practiſed to make their cities reuolt, they betrayed them, and ſhamefully forſooke to defend their common libertie: Whereuppon *Antipater* marched forthwith with his armie, to the citie of ATHENS. *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides* vnderſtanding that, forſooke the citie. Then *Demades*, that was in diſgrace and defamed for lacke of payment of ſuch fynes as were ſet vpon his head (being ſeuen ſeuerall times condemned, bicauſe he had ſo many tymes moued matters contrary to the law) and could not therefore be ſuffered any more to ſpeake in the aſſembly, was then diſpenſed withall, and licenſed to ſpeake: whereuppon he moued the people to ſend Ambaſſadors vnto *Antipater*, with full commiſſion & authoritie to treate with him of peace. The people fearing to put to any mans truſt this abſolute authoritie to treate of peace: they called for *Phocion*, ſaying, that he onely was to be truſted with the ambaſſade. Then *Phocion* aunſwered them: if you had beleeued my former counſells I alwaies gaue you, ſuch weighty matters ſhould not now haue troubled you at all. So the decree being confirmed by the people, *Phocion* was ſent Ambaſſador vnto *Antipater*, that laye then in the caſtell of Cadmea, being ready at that time to inuade the contrye of ATTICA. *Phocion* firſt requeſted him, that before he remoued from thence, he would make peace with the ATHENIANS. *Craterus* preſently aunſwered him: *Phocion*, thy requeſt is vnreaſonable, that lying here we ſhould eate out our friendes, and deſtroy their contry: when we may liue of our enemies, and enriche our ſelues with their ſpoyle. But *Antipater* taking *Craterus* by the hand, tolde him: we muſt needes doe *Phocion* this pleaſure. And for the reſt, touching the capitulacions of peace, he willed that the ATHENIANS ſhould ſend them a blancke, and referre the condicions of peace vnto them: like as he him ſelfe being beſeeged in the citie of LAMIA, had referred all capitulacions and articles of peace, vnto the diſcreſſion of *Leoſthenes* their generall. So when *Phocion* was come backe to ATHENS, the ATHENIANS ſeeing there was no remedie, were compelled to be contented with ſuch offer of peace, as the enemie made them. Then *Phocion* was ſent back againe to *Antipater* at THEBES, with other Ambaſſadors ioyned in commiſſion with him: amongeſt whom alſo, was that famous Philoſopher *Xenocrates*. The eſtimation of his vertue was ſo great with all men, that it was thought there was no liuing man ſo prowd, cruel, diſdainful, nor haſty of nature, but that the onely looke of *Xenocrates* would ſoften and qualifie him, and make him to reuerence him. But yet with *Antipater* it fell out contrary, by his peruerſe nature, which hated all vertue: for he imbraced all the reſt, & would not once ſalute *Xenocrates*. Whereuppon, ſome ſay, that *Xenocrates* ſaid then: *Antipater* doth well to be aſhamed, to ſee me a witnes of the diſcurteſie and euill he meaneth vnto the ATHENIANS. So when *Xenocrates* beganne to ſpeake, *Antipater* would not abide to heare him, but interrupted him, and checked him, and in the ende commaunded him to holde his peace. When *Phocion* had ſpoken, *Antipater* aunſwered them: that he would make peace with the ATHENIANS, ſo they deliuered him *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides*: that they ſhould keepe their auncient lawes and gouernment, that they ſhould receiue a garriſon into the hauen of Munychia, that they ſhould defray the charges of this warre, and alſo paye a raunſome beſides. All the other Ambaſſadors but *Xenocrates*, willingly accepted theſe condicions of peace, as very reaſonable and fauourable: but he ſayde, that

Phocions victory of the Macedonians

The Græcians ouercome by Antipater.

Phocion Ambaſſador vnto Antipater.

Xenocrates authoritie.

Xenocrates deſpiſed of Antipater.

A that for slaues, *Antipater* did handle them fauorably: but for free men, he delt too hardly with them. Then *Phocion* besought him that he would yet release them of their garrison. But *Antipater* (as it is sayde) aunswered him: *Phocion*, we would gladly graunt thee any thing, saue that which should vndoe thee, and vs both. Some other write notwithstanding, that *Antipater* sayd not so, but asked him, if he would become suertie for the Athenians, that they should attempt no alteracion, but faithfully keepe the articles and conditions of this peace, if he did release them of this garrison. *Phocion* then holding his peace, & delaying aunswer, there was one *Callimedon* surnamed *Carabos*, (a bolde man, and hated the libertie of the people) that brake forth in these words: if *Phocion* were so fond to giue his word for the Athenians, wouldest thou, *Antipater*, beleue him therefore, and leaue to doe that thou hast determined? Thus
B were the Athenians driuē to receiue the garrison of the Macedonians, of the which *Menyllus* was captaine, an honest man, and *Phocions* friend. This commaundement to receiue the garrison within the hauen of Munichya, was found very stately, and done by *Antipater*, rather of a vaine glory to boast of his power: then for any profit could otherwise come of it. For not long after, on that day when he tooke possession of the castell, he further increased their griefe: bicause the garrison entred the twenty day of Boedromion (to wit, the moneth of August) on the which the feast day of their misteries was celebrated, at what time they make their procession called Iacchus, from the citie of Athens, vnto Elevsin. Therefore the solemnitie of this holy feast beeing thus confused, many beganne to consider, that in olde tyme when their Realme did flourishe, there were heard and seene voyces and images of the goddes on that
C day, which made the enemies both afraid, and amazed: and nowe in contrary manner, in the very selfe same solemnitie of the gods, they sawe the greatest calamitie that could haue happened vnto Græce. And the holiest feast which was kept all the yere through before, became then too prophaned with the title of the greatest misfortune and euent, that euer happened vnto the Græcians, which was, the losse of their libertie. For not many yeares before, there was brought an oracle from Dodone vnto Athens: that they shoulde looke well to the rockes of *Diana*, that straungers shoulde not possesse them. And about that tyme also, the couerings with the which they doe adorne the holy beddes of the mysteries, beeing wette with water, became from a purple culler which they had before, to looke yellowe and pale, as it had beene the couering of a deade bodie. Yea, and that which was moste to bee won-
D dered at of all other, was this: that taking other couerings which were not holy, and putting them in the same water, they did without chaunging keepe their culler they had before. When one of the Ministers of the temple also did washe a litle pygge in the sea, in a cleane place by the wharfe: there sodainely came a greate fishe that bytte at it, and caryed the hinder partes of the pygge cleane awaye with it. Whereby men coniectured that the goddes did signifie vnto them, that they should lose the lowest parte of their citie neatest to the sea, and should keepe the highest partes thereof. This notwithstanding, the garrison did not offend nor trouble the Athenians, bicause of the honestie of their Captaine *Menyllus*. Now there were aboue twelue thowsand Citizens, that for their pouertie lost the benefit of their freedome: of the which, parte of them remayned at Athens, vnto whome it seemed they
E offered great wronge and iniurie: and parte of them also went into Thracia, where *Antipater* assigned them townes and landes to inhabite. They seemed to be men like vnto them that had beene taken by assaulte, or by seege within a citie, which had beene compelled to forsake their contrie. Furthermore, the shamefull death of *Demosthenes* in the Ile of Calavria, and of Hyperides, by the citie of Cleones, (whereof we haue written heretofore) were almost occasion giuen them to lament the tymes of the raigne of king *Philip* and *Alexander*. As it is reported, that when *Antigonus* was slayne, they that had ouercomen him, were so cruell vnto their subiectes: that a laborer in the contrie of Phrygia digging the earthe, beeing asked what he sought for, aunswered, sighing: I seeke for *Antigonus*. Then many men beganne to say as much, when they remembred the noble myndes of those
F two great Princes, howe mercifull they were to pardon in their anger, forgetting their displeasure: not like *Antipater*, who craftily cloked his tyrannicall power which he vsurped, by beeing familliar, going simplely apparelled, and faring meanely: and yet showed him

Presages of the miseries of the Athenians.

The cruelties of Antipater.

selfe notwithstanding a more cruell Lorde and tyrant vnto them whome he had ouercome. A
Neuertheles, *Phocion* obtayned of him the restoring agayne of diuers men, whome he had
banished: and those whome he coulde not gette to bee restored, yet he procured that they
shoulde not be banished into so farre contries, as others which had beene sent beyonde the
Mountaines Acroceraunians, and the head of Tænarus out of Græce, but that they had
libertie to remayne within the contrie of Peloponnesvs: amonge the which, was one *Ag-*
nonides a Sycophant, and false accuser. Furthermore, he gouerned them that remayned in
Athens with great iustice and lenitie, and such as he knewe to be good men and quiet, them
he alwayes preferred to some office: but such as he sawe were fantastyke people, and desi-
rous of chaunge, he kept them from office, and tooke all occasion from them, so that they
vanished awaye of them selues, and learned in tyme to loue the contrye, and to followe til- B
lage. When he sawe *Xenocrates* also paye a certeine pension or tribute to the common
wealth, which all straungers dwelling in Athens did vse yearely to paye: he woulde haue
made him a free man, and offered to put his name amongest the number of free Citizens.
But *Xenocrates* refused it, saying, he woulde haue no parte of that freedome, for the hin-
derance whereof, he had beene sent Ambassador. And when *Menyllus* had sent *Phocion*
money, he made him aunswer: that *Menyllus* was no greater Lorde then *Alexander*
had beene, neyther had he at that tyme any greater occasion to receyue his present, then
when he had refused King *Alexanders* gyfte. *Menyllus* replying agayne, sayde: that if he
had no neede of it for him selfe, yet he might let his sonne *Phocus* haue it. But *Phocion* aun-
swered: if my sonne *Phocus* will leaue his naughtye lyfe, and become an honest man, that C
which I will leaue him, shall serue his turne very well: but if it bee so that he will still holde
on the course he hath taken, there is no riches then that can suffice him. An other tyme al-
so he aunswered *Antipater* more rowndely, when he woulde haue had him done an vnho-
neste thinge: *Antipater*, sayde he, can not haue me his friende, and flatterer both. *An-*
tipater selfe was wont to saye, that he had two friendes in Athens, *Phocion* and *Demades*:
of the which, he coulde neuer make the one to take any thinge of him, and the other, he
coulde neuer satisfie him. And truely *Phocions* pouertye was a greate glorye of his vertue,
sythe he was growen olde, continuing in the same, after he had beene so many tymes gene-
rall of the Athenians, and had receyued suche friendshippe and curtesie, of so many
Kinges and Princes. Where *Demades* to the contrarye delighted to shewe his riches in D
thinges that were contrarye to the lawes of the citie. For, a decree beeing made at Athens,
commaunding that no straunger, vppon forfeyture of a thowsand Drachmas to bee payed
by the defrayer of the daunces to the citie, shoulde bee any of the Dauncers that daunced
at any common playes or sportes: *Demades* one daye making certeyne games and sportes
at his owne charges, brought a hundred Dauncers of straungers at one tyme, and with-
all, brought also a hundred thowsand Drachmas to paye the forfeyture thereof. Another
tyme when he maryed his sonne *Demus*, he sayde vnto him: sonne, when I maryed thy
mother, there was so small roste, that my next neyghbour knewe not of it: where nowe at
thy maryage, Kinges and Princes are at the charge of the feaste. Furthermore, when the
Athenians were importunate with *Phocion* to goe to *Antipater*, to intreate him to take E
his garrison out of their citie: he still refused the ambassade, eyther bycause he had no hope
to obtayne it, or for that he sawe the people more obedient vnto reason, for feare of the
garrison. Howebeit he obtayned of *Antipater*, that he shoulde not bee too hastye in de-
maundinge of his money, but shoulde deferre it tyll a further tyme. So the Athenians
perceiuing they could doe no good with *Phocion*, they intreated *Demades*, who willingly tooke
the matter vpon him, and went with his sonne into Macedon, whether doubtles his destinie
caried him to his vtter destruction, euen at that very time when *Antipater* was fallen sicke of a
dissease whereof he dyed: Whereby the affayres of the Realme went through the handes of
Cassander his sonne, who had intercepted a letter of this *Demades*, which he had sent vnto *An-*
tigonus in Asia, willing him to come in all possible speede to winne Græce and Macedon, F
which hong but of an old rotte threde, mocking *Antipater* in this maner. Wherfore *Cassander*
being aduertised of his arriual, he made him presently to be apprehended, & setting his sonne

Phocion refuseth Menyllus gifies.

Phocion loued pouertie. The insolencie of Demades the Orator

Cassander king Antipaters sonne.

hard

A hard by him, slue him before his father, so neere him, that the blood of his sonne sprang vpon him: so that the father was all bloodied with the murther of his sonne. Then *Cassander* casting in *Demades* teeth his ingratitude, and trecherous treason against his father, geuing him all the reproachfull words he could deuise: at the length he slue him with his owne hands. Now *Antipater* before his death, had established *Polyperchon* Generall of the armie of the MACEDONIANS, & *Cassander* his sonne, only Colonell of a thowsand footemen. He notwithstanding, after his fathers decease, taking vpon him the gouernment of the realme: sent *Nicanor* with speede to succeede *Menillus* in the Captainship of the garrison of ATHENS, before his death should be reuealed, commaunding him first in any case, to take the castell of Munychia, which he did. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS vnderstanding of the death of *Antipater*, they accused

B *Phocion*, for that he had knowen of his death long before, and yet kept it secret to please *Nicanor*. But *Phocion* regarded not this accusation, but fell in acquaintance notwithstanding with *Nicanor*: whom he handled so wisely, that he made him not only friendly vnto the ATHENIANS, but furthermore perswaded him to be at some charge to geue the people the passime of common playes, which he made to be done at his cost. In the meane time, *Polyperchon*, who had the gouernment of the kings person, meaning to geue *Cassander* a stampant and blurt, he sent letters pattentes vnto the people at ATHENS, declaring how the young king did restore vnto them their popular state againe, and commaunded that all the ATHENIANS should vse their former auncient lawes of their citie. This was a wile & craftie fetche against *Phocion*. For *Polyperchon* deuising this practise to get the city of ATHENS into his hands (as it fel out afterwards

C by proofe) had no hope to obtaine his purpose, vnles he found meanes first to banish *Phocion*: and thought that he shoulde easily bring that to passe, when suche as had before bene put of their freedom, by his meanes, should come againe to haue voyces in thassembly, and that the seditious Orators and accusers might be turned at liberty againe, to say what they would. The ATHENIANS hauing heard the contentes of these letters pattentes, beganne to be somewhat quickened, and moued withall: whereupon *Nicanor* desiring to speake with the ATHENIANS in their Senate, which was assembled in the hauen of Piræa: he went and hazarded his person amongest them, apon *Phocions* faith and word. *Dercyllus* Captaine for the king, being secretly aduertised thereof, and in the field, not farre from the citie, did what he could to take *Nicanor*: but *Nicanor* hauing warning of it in time, saued him selfe. Then it appeared, that *Ni-*

D *canor* would presently be reuenged of the citie, and they accused *Phocion* bicause he kept him not, but did let him goe. Whereunto he answered: that he trusted *Nicanors* word, and that he did not thinke he would offer the citie any hurt, but if it should fall out otherwise, he had rather the world should know, that he had the wrong offred him, then that he should offer any. This truely appeared to be nobly spoken, in respect of him selfe. But considering that he being then Generall, did thereby hazard the safety of his countrie: I can not tell whether he did not breake a greater faith which he ought to haue had, to the safetie of his countriemen. Neither coulde he also alleage for his excuse, that he did not laye handes on *Nicanor*, for feare to bring the city into manifest warre: but that for a colour he did preferre the faith which he had sworne and promised vnto him, and the iustice that he would obserue in his behalfe: that for

E his sake, *Nicanor* should afterwards keepe him selfe in peace, and doe no hurte to the ATHENIANS. Howbeit in troth it seemed, that nothing deceiued *Phocion*: but by the ouer trust he had in this *Nicanor*. The which seemeth to be so, bicause when diuers came to him to complaine of *Nicanor*, that he sought all the secret meanes he coulde to surprise the hauen of Piræa, and that he dayly passed ouer souldiers in the Ile of SALAMINA, and practised to bribe certaine of the inhabitants within the precinct of the hauen: he would neuer heare of it, and muche lesse beleue it. Furthermore, when *Philomedes* LAMPRIAN made a motion, that the ATHENIANS should prepare to be in readines to waite apon their Captaine *Phocion*, to do as he commaunded them: he made no account of it, vntill he saw *Nicanor* come out with his souldiers from the fort of Munychia, and that he beganne to cast trenches to compasse in the ha-

F uen of Piræa. But then, when *Phocion* thought to lead out the people to preuent him: he found they mutined against him, and no man would obey his commaundement. In the meane time, *Alexander* the sonne of *Polyperchon* came with an armie, pretending to aide them of the citie

The vnfortunate end of Demades.

Polyperchon Generall of the armie of the Macedonians.

Polyperchons conspiracie against Phocion.

Better to receiue then to offer an injury.

Alexander, the ſonne of Polyperchon, practiſeth treaſon againſt the Athenians.

againſt *Nicanor*, where in deede he ment (if he could) to get the reſt of the city into his hands: then ſpecially, when they were in greateſt broile one againſt an other, and the rather, becauſe the baniſhed men entred hand other head with him, and diuers ſtraungers alſo, and other defamed men: ſo that there was a confuſed counſel and aſſembly of Ommigatherum kept within the citie, without any order, in the which *Phocion* was depriued of his office of Generall, and others were alſo choſen Captaines in his place. And had they not ſeene this *Alexander* talking alone with *Nicanor*, and returning many times hard to the walles of the citie, which made the ATHENIANS affrayed and miſtruſtfull: they had neuer ſaued it from taking. At that time *Phocion* was preſently accuſed of treaſon by the Orator *Agnonides*: the which *Callimedon* and *Pericles* fearing, got them out of the citie betimes. And *Phocion* alſo with his frends that were not fled, went vnto *Polyperchon*: with whom alſo *Solon* PLATÆIAN, and *Dinarchus* CORINTHIAN, went for company, who thought to haue found frendſhippe and familiarity with *Polyperchon*. Howbeit *Dinarchus* falling ſicke by the way, in the citie of ELATIA, they ſtayed there many dayes, hoping of his recouerie. But in the meane time, the people at the perſwaſion of the Orator *Agnonides*, and at the requeſt of *Archeſtratus*, ſtabliſhed a decree, to ſende Ambaſſadors vnto *Polyperchon*, to accuſe *Phocion*: inſomuch as both parties met at one ſelfe time, and found him in the field with the king about a village of the contrie of PHOCIDE, called PHARYGES, ſtanding at the foote of the mountaine Acrorion, which they ſurname alſo Galaten. There *Polyperchon* commaunded a cloth of gold to be ſet vp, and cauſed the king to be ſet vnder the ſame, and all his chiefeſt frendes about him. But to beginne withall, he made *Dinarchus* to be taken, and commaunded them to put him to death after they had racked him: then he willed the ATHENIANS to tell what they had to ſay. Then they beganne to quarrell, and to be lowde one with an other, accuſing one an other in the preſence of the king and his counſell: vntill *Agnonides* at length ſtepped forth, and ſayd: my Lordes of MACEDON, put vs all in priſon, and then ſend vs bound handes and feete to ATHENS, to geue accompt of our doinges. The king laughed to heare him ſay ſo. But the noble men of MACEDON that were preſent then, and diuers ſtraungers beſides to heare their complaints: made ſigne to the Ambaſſadors to vtter their accuſations before the king, rather then to referre them to the hearing of the people at ATHENS. Howbeit both parties had not alike indifferent hearing: for *Polyperchon* checked vp *Phocion* oftentimes, and did ſtill cut of his tale, as he thought to purge him ſelfe: inſomuch as in anger, he bet his ſtaffe he had in his hand againſt the ground, and commaunded him at length to hold his peace, & to get him thence. And when *Hegemon* alſo told *Polyperchon*, that he him ſelfe could beſt witneſſe, howe *Phocion* had alwayes faithfully ſerued and loued the people: he angrily aunſwered him, come not hether to lye falſely vpon me, in the preſence of the king. Therewith the king roſe out of his ſeate, and tooke a ſpeare in his hand, thinking to haue killed *Hegemon*: had not *Polyperchon* ſodainly embraced him behinde, and ſtayed him. So the counſell roſe, and brake vp, but preſently *Phocion* was apprehended, and they that ſtoode by him. Certaine of his frends ſeeing that, which ſtoode further of, muffeled their faces, and ſtraight conueyed them ſelues away. The reſt were ſent priſoners to ATHENS by *Clitus*, not ſo muche to haue their cauſes heard there, as to haue them executed for condemned men. Furthermore, the manner of the carying of them to ATHENS was ſhamefull. For they were caried vpon cartes through the great ſtreete Ceramicum, vnto the Theater: where *Clitus* kept them, vntill the Senate had aſſembled the people, excepting no bondman, no ſtraunger, nor defamed perſon out of this aſſemblie, but left the Theater wide open to all comers in whatſoeuer they were, and the pulpit for Orations free for euerie man that would ſpeake againſt them. So firſt of all, the kings letters were read openly, by the which he did aduertiſe the people, that he had found theſe offendors conuicted of treaſon: notwithſtanding, that he referred the ſentence of their condemnation vnto them, for that they were free men. Then *Clitus* brought his priſoners before the people, where the noble men when they ſaw *Phocion*, were aſhamed, and hiding their faces, wept to ſee him. Howbeit, there was one that roſe vp, and ſayd: my Lordes ſith the king referreth the iudgement of ſo great perſons vnto the people, it were great reaſon all the bondmen and ſtraungers which are no free citizens of ATHENS, ſhould be taken out of this aſſembly. The people would not agree to it, but cried

Phocion accuſed of treaſon.

Polyperchon did put Dinarchus to death.

Phocion ſent priſoner to Athens to be condemned.

A cried out, that ſuch traitors ſhould be ſtoned to death, that fauor the authoritie of a few, and are enemies of the people: whereupon ſilence was made, and no man durſt ſpeake any more for *Phocion*. Neuertheleſſe when *Phocion* with muche a doe had obteyned audience, he asked them: my Lords, will ye iuſtly, or wrongfully put vs to death? Some aunſwered him: iuſtly. Howe then can ye doe it, q he, that will not heare our iuſtifications? Yet coulde they not be heard for all this. Then *Phocion* comming neerer, ſayd vnto them. For my ſelfe, my Lordes, I confeſſe I haue done you wrong, & haue in gouernment committed faults deſeruing death: but for theſe priſoners with me, what haue they done, why you ſhoulde put them to death? The common people aunſwered him: bicauſe they are thy frends. With this aunſwere *Phocion* departed, and ſpake neuer a word more. Then the Orator *Agnonides* holding a decree in B his hand ready wrytten, red it openly to the people, declaring how they ſhould be iudged by voyces, whether the offendors had deſerued death or not: and if it were found they had, then that they ſhould all be put to death. And there were that when this decree was red, cried out, that they ſhould adde further vnto the decree, that before *Phocion* ſhould be put to death, they ſhould firſt torment him: & therewithall commaundement was geuen that the wheele ſhould beſette vp to breake his ioints apon it, and alſo that the hangman ſhould be ſent for. But then *Agnonides* perceiuing that *Clitus* was offended with it, and thinking beſides it were too beaſtly and barbarous a parte to vſe him in that ſorte, he ſayd openly: my Lordes, when you ſhall haue ſuch a varlet in your handes as *Callimedon*, then you may caſt him on the wheele: but againſt *Phocion*, I would not wiſh ſuch cruelty. Then roſe vp a noble man among them, and ad- C ded to his words: thou haſt reaſon to ſay ſo, *Agnonides*: for if *Phocion* ſhould be layed on the wheele, what ſhould we then doe with thee? The decree being confirmed, according to the contents thereof, iudgement was geuen by voyces of the people, no man ſitting but all ſtanding vp, and moſt of them with garlandes on their heades, for the ioy they had to condemne theſe priſoners to death. With *Phocion* there were condemned, *Nicocles*, *Thudippus*, *Hegemon*, and *Pythocles*: but *Demetrius* Phalerian, *Callimedon*, and *Charicles*, were alſo in their abſence condemned to dye. Now when the aſſembly was broken vp, and that the perſons condemned were caried backe to priſon, from thence to be conueyed to execution: others imbracing their frends, and taking their laſt leaue of them as they went, wept, and lamented their curſed fortune. But *Phcion* looking as cheerefully of it as he was wont to doe being Generall, when D they honorably waited on him to his houſe, from the aſſembly: he made many of them pitie him in their harts, to conſider his conſtancie, and noble corage. On thother ſide alſo, there were many of his enemies that came as neere vnto him as they could, to reuile him, amongſt whom there was one that ſtepped before him, and did ſpit in his face. Then *Phocion* turning him vnto the Magiſtrates, ſayd: will you not cauſe this impudent fellow to leaue his rayling? When they were in priſon, *Thudippus* ſeeing the hemlocke which they brayed in a morter to geue them to drinke: he beganne deſperatly to curſe and banne, ſaying, that they wrongfully put him to death with *Phocion*. Why, ſayd *Phocion* againe: and dooſt thou not rather reioyce to dye with me? When one that ſtoode by asked *Phocion*, if he would any thing to his ſonne *Phocus*: yes, q he, that I will: bid him neuer reuenge the wrong the Athenians do me. Then E *Nicocles* one of *Phocions* deareſt frendes, prayed him to let him drinke the poyſon before him. *Phocion* aunſwered him, thy requeſt is grieuous to me, *Nicocles*: but bicauſe I neuer denyed thee any thing in my life, I wil alſo graunt thee this at my death. When al the reſt had dronke, there was no more poyſon left, and the hangman ſayd he would make no more vnleſſe they gaue him twelue Drachmas, for ſo much the pound did coſt him. *Phocion* perceiuing thē that the hangman delayed time, he called one of his frends vnto him, and prayed him to geue the hangman that litle money he demaunded, ſith a man can not dye at Athens for nothing, without coſt. It was the nineteenth day of the moneth of Munichion, (to wit, Marche) on which day the Knights were wont to make a ſolemne proceſſion in the honor of *Iupiter*: howbeit ſome of them left of the garlandes of flowers which they ſhoulde haue worne on their F heades, and others alſo looking towards the priſon dore as they went by, burſt out a weeping. For, they whoſe harts were not altogether hardned with crueltie, & whoſe iudgements were not wholly ſuppreſſed with enuie, thought it a grieuous ſacriledge againſt the goddes, that

The furie of the Athenians againſt Phocion.

The crueltie of the Athenians vnto Phocion.

Phocion condemned to death.

The conſtancy and corage of Phocion, being condemned to dye.

Phocion geues money to be put to death.

they did not let that day passe, but that they did defile so solemne a feast, with the violét death of a man. His enemies notwithstanding, continuing still their anger against him, made the people passe a decree, that his bodie should be banished, and caried out of the bondes of the contry of ATTICA, forbidding the ATHENIANS that no fire should be made for the solemnising of his funeralls. For this respect no frend of his durst once touch his body. Howebeit a poore man called *Conopion*, that was wont to get his liuing that way, being hyered for money to burne mens bodies: he tooke his corse, and caried it beyond the city of ELEVSIN, and getting fire out of a womans house of MEGARA, he solemnised his funeralls. Furthermore, there was a gentlewoman of MEGARA, who comming by chaunce that way, with her gentlewomen, where his body was but newly burnt: she caused the earth to be cast vp a litle where the body was burnt, and made it like to a hollow tombe, whereupon she did vse such sprincklings and effusions, as are commonly done at the funeralls of the dead: & then taking vp his bones in her lappe in the night, she brought them home, and buried them in her harth, saying: O deare harth, to thee I bequeath the relikes of this noble and good man, and pray thee to keepe them faithfully, to bring them one day to the graue of his auncesters, when the ATHENIANS shall come to confesse the fault & wrong they haue done vnto him. And truly it was not long after, that the ATHENIANS found by the vntowardnes of their affaires, that they had put him to death, who only maintained iustice, and honesty at ATHENS. Whereupon they made his image to be set vp in brasse, and gaue honorable buriall to his bones, at the charges of the citie. And for his accusers, they condemned *Agnonides* of treason, and put him to death themselues. The other two, *Epicurus* and *Demophilus* being fled out of the citie, were afterwardes met with by his sonne *Phocus*, who was reuenged of them. This *Phocus* as men reporte, was otherwise no great good man, who fancying a young maide which a bawde kept, comming by chaunce one day into the schoole of Lycæum, he heard *Theodorus* the Atheist (to wit, that beleued not there were any goddes) make this argument. If it be no shame, sayd he, to deliuer a mans frend from bondage, no more shame is it to redeeme his leman which he loueth: euen so it is all one to redeeme a mans leman, as his frende. This young man taking this argument to serue his turne, beleuinge that he might lawefully doe it, got the young maide he loued from the bawde. Furthermore, this death of *Phocion* did also reuiue the lamentable death of *Socrates* vnto the GRECIANS: for men thought that it was a like hainous offence and calamitie vnto the citie of ATHENS.

Phocions funeralls.

The end of Phocions life.

THE LIFE OF *Cato Vtican.*

THe family and house of *Cato*, tooke his first glorie and name of his great grandfather, *Cato* the Censor: who for his vertue (as we haue declared in his life) was one of the famousest and worthiest men of Rome in his time. This *Cato* whom we nowe wryte of, was left an orphan by his father and mother, with his brother *Capio*, and *Porcia* his sister. *Seruilia* was also *Catoes* half sister, by his mothers side. All these were brought vp with their vncle *Liuius Drusus*, at that time the greatest man of the citie: for he was passing eloquent, and verie honest, and of as great a corage besides, as any other ROMANE. Men report, that *Cato* from his childhood shewed him selfe both in word and countenance, and also in all his pastimes and recreacions, verie constant, and stable. For he would goe through with that he tooke apon him to doe, and would force him selfe aboue his strength: and as he could not away with flatterers, so was he rough with them that went about to threaten him. He would hardly laugh, and yet had euer a pleasaunt countenance. He was not choller like, nor easie to be angred: but when the blood was vp, he was hardly pacified. When he was first put to schoole, he was very dull of vnderstanding, and slow to learne: but when he had once learned it, he would neuer forget it, as all men else commonly doe. For such as are quicke of conceite, haue commonly the worst memories: and contrarily, they that are hard to learne, doe keepe that better which they haue learned. For euery kinde of learning is a motion and quickening of the minde. He seemed besides not to be light of credit, & that may be some cause of his slownes in conceite. For truely he suffereth somewhat that learneth, and thereof it commeth, that they that haue least reason to resist, are those which doe giue lightest credit. For young men are easelyer perswaded then old men, and the sicke then the whole. And where a man hath least reason for his douts: there he is soonest brought to beleue any thing. This notwithstanding, it is reported that *Cato* was obedient vnto his schoolemaister, and would doe what he commaunded him: howbeit he would aske him still the cause and reason of euery thing. In deede his schoolemaister was very gentle, and readier to teach him, then to strike him with his fist. His name was *Sarpedo*. Furthermore, when *Cato* was but a young boy, the people of ITALIE which were confederats of the ROMANES, sued to be made free citizens of Rome. At that time it chaunced one *Pompedius Silo*, a valliant souldier, and of great estimacion among the confederats of

The parentage of Cato.

Liuius Drusus, Catoes vncle. Catoes manners.

Why quicke wits haue neuer good memorie.

Sarpedo, Catoes schoolemaister.

the Romanes, and a great frend besides of *Drusus*: to be lodged many dayes at his house. He in this time falling acquainted with these young boyes, sayd one day vnto them: good boyes, intreate your vncle to speake for vs, that we may be made free citizens of Rome. *Capio* smiling nodded with his head, that he would. But *Cato* making no aunswere, looked very wisely apon the straungers that lay in the house. Then *Pompedius*, taking him aside, asked him: and thou, my pretie boy, what sayest thou to it? Wilt thou not pray thine vncle, as well as thy brother, to be good to his guestes? *Cato* still held his peace, and aunswered nothing, but shewed by his silence and looke, that he would not heare their requeste. Then *Pompedius* taking him vp in his armes, did put him out of the window, as if he would haue let him haue gone: and speaking more sharply to him then he did before, he cast him many times out of his armes without the window, and sayd, promise vs then, or else I will let thee fall. But *Cato* abid it a long time, and neuer quinched for it, nor shewed countenaunce of feare. Thereupon *Pompedius* setting him downe againe, told his frends that stoode by him: O what good happe doth this child promise one day vnto Italie, if he liue? sure if he were a man, I beleue we should not haue one voice of all the people of our side. An other time, there were some of *Catoes* neere kinsemen, that keeping the feast day of his birth, bad many young boyes to supper, & amongest others this *Cato*. The boyes to occupie them selues till supper was ready, gathered them selues together great and small, into some priuate place of the house. Their play was, counterfeating pleadinges before the iudges, accusing one an other, and carying them that were condemned to prison. Amongest them, a goodly young boy was caried by a bigger boy into a litle chamber, bounde as a condemned person. The boy perceiuing he was locked vp, cried out vnto *Cato*: who mistrusting what it was, went straight to the chamber dore and putting them by by force that withstoode him to come vnto it, he tooke out the young boy, and caried him very angrily with him to his owne house, and all the other young boyes followed him also. So *Cato* had such name among the young boyes, that when *Sylla* made the game of young boyes running a horsebacke, which the Romanes call Troia: to appoint them before that they might be redy at the day of the show, he hauing gotten all the young boyes of noble houses together, appointed them two Captaines. Of them, the boyes tooke the one, bicause of his mother *Metella*, which was the wife of *Sylla*: but they would none of the other called *Sextus*, who was nephewe to *Pompey* the great, neither would they be exercised vnder him, nor followe him. Wherefore *Sylla* asked them, which of them they would haue: they all cried then *Cato*, and *Sextus* him selfe did willingly geue him the honor, as the worthier of both. *Sylla* was their fathers frend, and therefore did send for them many times to come vnto him, & he would talke with them: the which kindnes he shewed to few men, for the maiestie and great authority he had. *Serpedo* also (*Catoes* schoolemaister) thinking it a great preferrement and safetie for his schollers, did commonly bring *Cato* vnto *Syllaes* house, to waite vpon him: the which was rather like vnto a iayle or prison, for the great number of prisoners which were dayly brought thither, and put to death. *Cato* being then but foureteene yeares of age, and perceiuing that there were many heades brought which were sayed to be of great men, and that euery bodie sighed and mourned to see them: he asked his schoolemaister, how it was possible the tyran scaped, that some one or other killed him not? Bicause, q. *Serpedo*, that all men feare him, more then they hate him. Why then, replyed *Cato* againe, diddest thou not geue me a sword that I might kill him, to deliuer my contry of this slauery and bondage? *Serpedo* hearing the boy say so, and seeing his countenaunce and eyes on fire with choller, he maruelled much he at it, and afterwardes had a very good eye vnto him, least rashly he should attempt some thing against *Sylla*. When he was but a litle boy, some asked him whom he loued best? My brother, sayed he. Then the other continuing stil to aske him, & who next: he answered likewise, his brother. Then the third time againe, likewise his brother. Till at length he that asked him, was weary with asking him so oft. Yea and when he was comen of age also, he then confirmed the loue he bare to his brother in his deedes. For twenty yeares together he neuer supped without his brother *Capio*, neither went he euer out of his house into the market place, nor into the fields without him: but when his brother did noynt him selfe with sweete oyles of perfume, he would none of that, and in all things else, he led a straight and hard life. So that his brother

Capio

Catoes austeritie.

The maruelous constancie of Cato when he was a child.

Syllaes loue vnto Cato, being but a boy.

Catoes hate being a boy against a tyran.

Catoes loue to his brother.

A *Capio* being commended of euery man for his temperaunce, honesty, and sober life, he graun-
ted in deede that in respect of others, he led a sober and temperate life: but when I doe (sayd
he) compare my life with my brother *Catoes*, me thinkes then there is no difference betweext
me and *Sippius*. This *Sippius* was at that time noted and pointed at, for his fine and curious ef-
feminate life. After that *Cato* was once chosen *Apolloes* Priest, he went from his brother and
tooke his portion of the goods of his father, which amounted to the summe of a hundred and
twentie talentes. Then he liued more hardly then he did before. For he fell in acquaintaunce
with *Antipater* TYRIAN, a Stoicke Philosopher, and gaue himselfe chiefly vnto the studie of *Antipater the Stoicke, Catoes schoole-maister.*
morall and ciuill Philosophie, imbracing all exercise of vertue with suche an earnest desire,
that it seemed he was prickt forward by some god: but aboue all other vertues, he loued the
B seueritie of iustice, which he would not wrest for any gift nor fauor. He studied also to be elo-
quent, that he might speake openly before the people, bicause he would there should be cer-
taine warlike forces entertained in ciuill Philosophie, as also in a great citie. Notwithstanding,
he would not exercise it before any bodie, neither would he euer haue any man to heare him
speake when he did learne to speake. For when one of his frends told him one day, that men
did mislike he spake so litle in company: it skilleth no matter, q. he, so they can not reproue my
life, for I will beginne to speake, when I can say some thing worthy to be spoken. Hard by the
market place there was the common pallace or towne house of the citie, called Basilica Por-
cia, the which *Porcius Cato* the elder had built, in the time of his Censorship. There the Tri-
bunes were wont to keepe their audience: and bicause there was a piller that troubled their
C seates, they would either haue taken it away, or else haue set it in some other place. That was
the first cause that made *Cato* against his will to goe into the market place, and to get vp into *Catoes act for Basilica Porcia.*
the pulpit for orations, to speake against them: where hauing geuen this first proofe of his e-
loquence and noble minde, he was maruelously esteemed of. For his oration was not like a
young man, counterfeating finenes of speache and affectation, but stout, full of wit and vehe-
mency: and yet in the shortnes of his sentences, he had such an excellent grace withall, that
he maruelously delighted the hearers: and furthermore, shewing in mature a certaine grauetie
besides, it did so please them, that he made them laugh. He had a very full and audible voyce
that might be heard of a maruelous number of people, and such a strong nature besides, that
he neuer fainted, nor brake his speache: for many times he would speake a whole day toge-
D ther, and was neuer wearie. So when he had obtained his cause against the Tribunes, he re- *Catoes exercises.*
turned againe to keepe his former great silence, and to harden his bodie with painefull exer-
cises, as to abide heate, frost, and snow bare headed, and alwayes to goe a foote in the fielde,
where his frendes that did accompany him rode a horsebacke, and sometime he would come
and talke with one, somtime with an other, as he went a foote by them. He had a wonderfull
pacience also in his sickenes. For when he had any agew, he would be alone all day long, and
suffer no man to come and see him, vntill he perceiued his fit was of him, and that he founde
he was better. When he supped with his frendes and familiars, they drewe lottes who should
choose their partes. If he chaunced not to choose, his frendes notwithstanding gaue him the
preferrement to choose: but he refused it, saying it was no reason, sith the goddesse *Venus* was
E against him. At the first he did not vse to sitte long at the table, but after he had dronke one *Catoes drinking.*
draught only, he would straight rise. But when he came to be elder, he sate long at the table:
so that oftentimes he would sit it out all night with his frends, till the next morning. But they
seeking to excuse it, sayd, that his great busines and affaires in the common wealth was the
cause of it. For following that all the day long, hauing no leasure nor time to studie when
night came, he delighted to talke with learned men, and Philosophers, at the bord. Where-
fore when *Memmius* on a time being in company, sayed, that *Cato* did nothing but drinke all
night: *Cicero* taking his tale out of his mouth, aunswered him, thou doest not adde this vnto
it, that all the day he doth nothing but play at dyse. To be short, *Cato* thinking that the ma- *Ciceroes saying of Cato.*
ners and facions of mens liues in his time were so corupt, and required such great chaunge
F and alteracion: that to goe vprightly, he was to take a contrarie course in all thinges. For he
saw that purple, red, & the lightest colours were best esteemed of: he in contrarie maner de-
sired to weare blacke. And many times also after dinner he would goe abroade bare footed

without shooes, and without any gowne: not bicause he would be wondered at for any suche A
straungenes, but to acquaint him selfe to be ashamed only of shameles and dishoneſt things,
and to despise those which were not reproued, but by mens opinions. Furthermore, land be-
ing left him to the value of an hundred talentes by the death of a cousin of his, that likewise
was called *Cato*: he put it all into ready money, to lend to his frendes that lacked, and without
vsury. And there were some of his frends also that would morgage his land, or his slaues, to the
chamber of the city, for their owne priuate busines: the which he him selfe would either giue
thē to morgage, or else afterwards confirme the morgage of them. Furthermore, when he was
Catoes ma-riages. comen of age to marry, hauing neuer knowen womā before, he was made sure to *Lepida*. This
Lepida had bene precontracted vnto *Metellus Scipio*: but afterwardes the precontract being
broken, he forsooke her, so that she was free, when *Cato* was contracted to her. Notwith- B
standing, before *Cato* maried her, *Scipio* repenting him that he had refused her, made all the
meanes he could to haue her againe: & so he had. *Cato* tooke it so grieuously, that he thought
to goe to lawe for her: but his frendes diswaded him from it. Then seeing no other reme-
die, to satisfie his angrie minde, he wrote verses against *Scipio*, in the which he reuiled him
all he coulde: vsing the bitter tauntes of *Archilocus* verses, but not suche impudent, lewde,
Attilia Catoes wife. and childishe reproaches as be there. After that, he maried *Attilia*, *Soranus* daughter, be-
ing the first woman he euer knewe: yet not the onely woman whome he did knowe, as is re-
Lelius ma-riage. ported of *Lælius*, *Scipioes* frende, who therein was counted the happier, bicause all that long
time wherein he liued, he neuer knewe other woman but his first wife. Furthermore, in the
Catoes first souldierfare, in the warre of the bond-men. warre of the bondemen (otherwise called *Spartacus* warre) one *Gellius* was chosen Prætor of C
the armie vnder whom *Cato* serued of his owne good will, for the loue he bare vnto his bro-
ther *Capio*, who in that armie had charge of a thowsand footemen. Now *Cato* could not as he
wished, shewe his valliantnesse and good seruice, bicause of the insufficiencie of the Prætor
that gaue ill direction. This notwithstanding, in the middest of al the riot & insolency of them
in the campe, he shewing him selfe a stayed man in all his doinges, valliant where neede was,
and very wise also: all men esteemed him to be nothing inferior vnto *Cato* the elder. Where-
uppon *Gellius* the Prætor gaue him many honors in token of his valliantnes, which are giuen
in reward of mens good seruice: howebeit *Cato* refused them, and sayd, that he was nothing
worthie of those honors. These thinges made him to be thought a maruelous straunge man.
Furthermore, when there was a lawe made, forbidding all men that sued for any office in the D
common wealth, that they should haue no prompters in any of the assemblies, to blowe into
their eares the names of priuate citizens: he alone making sute to be Colonell of a thowsand
footmen, was obedient to the law, & committed all the priuate citizens names to memory, to
speake vnto euery one of them, and to call them by their names: so that he was enuied euen of
them that did commend him. For, by how much they knew his deedes praiseworthie, by so
muche more were they grieued, for that they could not followe them. So *Cato* being chosen
Cato chosen Tribunus militum. Colonell of a thowsande footemen, he was sent into MACEDON, vnto *Rubrius*, Prætor there.
Some say, that at his departure from thence, his wife lamenting, and weeping to see him go:
one *Munatius* a frend of his sayd vnto her, take no thought *Attilia*, and leaue weeping, for I
promise thee I will kepe thy husband for thee. It is well sayd, aunswered *Cato*. Then when they B
were a dayes iorney frō ROME, *Cato* after supper said vnto this *Munatius*: thou must looke well
to thy promesse thou hast made *Attilia*, that thou wouldest keepe me for her, & therefore for-
sake me not night nor day. Thereupon he commaunded his men that from thence forth they
should prepare two beds in his chamber, that *Munatius* also might lye there: who was rather
pleasantly him selfe looked vnto by *Cato*, then *Cato* by him. He had fiftene slaues with him, two
free men, & foure of his frends, which rode, & he himselfe went a foote, somtime talking with
one, otherwhile with an other as he went. When he came to the campe, where there were
many legions of the ROMANES, the Prætor immediatly gaue him charge of one of them: who
thinking it final honor to him for himselfe only to be valliant, sith he was but one man, he pra-
Howe Cato trained his men, & made them valliant. ctised to make all his souldiers vnder him, like vnto himselfe. The which he did not by feare & F
terror, but by lenitie & gentle perswasion, training & instructing thē in euery point what they
should doe: adding to his gentle instruction and perswasions, reward to those that did well,

and

A and punishement to them that offended. Whereby it was hard to iudge, whether he had made them more quiet, then warlicke: more valliant, then iust. So dreadfull they shewed them selues to their enemies, and curteous to their frendes: fearefull to doe euill, and readie to winne honor. Whereof followed that which *Cato* least accounted of, that is, he wanne fame, and good will: for his souldiers did greatly honor and loue him, bicause he him selfe would euer first set his hande to any thing he commaunded them, and bicause also both in his diet, in his apparrell, and in any iorney or paines, he was rather like vnto the meanest souldier, then any of the other Captaines. In contrarie maner also, in good nature, noble corage, and eloquence, he farre exceded all the other Colonells and Captaines. For the true loue of ver-

The loue of vertue from whence it proceedeth.

B tue, (to wit, the desire to followe it) taketh no roote in mens mindes, onlesse they haue a singular loue and reuerence vnto the person, whome they desire to followe. When *Cato* vnderstoode that *Athenodorus* surnamed *Cordylion*, a Stoicke Philosopher, excellently well learned, dwelt at that time in the city of PERGAMVM, being a very old man, and one that stiffely refused the frendshipp of kings, Princes, and noble men, desirous to haue him about them: to write to him, he thought it was but lost labor. Wherefore hauing two moneths liberty by the lawes of the ROMANES, to followe his owne affaires: he tooke sea, and went into ASIA to him, hoping he should not lose his iorney, for the great vertues he knew in him. So when he had spoken with him, and talked of diuers matters together: at length he brought him from his first determination, and caried him to the campe with him, esteeming this victorie more, then all the conquestes of *Lucullus* or *Pompey*, who had conquered the most parte of all the prouinces

Athenodorus the stoicke, Catoes frend.

C and realmes of the East partes of the world. In the meane time, whilest he lay at his charge in the campe, being Colonell of a thowsand footemen: his brother preparing to go into ASIA, fell sicke in the citie of ÆNVS, in the contrie of THRACIA. *Cato* hauing speedie intelligence thereof, tooke sea presently, when it was maruelous rough and boysterous, and imbarked in a litle crayer of a marchaunts of THESSALIE, with two of his frends, and three bondmen only, and did scape drowning very narrowly: and yet by good fortune arriued safely, a litle after his brother *Cæpioes* death. He tooke his death more sorowfully, then became a Philosopher, not onely mourning and lamenting for him, imbracing the deade corse of his brother: but also for the exceding charge and sumptuous funerals, which he bestowed vpon him, in perfumes,

The death of Cæpio, Catoes brother.

Catoes mourning for his brother Cæpioes death.

D sweete sauors, and sumptuous silkes that were burnt with his bodie: and furthermore, in the stately tombe of THRACIAN marble which he made for him, and set vp in the market place of the ÆNIANS, that cost eight talents. Some did mislike this vaine charge that *Cato* bestowed, considering the modestie and temperance he vsed in all things else, not regarding with iudgement his tender loue and affection towards his kinsemen, which was mingled in him with his seuerity and hardnes, against all voluptuousnes, feare, and shameless requests. Diuers cities, Princes and noble men sent him many sundrie presents, to honor the funeralls of his brother *Cæpio*: howbeit he tooke no money of all them, saiing only spyces, and sweete sauors, & such other ornamentes, as honored the obsequies of the dead, and yet payed for them, vnto those that brought them, as much as they were worth. Furthermore, in the land that fell vnto him, and a litle daughter of his, by the death of his brother: notwithstanding the charge he had

E bene at, in his funeralls, he did not reckon it in the particion of the land, betwext him and his brother *Cæpioes* daughter. All the which things when they were solemnised, some * write notwithstanding, that he did clense the imbers where his brothers body had bene burnt, through a sieue or riddell, where through they clense corne, & all to get out the gold & siluer that was molten there. But suche thinke that their wrytinges should be as farre from controlement, as their doings. So when *Catoes* time of his charge was expired, they did accompany him at his departure, not only with ordinary praises, vowes, and prayers to the goddes for his health: but with imbracings, teares, and maruelous lamentations of the souldiers, which spred their garments on the ground as he went, and kissing of his hands, which honor the ROMANES did but to verie fewe of their Generalls. Furthermore, *Cato* being determined before he returned to

** It seemeth to be ment of Cæsar, which wrote the booke called Anticaton.*

Catoes iorney into Asia.

F ROME to deale in the affaires there, to go and see ASIA, partely to be an eye witnes of the maners, customes, and power of euery prouince as he went: and partely also to satisfie king *Deiotarus* request, who hauing bene his fathers frend, had earnestly intreated him to come and see

Catoes modestie.

him: he went the iorney, and vsed it in this sorte. First, by peepe of day, he sent his baker and A
cooke before, where he ment to lye that night. They comming soberly into the city or village,
inquiered if there were none of *Catoes* frends and acquaintance there, and if they found none,
then they prepared his supper in an Inne, and troubled no man: but if there were no Inne, then
they went to the Gouernors of the towne, and prayed them to helpe them to lodging, and did
content them selues with the first that was offered them. Oftentimes the townes men did not
beleue they were *Catoes* men, and made no accompt of them: bicause they tooke all things so
quietly, & made no a do with the officers. Insomuch as *Cato* somtime came himselfe, & found
nothing ready for him, & when he was come, they made as small account of him, seeing him
set apon his cariages, and speake neuer a word: for they tooke him for some meane man, and
a timerous person. Notwithstanding, sometime he called them vnto him, and tolde them. O B
poore men, learne to be more curteous to receiue trauelling ROMANES that passe by you, and
looke not alwayes to haue *Catoes* to come vnto you: and therefore see that you vse them with
such curtesie & entertainment, that they may bridle the authority they haue ouer you: for you
shall finde many that will desire no better colour nor occasion, by force to take from you that
they would haue: bicause you vnwillingly also do graunt them the things they would, & nede.

A laughing matter happned vnto Cato.

There is a report of a pretie ieast happened him in SYRIA. When he came to ANTIOCHE, he
found a great number of people deuided on either side of the streete, standing a row one by an
other verie decently: the young men by them selues in fayer clokes, boyes by them selues in
seemely aray, and priests & other officers of the city also, all in white garments, crowned with
garlands. *Cato* thought straight they had made this solemne precession to honor him, and fell C
out with his men he had sent before, bicause they did suffer thē to make such preparacion for
his comming. So he made his frends light from their horses, & go a foote to accompany him.
But when they came neere to the gate of the city, the maister of these ceremonies that had as-
sembled all that company (an old man, hauing a rodde in his hand, and a crowne on his head)
came to *Cato* without saluting of him, and asked him only, where they had left *Demetrius*, and

Demetrius a slaue, great with Pompey.

when he would come. This *Demetrius* had bene one of *Pompeis* slaues, & bicause *Pompeis* fame
was great with all men, his seruant *Demetrius* also was much honored and made of aboue his
deserte, for that he was in great credit with *Pompey*. *Catoes* frendes hearing what question the
olde man asked him, burst out a laughing as they went through this precession. *Cato* being a-
shamed of it, sayd no more then: but, O vnfortunate citie. Afterwards notwithstanding, when D
he told it to any body, he would laugh at it him selfe. So *Pompey* rebuked them, that through

Cato honored of Pompey in Asia.

ignorance had failed to honor *Cato*. When *Cato* came to the citie of EPHESVS, and was com-
ming towardes *Pompey* to salute him, being the elder man, and of greater dignitie and estima-
cion then he, who at that time also was Generall of a great and puisant armie: *Pompey* seeing
him comming towards him a farre of, would not tary till he came to him, sitting in his chaire
of estate, but rising vp went to meete him, as one of the greatest and noblest persons of ROME,
and taking him by the hande, after he had imbraced and welcomed him, he presently fell in
praise of his vertue before his face, and afterwards also commended him in his absence, when
he was gone from him. Whereuppon, euerie man after that had him in great veneracion for
those things, which before they despised in him, when they considered better of his noble & E
curteous mind. For men that saw *Pompeis* entertainment towards him, knew well enough that
Cato was a man which he rather reuerenced, & for a kinde of duty obserued, more then for any
loue he bare him: & they noted further, that he honored him greatly while he was with him,
but yet that he was glad when *Cato* went from him. For he sought to kepe backe all the young

Pompey rather suspected Cato, then loued him.

gentlemen of ROME that went to see him, & desired them to remaine with him: but for *Cato*,
he was nothing desirous of his company, for that in his presence he thought he could not cō-
maund as he would, & therfore was willing to let him go, recommending his wife & his chil-
dren to him, the which he neuer did before vnto any other ROMANE that returned to ROME:
howbeit in dede *Cato* was partly allied vnto him. After that time, all the cities whereby he pas-
sed, deuised (in emulacion one of the other) which of thē should honor him most, & made him F
great feasts & bankets: in the which he prayd his frēds to haue an eye to him, least vnwares he
shold proue *Curioes* words true. For *Curio* somtime being his frēd, & a familiar of his, misliking

notwith-

notwithstanding his seuerity asked *Cato* if he would go see *Asia*, when his charge were expired. *Cato* answered againe, that it was his full determination. Oh well sayd, quod *Cato*, I hope then thou wilt returne more pleasaunt and ciuill. And these were *Curios* wordes. But furthermore, *Deiotarus* king of GALATIA, being a very old man, sent for *Cato* to come into his countrie to recommend his sonnes & house vnto him: who, when he arriued there, had great rich presents of all sortes offered him by the king, intreating him all he could to take them. This so much displeased and angered *Cato*, that he comming thither in the euening, (after he had taried there one whole day onely) the next morning he went his waye from thence at the thirde hower. Howbeit he had not gone one dayes iorney, but he found greater giftes that tarried him, with *Deiotarus* letters, at the citie of PESSINVNTA: in the which he instantly requested him to take them, or at the least if he would refuse them him selfe, that then he would let them be deuided amongest his frendes, sith euery way they did deserue it, but specially for his sake, for that his goodes also were not so great, as could content all his frends. But *Cato* would not suffer them to take any iot of it more then before, although he saw well enough that there were some of them so tender harted, that they complayned of him, for that he woulde not suffer them to take any of it. For he tolde them, that otherwise, corruption and briberie could lacke no honest colour to take: and for his frends, they should alwayes haue parte with him of that which was his owne iustly. So he returned king *Deiotarus* presentes backe againe. Nowe when he was readie to imbarke, to passe ouer the sea againe vnto BRVNDVSIVM: some of his frendes perswaded him, that it was better to put the asshes of his brother *Capiones* bones into an other shippe. But he answered them, that he would rather lose his owne life, then to leaue his brothers relikes. Thereuppon he presently hoysed sayle, and it is reported that he passed ouer in great daunger, where other shippes arriued very safely. When he was returned vnto ROME, he was alwayes either talking Philosophie with *Athenodorus* the Philosopher, or else in the market place to pleasure his frendes. When his turne came that he was to make sute to be Quæstor, he would neuer sue for it, before he had first diligently perused all the ordinaunces touching the office of Quæstor, and that he had particularly made enquierie of men of greatest experience to knowe what the authoritie of the office was. So, he no sooner came to his office, but he presently made great alteracion amongest the clearkes and officers of the treasurie: who hauing the lawes and recordes in their handes, and exercising the office commonly vnder young men which were chosen treasurers (who for their ignoraunce and lacke of experience, stoode rather in neede of maisters to teache them, then that they were able to correct others) they them selues were the officers, and controlled them. But *Cato* not contenting him selfe with the name and honor of the thing, did throughly vnderstande what the clearkes and registers shoulde be, and therefore would haue them to be as they ought to be, ministers vnder the Quæstors only, telling them of their briberie and corruption which they committed, and reformed them also, that fauted through ignoraunce. And when he sawe some insolent and impudent persons, that curried fauour with other treasurers to be against him: he caused the chiefest of them to be condemned for falsehoode, in making diuision betwext two coheires, and consequently turned him cleare out of his office, for euer doing any thing there any more. He accused an other also for forging of a will, whome *Catulus Luctatius* defending, being then Censor, and a man of great honor for the dignity of his office, but chiefly for his vertue, being counted the iustest man one of them in his time at ROME, and one of those also that highly commended *Cato*, & was conuersant with him for his honest life: when he perceiued that he could not defend his man by no reason, he prayed them at his request that they would pardon him. But *Cato* would in no wise graunt it. But *Catulus* earnestly intreating still for him: then *Cato* plainely sayd vnto him, It is a shame for thee (*Catulus*) thou that art Censor, and shouldest reforme all our liues, thus to forget the duetie of thine office, to please our ministers. *Catulus* looking at *Cato* when he had spoken, as though he would answere him: whether it were for shame, or anger, he went his way, & sayd neuer a word more. Yet was not the partie condemned, though there was one voyce more that did condemne then cleere him, bicause of the absence of one of the Iudges. For *Marcus Lollius*, one of *Catoes* colleagues in the Quæstorship, being sicke at that time, and absent, *Catulus* sent vnto him,

Catoes iorney vnto king Deiotarus, and his abstinence from the gifts of great dignity.

Cato made Quæstor.

Catulus Luctatius what he was.

to pray him to come and helpe the poore man. Thereupon *Lollius* being brought thither in a litter after iudgement geuen, gaue his last voyce, which absolutely cleared him. *Cato*, this notwithstanding, would neuer vse him as a clearke, nor pay him his wages, nor would count of *Lollius* voyce among others. Thus hauing pulled downe the pride and stomacke of these clearkes, and brought them vnto reason: in short time he had all the tables and records at his commaundement, and made the treasure chamber as honorable, as the Senate in selfe: so that euery man thought, and sayd, that *Cato* had added vnto the Quæstorshippe the dignity of the Consulship. For finding diuers men indetted before vnto the common wealth, and the common wealth also vnto diuers men: he sette downe such an order, that neither the common wealth should be deceiued by any man, nor that any man also should haue wrong of it. For being rough with thē that were indetted to the chamber, he compelled them to pay their det, and willingly & quickely also payed them to whom the chamber ought any thing: so that the people were ashamed to see some pay which neuer thought to haue payed any thing, and on the contrary side also others payed, which neuer looked to haue had any parte of their dettes payed them. Furthermore, diuers men did before make false billes of their dets, and brought them so to be put into the cofer of the Quæstors: and many times also his predecessors were wont of fauor and frendship to receiue false messages. For whilest he was Quæstor, he neuer did passe away matters so lightly. For one day, he being doubtfull of a message that was sent vnto him, to knowe whether it was true or no: albeit diuers men did witnesse it was true, yet would he not beleue it, vntill such time as the Consulls them selues came in their owne persons to iustifie it was true, and to sweare, that it was so ordained. Now there were many vnto whom *Lucius Sylla* being Dictator, had appointed in his second proscription twelue thowsand siluer Drachmas for euery citizen and outlaw which they had slaine with their owne handes. These men, though euery man did hate them, and knew them to be wicked people & cruell murtherers: yet no man durst offer to be reuenged of them. *Cato* called these men in sute, as those that did wrongfully detaine the money of the common treasure, and compelled them to repay it backe againe: sharpely reprouing (and iustly) the wicked deuelish fact they had committed. So when they had repayed the money, they were straight accused by others for murder: & as if they had bene wrongfully condemned by one iudgement, they were brought into an other, to the great ioy of all the Romanes, who then thought they saw all the tyranny of that time rooted out, and *Sylla* him selfe punished. Besides all this, *Catoes* continuall paines and care of the treasure, was so well thought of, and liked of the people, as could be. For he was alwayes the first that came to the coffer of the treasurers, and also the last that went from thence, and was neuer wearie of any paines. Furthermore, he neuer misled to be at any assembly of the people or Senate, fearing, and being alwayes carefull, least lightly by fauor, any money due to the common wealth should be forgiuen: or else that they should abate the rent of the farmers, or that they should geue no money but to thē that had iustly deserued it. Thus hauing ridde all accusers, and also filled the coffers with treasure: he made men see, that the common wealth might be riche, without oppressing of any man. In deede at his first comming in to the office, his colleagues and companions founde him maruelous troublesome and tedious, for that they thought him too rough and seuere: howbeit they all loued him in the end, bicause he only withstoode the complaints and cries of all men against them (which complained that they would not for any mans respect or fauor let go the money of the common treasure) & was contented his companions should excuse them selues vnto their frends that were importunate, and lay the fault apon him, saying, that it was vnpossible for them to bring *Cato* vnto it. The last day that he went out of his office, being very honorably brought home to his house by the people: it was told him that *Marcellus*, being in the treasure chamber, was attempted & enuironned with many of his frends, and men of great authoritie, that were earnestly in hande with him to record a certaine gift of money, as a thing that had bene due by the common wealth. This *Marcellus* had bene *Catoes* frend euen from their childhood, & whilest *Cato* was in office, he did orderly execute his office with him: but when he was left alone, he was of so gentle a nature, that he would easily be intreated, and was as much ashamed to deny any man, as he was also ouertreadie to graunt euerie man that he required. *Cato* straight

Cato made the Quæstorshippe of great dignity.

Cato was reuenged of Syllaes bloody murthers.

Catoes notable leauing of his office.

straight returned backe vpon it, and finding that *Marcellus* had yeelded vnto their importunacye, and recorded the gift: he caused the bookes to be brought vnto him, and did rase it out before his face, *Marcellus* speaking neuer a word to the contrary. After that, *Marcellus* brought *Cato* home, and neuer once repyned against that he had done, neither then, nor at any time after, but continued still friendshippe with him, as he had done before. But now, though *Cato* was out of his office of Quæstor, he was not without spialls of his men in the treasure chamber: who marked alwayes, and wrote what was done and passed in the treasurie. And *Cato* himself hauing bought the bookes of accompt for the summe of fiue talents conteyning the reuenue of the whole state of the common wealth, from *Sylles* time vntill the very yeare of his Quæstorshippe: he euer had them about him, and was the first man that came to the Senate and the last that went out of it. There many times the Senators tarying long before they came, he went and sate downe in a corner by him selfe, and red closely the booke he had vnder his gowne, clapping his gowne before it, and would neuer bee out of the citie on that day when he knew the Senate should assemble. After that, *Pompey* and his consorts perceiuing that it was vnpossible to compell *Cato*, and much lesse to winne or corrupt him, to fauor their vniust doings: they sought what meanes they could to keepe him from comming to the Senate, and defending certeine of his friends causes, & to occupy him some other wayes about matters of arbitrement. But *Cato* finding their wiles and craft, to encounter them, he tolde his friendes once for all, whom he would pleasure: that when the Senate did sit, no mans cause could make him be absent from thence. For he came not to serue the common wealth to enrich him selfe as many did, neither for any glorye or reputacion, nor yet at all aduenture: but that he had aduisedly chosen to serue the common wealth, like a iust and honest man, & therefore thought him selfe bound to be as carefull of his dutie, as the bee working her waxe in the honny combe. For this respect therefore, to performe his dutie the better, by the meanes of his friendes which he had in euery prouince belonging to the Empire of Rome: he gotte into his handes the copies of all the chiefest actes, edicts, decrees, sentences, & the notablest iudgements of the gouernors that remayned in recorde. Once *Cato* perceiuing that *Publius Clodius* a seditious Orator amongest the people, did make great sturre, and accused diuers vnto the assembly, as the Priestes and Vestall Nunnes: (amonge the which *Fabia Terentia*, *Ciceroes* wiues sister was accused) he taking their cause in hand, did so disgrace *Clodius* their accuser, that he was driuen to flie the citie. *Cicero* therefore giuing *Cato* thankes, *Cato* tolde him, that he must thanke the common wealth, not him, for whose sake onely he both sayd and did that he had done. Hereby *Cato* wanne him great fame. For when a certein Orator or common counseller preferred one witnes vnto the Iudges, the counseller on thother side tolde them, that one witnes was not to be credited, though it were *Cato* him selfe. Insomuch as the people tooke it vp for a prouerbe among them, that when any man spake any straunge and vnlikely matter, they would say: Nay, though *Cato* him selfe said it, yet were it not to be beleued. When on a time a certaine prodigall man had made a long oration in the Senate, in praise and commendacion of sobrietie, temperãce, & thriftines: one *Annæus* a Senator rising vp, said vnto him, alas, frend, what thinkest thou? who can abide to heare thee any lenger with pacience: that farest at thy table like *Crassus*, buildest like *Lucullus*, & speakest to vs like *Cato*? So men commonly (in sport) called them *Catoes*, which were graue and seuere in their wordes, and dissolute in their deedes. When diuers of his friends were in hand with him to sue to be Tribune of the people, he told them he thought it not meete at that time: for such an office (quoth he) of great authoritie as that, is not to be imployed, but like a stronge medicine in time of neede. So, the tearme and matters of lawe ceassing for that tyme, *Cato* went into the contry of Lvca to take his pleasure there, where he had pleasant houses: and tooke with him both his bookes & Philosophers to keepe him company. Bicause, meeting as he went, with diuers sumpters and great cariage, and a great traine of men besides, he asked them whose cariage it was: they told him it was *Metellus Nepos* that returned to Rome, to make sute to be Tribune. Thereuppon *Cato* stayed sodainely, and bethinking him selfe, commaunded his men to returne backe againe. His friends maruailing at it, he aunswered them: Doe not you know that *Metellus* is to be feared of him selfe, for his rashnes and folly? & now that he commeth instructed by *Pompey*, like a lightning he would

Catoes care and integritie to the common wealth.

Catoes minde and determination to take charge in the commõ wealth

Cato draue Clodius out of Rome.

The authoritie and credit of Cato.

Cato tooke Philosophers with him whē he went into the contry.

set all the common wealth a fire? for this cause therefore, we must not now goe take our plea- A
sure in the contry, but ouercome his folly, or otherwise dye honorably in defence of our liber-
tie. Yet at his friendes perswasions, he went first vnto his house in the contry, but tarried not
long there, and returned straight againe to Rome. When he came thither ouernight, the next
morning betimes he went into the market place, & sued to be Tribune of the people, purpose-
ly to crosse *Metellus* enterprise, bicause the power & authoritie of the Tribune cōsisteth more
The office & authoritie of the Tribune, what it is. in hindring, then doing any thing: for if all men els were agreed of a matter, and that he only
were against it, the Tribune would cary it from them all. *Cato* at the first had not many of his
friendes about him, but when they heard of his intent, why he made sute for the Tribuneship,
all his friends and noble men straight tooke part with him, confirmed his determination, and
incoraged him to go on withall, for that he did it rather to serue the common wealth, then his B
owne turne, considering, that where many times before he might (without resistance or deni-
all) haue obteined the same, the state being toward no trouble, he then would neuer sue for it,
but now that he saw it in daunger, where he was to fight for the common wealth, and the pro-
tection of her libertie. It is reported that there was such a number of people about him to fa-
Catoes Tri-buneship. uor his sute, that he was like to haue ben stifled among them, & thought he should neuer haue
comen to the market place, for the preasse of people that swarmed about him. Thus when he
was chosen Tribune with *Metellus* and others, he perceiued how they bought & sold the voy-
ces of the people when the Consuls were chosen: whereupon he made an oration, & sharply
tooke them vp for this detestable marchādise, and after his oration ended, solemnly protested
by othe, that he would accuse him, & bewray his name, which had giuen money to be chosen O
Consul. Howbeit he spake nothing of *Syllanus*, whose sister, *Seruilia*, he had maried: but he flatly
accused *Lucius Murena*, that had obtained to be Cōsul with *Syllanus*, by meanes of his money.
Now a law being prouided, that the party accused might haue a keeper or spiall to follow the
accuser, to see what he would accuse the party with, that he might the better be able to defend
him selfe, knowing what should be obiected against him: *Murena* hauing one for him to waite
vpon *Cato*, to consider throughly what course he tooke, when he saw that he went not malici-
ously to worke, but tooke a plaine common way of a iust accuser: he had so great confidence
in *Catoes* vpright mind and integritie, that not regarding the narrow sifting of him otherwise,
he did one day aske him him selfe in the market place, (or at home in his owne house) if that
day he were determined to prosecute any matter against him touching his accusation. If *Cato* D
aunswered him that he did not: then he went his way and simply beleued him. When the day
Cicero defen-ded Murena against his ac-cuser Cato. came in deed that his cause was to be heard, and pleaded vnto: *Cicero* being Consul that yere,
defending *Murena*, played so pleasantly with the Stoicke Philosophers, and their straunge o-
pinions, that he made all the Iudges laughe: insomuch as *Cato* him selfe smiling at him, tolde
them that were by him: see, we haue a pleasant Consul that makes men laugh thus. So *Mure-
na* beeing discharged by this iudgement, did neuer after malice *Cato* for that, but so long as he
remained Consul, he was alwaies ruled by his counsel in all his affaires, and continued euer to
honor him, following his counsell in all thinges touching his office. Hereof *Cato* him selfe was
cause, who was neuer rough nor terrible, but in matters of counsell, and in his orations before
the people, for the maintenance onely of equitie and iustice: for otherwise, he was very ciuil & E
curteous to al men. But before he entred into his Tribuneship, *Cicero* being yet Consul, he did
The conspira-cie of Catilin against Rome. helpe him in many things touching his office, but specially, in bringing *Catilins* conspiracie to
good ende, which was a noble act done of him. For *Catilin* did practise a generall commotion
and sturre in the common wealth, to ouerthrowe the whole state of Rome, by ciuill dis-
corde within Rome, and open warres abroade: who beeing discouered and ouercome by *Ci-
cero*, he was driuen in the ende to flie Rome. But *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other of the ac-
complices of this conspiracie, blamed *Catiline* for his faynt and cowardly proceeding in it.
For their partes, they had determined to burne the whole citie of Rome, and to put all the
Empire thereof in vprore, by straunge warres, and rebellions of forreine nations and prouin-
ces. Howbeit this treason being discouered, as appeareth more largely in the life of *Cicero*, the F
matter was referred vnto the iudgement of the Senate, to determine what was to bee done
therein. *Syllanus* beeing the first who was asked his opinion therein, sayde, that he thought it

good

A good they ſhould ſuffer cruell paines: and after him alſo, all the reſt ſaid the like, vntill it came to *Ceſar*. *Ceſar* being an excellent ſpoken man, & that rather deſired to nouriſh then to quench any ſuch ſturres or ſeditions in the common wealth, being fit for his purpoſe long determined of: made an oration full of ſweete pleaſant wordes, declaring vnto them, that to put ſuch men as them to death without lawfull condemnation, he thought it altogether vnreaſonable, and rather that they ſhould doe better to keepe them in priſon. This oration of *Ceſar* ſo altered all the reſt of the Senators minds, for that they were affraid of the people: that *Syllanus* ſelf mended his opinion againe, and ſaid, that he ment not they ſhould put them to death, but keepe the faſt in priſon, bicauſe that to be a priſoner, was the greateſt paine a ROMANE Citizen could abide. Thus, the Senators minds being ſo ſodainly chaunged, & bent to a more fauorable ſen-

Catoes oration againſt Ceſar, touching Catilins conſpiracie.

B tence: *Cato* riſing vp to ſay his opinion, beganne very angrily with maruelous eloquence, grieuouſly to reproue *Syllanus* for chaunging his mind, & ſharply to take vp *Ceſar*, that vnder a populer ſemblance, & maske of ſweete ſugred words, he ſought vnder hand to deſtroy the common wealth, and alſo to terrifie and make the Senate affraid: where he him ſelfe ſhould haue bene affraid, and thinke him ſelfe happy, if he could ſcape from beeing ſuſpected, giuing ſuch apparant cauſe of ſuſpicion as he did, going about ſo openly to take the enemies and traytors of the common wealth out of the hands of iuſtice, ſeming to haue no pitie nor compaſſion of his naturall citie, of ſuch nobilitie and fame, being euen brought in maner to vtter deſtruction, but rather to lament the fortune of theſe wicked men, that it was pity they were euer borne, & whoſe death preſerued ROME from a thowſand murthers & miſchiefs. Of all the orations that

C euer *Cato* made, that only was kept: for *Cicero* the Conſul, that day had diſperſed diuers penne men in ſundry places of the Senate houſe, which had maruelous ſwift hands, and had further taught them how to make brieſe notes and abridgements, which in fewe lines ſhewed many words. For vntill that time, writers were not knowen that could by figures & ciphers expreſſe a whole ſentence and word, as afterwards they could: being then the firſt time that euer they were found out. So *Cato* at that time preuailed againſt *Ceſar*, and made them all chaunge their mindes againe, that theſe men were put to death. But that we may not leaue out a iot of his maners, as the very pattern and impreſſion of his mind: It is reported, that when *Cato* that day was ſo whot, and vehement againſt *Ceſar*, that all the Senate could but looke at them, to heare them both: a letter was deliuered *Ceſar*, ſent him into the houſe. *Cato* began preſently to ſuſpect

Cicero taught them how to write briefly, by notes and figures.

D it, and ſo earneſtly miſliked of it, that many of the Senators being offended, commaunded his letter ſhould be ſeene & red openly. *Ceſar* thereupon reached his letter vnto *Cato*, that ſate not farre from him. When *Cato* had red it, and found that it was a loue letter which his ſiſter *Seruilia* had written vnto *Ceſar*, whom ſhe loued, and had knowen: he caſt it againe to *Ceſar*, & ſaid, there, dronkard. After that he went on againe with his matter, which he had begon before. In fine, it ſeemeth that *Cato* was very vnfortunate in his wiues: for this *Seruilia*, as we haue ſayd,

Cato vnfortunate in his wiues.

had an ill name by *Ceſar*. And the other *Seruilia* alſo, which was his ſiſter, was worſe deſamed. For ſhe being maried vnto *Lucullus*, one of the greateſt men of ROME, by whō ſhe had a ſonne, was in the ende put away from him, for her naughty life. But worſt of all, his owne wife *Attilia* alſo was not altogether cleare without ſuſpicion: For though he had two ſonnes by her, yet

E he was driuen to be diuorced from her, ſhe was ſo naught and common. After that, he maried *Martia*, the Daughter of *Philip*, which by report ſeemed to be a very honeſt gentlewoman. It

Martia Catoes wife.

is ſhe that is ſo famous amonge the ROMANES. For in the life of *Cato*, this place (as a fable or comedy) is diſputable, and hard to be iudged. For thus it was, as *Thraſeas* writeth: who referreth all to the report and credit of one *Munatius*, *Catoes* very famillier friend. Amonge many that loued *Catoes* vertues, and had them in admiration, ſome of them did ſhew him more what he was, then other ſome did: amongeſt the which, was *Q. Hortenſius*, a man of great honeſtie and authoritie. He, deſiring not onely to be *Catoes* friend and famillier, but alſo to ioyne with him in alliance, and by affinitie to make both their houſes one: was not abaſhed to moue him, to let him haue his Daughter *Porcia* in mariage, (which was *Bibulus* wife, & had brought him

F two children) that he might alſo caſt abroade the ſeede of goodly children, in that pleaſant fertile ground. And though to men this might ſeeme a ſtraunge mind and deſire, yet that in reſpect of nature, it was both honeſt and profitable to the common wealth, not to ſuffer a young

woman in the prime of her youth, to loſe the frute of her wombe, being apt to beare children: nor alſo that he ſhould impouerish his ſonne in lawe with moe children, then one houſe needed. And further, that communicating women in this ſort from one to another, ſpecially being beſtowed apon worthy and vertuous men: that vertue ſhould thereby bee increaſed the more, being ſo diſperſed in diuers families, & the citie likewiſe ſhould be the ſtronger, by making alliances in this ſort together. And if it be ſo, q he, that *Bibulus* doe loue his wife ſo dearly, that he wil not depart from her altogether, then that he would reſtore her to him again, when he had a child by her, that therby he might be the more bound in frendſhip to him, by meanes of this communication of children with *Bibulus* ſelfe, and with him. *Cato* aunſwered him, that he loued *Hortenſius* well, and liked of his alliance: howbeit that he maruelled he would ſpeake to him to let him haue his Daughter to get children of, ſith he knew that ſhe was maried to another. Then *Hortenſius* altering his tale, ſtucke not to tell him his mind plainly, and to deſire his wife of him, the which was yet a young woman, and *Cato* had children enough. But a man can not tell whether *Hortenſius* made this ſute, bicauſe he ſaw *Cato* make no reckoning of *Martia*, for that ſhe was then with child by him. In fine, *Cato* ſeeing the earneſt deſire of *Hortenſius*, he did not deny him her, but told him, that he muſt alſo get *Philips* good wil, the father of *Martia*. He knowing that *Cato* had graunted his good wil, would not therfore let him haue his daughter, before that *Cato* him ſelfe by his preſence did confirme the contract & mariage with him. Though theſe thinges were done longe after, yet hauing occaſion to talke of *Catoes* wiues, I thought it not amiſſe to anticipate the time. Now *Lentulus*, and his conſorts of *Catilines* conſpiracie being put to death: *Cæſar*, to cloke the accuſations wherewith *Cato* charged him in open Senate, did put him ſelf into the peoples hands, and gathering the rakehells and ſeditious perſons together, which ſought to ſet al at ſix and ſeuen, he did further encorage them in their miſchieuous intent & practiſes. Whereuppon, *Cato* fearing leaſt ſuch rabble of people ſhould put all the common wealth in vprore & daunger: he perſwaded the Senat to winne the poore needy people that had nothing, by diſtributing of corne amongeſt them, the which was done: For the charge thereof amownted yearely vnto twelue hundred and fifty talents. This liberalitie did manifeſtly drinke vp and quench all thoſe troubles which they ſtoode in feare of. But on thother ſide, *Metellus* entring into his Tribuneſhip, made certen ſeditious orations and aſſemblies, & preferred a law to the people, that *Pompey* the great ſhould preſently be called into ITALY with his armie, that he ſhould keepe the citie by his comming, from the preſent daunger of *Catilins* conſpiracie. Theſe were but words ſpoken for facions ſake, but in deede the law had a ſecret meaning, to put the whole common wealth and Empire of ROME into *Pompeys* hands. Hereuppon the Senate aſſembled, wherein *Cato* at his firſt comming, ſpake ſomewhat gently, and not to vehemently againſt *Metellus*, as his maner was to be ſharpe vnto them that were againſt him: but modeſtly perſwaded him, and fell to intreate him in the end, and highly to extoll his houſe, for that they had alwaies taken part with the Senate and nobilitie. But *Metellus* therewith tooke ſuch pride & conceit of him ſelfe, that he began to deſpiſe *Cato*, thinking he had vſed that mildnes, as though he had beene affraide of him: inſomuch as he gaue out prowd ſpeeches againſt him, and cruell threats, that in deſpite of the Senate he would do that which he had vndertaken. Then *Cato* chaunging his countenaunce, his voice and ſpeech, after he had ſpoken very ſharply againſt him: in the ende he roughly proteſted, that while he liued, he would neuer ſuffer *Pompey* to come into ROME with his armie. The Senate hearing them both, thought neither of both well in their witts, but that *Metellus* doings was a furie, which proceeding of a cancred ſtomake and extreame malice, would put all in hazard: & that which *Cato* did, was a rauiſhment and extacy of his vertue, that made him beſide him ſelfe, contending for iuſtice and equitie. When the day came that this law ſhould paſſe by voyces of the people, *Metellus* fayled not to be in the market place with a worlde of ſtraungers, ſlaues, and fenſers, armed, and ſet in battell raye, beſides a number of the common people that were deſirous to ſee *Pompeys* returne, hoping after chaunge. Beſides all thoſe, *Cæſar* then being Prætor, gaue ayde likewiſe with his men, in the behalf of *Metellus*. On the contrary part alſo, the noble men and Senators of the citie were as angry as *Cato*, and ſaid it was a horrible ſhame: howbeit they were his friendes, rather in miſliking the matter, then in defending the common wealth.

Platoes felowſhip and communitie of women.

Cato perſwaded corne to be diſtributed vnto the people.

Cato reſiſteth Metellus, tribune of the people.

Iulius Cæſar Prætor.

Where-

A Whereuppon, all his friendes at home, and his whole family, were maruailously perplexed & sorowfull, that they both refused their meate, and also could take no rest in the night for feare of *Cato*. But he, as one without feare, hauing a good hart with him, did comfort his people, and bad them not sorow for him: and after he had supped, as he commonly vsed to doe, he went to bed, and slept soundly all night, till the morning that *Minutius Thermus*, his colleague & fellow Tribune, came & called him. So they both went together into the market place, accompanied with a very few after them: Whereuppon diuers of their friends came and met them by the way, & bad them take heede vnto them selues. When they were come into the market place, and that *Cato* saw the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* full of armed men, and the degrees or steppes kept by sword players and fensers, and *Metellus* on the top of them set by *Caesar*, turning
B to his friends he sayd, see I pray you the coward there, what a number of armed men he hath gotten together, against one man naked, and vnarmed. Therewithall he straight went forward with his companion *Thermus* vnto that place, and they that kept the degrees, opened of them selues to let him passe, but they would let no other goe vp but him selfe: But *Cato* with much a doe, taking *Minutius* by the hand, got him vp with him, and when he was come vp, he sate him downe betwixt *Metellus* and *Caesar*, to keepe them a sonder, that they should not whisper one in anothers eare. Neither of them both could tell what to say to him. Whereuppon the noble men that considered *Catoes* countenaunce and boldnes, wondring to see it, drew neare, and by their cryes willed him not to be affrayd, but encoraged one another to sticke by him, that stoode for defence of their libertie. So, there was a seruaunt that tooke the written law in
C his hand, and would haue red it to the people: but *Cato* woulde not let him. Then *Metellus* tooke it him selfe in his handes to reade it: but *Cato* also snatched it out of his handes. *Metellus* notwithstanding, hauing it perfect without booke, would needes declare the effect of it by harte. But *Thermus* clapped his hande before his mouthe to keepe him that he shoulde not speake. *Metellus* seeing these two men bent by all meanes to keepe this law from passing, and that the people did leane on their side: he beckned to his men to goe for the armed men which were at home in his house, that they should come with terror and cryes to make them affrayd, and so they did. The people thereuppon were dispersed here and there for feare, that *Cato* was left alone in the market place, and they threwe stones at him from beneath. But then *Murena*, who had before accused *Cato* for buying of the Consulshippe, forsooke him not in
D that daunger, but holding his longe gowne before him, cryed out vnto them beneath, that threwe at *Cato*, to leaue. So shewing him the daunger he had brought him selfe vnto, holding him still by the armes, he brought him into the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. Then *Metellus* seing the pulpit for orations voyded, and his enemies flying out of the market place, he thought he had wonne the gole: Whereuppon commaunding his souldiers to depart, then proceeding gently, he attempted to passe his lawe. But his enemies that fled for feare, being gathered againe together in the market place, beganne a freshe to cry out against *Metellus*, with greater boldnes and corage then before. Then *Metellus* and his adherents being affrayd and amazed, doubting that their enemies had gotten weapons, and were prouided, and therefore were the bolder: they fled, and all of them left the pulpit for orations. So, when *Metellus* and his
E company were gonne, *Cato* came agayne to the pulpit for orations, and greatly commended the people for the good will they had shewed, and perswaded them to continue in their well doing. Whereuppon the common people were then against *Metellus*, and the Senate also being assembled gaue order, that *Cato* should haue better ayde then he had before, and that by all meanes possible they should resist *Metellus* lawe, which onely tended to moue sedition & ciuill warre in Rome. For *Metellus* selfe, he was yet vehemently bent to followe his attempt and enterprise: but perceiuing that his friendes were maruelously affraide of *Cato*, as a man whom they thought inuincible, he sodainely came into the market place, and assembling the people, told them many reasons in his oration, supposing to bringe *Cato* in disgrace with the people, and amongest other thinges he sayd, that he would withdraw him selfe out of this ty-
F rannicall power of *Catoes*, and his conspiracie against *Pompey*, the which peraduenture the citie before it were long, should repent, for that they had shamed and defaced so noble a man. After that, he presently departed Rome, and went into Asia to informe *Pompey* of all this

Catoes noble courage and constancie.

matter. *Cato* on thother ſide was greatly eſtemed for his doings, for that he had freed the common wealth from the great trouble of ſuch a fooliſh Tribune, and by ouerthrowing *Metellus*, he had alſo ſuppreſſed the power of *Pompey*. But he was yet much more commended, when he was againſt the Senate, who would haue noted *Metellus* of infamie, and depriued him of his office, the which he would not ſuffer them to doe. The common people thought him of a curteous and gentle nature, bicauſe he would not treade his enemie vnder his foote, when he had the vpper hand of him, nor be reuenged of him when he had ouercome him: but wiſe men iudged it otherwiſe, that it was wiſely done of him not to prouoke *Pompey*. About this time returned *Lucullus* from the warre, of the which it ſemed that *Pompey* had taken the honor & glory from him for the ending of it, & was likely alſo to haue bene put from his honor of triumph, for that *Caius Memmius* was his aduerſary, who layed many accuſations againſt him before the people, rather to pleaſe *Pompey*, then for any malice els he had towards him. But *Cato*, both for that *Lucullus* was his brother in law, and had maried his owne ſiſter *Seruilia*, as alſo for that he ſaw they did him wrong: reſiſted this *Memmius*, & defended many accuſations againſt him. So that in the end, though *Memmius* had labored that *Cato* ſhould be depriued of his office, as from a tyrannicall power: yet *Cato* compelled *Memmius* at the laſt to leaue of his accuſations, and to proſecute law no more againſt him. Thus *Lucullus* hauing obteined honor of triumph, did embrace *Catoes* friendſhip more then before, taking him for a ſure bulwarcke & defenſe againſt the power of *Pompey* the great. But *Pompey* ſhortly after returning home againe, with great honor from his conqueſts, truſting that for reſpect of his welcome he ſhould be denyed nothing at the peoples hands when he came home: ſent before vnto the Senate, to pray them for his ſake to deferre the election of the Conſuls, vntill he came to Rome, that being preſent he might fauor *Piſoes* ſute, ſuing to be Conſul. Thereunto the moſt part of the Senate gaue their conſent, but *Cato* on thother ſide was againſt it, not that the deferring of the time was a matter of ſuch importance, but to cut all hope from *Pompey* to goe about to attempt any newe deuiſes, inſomuch that he made the Senate chaunge opinion againe, and *Pompeys* requeſt was denied. *Pompey* being marueloſly troubled withall, and perceiuing that *Cato* would be againſt him in all things if he found not ſome deuiſe to winne him: he ſent for his friend *Munatius*, by his meanes to demaund *Catoes* two Neces of him which were mariable: the eldeſt for him ſelf, & the youngeſt for his ſonne. Others ſay alſo, that they were not his Neces, but his own daughters. *Munatius* did *Pompeys* meſſage, & brake the matter vnto him, his wife, & to his ſiſters, who marueloſly deſired *Pompeys* alliance, for the greatnes and dignitie of his perſon. But *Cato* making no farther delay, without other deliberation, as not greatly pleaſed with the motion, aunſwered him preſently. *Munatius*, goe thy way vnto *Pompey* againe, and tell him that *Cato* is not to be wonne by women, though otherwiſe I miſlike not of his friendſhip: and withall, that ſo long as he ſhall deale vprightly in all cauſes, & none otherwiſe, that he ſhall find him more aſſuredly his friend, then by any alliance of mariage: & yet, that to ſatisfie *Pompeys* pleaſure and will againſt his contry, he wil neuer giue him ſuch pledges. The women and his friends at that time were angry with his aunſwer & refuſall, ſaying, it was too ſtately and vncurteous. But afterwardes it chaunced, that *Pompey* ſuing to haue one of his friendes made Conſul, he ſent a great ſumme of money to brybe the voyces of the people, which liberalitie was noted, & ſpoken of, bicauſe the money was told in *Pompeys* owne garden. Then did *Cato* tell the women of his houſe, that if he had now bene bound by allyance of mariage vnto *Pompey*, he ſhould then haue bene driuen to haue bene partaker of *Pompeys* ſhamefull acts. When they heard what he had told them, they all confeſſed then that he was wiſer to refuſe ſuch alliance, then they were that wiſhed and deſired it. And yet, if men ſhould iudge of wiſedom, by the ſucceſſe and euent of things: I muſt needes ſay, that *Cato* was in great fault for refuſing of this allyance. For thereby he was the cauſe of *Pompeys* matching with *Ceſar*, who ioyning both their powers together, was the whole deſtruction of the Empire of Rome: Whereas peraduenture it had not fallen out ſo, if *Cato* fearing *Pompeys* light faultes, had not cauſed him by increaſing his power with another, to commit farre greater faultes. Howbeit thoſe thinges were yet to come. Furthermore, *Pompey* being at ſtarre with *Lucullus*, touching certain ordinances which he had made in the Realme of Pontvs, bicauſe both the one and the other would haue their ordinances to take

Catoes doings for Lucullus.

Cato reſiſteth Pompey.

Cato refuſeth allyance with Pompey.

take place: *Cato* fauoured *Lucullus*, who had open wronge. *Pompey* therefore seeing that he was the weaker in the Senate, tooke parte with the people, and put forthe the lawe for diuiding of the landes amongest the souldiers. But *Cato* stowtly resisting that lawe agayne, he put it by, and made *Pompey* thereby in a rage to acquaynte him selfe with *Publius Clodius*, the moste seditious and boldest person of all the Tribunes, and besides that, made allyance euen at that tyme with *Cæsar*, whereof *Cato* him selfe was the onely Author. *Cæsar* returning out of SPAYNE from his Prætorshippe, requyred the honour of tryumphe, and withall made sute to bee Consull. But beeing a lawe to the contrary, that they that sued to bee Consulls shoulde bee present them selues in the citie, and suche also as desired honour of triumphe, shoulde bee without the citie: he earnestly required the Senate, that he myght sue for the Consulshippe by his friendes. The moste parte of the Senate were willing vnto it, but *Cato* was flatly agaynst it. He perceyuing that the other Senatours were willing to gratifie *Cæsar*, when it came to him to deliuer his opinion, he spent all the whole daye in his oration, and by this pollicie preuented the Senate, that they coulde not conclude any thinge. Then *Cæsar* letting fall his tryumphe, made sute to be Consull, and entring the citie, ioyned friendshippe with *Pompey*. Hereuppon he was chosen Consull, and immediatly after maryed his Daughter *Iulia* vnto *Pompey*: and so hauing made in manner a conspyracie agaynst the common wealth betweene them selues, *Cæsar* preferred the lawe Agraria, for distributing the landes vnto the Citizens, and *Pompey* was present to mainteyne the publicacion thereof. *Lucullus* and *Cicero* on thother side taking parte with *Bibulus* the other Consull, did what they coulde agaynst it, but specially *Cato*: who fearing muche this allyance of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, that it was a pacte and conspiracie to ouerthrowe the common wealth, sayde, that he cared not so muche for this lawe Agraria, as he feared the rewarde they looked for, who by suche meanes dyd intise and please the common people. Therewithall, the Senate were wholly of his opinion, and so were many other honest men of the people besides, that were none of the Senate, and tooke his parte: maruailing muche, and also beeing offended with *Cæsars* greate vnreasonablenes and importunitie, who by the authoritie of his Consulshippe did preferre suche thinges, as the moste seditiousest Tribunes of the people were wont commonly to doe, to currye fauour with the people, and by suche vile meanes sought to make them at his commaundement. Wherefore, *Cæsar* and his friends fearing so greate enemies, fell to open force. For to beginne withall, as the Consul *Bibulus* was going to the market place, there was a basket of donge powred vppon his heade: and furthermore, the Officers roddes were broken in their handes, which they caryed before him. In fine, dartes were throwen at them out of euery corner, and many of them beeing hurt, they all at length were driuen to flye, and leaue the market place. But *Cato*, he came laste of all, keeping his wonted pace, and often cast backe his heade, and cursed such Citizens. So, they did not onely passe this lawe Agraria by voyces of the people, but furthermore they added to it: that all the Senate shoulde bee sworne to stablishe that lawe, and bee bounde to defende the same, (if any attempted the alteracion thereof) vppon greate penalties and fines to bee sette on his heade, that shoulde refuse the othe. All the other Senators sware agaynst their wills, remembring the example of the mischiefe that chaunced vnto the olde *Metellus*, who was banished out of ITALY, bicause he would not sweare to suche a like lawe. Whereuppon, the women that were in *Catoes* house, besought him with the teares in their eyes, that he woulde yeelde and take the othe: and so did also diuers of his friendes besides. Howebeit, he that moste inforced and brought *Cato* to sweare, was *Cicero* the Orator: who perswaded him, that peraduenture he woulde bee thought vnreasonable, that beeing but one man, he shoulde seeme to mislike that, which all other had thought meete and reasonable: and that it were a fonde parte of him wilfully to put him selfe in so greate daunger, thinking to hynder a matter already paste remedie. But yet that besides all this, a greater inconuenience woulde happen, if he forsooke his contrye (for whose sake he did all these thinges) and left it a praye vnto them, which sought the vtter subuersion of the same, as if he were glad to bee ridde from the trouble of defending the common wealth. For, sayde he, though *Cato* haue

Lex agraria.

The allyance and friendshippe betwixt Cæsar and Pompey.

Cicero by his oration brake Catoes stifnes.

no neede of Rome, yet Rome hath neede of *Cato*, and ſo haue all his friendes: of the which, *Cicero* ſayde he was the chiefe, and was moſte maliced of *P. Clodius* the Tribune, who ſought to driue him out of the contrye. It is ſayde that *Cato* beeing wonne by theſe like wordes and perſwaſions at home, and openly in the market place, they ſo ſofetned him, that he came to take his othe laſte of all men, but one *Phaonius*, a very friende of his. *Cæſars* harte beeing then lift vppe, for that he had brought his firſt purpoſe to paſſe: beganne nowe to preferre an other lawe, to diuide all Campania, and the contrye called Terra di Lavoro, (the lande of labour) vnto the poore needy people of Rome, and no man ſtoode againſt him but *Cato*. Whereuppon *Cæſar* made his officers to take him from the pulpit for orations, to cary him to priſon. All this made not *Cato* ſtowpe, nor leaue his franke ſpeeche, but as he went he ſtill ſpake againſt this edicte, and perſwaded the people to beware of them that preferred ſuche lawes. All the Senate, and the beſte ſorte of Citizens followed *Cato* with heauy hartes, ſhewing by their ſilence, that they were offended and angrye for the iniurye they did vnto him, beeing ſo worthy a man. Inſomuch as *Cæſars* ſelfe perceiued that the people were offended with it, and yet of ambition & ſtomacke, he looked alwayes when *Cato* would haue appealed vnto the people. So when he ſaw that *Cato* ment no ſuch matter, at length ouercomen with ſhame and diſhonor, he him ſelfe procured one of the Tribunes to take *Cato* from the Sergeaunts. In fine, all *Cæſars* practiſe tended to this ende, that when he had wonne the peoples fauor by ſuch lawes: they ſhould then graunt him the gouernment of all the Gavles (aſwell on this ſide, as beyond the mountaines) and all Illyria, with an armie of foure legions, for the ſpace of fiue yeares, notwithſtanding that *Cato* told the people before, that they them ſelues with their own voyces did ſet vppe a tyrant, that one day would cut their throats. They did alſo chuſe *Publius Clodius* Tribune of the people, which was of a noble houſe: a thing directly contrary to the law. But this *Clodius* had promiſed them, ſo that they would helpe him to baniſh *Cicero* out of Rome, to do all that he could for them. Furthermore, they made *Calphurnius Piſo* (*Cæſars* wifes father) and *Gabinius Paulus*, (a man wholly at *Pompeys* commaundement, as they write which knew his life and manners) Conſuls the next yeare following. Now, notwithſtanding they had the rule of the common wealth in their owne handes, and that they had wonne parte of the citie with brybes, and the other parte alſo with feare: yet they were both affraid of *Cato*, when they conſidered what trouble they had to ouercome him, which they did very hardly notwithſtanding, and to their great ſhame, beeing driuen to vſe force, and yet thought they ſhould neuer haue done it. Furthermore, *Clodius* vtterly diſpaired that he could poſſibly baniſh *Cicero*, ſo longe as *Cato* was there. So deuiſing wayes howe to doe it, when he had taken poſſeſſion of his office, he ſent for *Cato*, and beganne to tell him, that he thought him the honeſteſt and iuſteſt man of Rome, and that he was ready to performe it to him by deede. For, where many made ſute vnto him to be ſent into Cyprvs, to make warre with king *Ptolomy*: he thought none ſo worthy as him ſelfe, and therefore for the goodwill he bare him, he was very willing to offer him that pleaſure. *Cato* ſtrayght cryed out with open mowth, that this was a deuiſe to intrappe him, not to pleaſure him. Then *Clodius* prowdly and fiercely aunſwered him, well, ſeeing thou wilt not goe with good will, thou ſhalt goe then againſt thy will: and ſo he did. For at the firſt aſſemblye of the citie, he cauſed the people to graunt his commiſſion for his iorney thither: but they neyther appoynted him ſhippes, nor ſouldiers, nor any other Miniſters to goe with him, ſauing two Secretaries onely, of the which, the one of them was a very villayne and arrant theefe, and the other, one of *Clodius* followers. Beſides all this, as if they had appoynted him but litle to doe in Cyprvs againſt *Ptolomy*, he made them commaunde him after that, to goe and reſtore the outlawes and baniſhed men of the citie of Byzantivm, vnto their contrye and goodes agayne, of purpoſe onely to keepe *Cato* farre enoughe from Rome, whyleſt he continued Tribune. *Cato* beeing driuen by neceſſitie to obeye, he counſelled *Cicero* (whome *Clodius* purſued) to beware that he made no ſturre agaynſt him, for feare of bringing Rome into ciuill warre and murther for his ſake: but rather, to abſent him ſelfe, that he might an other tyme preſerue his contrye. After that, he ſent his friende *Canidius* before into Cyprvs, vnto *Ptolomye*, to perſwade

Cato committed to priſon by Cæſar.

P. Clodius, Tribune of the people. The craſty iugling betwixt Cæſar and Pompey with P. Clodius.

Cato ſent Ambaſſador into Cyprus.

A perſwade him to bee quiet without warre: declaring vnto him, that he ſhoulde nether lacke honour nor riches, for the Romanes woulde graunt him the prieſthoode of *Venus* in the citie of Paphos. *Cato* in the meane tyme remayned in the Ile of Rhodes, preparing him ſelfe there, and abyding his aunſwer. In the tyme of theſe ſturres, *Ptolomy* king of Ægypt, for a certen offence and diſcorde with his ſubiectes, departing out of Alexandria, ſayled towardes Rome, hoping that *Cæſar* and *Pompey* with a greate armie woulde reſtore him to his crowne and kingdome agayne. He beeing deſirous to ſee *Cato*, ſent vnto him, ſuppoſing he woulde come at his ſending for. *Cato* by chaunce was occupyed at that tyme about ſome buſines, and badde the Meſſenger will *Ptolomy* to come to him, if he woulde ſee him. So when *Ptolomy* came, he nether went to meete him, nor roſe vppe vnto him, but onely wel-

B comed him, and badde him ſitte downe. It amazed the king at the firſt, to ſee vnder ſo ſimple and meane a trayne, ſuche a ſtatelines and maieſtie in *Catoes* behauior. But when he hearde him boldely talke with him of his affayres, and ſuche graue talke come from him, reprouing his follye he had committed, to forſake ſuche princely pleaſure and wealth, to goe and ſubiect him ſelfe vnto ſuche diſhonour, ſuche extreame paynes, and ſuche paſſing greate giftes and preſents, as he ſhoulde throwe awaye, to ſatisfie the couetouſnes of the rulers at Rome, the which was ſo vnſatiable, that if all the Realme of Ægypt were conuerted into ſiluer to giue amonge them, it woulde ſcarce ſuffice them: in reſpect whereof, he counſelled him to returne backe with his nauye, and to reconcile him ſelfe agayne with his ſubiectes, offering him ſelfe alſo to goe with him, to helpe to make his peace. Then *Ptolo-*

C *my* comming to him ſelfe, and repenting him of his follye, knowing that *Cato* tolde him truely, and wiſely: he determined to followe his counſell, had not his friendes turned his mynde to the contrarye. So when *Ptolomy* came to Rome, and was driuen to wayte at the gates of the Magiſtrates that were in authoritie: he ſighed then, and repented his follye, for that he had not onely deſpiſed the counſell of a wiſe man, but rather the Oracle of a god. Furthermore, the other *Ptolomy* that was in Cyprvs (a happye turne for *Cato*) poyſoned him ſelfe. *Cato* beeing alſo informed that he lefte a wonderfull ſumme of money behynde him, he determyned to goe him ſelfe vnto Byzantivm, and ſent his Nephewe *Brutus* into Cyprvs, bicauſe he durſt not truſte *Canidius* ſo farre. Then hauing reſtored the baniſhed men vnto the peoples ſauour agayne, ſettinge agreement

D betwixt them, he returned into Cyprvs. There he founde a maruailous greate treaſure, and plate bothe of golde and ſiluer, tables, precious ſtones, hanginges, and purple ſilkes, all the which he was to make readye money of. There he tooke greate care and paynes to rayſe all thinges to the vtmoſte and deareſt pryces that coulde bee, and he him ſelfe was preſent at all, to keepe reckoning of the laſte penney. Wherefore, to bringe this to paſſe, he woulde not ſtande to the common vſe of the ſale of the cryer, but ſuſpected them all, bothe cryers, prayſers, and his owne friendes, and therefore talked him ſelfe with the prayſers, and made them ſette highe pryſes vppon euery thinge that was to bee ſolde. And thus were the moſte parte of the goodes ſolde and caryed

E awaye, at the deareſt pryces. This did maruelouſly offende the moſte of his friendes, when they ſawe that he did miſtruſte them: but *Munatius* ſpecially, his deareſt friende, tooke it ſo inwardely, that he thought neuer to bee friendes with him agayne. Inſomuche as in the booke *Cæſar* wrote agaynſt *Cato*, in this place he forceth moſte the accuſation agaynſt him. *Munatius* notwithſtanding wryteth, that he was not angrye ſo muche with *Cato* for that he myſtruſted him, but for a certayne diſdayne he had him ſelfe of *Cato*, and for the emulacion betwixt him and *Canidius*. For *Munatius* wrote a booke of *Catoes* deedes and ſayinges, whome *Thraſeas* in his hiſtorye chiefly followed. In this booke he ſheweth that he came late into Cyprvs, and was very ill lodged. And furthermore alſo, that when he woulde haue comen into *Catoes* houſe, they kept him out of the gates, for that *Cato* was buſie, doing ſome thinge with *Canidius*. He modeſtly complay-

F ning of it vnto *Cato*, had this churliſh aunſwer: ouermuch loue, ſayth *Theophraſtus*, oftentimes cauſeth hate. So fareth it with thee, who ouerloning me, doeſt thinke that I eſteeme thee not as thou deſerueſt, and therefore art angry with me. And for *Canidius*, I muſt tell thee truely,

Ptolomy king of AEgypt, goeth vnto Cato.

Catoes diligence about money in Cyprus.

The enmy betwixt Cato & Munatius.

To much loue oftentymes cauſeth hate.

I doe rather employe him for his skill and faithfulnes in thinges, then any man els: for that A
he hath beene with me from the beginning, and as farre as I learne, was neuer brybed, but
cleane handed ſtill. Theſe wordes *Cato* tolde *Munatius* ſecretly betweene them two: but af-
terwardes he knewe that he had alſo reported them vnto *Canidius*. When he ſawe that, he
would no more go and ſuppe with *Cato* as he was wont, and when he was alſo called to coun-
ſell, he would not come there nether. Wherefore *Cato* threatned him, that he would ſeaſe vp-
on all his goods and cariage, as they vſe to handle them that are diſobedient vnto iuſtice. This
notwithſtanding, *Munatius* cared not for it, but tooke ſea, and returned againe to Rome, bea-
ring *Cato* grudge a long time. Then *Martia*, being at that time *Catoes* wife, ſpake with him, and
were both bidden to ſupper together, vnto a friend of theirs, called *Barca*. Thereuppon *Cato* al-
ſo arriued, and came thither, when they were all ſette at ſupper, and asked where he ſhould ſit, B
Barca tolde him agayne, where it pleaſed him. Then caſting his eyes about, he ſayd he would
ſitte by *Munatius*: and ſo fetching a compaſſe about the borde, he went and ſate by him, but
offered him no friendſhippe and familiaritie all ſupper tyme. Afterwardes notwithſtanding,
at the requeſt of *Martia*, that was earneſtly in hande with *Cato* for him: he wrote vnto him,
and willed him to come and ſpeake with him. *Munatius* went to *Catoes* houſe in the morning,
where *Martia* ſtayed him, and kept him companie, vntill all the reſt that came to ſalute *Ca-
to*, were departed. Then *Cato* comming to him, embraced him in his armes, and made ve-
ry muche of him. We haue the willinglier dilated this matter at length, bicauſe mens na-
tures and manners might be diſcerned euen in theſe ſmall matters of friendſhippe priuately,
Money gotten togeither by Cato in Cyprus. as otherwiſe in the greateſt publicke cauſes. Now touching *Catoes* commiſſion, he gotte to- C
gether litle leſſe then ſeuen thowſand ſiluer talents. Furthermore, fearing the farreneſſe of
the iorney he had to goe by ſea, he made diuers litle cofers, and put into euery one of them
two talents, and fiue hundred Drachmas, and tyed vnto eache of them a longe rope, and a
greate peece of corcke: bicauſe that if the ſhippe ſhould fortune to miſcarye, thoſe corckes
might ſhewe where the cheſtes with money laye in the bottome of the ſea. Thus was all the
money ſaued, ſauing a litle, and brought ſafely to Rome. *Cato* hauing made two bookes wherin
he had noted all thinges done in his iorney, he could neither ſaue thone nor thother of them.
For one of his bondmen made free, called *Philargyrus*, tooke the one away: who taking ſhippe
at the hauen of Cenchrees, was him ſelfe drowned, and the booke he had alſo, loſt with him.
The other booke which he him ſelfe had kept, vntill he came vnto Corfov: he lying in the D
market place of the citie in his tents, which he cauſed to be ſet vppe: the Mariners being very
cold in the night, made ſo great a fire, that it burnt the tents, ſtuffe, booke and all. Notwithſtan-
ding, he brought certaine of the late king *Ptolomyes* ſlaues with him, who while he liued, had
the charge and cuſtodie of all his treaſure and riches, the which he brought as witneſſes, to
ſtoppe the mouthes of his malicious enemies, that would haue accuſed him in any thinge.
But yet the loſſe of them did grieue him, not ſo much for the greate care and paynes he had
taken in ſetting downe the accompt of his charge, for the iuſtification and prooſe of his fi-
delitie and good ſeruice: but alſo, for that they might haue ſerued for a good memoriall and
example vnto all others, to haue bene a like carefull in their charge, as him ſelf. But the goddes
denyed him this good happe. Newes beeing brought that he was come to Rome by water, E
when they vnderſtood that he was at hand, by and by all the Magiſtrats, the Prieſtes, the Se-
nate, & the moſt part of the people alſo went out to meete him by the riuers ſide: ſo that both
Cato receiued into Rome with great honor, of all the people. ſides of the riuer of Tyber were full of people, and the receiuing of him in, ſeemed not inferior
to the entry of a triumphe. Notwithſtanding, ſome thought him very preſumptuous, that the
Conſuls and Prætors comming out to meete him, he did not ſtay his gally, but rowed ſtill vp
the ſtreame (beeing in a kinges galley of ſix owers to euery bancke) and neuer ſtayed, vntill
all his fleete arryued in the hauen. This notwithſtanding, when the cofers with mony were
caried thorough the market place into the treaſure chamber, the people wondred to ſee ſo
great a quantitie of it. And thereuppon the Senate being aſſembled, with great and honorable
words they gaue *Cato* an extraordinary Prætorſhip, and priuiledge alſo, at any common ſports F
to weare a purple gowne. *Cato* refuſed all theſe honours, and onely beſought the Senate to
make *Nicias* a free man, Steward of the late diſeaſed king *Ptolomy*, being a witnes of his faith

and

A and great paynes he had taken in this seruice. *Philip* the father of *Martia*, was that yeare Consul, so that after a sorte, the authoritie of the Consul was in *Cato*: bicause *Lentulus*, colleague and fellowe Consul with *Philip*, did no lesse reuerence *Cato* for his vertues, then *Philip* did for his allyance with him. Furthermore, when *Cicero* was restored agayne from his banishment, the which *Publius Clodius* (beeing then Tribune of the people) had put apon him, and beeing agayne growen to great credit: he went one day into the Capitoll, in the absence of *Clodius*, by force to take awaye the tables which *Clodius* had consecrated there, in the which were comprised all his doings during the tyme he was Tribune. Thereuppon the Senate beeing assembled, *Clodius* did accuse *Cicero* of this violent facte. *Cicero* aunswered him agayne: that bicause *Clodius* was chosen Tribune, directly against the lawe, therefore all his doings were
B voyde, and of no validitie. Then stoode vppe *Cato*, and sayde: he knewe that all that which *Clodius* did when he was Tribune, was scantly good and allowable, but yet if generally any man shoulde vndoe all that he had passed by that authoritie: then all that he him selfe had done likewise in Cyprvs, must of necessitie bee reuoked. For the commission that was graunted vnto him (by vertue whereof he had done many thinges) shoulde be vnlawfull: bicause the Tribune also that did graunt it him, was not lawfully chosen. And therefore, that *Publius Clodius* was not made Tribune agaynst the lawe, who by consent of the lawe was taken out from a noble house, and made a populer person: howebeit, if he had behaued him selfe vnduetifully in his office, as other men that happely had offended: then he was to be accused to make him mend his faulte, and not to destroye the authoritie of the officer, which in
C it selfe was lawfull. After that, there fell misliking betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, for this counter buffe he had giuen him: and *Cicero* continued a long tyme after, before he did shewe him any countenaunce of friendshippe as he had at other tymes done. But afterwardes they were reconciled together agayne, by this occasion. *Pompey* and *Crassus* hauing bene with *Cæsar* to talke with him (who for that purpose came out of Gavle beyond the Alpes) made an agreement there betwixt them, to demaund the second Consulship together, and when they had it, then to proroge *Cæsars* gouernment for fiue yeares more, and also they woulde haue the best prouinces and greatest, for them selues, with great armies, and money enough to paye them with. This was in deede a playne conspiracie to deuide the Empire of Rome betweene
D them, and vtterly to ouerthrow the state of the common wealth. At that time there were many noble men, which came to make sute for the Consulship. But when they sawe *Pompey* and *Crassus* offer to make sute for it, all the reste gaue ouer, but *Lucius Domitius* that had maryed *Porcia*, *Catoes* sister: through whose perswasion he woulde not relinquishe his sute, considering that it was not the office onely of the Consulship that was the chiefest matter of importance, but the libertie of the Senate and people. Straight there ranne a rumor through the most parte of the people, that they were not to suffer *Pompeys* power to be ioyned with *Crassus*, by meanes of this office: for then his authoritie woulde bee too great and stronge, and therefore, that of necessitie one of these two were to bee denyed. For this cause therefore, the good men tooke *Domitius* parte, and did encourage him to goe on with his sute, assuring him of ayde vnder hande of diuers, which durst not bee seene openly for feare of those two
E great men, who at the daye of the election would procure him voyces in his fauour. *Pompey* and *Crassus* mistrusting this, made *Domitius* bee sette vppon, going with torche light before daye into the fielde of *Mars*, where the election was alwayes made: and first striking the torche bearer that went before him, they hurt him so sore, that he fell downe deade at his feete. Then they layed at the rest in like case, who finding them selues cruelly hurt, ranne awaye euery man of them, and left *Domitius* and *Cato* post alone. But *Cato*, notwithstanding he was hurt in one of his armes, still helde *Domitius* fast, and prayed him to tary, and not to leaue to defende the libertie of their contrie, agaynst tyrants, which playnely shewed after what manner they woulde gouerne, sithe by suche wicked meanes they aspyred to tyrannicall gouernment. All this notwithstanding, *Domitius* woulde tarye no lenger, but betooke
F him to his legges, and ranne home. Thus were *Crassus* and *Pompey* without denyall proclaymed Consuls. *Cato* neuer yeelded therefore, but came and sued to bee Prætor, bicause that thereby he might yet make it some strength and countenaunce to him against their Consul-

Why Cato sued to be Prætor.

ſhippe, that beeing no priuate perſon, he ſhoulde haue ſome better authoritie to reſiſt them A
that were the chiefeſt perſons. But they fearing, that the Prætorſhippe by the eſtimation of
Cato, woulde come to equall their authoritie of the Conſulſhippe: firſt aſſembled the Senate
(the moſt parte of the Senators not hearing of it) and in that aſſemblye cauſed the Senate to
decree: that all ſuche as were choſen Prætors, ſhoulde preſently goe to their charge, not at-
tending the tyme and libertie appoynted by the lawe, during which tyme men might accuſe
thoſe which had bought the voyces of the people with money. Then hauing by this culler
and decree ſette yll doers at libertie, without feare of puniſhment, they pretending to vſe
corruption, did preferre ſome of their owne Miniſters to make ſute for the Prætorſhippe,
them ſelues giuing money to corrupt the people, and beeing preſent alſo at the election. But
notwithſtanding all theſe practiſes, the vertue and reputacion of *Cato* ouercame them. For B
the people had him in ſo great reuerence, that they thought it too ſhamefull a parte to ſell
Cato by voyces, who deſerued rather to bee hyered to take the Prætorſhippe apon him. Then
Cato put from the Prætorſhip by Pompey. the firſt Tribe beeing called to giue their voyces, declared him Prætor. *Pompey* ſeeing that,
ſtraight brake of the aſſemblye, making a ſhamefull lye, telling that he heard it thunder: the
which the Romanes doe maruelouſly deteſt, and will conclude nothing when it thunde-
reth. Howebeit afterwardes they gaue more money, then they had done before, and there-
by draue awaye the chiefeſt men out of the fielde of *Mars*, and by practiſe obtayned, that
Vatinius was choſen Prætor for *Cato*. And the reporte went, that they that had ſo wickedly
giuen their voyces, feeling them ſelues pricked in conſcience, fledde immediatly out of the
fielde: and the honeſt men that remayned, were both very ſory and angrie, for the iniurie C
they had offered *Cato*. At that tyme one of the Tribunes keeping an aſſemblye of the citie,
Cato ſtoode vppe, and tolde (as if he had prophecied) before them all, what woulde happen
to the common wealth by theſe practiſes, and ſtirred vppe the people agaynſt *Pompey*, and
Cæſar, ſaying: that they were giltye of thoſe thinges, and therefore procured them to bee
done, bicauſe they were affrayde that if *Cato* had beene Prætor, he would too narrowly haue
ſifted out their deuiſes. In fine, *Cato* going home to his houſe, had more companye to wayte
vppon him alone, then all the other Prætors that had beene choſen. When *Caius Trebonius*, Tribune of the people, had preferred a lawe for the deuiding of the prouinces vnto the
newe Conſuls, Spayne and Africke vnto the one, and Ægypt and Syria vnto the o-
ther, with full power to make warre as they thought good bothe by ſea and lande: all other D
men hauing no hope to keepe it backe, did let it alone, and ſpake nothing to contrarye it.
Cato was againſt the law for the prouinces of Pompey and Craſſus. Then *Cato* getting vppe into the pulpit for orations, before the people beganne to giue their
voyces, coulde hardely haue two howers ſpace to ſpeake: but at length, they perceyuing
that he delayed tyme by foretelling thinges to come, woulde ſuffer him to ſpeake no longer,
but ſent a Sergeaunt to him, and plucked him by force out of the pulpit. But when he was
beneath, and cryed out notwithſtanding, and diuers gaue good eare vnto him: the Serge-
aunt went to him agayne, and tooke him, and caryed him out of the market place. Howe-
beit the Officer had no ſooner left him, but he went ſtrayght towardes the pulpit for orati-
ons, and there cryed out more vehemently then before, and willed the people to haue an eye
to ayde the libertie of their common wealth, which went to ruine. When he oftentymes toge- E
ther did this, *Trebonius* the Tribune being madde withal, commaunded his Sergeaunt to cary
him to priſon. The people followed him hard notwithſtanding, to heare what he ſayd vnto
them. Whereuppon *Trebonius* fearing ſome ſturre, was forced to commaund his Sergeaunt
to let *Cato* goe. So *Cato* draue of all that day without any matter concluded. The next morning
notwithſtanding, the contrary faction hauing partly put the Romanes in feare, and wonne
the other parte alſo by fayre wordes and money, and by force of armes likewiſe kept *Aquilius*, one of the Tribunes, from comming out of the Senate: and after they had alſo violent-
ly driuen *Cato* out of the market place, for ſaying that it thundred, and hauing hurt many men,
and alſo ſlayne ſome out of hande in the market place: in the ende they forcibly paſſed the
decree by voyces of the people. Many beeing offended therewith, went a company of them F
together to plucke downe *Pompeys* images: but *Cato* would not ſuffer them. And afterwardes
alſo, when they preferred an other law for the prorogacion of the prouinces & armies which

Cæſar

A *Cæsar* demaunded: *Cato* would speake no more to the people to hinder it, but protested vnto *Pompey* himselfe, that he saw not how he plucked *Cæsar* apon him, and that he should feele the weight of his force before he looked for it: and then when he could neither suffer nor remedy it, he would euen cast his burden and him selfe apon the common wealth, and too late would remember *Catoes* warnings, which were priuately as profitable for *Pompey*, as openly iust and reasonable for the cõmon wealth. *Cato* vsed many of these perswasions sundry times vnto him, but *Pompey* neuer made accompt of them: for he woulde not be perswaded that *Cæsar* would euer chaunge in that sorte, and besides he trusted too much to his owne power and prosperitie. Furthermore, *Cato* was chosen Prætor for the next yeare following, in the which it appeared (though he ministred iustice vprightly) that he rather defaced and impaired the maiestie B and dignitie of his office, then that he gaue it grace and countenaunce by his doings: for he would oftentimes go a foote barelegged, and without any coate, vnto his Prætors chaire, and there geue sentence of life and death, otherwhiles of men of great account. And some report, that he would geue audience when he had dyned, and dronke wine: but that is vntrue. Now *Cato* perceiuing that the citizens of Rome were marred by bribes and gifts of those, which aspired vnto offices, and that the people made it an arte and facultie to gaine by: to roote this vice altogether out of the common wealth, he perswaded the Senate to make a law, that such as hereafter should be chosen Consulls or Prætors, should (if there were no man to accuse them) come and offer them selues before the iudges, and taking their othe, should truely declare what meanes they had vsed to attaine to their office. This offended the suters for the C offices, but muche more the mercenarie multitude. Whereuppon, a great number of them went in a morning together where he kept his audience, and all cried out vpon him, reuiled him, and threw stones at him: insomuch as they that were there, were forced to flie thence, and him selfe also was driuen out of the place by the prease of people, and had much a doe to get to the pulpit for orations, where standing on his feete, he presently pacified the tumult of the people, by the boldnes and constancie of his countenaunce only. Then when all was pacified by the present perswasions he vsed, aptly spoken to purpose for the instant, they geuing attentiue eare, without sturre or vprore. The Senate geuing him great commendacion therefore, he told them roundly and plainly: but I haue no cause to praise you, to leaue a Prætor in such daunger of his life, offering no aide to helpe him. But the suters for the offices, they D were in a maruelous case: for one way, they were affrayed to geue money to buy the peoples voyces, and on thother side, they were affraied also if any other did it, that they should go without their sute. So they were all agreed together, euery man to put downe twelue Myriades & a halfe a peece, and then they should make their sute iustly & vprightly: and whosoeuer were taken fauty, and that had otherwise made his way by corruption, that he should lose the money he had layed downe. This agreement being concluded betwene them, they chose *Cato* (as it is reported) for their arbitrator, and keeper of all the same money. This match was made in *Catoes* house, where they all did put in caution or sureties to aunswere the money: the which he tooke, but would not meddle with the money. The day being come, *Cato* assisting the Tribune that gouerned the election, and carefully marking howe they did geue their voyces: he E spied one of the suters for the office breake the accord agreed vpon, and condemned him to pay the forfeiture vnto the rest. But they greatly commending his iustice and integritie, forgaue the forfeiture, thinking it punishment enough vnto him that had fofeited, to be condemned by *Cato*. But therby *Cato* procured him selfe the displeasure of the other Senators, for that he seemed therein to take apon him the power and authoritie ouer the whole court, and election. For there is no vertue, whereof the honor and credit doth procure more enuy, then iustice doth: bicause the people doe commonly respect and reuerence that, more then any other. For they doe not honor them as they doe valliant men, nor haue them in admiration, as they do wise men: but they loue and trust them better. As for the two first, the one they are affrayed of, and the other they distrust: beside, they suppose that valliancy and wisdom comF meth rather by the benefite of nature, then of our intent and choyce, esteeming wisedome, as a readines of conceit, and fortitude, a presence and courage of the minde. For euery man may be iust that will, and therefore iniustice is of all other vices most shamefull: for it is a wil-

Cato foreshewed Pompey the things which happened vnto him, by Cæsar.

Cato chosen Prætor.

Cato preferred a law for vnlawfull bribing.

The power of iustice.

full and malicious defaut, and therefore can not be excuſed. Loe this was the cauſe why all the noble men in manner were againſt *Cato*, as though he only had ouercome them. *Pompey*, he thought that the eſtimacion of *Cato* was altogether the diſcountenaunce of his power and greatneſſe, and therefore did dayly raiſe vp many railers againſt him. Of them *Publius Clodius* that ſeditious Tribune, who was againe fallen in frendſhip with *Pompey*: he accuſed *Cato*, and cried out vpon him, how he had robbed the common wealth of a wonderfull treaſure, by his commiſſion in CYPRVS: and that he was enemy vnto *Pompey*, bicauſe he did refuſe to marry his daughter. *Cato* thereto made aunſwere, that he had brought more golde and ſiluer out of CYPRVS, into the treaſure of ROME, without the allowance of either horſe or ſouldier: then *Pompey* had done with all his triumphes and warres, with the which he had troubled all the world. And moreouer, that he did neuer ſeeke alliance with *Pompey*, not that he thought him vnworthie of it, but bicauſe he ſaw he delt not as vprightly in the common wealth as he him ſelfe did. I, ſayd he, haue refuſed a prouince offred me when I came out of my Prætorſhippe: but *Pompey* hath taken ſome by force, and geuen away vnto others. And to conclude, he lent *Cæſar* not long ſince, an armie of ſix thowſand men to ſerue him in the warres in GAVLE: the which he neuer required of vs, nor *Pompey* graunted them him by our conſent. But we ſee, that ſo many armies, armors and weapon, ſo many men and horſes, by common pleaſures of our priuate citizens, geuen and lent at our charge. And *Pompey* him ſelfe reſeruing onely the name of Emperour, and Lieutenaunt generall, aſſigneth ouer his armies and prouinces to the gouernment of others, whileſt he him ſelfe beſiegeth here the walls of the citie, with ſeditious & tumultuous election of officers, craftily vnderminding therby the ſtate of the common wealth, to bring all to confuſion, that he him ſelfe might be abſolute Prince, and rule alone. Thus was he reuenged of *Pompey*. Among *Catoes* frends, he had one called *Marcus Faonius*, ſuch a one as *Apollodorus* PHALERIAN was ſayd to be in old time, vnto *Socrates*, who did counterfeate to be an other him ſelfe, in doing all thinges as he did. This man would be farre out of reaſon, and paſſionate in his talke, ſtorming like a dronkard. He one yere made ſute to be Ædilis, but he was reiected. Howbeit *Cato* that furthered his ſute, marked, that the tables wherein the voyces were wrytten, were all one hande. So, he finding out the falſehoode, appealed thereuppon vnto the Tribunes, and made the election voyde for that time. After that *Faonius* was created Ædilis, *Cato* did helpe him forth in all the other charges of his office, and ſpecially in ſetting foorth playes in the Theater, which are cuſtomably done at the comming in of euery ſuch new officer, to geue the people paſtime: and gaue vnto the common players and dauncers in thoſe playes, no golden crownes, as other Ædiles did, but crownes of wilde oliue twigges, as they commonly vſe in GRÆCE at the Olympian games. And where others gaue vnto the poore rich gifts, he gaue the GRÆCIANS leekes, lettiſes, radiſhes, and peares: and vnto the ROMANES, they had earthen pottes full of wine, porke, figges, cowcombres, and fagots of wodde of ſmall value. Inſomuch as ſome thought ſcorne of thē they were ſo meane, others were verie glad of them, ſeeing that *Cato* which was ſeuere and hard of nature, had a doing in them, and by litle and litle they turned this auſteritie of his into pleaſure. In fine, *Faonius* him ſelfe ſitting downe amongeſt the people, which looked apon the players, clapped his hands for ioy at *Cato*: and cried out to him, that he ſhould geue them good rewardes that played well, alluring them alſo about him to doe the like, and told them that he had made *Cato* the whole ruler of thoſes ſportes. At the ſelfe ſame time, *Curio*, *Faonius* colleague and companion in the office of Ædilis, had likewiſe goodly playes in an other Theater: but all the people forſooke his, and went to ſee *Faonius* playes, who ſate among them like a priuate man, and *Cato* as the maiſter of the playes. *Cato* did this in ſcorne and mockerie, of vaine charge and expences, which men are wont to beſtow in ſuch trifles, ſhewing thereby, that whoſoeuer will make any playes, he ſhould make the charge but a ſport alſo, furniſhing it only with a conuenient grace, but with no vaine expence or charge about ſuch a trifle. Shortly after, when *Scipio*, *Hypſeus* and *Milo*, ſued all three together to be Conſuls, not only by briberie of money (a common fault then in ſuing for any of the offices in the common wealth) but by plaine force of armes, ſlaying and killing as in a ciuill warre, they were ſo deſperat and inſolent: ſome preferred a lawe, that they ſhould make *Pompey* Preſident in theſe elections, bicauſe men ſhould moue

M. Faonius, Catoes frend.

Cato doth ſet forth the playes for Faonius AEdilis.

Catoes wiſe counſell for playes.

A moue their ſute after a lawfull ſorte. But *Cato* ſtraight was againſt it, ſaying, that the law could haue no ſafety by *Pompey*, but *Pompey* might haue ſafety by the lawe. Notwithſtanding, when he ſawe this trouble continewe of a long time, without any Conſuls in Rome, and that dayly there were three campes in the market place, that it was almoſt impoſſible to preuent the miſchiefe at hand, and to ſtay that it ſhould goe no further: then he thought it better, that the Senate of their owne good willes, rather then by compulſion, ſhould put the gouernment of the ſtate into *Pompeis* hands alone, chooſing the leſſer euill, to withſtand the greater, and ſo to yeeld to the abſolute gouernment, without conſtraint, which the ſedition would bring it vnto. Therefore *Bibulus Catoes* frend & kinſeman, made a motion to the Senate, that they would chooſe *Pompey* ſole Conſul. For, ſayd he, either the common wealth ſhall be well gouerned by
B him, or elſe Rome ſhall ſerue an ill Lord. *Cato* then riſing vp, beyonde all mens expectacion confirmed *Bibulus* opinion, and ſayd: that the citie were better to haue one ſoueraine Magiſtrate then none, and that he hoped *Pompey* could geue preſent order for the pacifying of this confuſion, and that he would be carefull to preſerue the citie, when he ſawe that they truſted him with the gouernment thereof. Thus was *Pompey* by *Catoes* meanes choſen ſole Conſull. *Pompey was created ſole Conſull, by Catoes ſentenes.* Then he ſent for *Cato* to come to his gardens to him, which were in the ſuburbes of the citie. *Cato* went thither, and was receiued with as great honor & curteſie of *Pompey*, as could be deuiſed: and in thend, after he had geuen him great thankes for the honors he had done him, he prayed him to afford him his aduiſe and counſell in his gouernment. *Cato* anſwered him thus, that he had not ſpoken any thing before that time in reſpect of any ill will he bare him;
C nether that he deliuered this laſt opinion of his in reſpect of his frendſhippe, but wholly for the common wealthes ſake: howbeit otherwiſe, that for his owne priuate affaires, if he thought good to vſe his aduiſe, whenſoeuer it pleaſed him to aske his opinion, he would tell him the beſt he could. But for common cauſes, that he would alwayes tell what he thought, though he neuer asked him: and in fine, he performed all he ſayd. For firſt of all, when *Pompey* did let grieuous penalties & new fines apon their heades, which had bought the peoples voyces for money: *Cato* counſelled him to prouide for thinges to come, and to let that alone which was already paſt. For ſayd he, it is a hard thing to determine any certaine time, in the which a man ſhould ſeeke to reforme the faults that are paſt: and furthermore, if the puniſhments appointed were newer then the offences committed, then they ſhoulde doe wrong vnto them that
D were already accuſed, to puniſh them by a new law which they had not offended. Afterwards alſo, certaine men of good calling (*Pompeis* frends) being accuſed, *Cato* perceiuing that *Pompey* grew remiſſe, and yeelded in many things: he ſharply reproued, and reformed him. Furthermore, where *Pompey* had by law taken away the praiſes which were wont to be ſpoken of the offenders that were accuſed: he him ſelfe notwithſtanding hauing wrytten an oration in the praiſe of *Munatius Plancus*, ſent it vnto the Iudges, whileſt his cauſe was a hearing. *Cato* being one of the Iudges at that time, ſtopped his eares with both his hands, and would not haue it red. Wherefore *Plancus* refuſed him for one of his Iudges, after his cauſe was pleaded vnto: howebeit he was condemned notwithſtanding. To conclude, *Cato* was ſuch a griefe and trouble vnto them that were accuſed, that they coulde not tell well howe to deale with him.
E For, once they durſt not lette him be any of their Iudges, neither could they well alſo refuſe him. For there were many that were condemned, which refuſing *Cato*, ſeemed vnto ſhers that they were giltie: & many alſo were ſhamefully reproued, bicauſe they would not accept *Cato* for their Iudge, when he was offered them. Thinges proceeding in this ſorte at Rome, *Ceſar* remained in Gavle with his armie, where he made warres: neuertheleſſe he wanne him frends ſtill in Rome, by gifts and money, and made him ſelfe very ſtrong. Now appeared *Catoes* predictions and forewarnings true vnto *Pompey*, and began to quicken his ſpirits which had ſlept ſo long, and made him then to conſider of the daunger, the which before he could not be perſwaded to beleue. But perceiuing his ſlackenes and feare withall, doubting how to proceede: to preuent *Ceſars* practiſes, *Cato* determined to ſue to be Conſull, with intent either *Cato ſued to be Conſull, to reſiſt Ceſar.*
F to make him leaue his army, or elſe to finde out the practiſe he entended. *Catoes* competitors, they were both of the very honeſt men alſo, of the which, *Sulpitius* had receiued great honor & preferrement by *Catoes* credit and authoritie in reſpect whereof, many thought that it was

ſcant honeſtly done of *Sulpitius*, to ſhew himſelfe ſo vnthankfull, as to ſtand againſt *Cato* in this ſute. Howbeit *Cato* neuer complained of the matter, but ſayd, that it was no maruell he would geue place to no man in that, ſith it was the greateſt good happe that euer came vnto him. This notwithſtanding he perſwaded the Senate to make a law, that from thence forth, ſuch as ſued for any office, they ſhould them ſelues be ſuters to the people, and not preferre their ſute by others. This cauſed the people to be more offended with him, then before, bicauſe thereby he did not only take away their fingering of money, which they got by their voyces in elections: but tooke from them the meanes they had alſo to pleaſure many, bringing them now into pouertie and contempt. He therefore hauing no face to flatter the people and to currie fauor with them, but rather ſticking to his graue maner and modeſt life, then to ſeeke the dignitie of a Conſul by ſuche meanes: made ſute him ſelfe in perſon, and would not ſuffer his frends to take the ordinary courſe which might win the peoples harts, whereupon he was put from his Conſulſhippe. This denyall was wont not only to haue made the parties refuſed, very ſorowfull, but their frendes and kinſemen alſo greatly aſhamed a long time after. Howbeit *Cato* made no reckoning of that, but went the next morning, and played at tennis with his frends in the field of *Mars*, and after he had dyned, walked againe in the market place, as his maner was, without ſhooes on his feete, and coate. But *Cicero* blamed him much for that, bicauſe the common wealth requiring then ſuch a Conſul as he, he had not carefully endeuored him ſelfe by curteſie and gentle meanes to winne the fauor of the people, neither woulde euer after make ſute for it, although at an other time he ſued to be Prætor. Thereunto *Cato* aunſwered, that for the Prætorſhip, he was not denyed it by the good will of the people, but rather for that they were bribed with money. And for the election of the Conſuls, where there was no deceit vſed, he knew plainly he went without it, for his maners which the people miſliked: the which he thought were no wiſe mans parte to chaunge for any mans pleaſure, nor yet by making the like ſute again, to hazard the refuſall. Furthermore, *Cæſar* making warre with very ſtowt nations, & hauing with no ſmall daunger & trauell ſubdued them: and hauing alſo ſet vpon the Germaines, with whom the Romanes were at peace, and alſo ſlaine three hũdred thowſand perſons: his frends made ſute that the people ſhould do ſolemne ſacrifice to geue thankes vnto the gods. But *Cato* in open Senate was of opinion, that they ſhould deliuer *Cæſar* into their handes, whome he had iniured, to receiue ſuch puniſhment as they thought good: to thend the whole offence, for the breach of peace, might be caſt vpon him, that the citie might be no partaker of it, ſith they could not do withall. Neuertheleſſe, ſayd he, we are to doe ſacrifices vnto the goddes, to geue them thankes, for that they turned not the reuenge of the fury and raſhnes of the Captaine, apon our poore ſouldiers which were in no fault, but haue pardoned the common wealth. *Cæſar* being aduertiſed thereof, wrote a letter vnto the Senate, contayning many accuſations againſt *Cato*. The letter being red, *Cato* roſe, not as a man put in a chafe with choller, nor pricked with enuie, but coldly and quietly (as if he had long before premeditated what he would ſay) declared that the accuſations which *Cæſar* heaped againſt him in his letters, were but pretie mockes and fleytes which he had gathered together to make the people mery withall. But on thother ſide, when he beganne to vnrippe his whole intents and practiſes from the beginning, not as if he had bene his enemie, but rather a confederate with him in his conſpiracie, declaring that they were not the Germaines, nor the Gaules, which they were to be affrayed of, but of him ſelfe, if they were wiſe: he thereupon ſo offended the Senate, and made ſuch ſturre among them, that *Cæſars* frends repented them they had cauſed his letters to be red in the Senate, giuing *Cato* thereby occaſion iuſtly to complaine of *Cæſar*, & to alleage much good matter againſt him. At that time therefore there was nothing decreed in the Senate againſt *Cæſar*, but this was ſayed onely, that it were good reaſon to let him haue a ſucceſſor. Then *Cæſars* frendes made ſute that *Pompey* ſhoulde put away his army, and reſigne vp the prouinces he kept, or elſe that they ſhould compell *Cæſar* no more then him to doe it. Then *Cato* opened his mouth, and ſayd, the thing was now come to paſſe, which he had euer told them of, and that *Cæſar* came to oppreſſe the common wealth, openly turning the armie againſt it, which deceitfully he had obtained of the ſame. All this preuailed not, neither could he thereby winne any thing of the Senate, bicauſe the people fauored

Cato was denied the Conſulſhippe.

Cicero blameth Cato.

Catoes opinion againſt Cæſar.

Cato inueyeth againſt Cæſar.

A nored *Cæsar*, and would alwayes haue him great: for the Senate did beleue all that he fayed, but for all that they feared the people. When newes was brought that *Cæsar* had wonne the citie of ARIMINVM, and was comming on with his armie towardes ROME: then euery man looked apon *Cato*, and the people and *Pompey* confeſſed, that he only from the beginning had found out the marke *Cæsar* ſhot at, and had hit the white of his ſlie deuiſe. Then ſayd *Cato* vnto them, if you would haue beleued me, my Lordes, and followed my counſell: you ſhould not now haue bene affrayd of one man alone, neither ſhould you alſo haue put your only hope in one man. *Pompey* aunſwered thereunto, that *Cato* in deede had geſſed more truely, howbeit that he alſo had delt more frendly. Thereupon *Cato* gaue counſell, that the Senate ſhould referre all vnto *Pompeys* order: for, ſayd he, they that can doe great miſchiefe, knowe alſo howe B to helpe it. *Pompey* perceiuing that he had no army conuenient about him to tary *Cæsars* comming, and that the men alſo which he had, were but faint harted: he forſooke the citie. *Cato* being determined to goe with him, ſent his younger ſonne before vnto *Munatius*, which laye in the contrie of the BRVTIANS, and tooke his eldeſt ſonne with him. Now, bicauſe he was to prouide a ſtay and gouernor of his houſe and daughters, he tooke *Martia* againe, which was left a widowe and verie riche, for that *Hortenſius* dying, made her his heire of all that he had. Therein *Cæsar* vpbraydeth *Cato* much, reprouing his couetouſnes to marry for goodes. For, ſayd he, if he had neede of a wife, why then did he before graunt her vnto an other? If he had no neede of a woman, why then did he take her afterwards againe? Vnleſſe ſhe were before a bayte vnto *Hortenſius*, to keepe her whileſt ſhe was young, that he might haue her againe C when ſhe was riche. But againſt that, me thinkes it is ſufficient to recite theſe verſes of *Euripides*:

Vnlikelyhoodes firſt I vvill diſproue. For vvhy? vvhat man can ſay,
That euer feare made Hercules to turne his face avvay?

For I take it to be all one, to reproue *Hercules* cowardlines, and *Catoes* couetouſnes. But if his mariage be to be reproued, peraduenture it is in an other ſorte. For ſo ſoone as he had maried *Martia* againe, he left his houſe and his daughters to her gouernment, and followed *Pompey*. But after that time, men reporte that he neuer polled his head, clipped his beard, nor ware any garland, but to his dying day, lamented, and bewailed in his hart, the miſerie and calamitie of his contrie, whether they had victorie, or were ouercome. So hauing the prouince of D SICILE allotted to him, he went vnto SYRACVSA. There vnderſtanding that *Aſinius Pollio* was arriued at MESSINA, with men of warre from his enemies: *Cato* ſent vnto him, to knowe wherefore he came thither. *Pollio* againe asked of him, who was the cauſer of all this warre. Againe, when *Cato* was aduertiſed that *Pompey* had forſaken ITALIE, & that he lay in campe beyond the ſea, by the citie of DYRRACHIVM, then he ſayd, he ſaw a maruelous great chaunge and inconſtancie in the prouidence of the goddes: that when *Pompey* did all things beyond reaſon, and out of courſe, he was inuincible: and now that he ſought to preſerue his contrie, he ſaw he lacked his former good happe. Nowe he knewe he was ſtrong enough at that time, to driue *Aſinius Pollio* out of SICILE if he would: but bicauſe there came a greater aide vnto him, he would not plague that Iland, with the miſerie of warre. Then after he had aduiſed the SY- E RACVSANS to take the ſtronger part, and to looke to their ſafety: he tooke the ſea and went towards *Pompey*. When he was come vnto him, he did alwaies coũſel him to prolong the warre, hoping ſtill of ſome treaty of peace: & would in no caſe they ſhould come to fight any battell, where the weaker parte ſhould of neceſſity be put to the ſword, by the ſtronger. Therefore he perſwaded *Pompey* and the counſellers about him, to eſtabliſhe certaine lawes to this effect. That they ſhould ſacke no citie in this warre, the which belonged vnto the Empire of ROME: and alſo, that they ſhould kill no citizen of ROME, but in furie of battell, when their ſwordes were in their hands. Therby he wanne him ſelfe great honor, and brought many men to take *Pompeys* parte, by the lenity and clemency he vſed vnto them that were taken. Thereupon *Cato* being ſent into ASIA, to aide them that had commiſſion to preſſe ſhippes & men of warre, F he tooke his ſiſter *Seruilia* with him, and the boy which *Lucullus* had by her: for all the time of her widowhoode, ſhe had followed *Cato*, and thereby had worne out her ill name ſhe had before, ſith they ſaw ſhe had ſo willingly geuen her ſelfe to follow him in his flying, and con-

Cato prognoſticated Cæſars tyrannie.

Cato followeth Pompey.

Cæſar reproueth Catoes couetouſnes.

Cato is ſent into Sicile.

Cato leaueth Sicile.

Catoes lawes in Pompeys army.

tented her ſelfe with his ſtraight maner of life. This notwithſtãding *Ceſar* did not let to ſhame her to *Cato*. *Pompeys* Captaines had no neede of *Cato* any where, but at the RHODES. For he wanne the people there with his curteous vſage & perſwaſion, leauing with them *Seruilia* and her litle ſonne, and went from thence to *Pompeys* campe, who had leauied a great armie both by ſea and land. There did *Pompey* moſt of all diſcouer his minde and intent. For firſt he ment to haue geuen *Cato* the charge of the armie by ſea, which were aboue fiue hundred ſhippes of warre, beſides an infinite number of foyſtes & pinaſes, & ſuch ſmall bottomes vncouered: but ſodainly cõſidering better of it (or poſſibly being informed by ſome of his frends, that al *Catoes* regard & counſell in matters of gouernment was, to deliuer ROME from tyranny, & that if he had ſo great a charge vnder him, *Ceſar* being once ouercome, he would alſo force *Pompey* to leaue his army, & ſo make him ſubiect to the law) he chaunged his minde, notwithſtanding he had already moued it to *Cato*, & leauing him, gaue *Bibulus* the charge of all his army by ſea. But *Cato* therefore ſhewed no leſſe good will vnto *Pompey*, then before. For it is reported, that in a certaine skirmiſh & cõflict before the city of DYRRACHIVM, *Pompey* encoraging his ſouldiers, & commaunding euery Captaine alſo to do the like in his quarter: the ſouldiers gaue but faint eare vnto them, & made no manner of ſhow of men whoſe harts had bene any whit the more encoraged thereby. But when *Cato* after them all came and told them (as the time ſerued) the reaſon of Philoſophie, and the effect of libertie, manhoode, death, and honor, and that with a great vehement affection: and laſt of all ending his oration, calling apon the gods, turning his ſpeache vnto them, as if they had bene preſent to haue ſeene how valliantly the ſouldiers fought for the libertie of their contry: they gaue ſuch a luſtie crye, and had ſuch a braue conceite & vehement deſire to fight like men, that all the Captaines were filled with good hope, and ſo led them to battell, where they gaue ſuch a cruell charge and fierce onſet apon their enemies, that they ouerthrewe them, and put them that day to flight. Howebeit *Ceſars* good fortune tooke the finall ende of this victorie from *Pompey*, by his ouergreat feare and miſtruſt: who could not tell how to take the benefit of his victorie, as we haue wrytten more amply in his life. But when all the reſt reioyced that they had done ſo noble an exployte, & made their vawnts of the great aduantage they had of their enemies: *Cato* to the contrarie bewailed the calamitie of his contrie, and lamented that curſed ambicion which cauſed ſo many good and valliant citizens of one ſelfe citie, ſo to kill and murther one an other. After this ouerthrowe, *Ceſar* taking his way into THESSALIE, *Pompey* raiſed his campe to followe him, and leauing a great power at DYRRACHIVM, of men, armor, munition and frends: he gaue *Cato* the charge of them all, and fifteene enſignes of footemen beſides. The which he did for the feare and miſtruſt he had of him, being aſſured, that if by ill fortune he ſhould loſe the battell, he knew well enough that he could not commit them to a truſtier man then he: but on thother ſide if he wanne the victory, he douted ſore that he could not commaund as he would, where *Cato* was. There were alſo many other noble men, as a man would ſay, caſt away, and left at DYRRACHIVM, with *Cato*. In fine, the ouerthrow of the battell at Pharſalia being blowen abroad, *Cato* reſolued with himſelfe if *Pompey* were dead, that he would paſſe ouer all his men into ITALIE, and then like a baniſhed man would him ſelfe alone wander as farre as he coulde from the tyrannie: and contrarily, if he were aliue, that then he would keepe his army together for him, as long as he could. With this determination, he paſſed ouer the ſea into the Ile of CORFV, where *Pompeys* armie by ſea lay. There *Cato* finding *Cicero*, he would haue ſurrendered vp his charge vnto him, as to a man of greater dignitie, for that he had bene Conſul, and *Cato* only but Prætor. Howbeit *Cicero* would in no wiſe receiue it, but returned immediatly into ITALY. *Cato* then perceiuing that *Pompey* the younger (ſonne vnto *Pompey* the great) of a raſh & hawty minde, would haue puniſhed all them that went into ITALIE, and left the armie by ſea, and that ſpecially he was bent firſt of all to begin with *Cicero*: *Cato* reproued him priuately for it, ſo that he certainly ſaued *Ciceroes* life, and many other moe beſides. Now *Cato* ſuppoſing that *Pompey* the great had ſaued him ſelfe in ÆGYPT, or in AFRICKE, he determined to take the ſeas, to meete him with all his men: but before he tooke ſhippe, he gaue all men leaue to depart that were not willing to follow him. *Cato* being arriued in AFRICKE, ſayling vp & downe the coaſt there, he met with *Sextus*, the youngeſt ſonne of *Pompey*, who firſt told him, that his father

VVhy Pompey chaunged his minde for the gouernment of the army by ſea.

VVhy Pompey left Cato at Dyrrachium.

Cato ſaueth Ciceroes life, from Pompeis ſonne.

Cato went into Africke.

A father was slaine in Ægypt: when the souldiers heard it, they tooke it very heauely, and not one of them after the death of *Pompey* the great, would serue vnder any other Captaine then *Cato*. He therupon being ashamed, & thinking it pity also to leaue so many noble & good men that had serued so faithfully vnder him, without a Captaine, not knowing what way to take, nor whether to goe: at their request he was contented to take charge of them, and went first vnto the citie of Cyrenes, where not many dayes before, the citizens had shut the gates against *Labienus*. Being there, it was told him that *Scipio*, *Pompeys* father in law, was gotten vnto king *Iuba*, who had receiued him: and that *Actius Varus*, vnto whome *Pompey* had geuen the charge of the prouince of Africke, was in their company with an army, and determined to goe ioyne with them. So he went by lande in the winter time, and had gotten a maruelous
B number of asses together, to cary water and vittels, which followed him with a great number of carts besides, and of those men, which the Africanes call Psilles, to wit, they that doe heale the stinging of serpents, and doe sucke out the poyson with their mouthes, and doe furthermore charme and enchaunt the snakes, that they haue no power to doe any hurt. He was seuen dayes together marching continually, and went a foote as a guide vnto his men, without helpe of horse or beast. From that day foorth, on the which he vnderstoode of the battell lost at Pharsalia, he neuer supped, but sitting,* and added that vnto the rest of his sorrow, that he neuer layed him downe, but when he went to bedde for all night. *Cato* hauing passed the winter in Lybia, he brought his souldiers into the fielde, which were about tenne thowsand
C persons. The affaires on their side had but hard successe, for the contencion and variance betwext *Scipio*, and *Varus*, for the which, they both flattered king *Iuba* to winne his fauor: being a maruelous prowde man for his greatnes and riches: as he shewed the first time he spake with *Cato*. For when *Cato* came, he caused his owne chayre to be set betwext *Scipio* and *Cato*, to haue the honor to be in the middest. But *Cato* perceiuing it, tooke vp his owne chaire, and set it on thother side by *Scipio* to put him in the middest, notwithstanding that he was his enemie, and had wrytten a shamefull booke against him. Many make no accompt of this facte of *Cato*, but reproue him, bicause that walking one day with *Philostratus* in Sicille, he gaue him the vpper hande, honoring him for his Philosophie. Thus *Cato* did pull downe the pride of the king at that time, who before had vsed *Scipio*, and *Varus*, as his noble men and subiects: howebeit *Cato* did reconcile them together againe. Furthermore, when all the companie
D prayed him to take charge of the whole armie, and that *Scipio* himselfe, and *Varus* both, did first geue him place, and willingly resigned vnto him the honor to commaunde the whole campe: he aunswered them, he woulde not offende the lawe, sith he made warre onely to preserue the authoritie and priuiledge thereof, neither would take vpon him to commaunde all, him selfe being but Vicepretor, where there was a Viceconsull present. For *Scipio* was created Proconsull, and furthermore, the people had a certayne confidence that their affaires woulde prosper the better, if they had but the name of a *Scipio* to leade them in Africke. Nowe when *Scipio* was Generall ouer them, he woulde straight, for *Iubaes* sake, haue put all the inhabitantes of the citie of Vtica (without respect of age) vnto the sworde, and haue rased the houses to the grounde as those that had taken *Cæsars* parte. Howebeit *Cato* woulde
E not suffer him, but protesting vnto them that were present, and calling the gods to witnesse in open counsell, with great difficulty he saued the poore people of Vtica from that cruell tragedy and slaughter. Afterwards, partly at the request of the people, and partly also at *Scipioes* instance, *Cato* tooke apon him to keepe the city, fearing least by treason, or against their wills, it should come into *Cæsars* hands: bicause it was a strong place of scituacion, and well replenished with all things necessary for him that should kepe it. *Cato* did both furnish it, & also fortifie it. For he brought in great store of corne, he repaired the rampers of the walls, made great high towers, & cast depe trenches round about the city, paling thē in: & betwext the trenches and the towne, he lodged all the young men of Vtica, & compelled them to deliuer vp their armor & weapon and kept all the rest within the city it selfe, carefully prouiding, that neuer a
F man of thē should be hurt by the Romanes, & besides, did also send corne, armor, munition & money vnto the campe: so that the city of Vtica was the staple & storehouse of the warres. Moreouer, as he had before counselled *Pompey* not to come to battell, the like counsell he now

Psilles, be men which heale the stinging of serpents.

* *Men in olde time bathed and washed themselues, & then laied them downe in their bed to suppe. The modestie and noble minde of Cato.*

Cato ioyneth with Scipio in Affricke.

Cato was made Gouernor of the city of Vtica.

gaue alſo vnto *Scipio* not to hazard battel againſt a man of great skill & experience in warres, but to take time, whereby, by litle and litle, he ſhould conſume the power & ſtrength of *Cæſars* tyranny. But *Scipio* was ſo ſtowt, that he regarded not *Catoes* coũſell, but wrote otherwhile vnto him, twitting him with his cowardlines in this maner: that it was enough for him to be ſafe in a good city compaſſed about with walls, though otherwiſe he ſought not to hinder men to be valliant, to execute any enterpriſe as occaſion was offred. *Cato* wrote againe vnto him, that he was ready to goe into ITALIE with his footemen and horſemen which he had brought into AFRICKE to draw *Cæſar* from them, and to turne him againſt him. *Scipio* made but a ſport at it. Then *Cato* ſhewed plainly, that he did repent him he had geuen him the preferrement to be generall of the army, becauſe he ſaw he would but fondly proſecute this warre: & alſo, that if he chaunced to ouercome, he could not moderately vſe the victory againſt his contry men. Then he beganne to miſtruſt the good ſucceſſe of this warre (and ſo he told his frendes) for the Generalls haſtines and vnskilfulneſſe: and yet if beyonde expectacion it fell out well, and that *Cæſar* were ouerthrowen, he would neuer dwell at ROME any more, but would flye the crueltie and bitternes of *Scipio*, who euen at that preſent time did prowdly threaten many. But in the ende, that fell out ſooner then looked for. For a poſte came to him late that night, who but three dayes before departed from the campe, and brought newes that all was loſt, in a great battell, by the citie of THAPSES, which *Cæſar* had wonne: that he had taken both campes, that *Scipio* and king *Iuba* were fled with a fewe men, and that all the reſt of their armie was ſlaine. Theſe newes did put the citizens in ſuch a feare and maze, (and ſpecially being in the warre, and in the night time) that for very feare they could ſcant keepe them ſelues within the walles of their citie. But *Cato* meeting with them, ſtayed them that ranne vp and downe crying in the ſtreetes, and did comfort them the beſt he could. Yet he tooke not all their feare from them, though he brought them againe vnto them ſelues from the extaſie they were in, declaring vnto them, that the loſſe was nothing ſo great as it was made, and that it was a common matter to enlarge ſuche newes with wordes enowe. By theſe perſwaſions, he ſomwhat pacified the tumult and vprore, and the next morning by breake of day, he made proclamacion, that the three hundred men which he had choſen for his counſellers, ſhould come and aſſemble in the temple of *Iupiter*, they all being citizens of ROME, which for trafficke of marchaundiſe lay in AFRICKE, and all the ROMANE Senators and their children alſo. Nowe whileſt they gathered them ſelues together, *Cato* him ſelfe went verie grauely with a ſet modeſt countenaunce, as if no ſuche matter had happened, hauing a litle booke in his hande, which he read as he went. This booke conteyned the ſtore and preparacion of municion he had made for this warre, as corne, armor, weapons, bowes, ſlings and footemen. When they were all aſſembled, he began greatly to commend the good loue and faithfulnes of theſe three hundred ROMANES, which had profitably ſerued their contry with their perſons, money, and counſell, and did counſell them not to depart one from an other, as men hauing no hope, or otherwiſe ſeeking to ſaue them ſelues ſcatteringly. For remeining together, *Cæſar* would leſſe deſpiſe them, if they would make warre againſt him: and would alſo ſooner pardon them, if they craued mercie of him. Therefore he counſelled them to determine what they would do, and for his owne parte, he ſayed he would not miſlike whatſoeuer they determined of: for if their mindes followed their fortune, he would thinke this chaunge to proceede of the neceſſitie of time. But if they were reſolued to withſtande their misfortune, and to hazard them ſelues to defend their libertie: he then would not only commend them, but hauing their noble corage in admiration, would him ſelfe be their chieftaine and companion, euen to proue the fortune of their contrie to the vttermoſt. The which was not VTICA, nor ADRVMETVM, but the citie ſelfe of ROME: the which oftentimes through her greatnes, had raiſed her ſelfe from greater daungers and calamities. Furthermore, that they had many waies to ſaue them ſelues, & the greateſt meane of all was this: that they ſhould make warre with a man, who by reaſon of his warres was compelled to be in many places. For SPAYNE of the one ſide was vp againſt him, and tooke parte with the younger *Pompey*: and the citie of ROME alſo not being vſed to be brideled with the ſnaffle of ſuch inſolencie, could not abide it, but would rather riſe with any other chaunge. Furthermore, that they were not to refuſe any daunger, but to take exãple

Scipio deſpiſeth Catoes counſell.

Catoes conſtancy in extremity.

Catoes oration vnto the Romanes at Vtica.

of

A of their enemy: who, to worke his mischieuous intent, spareth not his person in any daunger. And contrarily also, that vnto them, the incertaintie of the warre, if victorie followed, would make them happy: as also in being ouerthrowen, their death would turne to immortall glory. Notwithstanding, they were to thinke of the matter among thē selues, & to make their praiers to the gods, that in recōpence of their vertue & good seruice which they had shewed thitherunto, they would graūt thē grace to determine for the best. After *Cato* had ended his oration, there were diuers of thē that were stirred vp by his liuely persuasions, but the most part of thē were incoraged by his constancy & noble minde, & also by his kindnes: so that they presently forgate the daunger they were in, & prayd him to cōmaund their persons, goods, & weapons, as he thought good, taking him for their only inuincible Captaine, of whom fortune had no
B power, thinking it better to dye obeying his counsell, then to saue them selues, forsaking so valliant and worthy a man. Then, when one of the assembly made a motion that they shoulde make their bondmen free, & that diuers also did confirme it, *Cato* sayd he would by no meanes suffer it, because it was neither meete nor lawfull: howbeit if their maisters would manumise them, that he was cōtented to receiue thē for souldiers, that could weare any weapon. Diuers promised him to do it: & *Cato* commaunded their names should be enrolled that would, & so went his way. Immediatly after, letters were brought him frō king *Iuba*, & *Scipio*: of the which, king *Iuba* was hidden in a moūtaine with few men with him, who sent vnto him to know what he would determine to do. For if he ment to forsake VTICA, he would tary him there: & if otherwise he determined to kepe VTICA, then that he would come & helpe him with an army.
C *Scipio* on thother side riding at ancker, at a point of the land not farre from VTICA, staid for the like aunswere. Then *Cato* thought it best to stay the messengers which had brought him their letters, till he saw what was the determination of the three hundred. For all they that were Senators of ROME, were verie glad men, & did presently make their bondmen free, & gaue them weapons. But the other three hundred which were marchant venterers, & that liued by vsury & exchaunge, who had the most parte of their goods in slaues & bondmen, did not long follow *Catoes* counsell: but like men, whose bodies soone receiue heate, & are soone cold againe, when they are once gone from the fire: euen so those marchāts, while *Cato* was present among them, had some good prety will & desire: but when by them selues they had cast their accōpt, the feare they had of *Cæsar*, made them forget the reuerence they bare vnto *Cato*, & vnto their
D duety. For, sayd they, what are we, & what is he whom we disdaine to obey? Is it not *Cæsar* him selfe, who at this day is Lord & Emperor of ROME? Neuer a one of vs is *Scipio*, *Pompey*, nor *Cato*: & yet now, when all men for feare (& in maner compelled) do yeld & submit thē selues, we will nedes take vpon vs within the wals of VTICA to fight for the liberty of ROME against him, for whom, *Cato* flying with *Pompey*, forsooke ITALIE: and we now make our bondmen free to fight with *Cæsar*, hauing no better liberty our selues, then it pleaseth him to geue vs. Let vs therefore now know our selues whilest we haue time, & craue mercie at his handes that is the stronger, & send vnto him, to pray him to pardon vs. The greatest & wisest men of those three hundred marchants, had this speache. But the most parte of them sought meanes how to entrappe the Senators, hoping the better of mercy at *Cæsars* hand, if they did deliuer them vnto
E him. *Cato* did looke for this chaunge in them, but yet vttered not that he thought, & returned the messengers backe againe vnto king *Iuba*, and *Scipio*, and wrote vnto them: that they should beware they came not neere VTICA, bicause he did mistrust these three hundred marchants. Now there were a great number of horsemen which had escaped from the battell, who comming towards VTICA, sent three of their company vnto *Cato*, the which brought him not one selfe determination from all the company. For some of them went to go vnto king *Iuba*, others also to ioyne with *Cato*, & parte of them were affraid to come into VTICA. These things being thus reported vnto *Cato*, he commaunded *Marcius Rubrius* to take care of these three hundred men, & to receiue the names of the bondmen which they willingly manumised, without compelling of any man. In the meane time, *Cato* with all the Senators went out of VTICA to meete
F with these horsemen, & there he spake to the Captaines, & praid them that they would not forsake so many noblemen & Senators of ROME as were there: & that they would not haue king *Iuba* for their Captaine before *Cato*, but to come into VTICA: where they might saue thē selues

The equity of Cato.

Cato forsaken of three hundred Romane marchans at Vtica.

Cato perswadeth and regardeth vnto the Senators.

the citie was of ſuche ſtrength, and beſides, ſo well armed and vitteled for many yeres. The like requeſt did the Senators alſo make vnto them, with the teares running downe their cheekes. Thereupon the Captaines went & ſpake with their ſouldiers. *Cato* in the meane time ſate him downe on a litle hill, with the Senators, tarying for aunſwere. But then on the ſodaine came *Rubrius* vnto him in great haſt, complaining of the tumult of theſe three hundred marchants, which went about to make the city to rebell: whereupon, the reſt their harts failing them, fell to bewaile their miſerable fortune. But *Cato* ſought to comfort them, and then ſent vnto the three hundred marchantes, to pray them to haue a litle pacience. So the Captaines returned againe with vnreaſonable demaundes of the horſemen. For they ſayd, that they cared not for king *Iubaes* pay, neither were they affrayed of *Cæſars* malice, ſo that they had *Cato* for their generall: yet to be pende vp within the walls of a citie with AFRICANES, that were PHOENICIANS, and a traiterous nation as could be: that grieued them moſt of all. For, ſayd they, though now they ſturre not, and be quiet: yet when *Cæſar* comes, they will be the firſt that will betray vs, and cut our throates. And therefore, if *Cato* woulde haue them to ioyne with him in this warre: that he ſhould either kill or driue away all the VTICANS out of the citie, and then that they would come into it, when it was cleere of all thoſe barbarous people their enemies. *Cato* thought this a cruell and barbarous condicion, neuertheles he told them that he would talke with the three hundred: and ſo returning againe into VTICA, he ſpake vnto them. But they then not regarding the reuerēce vnto *Cato*, diſſembling no lenger, ſaid openly, that they would not like of him whatſoeuer he were, that ſhould compel them to make warre with *Cæſar*, both bicauſe they would not, nor could not doe it. Further, there were ſome of them that mumbled to themſelues, that the Senators ſhould be kept there, till *Cæſar* came. *Cato* ouerheard them, for in deede his hearing was not very quicke. At that very inſtant one came to him, and tolde him, that the horſemen were going their way. *Cato* therefore fearing leaſt theſe three hundred marchants would lay hands apon the Senators: he went vnto them him ſelfe with his frends, and perceiuing they were gone a great way of, he tooke his horſe and rode after them. They reioycing to ſee him come, receiued him among them, and prayed him to ſaue him ſelfe with them. But *Cato* prayed them againe to ſaue the Senators, & that with ſuch affection, as it forced teares in him, beſides, he held vp his hands vnto them, tooke their horſes by the bridles, & them ſelues by their weapons, that at length he obtained of them, that they woulde remaine there one daye at the leaſt, to helpe the Senators to ſaue them ſelues. So *Cato* returning with them into the city, he appointed ſome of them to ward at the gates, & put others alſo in garriſon into the caſtell: ſo that the three hūdred marchants quaked for feare, leaſt he would haue bene reuenged of them, bicauſe of their returne with him. Thereuppon they ſent vnto *Cato*, humbly to praye him to come vnto them in any caſe. But the Senators flocking about him, would not ſuffer him to go, & ſaid, that they would not caſt away their ſauior and protector, to put him into traitors hands. Then doutles, all that were within VTICA, plainly ſaw the vertue & ſimplicity of *Cato*, and found that there was no frawde nor deceite in him: who hauing long time reſolued to kill him ſelfe, he only tooke that extreame paines & care for others that their liues being ſaued, he might then rid him ſelfe of his owne. For men might eaſely ſee, though he diſſembled it, that he was reſolued to dye. Whereupon, hauing comforted the Senators, he yeelded vnto the requeſts of the three hundred marchants, & went him ſelfe alone vnto them. Then they thanked him much for his cōming, and prayed him to commaund them, & boldly to truſt them: ſo that he would pardon them if they could not be all *Catoes*, and would take pity of their faint harts, though they were not ſo conſtant & noble minded as he. For they were determined to ſend vnto *Cæſar*, ſpecially to intreate him for him: and if that they could not obteine pardon for him, then they were aſſured they could haue none for them ſelues, and therfore would fight for the ſafety of him, while they had any breath in their bodies. *Cato* thanking them for their good wills, anſwered: that they ſhould ſend quickely to craue pardon for them ſelues, bnt to aske none for him. For ſayd he, men that be ouercome, & haue offended, it ſtandeth them vpon to make humble ſute, and to craue pardon: but for him ſelfe, he was neuer ouercome in his life, and yet had ouercome as much as he deſired, and had alwayes bene better then *Cæſar* in iuſtice, who only (not him ſelfe) was now taken and ouercome: the thing being apparantly

Cato an earneſt ſuter for the Senators.

The ſinceritie of Cato.

Catoes minde vnconquerable.

A apparantly proued in ſight againſt him, which he had alwaies denied to haue practiſed againſt his contry. When he had made this anſwere vnto the three hundred marchants, he departed from them. Newes being brought that *Cæſar* was in his way with all his armie, comming towards VTICA: O goddes, ſayd he, then he commeth againſt vs, as againſt men. Then turning vnto the Senators, he gaue them counſell quickely to ſaue them ſelues, whileſt the horſemen were yet in the city. So ſhutting all the gates of the city, ſauing that towards the hauen: he appointed ſhippes for them all, and ſet euery thing at a ſtay, without tumult or diſorder, no man hauing iniurie offered him, and gaue euerie one money to make way for their ſafetie. When *Marcus Octauius* (who came with two legions, and camped hard by VTICA) ſent vnto *Cato*, to determine which of them two ſhould be Generall: he made no aunſwere, but turning to his

B friends ſaid: How can we wonder any more that all goeth to wracke with vs, ſith there is ſuche ambition amongſt vs for the gouernmēt, euen now, when we are at the laſt caſt? In the meane time word was brought him, how the horſemen going their way were ſpoyling of the citizens goods, as a lawfull pray in warre. He ſtraight ran thither him ſelfe, and the firſt he met withall, he tooke from them that they had gotten. The reſt, before he came vnto them, threw downe that they were carying away, & hanging downe their heades for ſhame, they went their way, and ſaid nothing. Then *Cato* calling all the citizens of VTICA together, prayed them not to incenſe nor moue *Cæſar* againſt the three hundred, but rather to craue of him pardon for thē all. Then he went againe to the peere, and there imbracing his frends, & taking his leaue of them all, he brought them to their ſhippes. Now for his ſonne, he did not coūſell him to go, neither

C did he thinke it mete to vrge him to forſake his father. Furthermore, there was one *Statilius* a young man in his companie, of a noble corage, that was determined to follow the inuincible conſtancy of *Cato*: who counſelled him to take the ſea, and to ſaile away with the reſt, bicauſe he knew he was *Cæſars* mortall enemy. *Statilius* ſaid he would not go. Then *Cato* turning him vnto *Apollonides* a Stoick Philoſopher, & vnto *Demetrius* a Peripatetick Philoſopher, ſaid: you muſt take this ſtowt young man, to perſwade him to obey vnto neceſſity. *Cato* him ſelfe in the meane time ſent away the reſt, & did miniſter iuſtice vnto them that required it: ſpending all that night, & the next day, about thoſe matters. Then *Lucius Cæſar*, the kinſeman of *Iulius Cæſar* the conqueror, being choſen by the three hundred, to goe & make ſute vnto him for them all, came and prayed *Cato* to help him to make his oration, which he ſhould ſay vnto *Cæſar* for

D them all: and as for thee, *Cato*, ſaid he, I will kiſſe his hands, and fall downe on my knees before him to intreate him for thee. Nay ſaid *Cato*, thou ſhalt not do ſo. For if I would ſaue my life by *Cæſars* grace, I could do it, if I would but go vnto him: howbeit I will not be bound to a tyran for iniuſtice. For it is an iniuſtice in him to take vpō him, as a Lord & ſoueraine to ſaue a mans life, when him ſelfe hath no authority to commaund. But yet let vs conſider if thou wilt, what thou ſhalt ſay, to craue pardon for the three hundred. So they were a while together conſideting the matter, and in fine, *Lucius Cæſar* being ready to departe, *Cato* recommended his ſonne and frendes vnto him, and imbracing him, tooke his leaue of him. Then he returned vnto his lodging, and calling his ſonne and frends before him, and talking of many matters: among o-

E thers he charged his ſonne in no caſe to meddle in thaffaires of the common wealth. For ſaid he, to deale vprightly like *Catōs* ſonne, the corruption of the time and ſtate will not abide it: and contrarily, obſeruing the time, thou canſt not do like an honeſt man. Towards euening he went into his bath to waſhe him ſelfe, and as he was a bathing, thinking apon *Statilius*, he cried out alowde: well *Apollonides*, thou haſt at length yet perſwaded *Statilius*, to goe his way and pulled downe his ſtowt courage he had: and is he gone without bidding vs farewell? Howe, gone ſayd *Apollonides*? Nay, his hart is now more ſtowt and couragious then euer it was, notwithſtanding all the perſwaſions we could vſe vnto him: for he is determined to tary, & to take ſuch part as thou doeſt. After he had bathed him ſelfe, he went to ſupper, & ſate at his meate, as he had alwaies vſed after the battell at Pharſalia, and neuer lay, but when he went to bed. So he had all his frends, & the chiefe Magiſtrats of VTICA to ſupper with him. After ſupper, they

F fell into graue talke and matters of Philoſophie: till at length they came vnto the ſtraunge opinion of the Stoick Philoſophers, which was this: that only the good man is free, and all the euill be ſlaues. The Peripatetick Philoſopher that was preſent there, was ſtraight againſt it.

Cato reproueth the ambition of men.

Statilius, a follower of Cato.

Cato would not haue pardon begged of Cæſar for him.

Cato forbad his ſonne to meddle with matters of State in a corrupt time.

The Paradoxes of the Stoicks.

But *Cato* was very earneſt againſt the Peripateticke, and argued the matter a long time, with a vehement ſpeach and contencion: inſomuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to ende his life, & to rid him ~~him~~ ſelfe out of all thoſe troubles. But then when he had ended his argument, and ſawe that euery man helde his peace, and looked ſadly of it: to comfort them againe, and to put the ſuſpicion of his death out of their heades: he beganne againe to fall in talke of their affaires, and ſeemed to be carefull of them, as though he had bene affrayed leaſt ſome misfortune were come vnto them apon the ſea, or vnto them that were gone by land, becauſe they paſſed through deſertes, where there was no water to be had. Now when ſupper was done, and the ſtraungers gone, he walked as his manner was with his frends, and hauing taken order with the Captaines of the watch for matters of ſeruice, as the time required: going into his chamber he embraced his ſonne and his frendes more louingly then he was wont to doe, whereby he made them againe ſuſpect the execution of his determination. When he was come into his chamber and layed in his bedde, he tooke *Platoes* dialogues in his hand, treating of the ſoule, and red the moſt parte of it. Then looking by his beds ſide, and miſſing his ſword (which his ſonne had taken from him when he was at ſupper) he called one of the groomes of his chamber to him, and asked him who had taken his ſword away: his man made him no aunſwere, & he fell againe to read his booke. Then a prety while after, not ſeeming to be importunate, or ouerhaſtie of the matter, but as though he woulde only know what became of it: he willed thē to bring him his ſword againe. They taried long, and he had red ouer all the booke, but yet his ſword was not brought him againe. Wherupon he called for all his men one after an other, & very angrily asked them his ſword, & gaue one of them ſuch a blow in the face, that his noſe fell a bleeding, & his hand was all bloody withal, and cried out that his ſonne and his ſeruaunts would deliuer him naked into the hands of his enemie: vntill his ſonne and frends at length ranne vnto him, & falling downe on their knees, lamented, and beſought him to be contented. *Cato* then riſing out of his bedde, looked grimly vpon them, and ſayd vnto them: O goddes, who euer ſaw me in this taking? Why doth no man by reaſon perſwade me, if they ſee me out of the way: & not to kepe me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why doeſt thou not bind thy father (my ſonne) his hands behinde him, that when *Cæſar* commeth, he may finde me in caſe not to defend my ſelfe? I doe not deſire my ſworde to hurte my ſelfe, for if I had any ſuche minde, I neede but hold my breath a litle, or geue but a knocke of my head againſt the wall onely, and diſpatche my ſelfe quickely. When he had ſayd thus, his ſonne went out of his chamber weeping, and all his frends alſo, no man remayning with *Cato*, but *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, vnto whom he ſpake more gently, and reaſoned in this ſorte. What, doe you thinke to keepe an old man as I am, aliue by force? And haue you taried behinde but to ſit ſtaring apon me, and ſay nothing vnto me? If otherwiſe elſe, by reaſon you come to perſwade me, that it ſhall be no ſhame for *Cato*, diſpairing of the ſafetie of his life, to ſeeke it by the grace and mercy of his enemy: why then doe you not now tell me your reaſons to perſwade me, that forſaking all other fancies & determinatiōs which hetherunto we haue holden for good, being on a ſodaine become wiſer by *Cæſars* meanes, we ſhould be bound the more therefore to geue him thankes? I do not tell you this that I haue determined any thing of my life, but that it is in my power (if I liſt) to put the thing in execution I haue determined: but yet I will conſult with you, when I am ſo determined, to heare the reaſons and opinion of your bookes, which your ſelues doe vſe in diſcourſe and argument together. Goe your way therefore hardily vnto my ſonne, and tell him, that he muſt not thinke to compell his father vnto that, which he can not proue good vnto him by reaſon. After this talke, *Demetrius* and *Apollonides* being nothing comforted, weeping, departed out of his chamber. Then his ſword was brought him by a litle boy. When he had it, he drew it out, and looked whether the point and edge of his ſword was ſharpe and would cut: when he ſaw it was well, O, ſayd he, now I am where I would be, and ſo laying downe the ſword naked by him, he tooke his booke againe in his hand, and red it ouer (as they ſay) twiſe together. Then he ſlept ſo ſoundly after it, that his men which were without his chamber heard him ſnort againe. About midnight, he called for two of his freemen, *Cleanthes* his Phiſitian, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in his weightieſt affaires of the common wealth.

Platoes dialogues of the ſoule.

Catoes laſt wordes vnto the Philoſophers his frends.

Cato conſidered his ſworde wherewith he killed him ſelfe.

So

A So he ſent him vnto the hauen to ſee, if all his men that were imbarked were vnder ſaile: and gaue his hand vnto the Phiſitian to be bound vp, becauſe it was ſwollen with the blow he gaue one of his ſlaues when he hit him on the face. All his ſeruaunts were glad to heare of that, hoping then that he deſired to liue. Soone after came *Butas* backe againe from the hauen, and brought him word that all were gone but *Craſſus*, who ſtayed about ſome buſines he had, and yet that he was going to take ſhippe: howbeit that the ſea was very roughe and winde exceeding great. *Cato* hearing this, ſighed, being ſory for them that were vpon the ſea, and ſent *Butas* backe againe to the hauen, to ſee if any man came backe for any matter they had to ſay vnto him. The litle birdes began to chirpe, and *Cato* fel againe in a litle ſlumber. But thereuppon *Butas* returned, & brought him word that all was quiet in the hauen, & there was no ſturre. Then

B *Cato* bad him goe his way, and ſhut to the dore after him, and layed him downe in his bed, as though he had ment to haue ſlept out all the reſt of the night. *Butas* backe was no ſooner turned, but *Cato* taking his naked ſword in his hand, thruſt it into his breaſt: howbeit the ſwelling of his hand made the blowe ſo weake, that it killed him not preſently, but drawing on to his latter ende, he fell downe vpon his bedde, and made ſuch a noyſe with his fall (ouerthrowing a litle table of geometry hard by his bedde, that his ſeruaunts hearing the noyſe, gaue a great ſhreeke for feare. Thereuppon his ſonne and his friendes ranne into the chamber, and found him all of a gore bloud, and the moſt part of his bowells comming out of his bodye, him ſelfe being yet aliue, and ſeeing them. They were all ſtriken with ſuch ſorow to behold it, that at the firſt they were ſo amaſed, as they could not tel what to ſay to it. His Phiſitiã comming to him,

C he went about to put in his bowels againe which were not periſhed, and to ſow vp his wound. But *Cato* comming to him ſelfe, thruſt backe the Phiſitian, and tare his bowells with his owne handes, and made his wound very great, and immediatly gaue vp the ghoſt. Whereuppon the three hundred ROMANES (in leſſe time then a man would haue thought *Catoes* owne houſhold ſeruaunts could haue knowen of his death) were at his dores, and immediatly after, all the people of VTICA alſo came thither, and with one voyce called *Cato* their benefactor and ſauior, and ſayd he onely was a free man, and had an inuincible minde. And this was done, when they heard ſay that *Ceſar* was not farre from VTICA. Furthermore, nether feare of the preſent daunger, nor the deſire to flatter the Conqueror, nether any priuate quarrell amongeſt them ſelues, could keepe them from honoring *Catoes* funeralls. For, ſumptuouſly ſetting out his bo-

D dy, and honorably accompanying his funeralls as might be, they buryed him by the ſea ſide, where at this preſent time is to be ſeene his image, holding a ſworde in his hande. After that, they made their beſt way to ſaue them ſelues and their citie. Nowe *Ceſar* hearing aduertiſed by them that came vnto him, howe *Cato* ſturred not from VTICA, nor fled not, but ſent all others away, ſauing him ſelfe, and his ſonne, and a few of his friends that remained there, being afraid of nothing: he could not deuiſe what he ment by it. Therefore eſteeming *Cato* much, he made haſte with all the ſpeede he could with his armie, to come thether. But when he vnderſtoode that *Cato* had ſlaine him ſelfe, writers doe reporte he ſayd thus: O *Cato*, I enuy thy death, ſithe thou haſt enuied mine honor, to ſaue thy life. For in deede, had *Cato* beene contented *Ceſar* ſhould haue ſaued his life, he had not ſo much impaired his owne honor, as he had augmen-

E ted *Ceſars* glory. And yet what *Ceſar* would haue done, men make it doubtful, ſaying that they coniecture well of *Ceſars* clemencie. *Cato* dyed when he was but eight and forty yeare old. For his ſonne, *Ceſar* neuer did him hurt: howbeit it is reported of him, that he was very vilely gi-

uen, and laſciuious beſides. For when he lay in CAPPADOCIA, in a noble mans houſe of the kings blood, called *Maphradates*, who had a fayre woman to his wife: he taried longer there then he might well with honeſtie, whereuppon he fell to be a laughing ſtock to the people, and in mockery they ſayd, *Cato* will goe too morrow, a thirty dayes hence. And further, that *Maphradates* and *Porcius* are two good friendes, but they haue but one minde. And the reaſon was, becauſe *Maphradates* wife was called *Pſyche*, which in the Greeke ſignifieth a minde: and

F *Cato* is a noble fellow, and hath a princely mind, howbeit his famous death did ſtoppe this infamous ſpeech. For he valiantly fighting againſt *Auguſtus*, and *Antonius*, at the battell of *Philippes*, for the liberty of his coũtry: their armie being ouerthrowen and fled, he would neither flie nor hide him ſelfe, but running in amongeſt his enemies, he made them know what he

Cato his ſonne and his friendes.

The death of Cato.

Catoes funeralls.

Ceſars ſaying vnto Catos ſon dead.

The ſonne of Cato what conditions he had

Pſyche, ſignifieth mind.

was, by incoraging those of his side, which yet did defend them selues, till he was slayne in the field, to the great admiration of his valiantnes. Furthermore, *Porcia*, the Daughter of *Cato*, gaue no place vnto her father, nether for chastitie, nor greatnes of mind. For she being maried vnto *Brutus*, who slue *Cæsar*, was of the conspiracie, and slue her selfe as corageously as became the vertue and nobilitie of her bloud from whence she came, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Brutus*. *Statilius* also, who had sayd he would ronne *Catoes* fortune (as we haue tolde you before) was kept from killing of him selfe by the Philosophers, *Demetrius*, and *Apollonides*. But after that tyme hauing shewed him selfe very faithfull and seruiceable vnto *Brutus* in all his affayres, he was slayne in the field also at the battell of *Philippes*.

The death of Porcia, the Daughter of Cato the yoũger, and wife of Brutus.

The death of Statilius.

The end of Catoes life.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

The fable of Ixion against ambitious persons.

TRuely the fable of *Ixion* was not ill deuised against ambicious persons: who imbracing a clowde for the goddesse *Iuno*, begot (as it is sayd) the CENTAVRI. For euen so ambicious men, imbracing glory for the true image of vertue, doe neuer any acte that is good nor perfect: but beeing caried away with diuers fancies, and following others humors with desire to please the people, they may, as the herdmen in the tragedy of *Sophocles* (speaking of their cattell) say:

VVe vvayt vppon their beasts, though vve their Maisters bee,
And vvhereseoeuer they become, there also follovve vvee.

Such in deede are they compared to, that gouerne common weales, after peoples lust and fancy: who doubtles, are as their seruaunts obedient at call, bicause they onely may enioy the glorious title and name of an Officer. For like as in a shippe the Mariners that stande in the prowe, doe better see before them, then the Pilots that steere the helme in the poope, and yet lookes alwayes backe vnto them to see what they commaunde: euen so, they that gouerne in the common wealth for honors sake, are no better the honorable slaues of the people, hauing no more but the bare name of a gouernor. But in deede, the perfect good and honest man should neuer couet outward glory, but as a meane to bringe him to noble attempts, whereby he

A he might procure the better credit of his doings. And for a younge man that coueteth honor by vertue, giue him leaue a litle to glory in his well doing: for, as *Theophraſtus* ſayth, vertue buddeth and floriſheth in youth, and taketh faſt roote by prayſes giuen, as wit & corage groweth in them. But ouermuch praiſe is daungerous in euery perſon, but chiefly in ambicious gouernors. For if they be men of great power, it makes them commit many deſperat partes: for they wil not allow that honor proceedes of vertue, but that honor is vertue it ſelfe. But in deed they ſhould ſay as *Phocion* did vnto *Antipater*, that requeſted an vnlawfull matter of him: Thou canſt not, ſaid he, haue *Phocion* a friend and flatterer both. This, or the very like, may be ſayd vnto the people: you can not both haue one, a Maiſter and a ſeruaunt, that can commaunde and obey together. Or els the miſchiefe ſpoken of in the tale of the Dragon muſt needes hap-

B pen, which was: the taile on a time fell out with the head, and complained, ſaying, it would an other while go before, & would not alwaies come behind. The head graunted the taile, which fell out very ill for it, not knowing howe to guide the heade, and beſides that the head thereby was tormented euery way, beeing compelled againſt nature to follow that part and member, which could nether heare, nor ſee how to guide it. The like matter haue we ſeene happen vnto many, which in the adminiſtracion of the common wealth, did ſeeke to pleaſe the humors of the multitude. For when they haue once put their heads vnder their girdles to pleaſe the common people, which without cauſe & reaſon doe ſoone rebell: they can by no poſſible meanes afterwards bridle their furie & inſolencie. Now the reaſon that made vs to enter into diſcourſe againſt the ambition and vaine glorye amongeſt the people: was the conſideracion I had of

C their greate power, remembring the misfortunes of *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*: bothe the which comming of a noble houſe, and hauing bene maruelous well brought vp, & maneging alſo the affayres of the common wealth with a good deſire, were notwithſtanding in the ende caſt away: not ſo much through couetouſnes of glorye, as for feare of diſhonor, which came alſo of no baſe mind. For they hauing receiued great pleaſures and friendſhips of the people, were aſhamed to be indetted to them, and therefore earneſtly ſought to exceede the people in good will, by new decrees and deuiſes, which they preferred for common benefit: and the people alſo for their partes contended to honor them the more, by how much they ſtriued to ſhewe them ſelues thankefull. So with like ſtrife on either ſide, they to gratifie the common people, and the people alſo to honor them, were vnwares ſo entangled with publike cauſes,

D that they could no more follow the common prouerbe, which ſayth:

Although our deedes diſcent from equitie,
Yet can vve not deſiſt vvith honeſtie.

This thou ſhalt eaſily finde by the declaracion of the hiſtorie. With theſe we doe compare two other popular men, both kinges of Lacedæmon, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they, as the *Gracchi*, ſeeking to increaſe the power of the common people, and to reſtore the iuſt and honeſt gouernment againe of the common wealth of Lacedæmon, which of long time had bene out of vſe: did in like manner purchaſe the hate of the nobilitie, which were loth to loſe any part of their wonted couetouſnes. In deed theſe two Laconians were no brethrē borne, but yet did both follow one ſelfe courſe & forme of gouernment, which had beginning in this

E ſort. After that couetouſnes of gold and ſiluer crept againe into the citie of Sparta, and with riches, couetouſnes alſo and miſerie, and by vſe, voluptuouſnes and licentious life: Sparta then was void of all honor and goodnes, and was long time drowned in ſhame and diſhonor, vntill king *Agis* and *Leonidas* came to raigne there. *Agis* was of the houſe of the *Eurytiontides*, the ſonne of *Eudamidas*, the ſixt of lineall deſcent after *Ageſilaus*, who had beene the greateſt Prince of all Græce in his time. This *Ageſilaus* had a ſonne ſlaine in Italy by the Meſſapians, called *Archidamus*, before the citie of Mandonivm. *Archidamus* had iſſue two ſonnes, *Agis*, and *Eudamidas* that was king, who ſucceeded his brother *Agis*, whom *Antipater* ſlue before the citie of Megalipolis, and left no children behind him. *Eudamidas* begat *Archidamus*, which *Archidamus* begat another *Eudamidas*: which *Eudamidas* alſo begat *Agis*, whoſe life we

F now write of. *Leonidas* alſo, the ſonne of *Cleonymus*, was of the other familie of the *Agiades*, the eight of ſucceſſion after *Pauſanias*, who ſlue *Mardonius*, the kings Lieuetenant general of Perſia, in a battell fought before the citie of Platees. This *Pauſanias* had a ſonne called *Pliſto-*

Theophraſtus for the praiſe of vertue.

Immoderat praiſe very daungerous.

Phocions ſaying.

The fable of the Dragons head and taile

Plutarch excuſeth the Gracchi.

The lynage of Agis.

The lynage of Leonidas.

nax,and *Plistonax* also an other, called *Pausanias*: who flying from SPARTA vnto the citie of TEGEA,his eldest sonne *Agesipolis* was made king in his fathers roome,who dying without issue,his yonger brother *Cleombrotus* succeeded him in the kingdō.*Cleombrotus* had two sonnes, *Agesipolis* and *Cleomenes*: of the which,*Agesipolis* raigned not long king,and dyed without issue. Then *Cleomenes* his brother,who was king after him,had two sonnes, *Acrotatus* the elder, that dyed in his fathers life time: and *Cleonymus* the yonger which suruiued him,and was not king, but one *Areus* his Nephewe,the sonne of *Acrotatus*. This *Areus* dyed before the citie of CORINTHE: who hauing an other *Acrotatus* to his sonne,he succeeded him in the kingdome. He also dyed at a battell before the citie of MEGALIPOLIS,and was slayne there by the tyrant *Aristodemus*,leauing his wife great with childe.She beeing brought to bedde after his death of a sonne,whome *Leonidas* the sonne of *Cleonymus* taught and brought vp: the childe dying very young,the crowne by his death was cast apon *Leonidas* him selfe.Howbeit his maners & conditions neuer liked the people.For though all men generally were corrupted through the cō mon wealth,and cleane out of order: yer *Leonidas* of all other exceeded, deforming most the auncient LACONIAN life,bicause he had bene long time brought vp in Princes houses,& followed also *Seleucus* Court, from whence he had brought all the pride and pompe of those Courts into GRÆCE,where law & reason ruleth. *Agis* on the contrary part did not onely farre excel *Leonidas*,in honor and magnanimitie of mind: but all other almost also which had raigned in SPARTA,from the time of *Agesilaus* the great.So that when *Agis* was not yet twenty yeare old,and being daintily brought vp with the finenes of two women,his mother *Agesistrata*,and *Archidamia* his grandmother,which had more gold and siluer, then all the LACEDÆMONIANS els: he began to spurne against these womanish delights & pleasures,in making him selfe fayer to be the better beliked,and to be fine and trimme in his apparell, and to cast vpon him a plaine spanish cape,taking pleasure in the dyet,bathes,and manner of the auncient LACONIAN life: and openly boasted besides,that he would not desire to be king,but onely for the hope he had to restore the auncient LACONIAN life by his authority. Then began the state of LACEDÆMON first to be corrupted, and to leaue her auncient discipline,when the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing subdued the Empire of the ATHENIANS,stored them selues & contry both, with plenty of gold & siluer.But yet reseruing still the lands left vnto them by succession from their fathers,according vnto *Lycurgus* first ordinaunce & institucion,for diuision of the landes amongest them: which ordinaunce, and equalitie being inuiolably kept amongest them,did yet preserue the common wealth from defamation of diuers other notorious crimes.Vntil the time of the authoritie of *Epitadeus*,one of the Ephores,a seditious man, and of prowde conditions: who bitterly falling out with his own sonne,preferred a law,that euery man might lawfully giue his landes and goods whilest he liued,or after his death by testament, vnto any man whom he liked or thought well of.Thus this man made this law to satisfie his anger, & others also did confirme it for couetousnes sake,and so ouerthrew a noble ordinaunce. For the riche men then began to buy lands of numbers,and so transferred it from the right & lawful heires: whereby a few men in short time being made very riche, immediatly after there fell out great pouertie in the citie of SPARTA,which made all honest sciences to cease,& brought in thereuppon vnlawfull occupacions,who enuyed them that were wealthy.Therefore,there remayned not aboue seuen hundred naturall Citizens of SPARTA in all,& of them,not aboue a hundred that had lands and inheritance: for all the rest were poore people in the citie,and were of no countenaunce nor calling,& besides that,went vnwillingly to the warres against their enemies,looking euery day for sturre and chaunge in the citie.*Agis* therefore thinking it a notable good acte (as in deede it was) to repleniſh the citie of SPARTA againe,and to bringe in the old equalitie, he moued the matter vnto the Citizens. He found the youth (against all hope) to giue good eare vnto him,and very well giuen vnto vertue, easily chaunging their garments & life,to recouer their libertie againe.But the oldest men,which were now euen rotten with couetousnes and corruption, they were affraid to returne againe to the straight ordinaunces of *Lycurgus*,as a slaue and ronneagate from his Maister,that trembleth when he is brought back againe vnto him.Therefore they reproued *Agis*,when he did lament before them their present miserable estate, and wish he also for the former auncient honor and true dignitie of SPARTA:

Aristodemus, tyrant of Megalipolis.

Leonidas brought superfluitie and excesse into Sparta.

The continency of Agis

The first beginning of the Lacedæmonians fall, from their auncient discipline.

Lycurgus rhetra, for partition of landes, broken by Epitadeus law.

Epitadeus law for deuise of landes by will.

Agis goeth about to reduce the common wealth to her auncient estate.

Howbeit

A Howbeit *Lyſander* the ſonne of *Lybis*, and *Mandroclidas* the ſonne of *Eſphanes*, and *Ageſilaus* alſo, greatly commended his noble deſire, and perſwaded him to goe forward withall. This *Lyſander* was of great authoritie and eſtimation amongeſt them in the citie: *Mandroclidas* was alſo very wiſe, and carefull, about any matter of counſell, and with his wiſedom and policy, very valiant: *Ageſilaus* in like manner, the kings Vncle, and an eloquent man, was very effeminate and couetous, and yet prickt forward to giue his furtherance to this attempt as it appeared, by his ſonne *Hippomedon*, who was a notable good ſouldier, and could doe very much, by meanes of the loue and good will the younge men did beare him. But in deede, the ſecret cauſe that brought *Ageſilaus* to conſent vnto this practiſe, was the greatnes of his dette which he ought, of the which he hoped to be diſcharged by chaunging of the ſtate and common
B wealth. Now when *Agis* had wonne him, he fought by his meanes to drawe his mother alſo vnto the matter, which was *Ageſilaus* ſiſter. She could doe very much by the number of her friendes, followers, and detters in the citie, by whoſe meanes ſhe ruled the moſt part of the affayres of the citie after her owne pleaſure. But the young man *Hippomedon* making her priuie vnto it, at the firſt ſhe was amaſed withall, and bad him hold his peace if he were wiſe, and not medle in matters vnpoſſible and vnprofitable. But when *Ageſilaus* had told her what a notable acte it would be, and how eaſily it might be brought to paſſe, with maruelous great profit: and that king *Agis* beganne alſo to ſtrayne her with great intreatie, that ſhe would willingly depart with her goods to winne her ſonne honor and glory: who, though he could not in money and riches come to be like vnto other kinges (bicauſe the ſlaues and factors onely of the kinges
C *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*, had more money then all the kings of SPARTA had together that euer raigned) yet if in temperance, thriftines, & noble mind (exceeding all their vanities) he could come to reſtore the LACEDÆMONIANS againe vnto equalitie: that then in deede he ſhould be counted a noble king. Theſe women being ſtirred vp with ambition by theſe perſwaſions of the younge man, ſeeing him ſo nobly bent, as if by the goddes their mindes had ſecretly bene inflamed with the loue of vertue: did preſently alter their mindes in ſuch ſort, that they themſelues did pricke forward *Agis*, and ſent for their friends to pray and intreate them to fauor his enterpriſe: and furthermore, they brought on other women alſo, knowing that the LACEDÆMONIANS did euer heare and beleue their wiues, ſuffering them to vnderſtand more of the affayres of the ſtate, then they themſelues did of their priuate eſtate at home. Herein is to be
D conſidered, that the moſt part of the riches of LACEDÆMON was in the handes of the women, and therefore they were againſt it, not onely bicauſe thereby they were cut of from their finenes and exceſſe, in the which being ignorant of the true good in deede, they put all their felicitie: but alſo, bicauſe they ſawe their honor and authoritie which they had by their riches, cleane troden vnder foote. Therefore they comming to *Leonidas*, they did perſwade him to reproue *Agis*, bicauſe he was elder man then he, and to let that this enterpriſe went not forward. *Leonidas* did what he could in fauour of the riche, but fearing the common people, who deſired nothing but alteracion, he durſt not openly ſpeake againſt him, but ſecretly he did the beſt he could to hinder *Agis* practiſe, talking with the Magiſtrates of the citie, and accuſing *Agis* vnto them, he told them how he did offer the riche mens goods vnto the poore, the diui-
E ſion of their landes, and the aboliſhing of all detts, for rewarde to put the tyrannie into his handes, and that thereby he got him a ſtronge gard vnto himſelfe, but not many Citizens vnto SPARTA. This notwithſtanding, king *Agis* hauing procured *Lyſander* to be choſen one of the Ephores, he preſently preferred his lawe vnto the counſell. The articles whereof were *Agis law.*
theſe: That ſuch as were in debt, ſhould be cleered of all their debes, and that the landes alſo ſhould be diuided into equall partes: ſo that from the valley of Pallena vnto mount Taugetus, and vnto the citie of MALEA, and SELASIA, there ſhould be foure thouſand fiue hundred partes, and without theſe boundes, there ſhould be in all the reſt, fifteene thouſand partes, the which ſhould be diſtributed vnto their neighbours meete to cary weapon: and the reſt vnto the natural SPARTANS. The number of them ſhould be repleniſhed with their neighbours and
F ſtraungers in like manner, which ſhould be very well brought vp, and be able men beſides to ſerue the common wealth: all the which afterwards ſhould be diuided into fifteene companies, of the which, ſome ſhould receiue two hundred, & others foure hundred men, & ſhould

How louing the Lacedæmonians were vnto their wiues.

liue according to the olde auncient inſtitucion obſerued by their aunceſtors. This lawe being preferred vnto the Senate, the Senators grewe to diuers opinions apon it. Whereuppon *Lyſander* him ſelfe aſſembled the great counſell of all the people, and there ſpake vnto them him ſelfe, and *Mandroclidas*, and *Ageſilaus* alſo, praying them not to ſuffer the honor of SPARTA to be troden vnder foote, for the vanitie of a fewe: but that they would remember the auncient oracles of the goddes, warning them to beware of auarice, as of the plague and deſtruction of the common wealth: and of the late oracle alſo brought vnto them, from the temple of *Paſiphaé*. The temple and oracle of *Paſiphaé*, was famous at the citie of THALAMES: and ſome ſay, that *Paſiphaé* was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, which was gotten with child by *Iupiter*, & was deliuered of a ſonne called *Hammon*. Other thinke that it was *Caſſandra*, one of king *Priamus* Daughters that died there, which was ſurnamed *Paſiphaé*, bicauſe ſhe gaue all the aunſwers & oracles of things to come. But *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Daphné* the Daughter of *Amycla*, flying from *Apollo* that would haue rauiſhed her, was turned into a lawrell tree, and honored by *Apollo* with the gift of prophecie. So, they ſaid that this oracle of the god commaunded them, that the SPARTANS ſhould againe returne vnto their former auncient equalitie, ſtabliſhed firſt by *Lycurgus* lawe. When euery man els had ſpoken, king *Agis* riſing vp, briefly ſpeaking vnto the people, ſayd: that he would beſtowe great contributions for the reformation of this common wealth, which he was deſirous to reſtore againe. For firſt of all, he would make common all his errable and paſture he had, and beſides that, he would adde to ſix hundred talents in redy money, and ſo much ſhould his mother, grandmother, kinſemen and friendes, all the which were the richeſt and wealthieſt in SPARTA. When the people heard what he ſayd, they maruelled much at the noble minde of this younge king, and were very glad of it, ſaying: that for three hundred yeares ſpace together, the citie of SPARTA had not ſo worthy a king as he. But *Leonidas* contrarily aſſayed with all his power he could to reſiſt him, thinking with him ſelfe, that if king *Agis* purpoſe tooke place, he ſhould alſo be compelled to doe as he did, and yet he ſhould haue no thankes, but king *Agis*: bicauſe that all the SPARTANS indifferently ſhould be compelled to make their goods in common, but the honor ſhould be his onely that firſt beganne it. So he asked *Agis*, whether he thought *Lycurgus* had bene a good and iuſt man or not. *Agis* aunſwered, that he had bene. Then replyed *Leonidas*, did you euer ſee that he had taken away and aboliſhed any dets, or had receyued ſtraungers into the number of the Citizens of SPARTA? Who contrarily thought his common wealth vnperfect, if all ſtraungers were not baniſhed the citie. *Agis* agayne aunſwered him: that he maruelled not that *Leonidas* beeing brought vp in a ſtraung contry, and alſo maryed there in a noble mans houſe, he ſhould be ignorant of *Lycurgus* lawes, who baniſhing gold and ſiluer out of his citie, did therewithall exile dette and lending. And for ſtraungers, he hated them that woulde not conforme them ſelues vnto the manners and facions of life which he inſtituted, and thoſe they were which he baniſhed: not for any ill will he bare vnto their perſons, but bicauſe he feared their manners of life, leaſt that mingling them with the Citizens, they ſhould make them runne after vanitie and couetouſnes to be riche. For otherwiſe, *Terpander*, *Thales*, and *Pherecydes*, which were all ſtraungers, were maruelouſly reuerenced and honored in SPARTA in olde tyme, bicauſe they did ſinge in their writings, the ſelfe ſame thinges which *Lycurgus* had eſtabliſhed in his lawes. And thou thy ſelfe alſo doeſt commend *Ecprepes*, being one of the Ephores, bicauſe he did cut with a hatchet the two ſtringes which *Phrynis* the Muſitian had added vnto the Citherne, more then the ſeuen common ſtringes, and thoſe alſo which did the like vnto *Timotheus*: and yet thou reproueſt me, bicauſe I goe about to roote out all exceſſe and pride out of SPARTA, as though thoſe men did not farre of preuent that theſe ſuperfluous ſtringes of the muſicke, delighting the Citizens mindes too much with their ſonges, ſhould not cauſe them fall vnto ſuch trade and manner of life, as ſhould make the citie at diſcord with it ſelfe. After this contencion, the common people did ſticke vnto king *Agis*, and the riche men followed *Leonidas*, praying and perſwading him not to forſake them: and further, they did ſo intreate the Senators, in whom conſiſteth the chiefe authority, to determine and diſgeſt all matters before they be propownded vnto the people, that they ouerthrew the law, by the onely voice of one man more. Wherefore *Lyſander* who was yet in office, attempted to accuſe *Leonidas* by an auncient

Paſiphaé, the Daughter of Atlas.

Agis maketh his goods common.

Leonidas reſiſteth king Agis.

A ent lawe, forbidding that none of the race of *Hercules* should mary with any straung woman, nor beget children of her: and sayde further, that no man vpon payne of death should dwell any where, but in SPARTA. When he had instructed others to obiect these thinges agaynst *Leonidas*, he with other of his colleagues obserued a signe in the element, the ceremony wherof was in this sorte: Euery nyneth yeare, the Ephori chusing a bright night without moonelight, did sit downe in some open place, and beheld the starres in the element, to see if they saw any starre shoote from one place to another: if they did, then they accused their kinges that they had offended the goddes, and did depriue them of their kingdom, vntill some oracle came from DELPHES or *Olympus*, to restore them againe. *Lysander* then declaring that he had *King Leonidas accused by Lysander.*

B seene a starre flie in the element, did therefore accuse king *Leonidas*, and brought forth witnesses against him: how he had maried a woman of ASIA, the which one of king *Seleucus* Lieuetenants had giuen him in mariage, & that he had two children by her: & afterwards being forsaken of his wife that refused him, he returned againe into his contry against his will, & so had possessed the kingdom for lacke of lawful heire. So following his accusation in this manner against him, he allured *Cleombrotus* his sonne in law, being also of the kings blood, to make title to the crowne. *Leonidas* being affraid of the successe hereof, tooke sanctuary in the temple of *Iuno*, surnamed *Chalcioecos*, & his Daughter with him, who forsooke her husband *Cleombrotus*. *Leonidas* then being cited to appeare in person, & making default, they deposed him, & made *Leonidas deprived of his kingdom.*

C *Cleombrotus* king. In the meane time *Lysanders* office expired, & the new Ephori which succeded him, did deliuer *Leonidas* againe, and accused *Lysander* & *Mandroclidas*, bicause against the law, they had abolished all debts, & had againe made newe diuision of lands. When they sawe they were openly accused, they incensed both the kinges, that ioyning together, they shoulde make the Ephores ordinaunces of no effect: declaring, that their authority was onely erected for the discord of the two kings, bicause they should giue their voices vnto that king that had the best iudgemēt & reason, whē the other would wilfully withstand both right & reason. And therfore, that they two agreing together, might lawfully do what they would, without cōtrolment of any person: & that to resist the kings was a breaking of the lawe, sith that by right the Ephori had no other priuileage & authority, but to be iudges & arbitrators betwene thē, when there was any cause of iarre or controuersie. Both the kings being caried away by this perswasion, went into the market place accōpanied with their frends, pluckt the Ephores from their

D seates, & put others in their roomes, of the which *Agesilaus* was one. Furthermore, they armed a great number of yong men, & opening the prisons, did set the prisoners at liberty: the which made their aduersaries affraid of thē, doubting some great murther would haue followed vpon it, howbeit no man had any hurt. For *Agesilaus* being bent to kill *Leonidas*, who fled vnto the city of TEGEA, & hauing also laid men in waite for him by the way: king *Agis* hearing of it, sent *Leonidas flyeth vnto Tegea.*

thither other frends of his in whom he put great confidence, & they did accōpany *Leonidas*, & brought him safely vnto the city of TEGEA. Thus their purpose taking effect, & no man cōtrarying thē one man only *Agesilaus* ouerthrew all, & dashed a noble LACONIAN law by a shamful vice, which was couetousnes. For he being a great landed man, & hauing the best lands of *King Agis deceiued by Agesilaus.*

any man in the contry, & owing a great summe of money besides: would neither pay his debts,

E nor let go his land. Wherfore he perswaded king *Agis*, that if he wes about to stablish both together, he should raise a great vproare in the city, & withall, if he did first winne them that were landed men, preferring at the beginning the cutting of of debts only: then that they would easily & willingly also accept the law for partition of lands. *Lysander* was also of his opinion when by king *Agis* & he both were deceiued by *Agesilaus* subtlety. So they cō maunded al the creditors to bring their bonds, obligations, & bils of det (which the LACEDAEMONIANS do cal Clatia) into the market place, and there laying them on a heape together, they did set fire of them. When the vsurers & creditors saw their writings obligatory afire, they departed thence with heauy harts: but *Agesilaus* mocking thē said, he neuer saw a brighter fire in his life. The people then requiring that the lands also should be presently deuided, & the kings likewise commā- *New lawes stablished by the Lacedaemonians.*

F ding it, *Agesilaus* stil interposing some cause of let, delaied time, vntill opportunitye serued, that king *Agis* should go to the warres, for that the ACHAIANS their confederats had praied aide of LACEDAEMON, being bound thereunto by the league confirmed betwene them, bicause they

looked daily that the Ætolians cõming through the contry of Megara, would inuade Peloponnesvs. *Aratus* generall of the Achaians had leauied a great army to withstãd their inuasion, & had also written vnto the Ephores, that they should send thẽ aide. Wheruppon, they presently sent king *Agis*, perceiuing also the readines and good wil of the souldiers which were appointed to go with him. For the most of thẽ were young men & needy, who seing thẽ selues discharged of the feare of their dets, & hoping also at their return, that the lãds likewise should be deuided among thẽ: they went with glad harts, & were obedient vnto king *Agis*. So that the cities where through they passed, wondred how they came through all Peloponnesvs, from the one side to the other, very quietly, without noyse or offence to any man. Likewise many Græcians calling to mind the aũcient times, told one another, that it was a noble sight then to see the army of Lacedæmon, whẽ they were led by *Agesilaus*, *Lysander*, & *Leonidas*, famous captaines: sith now they saw so great obedience vnto *Agis* by his souldiers, who was in maner the yõgest mã of all his campe. Who also glorying to be cõtẽt with litle, to away with paines, & not to be more costly apparelled & armed thẽ any priuat souldier he had: he wanne him self therby a maruelous loue of the people. Howbeit the rich mẽ liked not this chaung, & were afraid lest *Agis* should giue other people example to rise also, & to do the like with theirs, as he had done. *Agis* meting with *Aratus* by the city of Corinthe, euen as he was consulting whether he should fight with his enemy or not: shewed him self in his coũsel, then no rash, but a resolute & valiant man. For he told him, that for his opinion he thought it better to fight, & not to suffer the warre to come any further, leauing the entry into Peloponnesvs free to their enemy: neuertheles, that he would do what *Aratus* thought good, bicause he was the elder, and generall also of the Achaians, whom he came not to cõmaund, but to aide thẽ. But *Baton* Sinopian writeth, that king *Agis* would not fight, though *Aratus* was willing: howbeit he had not red that which *Aratus* had writtẽ for his excuse & iustificatiõ, alleaging there, that the farmers & husbãdmẽ hauing brought all the corne into their barnes, he thought it better to suffer the enemies to come further into the contry, rather then to hazard battel, to the losse of the whole cõtry of Peloponnesvs, & that therfore he licenced al the confederats to depart, & brake vp his army. So king *Agis* returned home again, greatly honored of al thẽ that serued with him in this iorney, finding the city of Sparta thẽ in great broile & trouble. For *Agesilaus* at that time being one of the Ephores, finding him self rid of the feare which before kept him vnder: cared not what iniury or mischief he did to any citizen, so he might get money. For amongest other things, that very yere he made thẽ pay beyond al reason the tallages & taxes due vnto the cõmõ wealth for thirtene moneths, adding to the thirtenth moneth, aboue the ordinary time of the yere. Wherfore perceiuing euery mã hated him, & being affraid of thẽ he had offended: he kept souldiers about him, armed with their swords, & so came downe into the market place among thẽ. And for the two kings, he made no accõpt of the one: but of the other that was *Agis*, he semed outwardly to make good accõpt, rather for kinreds sake, thẽ for his dignity of a king, & furthermore gaue it out abroad, that he would also be one of the Ephores the next yere following. Wheruppõ, his enemies spedely to preuent the daũger, gathered force together, & opẽly brought king *Leonidas* from Tegea, to restore him again to his kingdõ. The people were glad to see that, bicause they were angry they had bene mocked in that sort, for that the landes were not deuided according vnto promise. Furthermore, *Hippomedon* was so welbeloued for his valiantnes of euery mã, that intreating the people for his father *Agesilaus*, he saued his life, & got him out of the city. But for the two kings, *Agis* tooke sanctuary in the tẽple of *Iuno Chalceæos*. And *Cleõbrotus* the other king fled into the tẽple of *Neptune*: for it semed that *Leonidas* being much more offẽded with him, did let king *Agis* alone, & wẽt against him with certẽ souldiers armed. Thẽ he sharply taunted him, that being his sonne in law, he had conspired against him to depriue him of his kingdõ, & had driuẽ him out of his contry. But then *Cleombrotus* not hauing a word to say, sate stil, & made him no answer. Wheruppõ his wife *Chelonis*, the daughter of *Leonidas*, who before was offended for the iniury they did her father, & had left her husband *Cleõbrotus*, that had vsurped the kingdõ from him, to serue her father in his aduersity, and while he was in sanctuary tooke part with him also of his misery, & afterwards whẽ he wẽt vnto the city of Tegea, ware blacks for sorow, being offẽded with her husbãd: she contrarily thẽ chaunging

Aratus, generall of the Achaians.

King Agis iorney into Achaia.

King Agis gaue place vnto Aratus.

King Leonidas returneth from exile into Sparta.

The naturall loue of Chelonis Leonidas daughter, vnto her father and husband.

A chaũging her anger with her husbãds fortune & miſery, became alſo an hũble ſuter with him ſitting down by him, & imbracing him, hauing her two litle ſonnes on either ſide of them. All mẽ wõdering, & weping for pity, to ſee the goodnes & natural loue of this Lady, who ſhewing her mourning apparell, & heare of her head ſtaring about her eyes, bare headed: ſhe ſpake in this ſort vnto her father. O father mine, this ſorowfull garmẽt & countenance is not for pity of *Cleombrotus*, but hath long remained with me, lamenting ſore your former miſery & exile: but now, which of the two ſhould I rather chooſe, either to cõtinue a mourner in this pitiful ſtate, ſeing you again reſtored to your kingdom, hauing ouercome your enemies: or els putting on my princely apparel, to ſee my husband ſlain, vnto whom you maried me a maid? who, if he can not moue you to take cõpaſſion of him, and to obtein mercy, by the teares of his wife and B childrẽ: he ſhal then abide more bitter paine of his euil counſel, then that which you intend to make him ſuffer. For he ſhal ſee his wife die before him, whom he loueth more derely then any thing in the world. Alſo, with what face can I loke apon other ladies, whẽ I could neuer bring my father to pity, by any interceſſiõ I could make for my husband, neither my husband, intreating him for my father: & that my hap is to be borne, a daughter & wife, alwaies moſt vnfortunat, & deſpiſed of mine owne? And for my husbãd, if he had any reaſon to do that he did, I thẽ tooke it from him, by taking your parte, and proteſting againſt him: and contrarily, your ſelfe doth giue him honeſt culler to excuſe his faulte, when he ſeeth in you the deſire of the kingdom ſo great, that for the loue thereof, you thinke it lawfull to kill your ſonnes in law, and alſo not to regard the children he hath gotten, for her ſake. *Chelonis* pitifully complayning in this C ſorte, putting her face vpon *Cleombrotus* head, caſt her ſwollen and blubbering eyes apon the ſtanders by. Wherefore *Leonidas* after he had talked a litle with his friendes, he commaunded *Cleombrotus* to get him thence, and to leaue the citie as an exile: and prayed his Daughter for his ſake to remayne with him, and not to forſake her father, that did ſo dearely loue her, as for her ſake he had ſaued her husbands life. This notwithſtanding, ſhe would not yeelde to his requeſt, but riſing vp with her husband, gaue him one of his ſonnes, and her ſelf tooke the other in her armes: and then making her prayer before the altar of the goddeſſe, ſhe went as a baniſhed woman away with her husband. And truely the example of her vertue was ſo famous, that if *Cleombrotus* mind had not beene too much blinded with vain glory, he had cauſe to thinke his exile farre more happy, to enioye the loue of ſo noble a wife as he had, then for the kingdom D which he poſſeſſed without her. Then *Leonidas* hauing baniſhed king *Cleombrotus* out of the city, & remouing the firſt Ephores, had ſubſtituted other in their place: he preſẽtly bethought him howe he might craftily come by king *Agis*. Firſt, he perſwaded him to come out of the ſanctuary, & to gouerne the kingdom ſafely with him, declaring vnto him that his citizens had forgiuen him all that was paſt, becauſe they knew he was deceiued, & ſubtely circumuented by *Ageſilaus* craft, being a young man, ambitious of honor. *Agis* would not leaue the ſanctuary for *Leonidas* cunning perſwaſion, but miſtruſted all that he ſaid vnto him: Wherefore, *Leonidas* would no more beguile him with faire words. But *Amphares*, *Demochares*, & *Arceſilaus*, did oftẽtimes go to viſit king *Agis*, & otherwhile alſo they got him out of the ſanctuary with them vnto the bath, & brought him backe againe into the temple, when he had bathed. But *Amphares* E hauing borowed not long before, certein rich apparel & plate of *Ageſiſtrata*, bicauſe he would not redeliuer thẽ againe, he determined to betray king *Agis*, his mother, & grandmother. And it is reported that he chiefly did ſerue *Leonidas* turne, & prouoked the Ephores (of which number he was one) againſt *Agis*. Now therefore, *Agis* keping all the reſt of his time within the tẽple, ſauing when he went apon occaſion to the bath: they determined to intercept him by the way, & to take him when he was out of the ſanctuary. So they watched him one day when he bathed, & came & ſaluted him as their maner was, & ſeemed to accompany him, ſporting, & being merry with him, as with a young man their familiẽ. But when they came to the turning of a ſtreete that went towardes the priſon, *Amphares* laying hold on him, beeing one of the Ephores, ſaid vnto him: I arreſt thee *Agis*, & wil bring thee before the Ephores, to giue accompt F of thy doings in the common wealth. Then *Demochares*, which was a great mighty man caſt his gowne ouer his eares, & pulled him forward: others alſo thruſt him forward behind him, as they had agreed together. So no man being neare them to help *Agis*, they got him into pri-

The oration of Chelonis the Daughter of Leonidas.

The baniſhment of king Cleombrotus.

The great vertue and loue of Chelonis, to her husband Cleombrotus.

Amphares betrayed king Agis.

King Agis caried vnto priſon.

ſon. Then came *Leonidas* incontinently with a great number of ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, A
& beſet the priſon round about. The Ephores wēt into the priſon, & ſent vnto ſome of the Se-
nate to come vnto them, whom they knew to be of their mind: then they cōmaunded *Agis* as
if it had bene iudicially, to giue accompt of the alteracion he had made in the cōmon wealth.
The younge man laughed at their hypocriſie. But *Amphares* told him that it was no laughing
ſport, & that he ſhould pay for his folly. Then another of the Ephores ſeeming to deale more
fauorably with him, & to ſhew him a way how he might eſcape the condēnation for his fault,
asked him, if he had not bene intiſed vnto it by *Ageſilaus*, and *Lyſander*. *Agis* aunſwered, that no
man compelled him, but that he onely did it to follow the ſteppes of the auncient *Lycurgus*, to
bring the common wealth vnto the former eſtate of his graue ordinaunce & inſtitution. Then
the ſame Senator asked him againe, if he did not repent him of that he had done. The younge B
man boldly aunſwered him, that he would neuer repent him of ſo wiſe and vertuous an enter-
priſe, though he ventred his life for it. Then they condemned him to death, and commaunded
the Sergeants to cary him into the Decade, which was a place in the priſon where they were
ſtrangled, that were condemned to dye. *Demochares* perceiuing the Sergeaunts durſt not lay
Note the reuerent regard of the heathē, vnto the perſon of a king, abhorring to lay violent handes vpon him.
hold of him, & likewiſe that the ſouldiers which were ſtraungers, did abhorre to commit ſuch
a fact, contrary to the law of God and man, to lay violent hands vpon the perſon of a king: he
threatned & reuiled them, and dragged *Agis* perforce into that place called the Decade. Now
the rumor ranne ſtraight through the citie, that king *Agis* was taken, & a multitude of people
were at the priſon dores with lights & torches. Thither came alſo king *Agis* mother & grand-
mother, ſhreeking out, & praying that the king of SPARTA might yet be heard and iudged by C
the people. For this cauſe, they haſtned his death the ſooner, and were afraid beſides, leaſt the
people in the night would take him out of their hands by force, if there came any more people
thither. Thus king *Agis* being led to his death, ſpied a Sergeaūt lamenting & weeping for him,
vnto whom he ſaid: good fellowe, I pray thee weepe not for me, for I am honeſter man then
they that ſo ſhamefully put me to death, & with thoſe words he willingly put his head into the
halter. *Amphares* then going out of the priſon into the ſtreet, found *Ageſiſtrata* there, king *Agis*
mother, who ſtraight fel downe at his feete: but he taking her vp againe, in old famillier man-
ner, as being her very friend, told her that they ſhould doe king *Agis* no hurt, & that ſhe might
if ſhe would, goe & ſee him. Then ſhe prayed, that they would alſo let her mother in with her.
Amphares ſayde, with a good will: and ſo put them both into the priſon houſe, and made the D
King Agis, his mother, & grandmother, all three ſtrāgled.
dores be ſhut after them. But when they were within, he firſt gaue *Archidamia*, vnto the Serge-
aunts to be put to death, who was a maruelous olde woman, and had liued more honorably
vnto that age, then any Lady or Matrone beſide her in the citie. She being executed, he com-
maunded *Ageſiſtrata* alſo to come in. Who when ſhe ſawe the bodye of her dead ſonne layed
on the ground, & her mother alſo hanging on the gallowes: ſhe did her ſelfe helpe the hang-
man to plucke her downe, and layed her body by her ſonnes. Then hauing couered her in de-
cent manner, ſhe layed her downe on the ground by the corps of her ſonne *Agis*, and kiſſing
his cheeke ſayd: out, alas my ſonne, thy great modeſtie, goodnes and clemencie, brought thee
and vs vnto this deathe. Then *Amphares* peeping in at the dore to ſee what was done, hea-
ring what ſhe ſayde, came in withall in a greate rage, and ſayde: I perceyue thou haſt alſo E
beene of counſell with thy ſonne, and ſithe it is ſo, thou ſhalt alſo followe him. Then ſhe
riſing likewiſe to be ſtrangled, ſayd: the goddes graunt yet that this may profit SPARTA. This
horrible murther beeing blowen abroad in the citie, and the three dead bodies alſo brought
out of priſon: the feare though it were great amongeſt the people, could not keepe them back
from apparant ſhow of griefe, and manifeſt hate againſt *Leonidas* and *Amphares*, thinking that
there was neuer a more wicked and crueller fact committed in SPARTA, ſince the DORIANS
The enemies did not willingly kill any king of Lacedæmon.
came to dwell in PELOPONNESVS. For the very enemies them ſelues in battell, would not wil-
lingly lay hands vpon the kings of LACEDÆMON, but did forbeare as much as they could poſ-
ſible, both for feare & reuerence they bare vnto their maieſtie. For in many great battels & cō-
flicts which the LACEDÆMONIANS had againſt the GRÆCIANS, there was neuer any king of F
LACEDÆMON ſlain, before *Philips* time, but *Cleōbrotus* only, who was ſlain with a dart at the bat-
tell of LEVCTRES. Some write alſo, that the MESSENIANS hold opiniō, that their *Ariſtomenes*

ſlue

A slue king *Theopompus*: howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS sayde, that he was but hurt, not slayne. But hereof there are diuers opinions: but it is certain that *Agis* was the first king whom the Ephores euer put to death: for that he had layd a plat of a noble deuise, and worthy of SPARTA, being of that age when men doe easily pardon them that offend: and was rather to be accused of his friendes and enemies, bicause he had saued *Leonidas* life, & had trusted other men, as the best natured younge man that could be.

Now *Agis* hauing suffered in this sort, *Leonidas* was not quicke enough to take *Archidamus* his brother also, for he fled presently. Yet he brought *Agis* wife out of her house by force, with a litle boy she had by him, and maried her vnto his sonne *Cleomenes*, who was yet vnder age to marye: fearing least this younge Ladye should be bestowed els where, beeing in deede a great B heire, and of a riche house, and the Daughter of *Gylippus*, called by her name *Agiatis*, besides that she was the fayrest woman at that tyme in all GRÆCE, and the vertuousest and best condicioned. Wherefore, for diuers respects she praied she might not be forced to it. But now being at length maried vnto *Cleomenes*, she euer hated *Leonidas* to the death, and yet was a good and louing wife vnto her young husband: Who immediatly after he was maried vnto her, fell greatly in fancy with her, and for compassions sake (as it seemed) he thanked her for the loue she bare vnto her first husband, and for the louing remembraunce she had of him: insomuch as he him selfe many times would fall in talke of it, and would be inquisitiue how thinges had passed, taking great pleasure to heare of *Agis* wise counsell and purpose. For *Cleomenes* was as desirous of honor, and had as noble a minde as *Agis*, and was borne also to temperancie and C moderation of life, as *Agis* in like manner was: howbeit, he had not that shamefast modestie and lenitie which the other had, but was somewhat more sturring of nature, and readier to put any good matter in execution. So he thought it greate honestie to bringe the Citizens if he could, to be contented to liue after an honest sorte: but contrarily, he thought it no dishonestie to bringe them vnto good life, by compulsion also. Furthermore, the manners of the Citizens of SPARTA, giuing them selues ouer to idlenes and pleasure, did nothing like him at all: neither that the king did suffer the common wealth to be ruled as they listed, so no man impeached his pleasure, and that they did let him alone: insomuch no man regarding the profit of the common wealth, euery man was for him self, and his familie. And contrarily, it was not lawfull for any man to speake for the exercises of the youth, for their education in temperanD cie, and for the restoring againe of equality of life, the preferment whereof was the only cause of the late death of *Agis*. They say also, that *Cleomenes* being a young stripling, had heard some disputacion of Philosophie, when the Philosopher *Sphærus*, of the contry of BORYSTHENES came to LACEDÆMON, and louingly stayed there to teache younge men and children. He was one of the chiefest schollers of *Zenon* CITTIAN, and delighted (as it seemed) in *Cleomenes* noble minde, and had a great desire to pricke him forward vnto honor. For, as it is reported, that the auncient *Leonidas* beeing demaunded what Poet he thought *Tyrtæus* to be, aunswered he was good to flatter younge mens myndes: for he sette their hartes a fire by his verses, when they beganne to fight any battell, fearing no daunger, they were so incoraged by them. So the Stoicke discipline is somewhat daungerous, for the stowte and valiant myndes, which E otherwise doth make them desperate: but when they are ioyned vnto a graue and gentle nature, first it lysteth vp his hart, and then maketh him taste the profit thereof. Nowe *Leonidas* (the father of *Cleomenes*) beeing deceased, and he him selfe comen vnto the crowne, finding that the Citizens of SPARTA at that tyme were very dissolute, that the riche men followed their pleasure and profit taking no care of the common weale, that the poore men also for very want and neede went with no good life and courage to the warres, nether cared for the bringing vp of their children, and that he him selfe had but the name of a king, and the Ephori the absolute authoritie to doe what they listed: at his first comming to his kingdome, he determined to alter the whole state and gouernment of the common wealth. Who hauing a friend called *Xenares*, that had beene his louer in his youth (which the LACEDÆMONIF ANS called Empnistæ, as much as inspired) he beganne to sownd his opinion, asking what maner of man king *Agis* had bene, and by what reason, and whose aduise he had followed in his attempt for the reformation of the common wealth. *Xenares* at the first did not willingly re-

Here beginneth Cleomenes life.

Cleomenes the sonne of Leonidas.

Agiatis, the Daughter of Gylippus, and wife to king Agis.

Agiatis, king Agis wife, maryed vnto Cleomenes.

Sphærus, a Philosopher of Borysthenes

hearse these things vnto him, declaring euery thing what had passed. But when he found that *Cleomenes* was affected vnto king *Agis* intent, & still desired to heare of it: then *Xenares* sharply and angrily reproued him, and tolde him he was not wise, nor well aduised, and at length would no more come and talke with him as he was wont, yet making no man priuye why he absteyned from comming to him, but told them that asked him, he knewe a cause well enough why. *Xenares* nowe hauing thus refused him, and thinking all the rest woulde doe the like: to bringe this matter to passe, he tooke this resolution with him selfe. Bicause he thought he might the rather doe it in warre, then in peace, he set the citie of SPARTA and the ACHAIANS at variance together: who did them selues giue the first occasion to be complayned vpon. For *Aratus* beeing President and chiefe of all the ACHAIANS, had practised a longe tyme to bringe all PELOPONNESVS into one bodye: and had therefore onely susteyned great troubles in warres, and at home in peace: thinking that there was no other waye to deliuer them from forreyne warres. Nowe when he had wonne all the other people to be of his opinion: there remained no more but the ELIANS, the LACEDÆMONIANS, and a few of the ARCHADIANS, which were subiect vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. When king *Leonidas* was deade, *Aratus* beganne to inuade the ARCHADIANS, those specially that bordered apon the ARGIVES: to proue how the LACEDÆMONIANS would take it, making no accompt of *Cleomenes*, being but a young king, & had no experience of warres. Thereuppon the Ephori sent *Cleomenes* vnto ATHÆNIVM (a temple of *Minerua* hard by the citie of BELBINA) with an armie to take it: bicause it was a passage & entry into the contry of LACONIA, howbeit the place at that time was in question betwixt the MEGALOPOLITANES, and the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Cleomenes* got it, and fortefied it. *Aratus* making no complaint otherwise of the matter, stale out one night with his army to set apon the TEGEANS, and ORCHOMENIANS, hoping to haue taken those cities by treason. But the traitors that were of his confederacy, their harts failed them when they should haue gonne about it: so that *Aratus* returned, hauing lost his iorney, thinking that this secret attempt of his was not discouered. But *Cleomenes* finely wrote vnto him as his friend, and asked him, whether he had led his armie by night: *Aratus* returned aunswer againe, that vnderstanding *Cleomenes* ment to fortifie BELBINA, he went forth with his armye, thinking to haue let him. *Cleomenes* wrote againe vnto him, and said he did beleeue that which he spake was true: howbeit he earnestly requested him, (if it were no trouble to him) to aduertise him why he brought schaling ladders and lightes after him. *Aratus* smiling at this mocke, asked what this young man was. *Democritus* LACEDÆMONIAN being a banished man out of his cõtry, aunswered: if thou hast any thing to doe against the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou hadst neede make haste, before this young Cockerel haue on his spurres. Then *Cleomenes* being in the field in the contry of ARCHADIA, with a few horsemen and three hundred footemen onely: the Ephori being affraid of warres, sent for him to returne againe. His backe was no sooner turned, obeying their commaundement: but *Aratus* sodainly tooke the citie of CAPHYES. Thereuppon, the Ephori incontinently sent *Cleomenes* backe again with his armie: who tooke the fort of Methydrium, and burnt the borders of the ARGIVES. The ACHAIANS came against him with an army of twenty thowsand footemen, and a thowsand horsemen, led by *Aristomachus*: *Cleomenes* met with them by the city of PALANTIVM, and offred battell. But *Aratus* quaking at the hardines of this young man, would not suffer *Aristomachus* to hazard battell, but went his way, derided by the ACHAIANS, and despised by the LACEDÆMONIANS: who in all were not aboue fiue thowsand fighting men. *Cleomenes* corage beeing now lift vp, and brauely speaking to his citizens: he remembred them of a saying of one of their auncient kings, that the LACEDÆMONIANS neuer inquired what number their enemies were, but where they were. Shortly after, the ACHAIANS making warre with the ELIANS, *Cleomenes* was sent to ayde them, & met with the armie of the ACHAIANS by the mountaine Lyceum, as they were in their returne: he setting apon them, gaue them the ouerthrowe, slue a great number of them, and tooke many also prisoners, that the rumor ranne through GRÆCE, how *Aratus* selfe was slaine. *Cleomenes* wisely taking the occasion which this victory gaue him: he went straight to the citie of MANTINEA, and taking it vpon a sodaine, when no man knew of his comming, he put a strong garrison into it. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS harts failing them, and resisting *Cleomenes* enterpri-

Cleomenes did set the Lacedæmonians and Achaians together by the eares.

Cleomenes iorney into the contry of the Argiues.

The victorie of Cleomenes against Aratus.

The saying of the kings of Lacedæmon touching their enemies.

ses,

A ſes, ouerwearying them with warres: he went about to ſende for *Archidamus*, king *Agis* brother, being then at MESSENA, vnto whom the kingdom of right belonged by the other houſe, ſuppoſing that he ſhoulde eaſely weaken the power of the Ephores, by the authoritie of the two kinges, if both of them ioyned together. Which when the murtherers of king *Agis* vnderſtoode, being affraid that *Archidamus* returning from exile, he would be reuenged of them: they ſecretly receiued him into the citie, and founde the meanes to bring him into SPARTA. But when they had him, they put him ſtraight to death, whether it was vnwitting to *Cleomenes* (as *Phylarchus* plainly teſtifieth) or elſe with his priuitie, ſuffring them to make him away, by perſwaſion of his frends. But it is a cleere caſe, the citie was burdened withall, bicauſe probable matter fell out that they had compelled *Cleomenes* to doe it. Neuertheleſſe, he holding

Archidamus king Agis brother ſlaine.

B ſtill his firſt determination, to alter the ſtate of the common wealth of SPARTA, as ſoone as he could poſſible: he ſo fed the Ephores with money, that he brought them to be contented he ſhould make warre. He had alſo won many other citizens by the meanes of his mother *Cratesiclea*, who furniſht him with money, that he lacked not to honor him withall: and further, maried as it is reported, (being otherwiſe not ment to mary) for her ſonnes ſake, vnto one of the wealthieſt men of all the citie. So *Cleomenes* leading his army into the field, wanne a place within the territorie of MEGALOPOLIS, called LEVCTRA. The ACHAIANS alſo being quickly come to their aide, led by *Aratus*: they ſtraight fought a battell by the citie ſelfe, where *Cleomenes* had the worſt on the one ſide of his armie. Howbeit *Aratus* woulde not ſuffer the ACHAIANS to follow them, bicauſe of bogges and quauemyres, but ſounded the retreate. But

C *Lyſiadas* a MEGALOPOLITAN being angrie withall, cauſed the horſemen he had about him to follow the chaſe, who purſued ſo fiercely, that they came amongeſt vines, walls, and ditches, where he was driuen to diſperſe his men, and yet coulde not get out. *Cleomenes* perceiuing it, ſent the light horſemen of the TARENTINS & CRETANS againſt him: of whom *Lyſiadas* valliantly fighting was ſlaine. Then the LACEDÆMONIANS being couragious for this victorie, came with great cries, & geuing a fierce charge apon the ACHAIANS, ouerthrew their whole armie, and ſlue a maruelous number of them: but yet *Cleomenes* at their requeſt ſuffered them to take vp the dead bodies of their men to burie them. For *Lyſiadas* corps, he cauſed it to be brought vnto him, and putting a purple robe apon it, and a crowne on his head, ſent it in this aray vnto the very gates of the citie of MEGALOPOLIS. It was that ſelfe *Lyſiadas*, who geuing

Lyſiadas ſlaine. Cleomenes victorie of the Achaians.

D ouer the tyranny and gouernment of MEGALOPOLIS, made it a popular ſtate, and free city, and ioyned it to the ACHAIANS. After this victorie, *Cleomenes* that determined greater matters and attempts, perſwaded him ſelfe that if he might once come to ſtabliſhe the affaires of the common wealth at SPARTA to his mind, he might then eaſely ouercome the ACHAIANS: brake with his father in law *Megiſtonus*, and told him that it was neceſſary to take away the authoritie of the Ephores, and to make diuiſion of the landes among the SPARTANS, and then being brought to equalitie, to encorage them to recouer the Empire of GRÆCE againe vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, which their predeceſſors before them, held and enioyed. *Megiſtonus* graunting his good will and furtherance, ioyned two or three of his frendes more vnto him.

Lyſiadas, tyranne of Megalopolis, gaue ouer his tyrannie, and made it a popular ſtate.

It chaunced at that time that one of the Ephores lying in the temple of *Paſiphaé*, had a marue-

The dreame of one of the Ephores.

E lous dreame in the night. For he thought he ſawe but one chaire ſtanding where the Ephori did vſe to ſit to geue audience, and that the other foure which were wont to be there, were taken away: and that maruelling at it, he heard a voyce out of the temple that ſaid, that was the beſt for SPARTA. He declaring this dreame the next morning vnto *Cleomenes*, it ſomewhat troubled him at the firſt, thinking that he came to feele him, for that he had heard ſome inckling of his intent. But when he perſwaded him ſelfe that the other ment good faith, and lyed not vnto him, being bolder then before, he went forward with his purpoſe, and taking with him vnto the campe all thoſe SPARTANS which he ſuſpected to be againſt his enterpriſe, he went and tooke the cities of HERÆA and ALSEA, confederats of the ACHAIANS, and vitteled ORCHOMENA, and went and camped before the citie of MANTINEA. In fine, he ſo wearied

F & ouerharried the LACEDÆMONIANS by long iorneys, that at length they beſought him he would let them remaine in ARCADIA, to repoſe them ſelues there. In the meane time, *Cleomenes* with his ſtraungers which he had hyred, returned againe vnto SPARTA, and imparted

his intent by the way vnto them he truſted beſt, and marched at his owne eaſe, that he might take the Ephores at ſupper. When he came neere vnto the city, he ſent *Euryclidas* before, into the halle of the Ephores, as though he brought them newes out of the campe from him. After him, he ſent alſo *Thericion* & *Phœbis*, and two other that had bene brought vp with him, whom the LACEDÆMONIANS called the SAMOTHRACIANS, taking with them a fewe ſouldiers. Nowe whileſt *Euryclidas* was talking with the Ephores, they alſo came in apon them with their ſwordes drawen, and did ſet apon the Ephores. *Ageſilaus* was hurt firſt of all, and falling downe, made as though he had bene ſlaine, but by litle & litle he crept out of the halle, and got ſecretly into a chappell conſecrated vnto *Feare*, the which was wont euer to be kept ſhut, but then by chaunce was left open, when he was come in, he ſhut the dore faſt to him. The other foure of the Ephores were ſlaine preſently, and aboue tenne moe beſides, which came to defende them. Furthermore, for them that ſate ſtill and ſturred not, they killed not a man of them, neither did keepe any man that was deſirous to goe out of the citie: but moreouer, they pardoned *Ageſilaus*, who came the next morning out of the chappell of *Feare*. Amongeſt the LACEDÆMONIANS in the citie of SPARTA, there are not onely temples of feare and death, but alſo of laughter, and of many other ſuch paſſions of the minde. They do worſhippe *Feare*, not as other ſpirites and deuills that are hurtfull: but bicauſe they are perſwaded, that nothing preſerueth a common wealth better then feare. Wherefore the Ephori (as *Ariſtotle* witneſſeth) when they are created, doe by publicke proclamacion commaunde all the SPARTANS to ſhaue their chinnes, and to obey the law, leaſt they ſhould make them feele the rigour of the law. They brought in the ſhauing of their chinnes, in my opinion, to inure yoūg men to obey the Magiſtrates euen in trifles. Moreouer it ſeemes that men in olde time did eſteeme fortitude to be no taking away of feare, but rather a feare & lothnes to incurre ſhame. For commonly thoſe that are moſt affrayed to offend the law, are in the field moſt valliant againſt their enemie: and ſhunne no perill to winne fame and honeſt reputacion. And therefore it was wiſely ſayd of one,

That feare can not be vvithout shamefastnes.

And ſo *Homer* in a certaine place made *Hellen* ſay vnto king *Priamus*:

Of trueth I doe confeſſe deere father in lavv,
You are the man of vvhom I ſtand in avv,
And reuerence moſt of all that ere I ſavv.

And in an other place, ſpeaking of the GRÆCIAN ſouldiers, he ſayth thus:

For feare of their Captaines they ſpake not a vvord.

For men do vſe to reuerence them whom they feare. And this was the cauſe why the chappell of *Feare* was by the halle of the Ephores, hauing in maner a princely and abſolute authoritie. The next morning *Cleomenes* baniſhed by trompet, foure ſcore citizens of SPARTA, and ouerthrew all the chaires of the Ephores but one only, the which he reſerued for him ſelfe to ſit in to geue audience. Then calling the people to counſell, he gaue them an account of his doings, and told them that *Lycurgus* had ioyned the Senators with the kings, & how the citie had bene gouerned a long time by them, without helpe of any other officers. Notwithſtanding, afterwards the city hauing great warres with the MESSENIANS, the kings being alwaies employed in that warre, whereby they could not attend the affaires of the common wealth at home, did chooſe certaine of their frendes to ſitte in iudgement in their ſteades, to determine controuerſies of lawe: which were called Ephores, and did gouerne long time as the kinges miniſters, howbeit that afterwards, by litle and litle, they tooke apon them abſolute gouernment by thē ſelues. And for manifeſt proofe hereof, you ſee that at this preſent time when the Ephori do ſend for the king, the firſt and ſecond time, they refuſe to come, but the third time he riſeth and goeth vnto them. The firſt man that gaue the Ephores this authoritie, was *Aſteropus*, one of the Ephores many yeares after the firſt inſtitucion of the kinges: and yet if they had gouerned diſcreetely, peraduenture they might haue continued lenger. But they licentiouſly abuſing their authoritie, by ſuppreſſing the lawfull Gouernors inſtituted of old time, taking apon them to baniſh ſome of their kings, and putting other of them alſo to death, without law and iuſtice, and threatning others that deſire to reſtore that noble and former bleſſed gouern-

Cleomenes ſlue the Ephores.

Diuers tēples at Sparta, of feare, death, & ſuch other fancies.

The valliantreſt men are moſt affrayed to offend the law.

The chappell of feare, ioyned to the halle of the Ephores.

The oration of king Cleomenes, touching the firſt originall of the Ephores.

Aſteropus, the firſt man that gaue authority to the Ephores.

A gouernment vnto SPARTA againe: all these things I say, are in no wise to be suffered any lenger. And therefore, if it had bene possible to haue banished all these plagues of the common wealth out of SPARTA, brought from forreine nations: (I meane, pleasures, pastimes, money, dets, and vsuries, and others yet more auncient, pouerty and riches) he might then haue esteemed him selfe the happiest king that euer was, if like a good Phisitian he had cured his contrie of that infection, without griefe or sorrow. But in that he was constrained to beginne with blood, he followed *Lycurgus* example: who being neither king nor other Magistrate, but a priuate citizen only, taking apon him the authoritie of the king, boldly came into the market place with force and armed men, and made king *Charilaus* that then raigned, so affrayed, that he was driuen to take sanctuarie in one of the temples. But the king being a Prince of a B noble nature, and louing the honor of his contrie: tooke parte with *Lycurgus*, adding to his aduise and counsell, for the alteracion of the state of the gouernment of the common wealth, which he did confirme. Hereby then it appeareth, that *Lycurgus* saw it was a hard thing to alter the common wealth without force and feare: the which he notwithstanding had vsed with as great modestie and discretion, as might be possible, banishing them that were against the profit and wealth of LACEDÆMON, geuing all the lands of the contrie also to be equally deuided amongest them, and setting all men cleere that were in dette. And furthermore, that he would make a choyse and proofe of the straungers, to make them free citizens of SPARTA, whom he knew to be honest men, thereby to defende their citie the better by force of armes: to thend that from henceforth we may no more see our contrie of LACONIA spoyled by the C ÆTOLIANS and ILLYRIANS, for lacke of men to defende them selues against them. Then he beganne first him selfe to make all his goods common, and after him *Megistonus* his father in law, and consequently all his other frendes. Then he caused the lands also to be deuided, and ordeined euery banished man a part, whom he him selfe had exiled, promising that he would receiue them againe into the city, when he had established all things. So when he had replenished the number of the citizens of SPARTA, with the choycest honest men their neighbours: he made foure thowsand footemen well armed, and taught them to vse their pykes with both handes, in steade of their dartes with one hande, and to carie their targets with a good strong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong. Afterwardes he tooke order for the education of children, and to restore the auncient LACONIAN discipline againe: and did all these things D in maner by the helpe of *Sphærus* the Philosopher. Insomuch as he had quickely set vp againe schoole houses for children, and also brought them to the old order of dyet: and all, but a very fewe, without compulsion were willing to fall to their old institucion of life. Then bicause the name of one king should not offend any man, he made his brother *Eucleidas* king with him. But this was the first time that euer the two kings were of one house but then. Furthermore, vnderstanding that the ACHAIANS and *Aratus* were of opinion, that he durst not come out of LACEDÆMON, for feare to leaue it in perill of reuolting, bicause of the late chaunge and alteracion in the common wealth: he thought it an honorable attempt of him, to make his enemies see the readines and good will of his armie. Thereupon he inuaded the territories of the MEGALOPOLITANS, and brought away a great praye and booty, after he had done great hurt E vnto his enemies. Then hauing taken certaine players and minstrells that came from MESSINA, he sette vp a stage within the enemies contrie, made a game of 40. Minas for the victor, and sate a whole day to looke apon them, for no pleasure he tooke in the sight of it, but more to despite the enemies withall, in making them see how muche he was stronger then they, to make such a Mayegame in their owne contrie, in despite of them. For of all the armies otherwise of the GRÆCIANS, or kinges in all GRÆCE, there was no armie onely but his, that was without players, minstrells, fooles and iugglers: for his campe only was cleane of such rabble and foolerie, and all the young men fell to some exercise of their bodies, and the old men also to teache them. And if they chaunced to haue any vacant time, then they would pleasauntly be one merie with an other, in geuing some pretie fine mocke after the LACONIAN manner. F And what profit they got by that kinde of exercise, we haue written it at large in *Lycurgus* life. But of all these things, the king him selfe was their schoolemaister and example, shewing him selfe very temperate of life, and plaine without curiositie, no more then any priuate souldier

Cleomenes reformeth the state of the cõmon wealth of Lacedæmon.

Cleomenes inuadeth the borders of the Megalopolitans.

King Cleomenes, the teacher and example of temperancy.

of all his campe: the which were great helpes vnto him in his enterprises he made in Græcia. A
For the Græcians hauing cause of sute and negociacion with other kings and Princes, did not wonder so much at their pompe and riches, as they did abhorre and detest their pride and insolencie: so disdainfully they would aunswere them that had to doe with them. But contrarily when they went vnto *Cleomenes*, who was a king in name and deede as they were, finding no purple robes nor stately mantells, nor rich imbrodered beddes, nor a Prince to be spoken to but by messengers, gentlemen vshers, and supplications, and yet with great a doe: and seeing him also come plainly apparelled vnto them, with a good countenaunce, and curteously aunswering the matters they came for: he thereby did maruelously win their harts and good wills, that when they returned home, they said he only was the worthy king, that came of the race of *Hercules*. Now for his dyet at his bord, that was very straight and Laconian like, keeping only three bords: and if he chaunced to feast any Ambassadors or other his frendes that came to see him, he then added to two other bords, and besides, made his men to see that his fare should be amended, not with pastrie and conserues, but with more store of meate, and some better wyne then ordinarie. For he one day reproued one of his frendes, that bidding straungers to supper, he gaue them nothing but blacke broth, & browne bread only, according to their Laconian maner. Nay, said he, we may not vse straungers so hardly after our maner. The bord being taken vp, an other litle table was brought with three feete, whereupon they set a bolle of copper full of wyne, and two siluer cuppes of a pottell a peece, and certaine other fewe siluer pottes besides: so euery man dranke what they listed, and no man was forced to drinke more then he woulde. Furthermore, there was no sporte, nor any pleasaunt song, C
soung, to make the companie merie, for it needed not. For *Cleomenes* selfe would entertaine them with some pretie questions, or pleasaunt tale: whereby, as his talke was not seuere and without pleasure, so was it also pleasaunt without insolencie. For he was of opinion, that to winne men by gifts or money, as other kings and Princes did, was but base and cloynelike: but to seeke their good wills by curteous meanes, and pleasauntnes, and therewith to meane good faith, that he thought most fit and honorable for a Prince. For this was his minde, that there was no other difference betwext a frend and hyerling: but that the one is wonne with money, and the other with ciuility & good entertainment. The first therefore that receiued king *Cleomenes* into their citie, were the Mantinians, who opened him the gates in the night, and helping him to driue out the garrison of the Achaians, they yeelded them selues vnto him. D
But he referring them to the vse and gouernment of their owne lawes and libertie, departed from thence the same day, and went vnto the citie of Tegea. Shortly after, he compassed about Arcadia, and came vnto Pheres in Arcadia determining one of the two, either to geue the Achaians battell, or to bring *Aratus* out of fauor with the people, for that he had suffred him to spoyle and destroy their contry. *Hyperbatas* was at that time Generall of the Achaians, but *Aratus* did beare all the sway and authoritie. Then the Achaians comming into the field with all their people armed, and encamping by the citie of Dymes, neere vnto the temple of *Hecatombæum*: *Cleomenes* going thither, laye betwext the citie of Dymes that was against him, and the campe of his enemies, which men thought a verie vnwise parte of him. Howebeit valliantly prouoking the Achaians, he procured them to the battell, ouer- E
threw them, made them flie, and slue a great number in the field, and tooke many of them also prisoners. Departing from thence, he went and set apon the citie of Langon, and draue the garrison of the Achaians out of it, and restored the citie againe vnto the Elians. The Achaians being then in verie hard state, *Aratus* that of custome was wont to be their Generall, (or at the least once in two yeares) refused now to take the charge, notwithstanding the Achaians did specially pray and intreate him: the which was an ill act of him, to let an other steere the rudder, in so daungerous a storme and tempest. Therefore the Achaians sent Ambassadors vnto *Cleomenes* to treate peace, vnto whome it seemed he gaue a verie sharpe aunswere. After that, he sent vnto them, and willed them only to resigne the signiorie of Græce vnto him: and that for all other matters he would deale reasonably with them, and presently F
deliuer them vp their townes & prisoners againe, which he had taken of theirs. The Achaians being glad of peace with these condicions, wrote vnto *Cleomenes* that he shoulde come

vnto

Cleomenes moderate dyes.

Cleomenes curteous entertainment at his bord.

Cleomenes leadeth his army against Aratus, and the Achaians.

The victory of Cleomenes against the Achaians.

A vnto the citie of LERNA, where the dyet and generall assemblie shoulde be kept to consult thereupon. It chaunced then that *Cleomenes* marching thither, being very hotte, dranke cold water, and fell of suche a bleeding withall, that his voyce was taken from him, and he almost stifled. Wherefore he sent the ACHAIANS their chiefest prisoners home againe, proroging the parlament till an other time, and returned backe to LACEDÆMON. It is supposed certainly, that this let of his comming to the dyet, was the onely cause of the vtter destruction of GRÆCE: the which otherwise was in good way to haue risen againe, and to haue bene deliuered from the present miseries, and extreame pride and couetousnes of the MACEDONIANS. For *Aratus*, either for that he trusted not *Cleomenes*, or for that he was affrayed of his power, or that he otherwise enuied his honor & prosperitie, to see him risen to such incredible great-
B nes in so short a time, and thinking it also too great shame and dishonor to him, to suffer this young man in a moment to depriue him of his great honor & power which he had possessed so long time, by the space of thirtie yeares together, ruling all GRÆCE: first, he sought by force to terrifie the ACHAIANS, and to make them breake of from this peate. But in fine, finding that they litle regarded his threats, & that he could not preuaile with them, for that they were affrayed of *Cleomenes* valliantnesse and corage, whose request they thought reasonable, for that he sought but to restore PELOPONNESVS into her former auncient estate againe: he fell then into a practise farre vnhoneste for a GRÆCIAN, verie infamous for him selfe, but most dishonorable for the former noble acts he had done. For he brought *Antigonus* into GRÆCE, *Aratus treason to his contrie.*
and in his age filled the contrie of PELOPONNESVS with MACEDONIANS, whom he himselfe
C in his youth had driuen thence, had taken from them the castell of CORINTHE, and had alwayes bene an enemie of the kinges (but specially of *Antigonus*, of whom before he had spoken all the ill he coulde, as appeareth in his wrytings, saying that he tooke maruelous paines, and did put him selfe into many daungers, to deliuer the city of ATHENS from the garrison of the MACEDONIANS) and yet notwithstanding he brought them armed with his owne hands, not into his contrie only, but into his owne house, yea euen into the Ladies chambers & closets: disdaining that the king of LACEDÆMON, discending of the blood royall of *Hercules* (who setting vp againe the auncient maner of life of his contrie, did temper it as an instrument of musicke out of tune, and brought it to the good, auncient and sober discipline and DORICAN life instituted by *Lycurgus*) should be called and wrytten, king of the SICYONIANS, and of the
D TRICCÆIANS. And furthermore, flying them that were contented with browne bread, and with the plaine course capes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that went about to take awaye riches (which was the chiefest matter they did accuse *Cleomenes* for) and to prouide for the poore: he went and put him selfe and all ACHAIA vnto the crowne and diadeame, the purple robe, and prowde imperious commaundementes of the MACEDONIANS, fearing least men should thinke that *Cleomenes* coulde commaunde him. Furthermore his follie was such, that hauing garlands of flowers on his head, he did sacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, & sing songs in praise of his honor, as if he had bene a god, where he was but a rotten man, consumed away. This that we haue written of *Aratus* (who was indued with many noble vertues, & a worthy GRÆCIAN) is not so much to accuse him, as to make vs see the frayelty and weakenes of mans na-
E ture: the which, though it haue neuer so excellent vertues, can not yet bring forth such perfit frute, but that it hath euer some mayme and bleamishe. Now, when the ACHAIANS were met againe in the citie of ARGOS, to hold the session of their parlament before proroged, and *Cleomenes* also being come from TEGEA, to be at that parlament: euerie man was in hope of good peace. But *Aratus* then, who was agreed before of the chiefest articles of the capitulacions with *Antigonus*, fearing that *Cleomenes* by fayre words or force would bring the people to graunt that he desired: sent to let him vnderstand, that he should but come him selfe alone into the citie, and for safetie of his person, they would geue him three hundred ostages: or otherwise, if he would not leaue his armie, that then they would geue him audience without the citie, in the place of exercises, called Cyllarabium. When *Cleomenes* had heard their an-
F swere, he told them that they had done him wrong: for they should haue aduertised him of it before he had taken his iorney, and not now when he was almost hard at their gates, to sende him backe againe, with a flea in his eare. Thereuppon he wrote a letter vnto the counsell of

the Achaians, altogether full of complaintes againſt *Aratus*. On thother ſide alſo, *Aratus* in his oration to the counſell, inueyed with bitter wordes againſt *Cleomenes*. Thereuppon *Cleomenes* departing with ſpeede, ſent a Herauld to proclaime warres againſt the Achaians, not in the city of Argos, but in the city of Ægion, as *Aratus* wryteth, meaning to ſet apon them being vnprouided. Hereuppon all Achaia was in an vprore: for diuers cities did preſently reuolt againſt the Achaians, bicauſe the common people hoped after the diuiſion of lands, and the diſcharging of their dettes. The noble men alſo in many places were offended with *Aratus*, bicauſe he practiſed to bring the Macedonians into the contrie of Peloponnesvs. *Cleomenes* therefore hoping well for all theſe reſpectes, brought his armie into Achaia, and at his firſt comming tooke the citie of Pallena, and draue out the garriſon of the Achaians: and after that, wanne alſo the cities of Phenevm, and Pentelivm. Now the Achaians fearing ſome treaſon in Corinthe and Sycione, ſent certaine horſemen out of the citie of Argos, to keepe thoſe cities. The Argives in the meane time, attending the celebracion of the feaſt at the games Nemeea, *Cleomenes* thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to Argos, he ſhould finde the citie full of people that were come to ſee the feaſtes and games, and that aſſailing them vppon the ſodaine, he ſhoulde put them in a maruelous feare: brought his armie in the night hard to the walls of the citie of Argos, and at his firſt comming wanne a place they call Aſpis, a verie ſtrong place aboue the Theater, and ill to come vnto. The Argives were ſo amazed at it, that no man would take apon him to defende the citie, but receiued *Cleomenes* garriſon, and gaue him twentie oſtages, promiſing thenceforth to be true confederates vnto the Lacedæmonians, vnder his charge and conduct. The which doubtles wanne him great fame, and increaſed his power: for that the auncient kings of Lacedæmon, could neuer before with any policie or deuiſe, winne the citie of Argos. For king *Pyrrhus* one of the moſt vallianteſt and warlikeſt Prince that euer was, entring the citie of Argos by force, could not keepe it, but was ſlaine there, and the moſt parte of his armie: wherby, euery man wondred greatly at the diligence & counſell of *Cleomenes*. And where euery man did mocke him before, when *Cleomenes* ſayd that he would follow *Solon*, and *Lycurgus*, in making the citizens goods common, and diſcharging all dets: they were then clerely perſwaded that he onely was the cauſe and meane of that great chaunge, which they ſawe in the corage of the Spartans: who were before ſo weake and out of hart, that they hauing no corage to defend them ſelues, the Ætolians entring Laconia, with an armie, tooke away at one time, fiftie thowſand ſlaues. Whereuppon an old man of Sparta pleaſauntly ſayd at that time, that their enemies had done them a great pleaſure, to ridde their contrie of Laconia of ſuche a rabble of raſcalls. Shortly after, they being entred againe into the former auncient diſcipline of *Lycurgus*, as if *Lycurgus* ſelfe had bene aliue to haue trained them vnto it: they ſhewed them ſelues verie valliant, and obedient alſo vnto their Magiſtrates, whereby they recouered againe the commaundement of all Græce, and the contrie alſo of Peloponnesvs. After *Cleomenes* had taken the citie of Argos, the cities alſo of Cleones, and Phlivnta, did yeelde them ſelues vnto him. *Aratus* in the meane time remayned at Corinthe, & there did buſily accuſe them which were ſuſpected to fauor the Lacedæmonians. But when newes was brought him that Argos was taken, & that he perceiued alſo the citie of Corinthe did leane vnto *Cleomenes* parte, and draue away the Achaians: he then calling the people to counſell in Corinthe, ſecretly ſtale to one of the gates of the citie, and cauſing his horſe to be brought vnto him, tooke his backe, and gallopped for life vnto the citie of Sicyone. When the Corinthians heard of it, they tooke their horſebackes alſo, ſtriuing who ſhoulde be there ſooneſt, and poſted in ſuche haſt vnto *Cleomenes* at the citie of Argos, that many of them (as *Aratus* wryteth) killed their horſes by the waye: howbeit *Cleomenes* was verie muche offended with them, for that they had let him ſcape their handes. But *Aratus* ſayth further, that *Megiſtonus* came vnto him from *Cleomenes*, and offered him a great ſumme of money to deliuer him the caſtell of Corinthe, wherein there was a great garriſon of the Achaians. But he aunſwered againe, that thinges were not in his powers, but rather that he was ſubiect to their power. Now *Cleomenes* departing from the city of Argos, ouercame the Troezenians, the Epidavrians, & the Hermionians. After that, he came vnto

Cleomenes winneth the citie of Argos.

King Pyrrhus ſlaine at the citie of Argos.

The force of Lycurgus lawes.

A vnto CORINTHE, and presentlie entrenched the castell there rounde about, and sendinge for *Aratus* frendes and factors, commaunded them to keepe his house and goodes carefullie for him, and sent *Tritymallus* MESSENIAN againe vnto him, to praye him to be contented that the castell might be kept indifferentlie betwext the ACHAIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, promisinge him priuately to double the pencion that kinge *Ptolomy* gaue him. But *Aratus* refusinge it, sent his sonne vnto *Antigonus* with other ostages, and perswaded the ACHAIANS to deliuer vppe the castell of CORINTHE, vnto *Antigonus* handes. *Cleomenes* vnderstandinge it, entred with his armie into the contrie of the SICYONIANS, and destroyed it as he went, and tooke *Aratus* goodes and money, of the gift of the CORINTHIANS by decree. Nowe *Antigonus* in the meane tyme, beinge passed the mount-
B tayne of Gerania with a greate power: *Cleomenes* determined not to fortifie the Isthmus or straight of PELOPONNESVS, but the wayes of the mountaynes Onienes, determininge to keepe euerie one of them against the MACEDONIANS, with intent to consume them rather by tyme, then to fight a battell with an armie, so good souldiers and well trayned as they were. *Cleomenes* followinge this determination, did putte *Antigonus* to greate trouble, bicause he had not in time prouided for corne: and coulde not winne the passage also by force, for that *Cleomenes* kept it with suche garde and souldiers. Then *Antigonus* stealinge secretely into the hauen of Lechæum, he was stowtly repulsed, and lost a number of his men: whereuppon *Cleomenes* and his men beinge couragious for this vi-
C ctorie, went quietly to supper. *Antigonus* on thother side fell into dispaire, to see him selfe brought by necessitie into suche harde termes. Wherefore he determined to goe to the temple of *Iuno*, and from thence to passe his armie by sea into the citie of SICYONE, the which required a longe tyme, and greate preparacion. But the same night there came some of *Aratus* frendes of the ARGIVES, who comminge from ARGOS by sea, brought newes that the ARGIVES were rebelled against *Cleomenes*. The practiser of this rebellion, was one *Aristoteles*, who easelie brought the people vnto it, that were alreadie offended with *Cleomenes*, that had promised to passe a lawe for the clearinge of dettes, but performed it not accordinge to their expectacion. Wherefore, *Aratus* with a thowsande fiue hundred men which *Antigonus* gaue him, went by sea vnto EPIDAVRVM. Howebeit *Aristoteles* taried not his comminge, but takinge them of the citie with him, went and
D besieged the garrison of the LACEDÆMONIANS within the castell, beinge ayded by *Timoxenus*, with the ACHAIANS that came from SICYONE. *Cleomenes* receiuinge aduertisement hereof, about the seconde watche of the night, sent for *Megistonus* in haste, and commaunded him in anger speedilie to goe and ayde their men that were in the citie of ARGOS. For it was *Megistonus* him selfe that promised *Cleomenes* the fidelitie of the ARGIVES, and that kept him from driuinge them out of the citie, which he suspected. So sendinge him awaye foorthwith with two thowsande men, he attended *Antigonus*; and comforted the CORINTHIANS the best he coulde: aduertisinge them that it was but a litle mutinie of a fewe, that chaunced in the citie of ARGOS. *Megistonus* beinge come to ARGOS, and slayne in battell, fightinge for the LACEDÆMONIANS in garrison there (who be-
E inge in greate distresse, scant able to keepe the castell against the enemies) sent sundrie messengers vnto *Cleomenes*, to praye him to sende them immediate ayde. *Cleomenes* then beinge affrayed that the enemies hauinge taken ARGOS, woulde stoppe his way to returne backe into his contrie, who hauinge oportunitie safelie to spoyle LACONIA, and also to besiege the citie selfe of SPARTA, that had but a fewe men to defende it: he departed with his armie from CORINTHE. Immediatly after came *Antigonus*, and tooke it from him; and put a stronge garrison into it. When *Cleomenes* came before the citie of ARGOS, he scaled the walles, and breakinge the vawtes and arches of the place called Aspis, entred into the citie, and ioyned with his garrison there, which yet resisted the ACHAIANS: and takinge other partes of the same also, assaulted the walles, and cleared the streetes in suche
F sorte, that not an enemie durst be seene, for feare of the archers of the CRETIANS. In the meane time, when he sawe *Antigonus* a farre of, comminge downe the hilles into the valley with his footemen, and that his horsemen also came apon the spurre into the citie:

The Argiues doe rebell against Cleomenes.

Cleomenes loste the citie of Corinthe.

Cleomenes loste the citie of Argos.

disspayringe then that he coulde any lenger keepe it, he gathered all his men together, and A
safelie goinge downe by the walles retyred without losse of any man. So, when in shorte
tyme he had conquered muche, and had almost wonne all within PELOPONNESVS: in
shorter space also, he lost all againe. For, of the confederates that were in his came, some
did presentlie forsake him: others also immediatly after surrendered vp the townes vnto *Antigonus*. *Cleomenes* beinge thus oppressed with the fortune of warre, when he came backe
to TEGEA with the rest of his armie, newes came to him in the night from LACEDÆMON,
The death of Agiatis, king Cleomenes wife. which grieued him as muche as the losse of all his conquestes: for he was aduertised of the
death of his wife *Agiatis*, whome he loued so dearelie, that in the middest of his chiefest
prosperitie and victories, he made often iorneys to SPARTA to see her. It coulde not but
be a maruelous griefe vnto *Cleomenes*, who beinge a younge man, had loste so vertuous and B
fayer a younge Ladie, so dearelie beloued of him: and yet he gaue not place vnto his so-
rowe, neither did griefe ouercome his noble courage, but he vsed the selfe same voyce, ap-
parell, and countenaunce, that he did before. Then taking order with his priuate Captaines,
about his affayres, and hauinge prouided also for the safetie of the TEGEANS: he went the
next morninge by breake of daye vnto SPARTA. After he had priuately lamented the so-
rowe of his wiues death, with his mother and children: he presentlie bent his minde a-
gaine to publike causes. Nowe *Cleomenes* had sent vnto *Ptolomy* kinge of ÆGYPT, who had
promised him ayde, but apon demaunde, to haue his mother and children in pledge. So
he was a longe tyme before he woulde for shame make his mother priuie vnto it, and went
oftentymes of purpose to lette her vnderstande it: but when he came, he had not the harte C
to breake it to her. She first suspectinge a thinge, asked *Cleomenes* frendes, if her sonne
had not somewhat to saye vnto her, that he durst not vtter. Whereuppon, in fine he gaue
the venter, and brake the matter to her. When she heardeit, she fell a laughinge, and
The noble minde of Cratesiclea, Cleomenes mother. tolde him: why, howe commeth it to passe, that thou hast kept it thus long, and wouldest
not tell me? Come, come, sayed she, put me straight into a shippe, and sende me whither
thou wilt, that this bodie of myne may doe some good vnto my contrie, before crooked
age consume my life without profitte. Then all thinges beinge prepared for their iorney,
they went by lande, accompanied with the armie, vnto the heade of Tænarus. Where *Cra-*
tesiclea beinge readie to imbarke, she tooke *Cleomenes* aside into the temple of *Neptune*, and
imbracinge and kissinge him, perceiuinge that his harte yerned for sorowe of her departure, D
she sayed vnto him: O kinge of LACEDÆMON, lette no man see for shame when we come
out of the temple, that we haue wept and dishonored SPARTA. For that onely is in our
power, and for the rest, as it pleaseth the goddes, so lette it be. When she had spoken these
Cleomenes sendeth his mother and children hostages vnto Ptolomy king of AEgypt. wordes, and facioned her countenaunce againe: she went then to take her shippe, with a
litle sonne of *Cleomenes*, and commaunded the maister of the shippe to hoyse sayle. Nowe
when she was arriued in ÆGYPT, and vnderstoode that kinge *Ptolomy* receiued Ambassa-
dours from *Antigonus*, and were in talke to make peace with him: and hearinge also that
Cleomenes beinge requested by the ACHAIANS to make peace with them, durst not hearken
to it, and ende that warre, without king *Ptolomyes* consent, and bicause of his mother: she
wrote vnto him, that he shoulde not spare to doe any thinge that shoulde be expedient for E
the honour of SPARTA, without feare of displeasing *Ptolomy*, or for regarde of an olde wo-
man, and a younge boye. Suche was the noble minde of this worthie Ladie in her sonne
Cleomenes aduersitie. Furthermore, *Antigonus* hauing taken the citie of TEGEA, and sacked
the other cities of ORCHOMENVM, and MANTINEA: *Cleomenes* seeinge him selfe brought
to defende the borders onely of LACONIA, he did manumise all the ILOTES, (which were
the slaues of LACEDÆMON) payinge fiue Attica Minas a man. With that money he made
the summe of fiue hundred talentes, and armed two thowsande of these freed slaues af-
ter the MACEDONIAN facion to fight against the LEVCASPIDES: (to witte, the white
shieldes of *Antigonus*) and then there fell into his minde a maruelous greate enterprise, vn-
looked for of euery man. The citie of MEGALIPOLIS at that time being as great as SPARTA, & F
hauing the aide of the ACHAIANS, and *Antigonus* at hand, (whom the ACHAIANS as it seemed
had brought in, chiefly at the request of the MEGALOPOLITANS) *Cleomenes* determininge

to

A to ſacke this citie, and knowing that to bring it to paſſe, nothing was more requiſite then celeritie: he commaunded his ſouldiers to vittell them ſelues for fiue dayes, and marching with the choyce of all his armie towardes SELASIA, as though he had ment to haue ſpoyled the ARGIVES, ſodainly turning from thence, he inuaded the contrie of the MEGALOPOLITANS, and ſupping by ROBIVM, went ſtraight by ELICVNTA vnto the citie. When he was come neere vnto it, he ſent *Panteas* before with ſpeede, with two bandes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commaunded him to take a certeine pece of the wall betwene two towers, which he knewe was not kept nor garded: and he followed him alſo with the reſt of his armie comming on fayer and ſoftly. When *Panteas* came thither, finding not onely that place of the wall without gard or watche which *Cleomenes* had told him of, but alſo the moſt parte of that B ſide without defence: he tooke ſome parte of the wall at his firſt comming, and manned it, and ouerthrew an other peece of it alſo, putting them all to the ſword that did defend it, and then came *Cleomenes*, and was within the citie with his armie, before the MEGALOPOLITANS knewe of his comming. At length, the citizens vnderſtanding that the citie was taken, ſome fled in haſt, conueying ſuche light things as came to hande, in ſo great a feare: and the others alſo arming them ſelues, ranne together to reſiſt the enemies. But though they valliantly fought to repulſe them out of the citie, and yet preuayled not: they gaue the reſt leiſure thereby to flye and ſaue them ſelues, ſo that there remayned not behinde, aboue a thowſande men. For all the reſt were fled with their wiues and children, into the citie of MESSENA. The moſt parte of them alſo that fought with the enemies, ſaued them ſelues, and verie C fewe were taken, the chiefeſt whereof, were *Lyſandridas*, and *Thearidas*, the nobleſt perſons that were amongeſt the MEGALOPOLITANS: wherefore when the ſouldiers had taken them, they brought them vnto *Cleomenes*. *Lyſandridas*, when he ſaw *Cleomenes* a good way of, cried out alowde vnto him: O king of LACEDÆMON, this day thou haſt an occaſion offered thee to doe a more famous princely acte, then that which thou haſt alreadie done, and that will make thy name alſo more glorious. *Cleomenes* muſing what he woulde requeſt: well (q he) what is that thou requireſt? One thing I will tell thee before hande, thou ſhalt not make me reſtore your citie to you againe. Yet, q *Lyſandridas*, lette me requeſt thus muche then, that ye doe not deſtroy it, but rather repleniſhe it with frendes and confederates, which hereafter will be true and faithfull to you: and that ſhall you doe, geuing the MEGALOPOLITANS D their citie againe, and preſeruing ſuche a number of people as haue forſaken it. *Cleomenes* pawſing a while, aunſwered, it was a hard thing to beleue that: but yet q he, let honor take place with vs, before profit. After that he ſent a Heraulde ſtraight vnto MESSENA vnto them that were fledde thither, and tolde them that he was contented to offer them their citie againe, ſo that they would becóme good frendes and confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, forſaking the alliance of the ACHAIANS. *Philopæmen* would by no meanes ſuffer the MEGALOPOLITANS to accept this gracious offer of *Cleomenes*, nor alſo to leaue their alliance with the ACHAIANS: telling them, that he ment not to geue them their citie againe, but to take them alſo with their citie: and therefore draue *Thearidas* and *Lyſandridas* out of MESSENA, that moued this practiſe. It was that *Philopæmen* that afterwardes was the chiefeſt man of E the ACHAIANS, and that wanne ſuche fame and honor among the GRÆCIANS, as we haue particularly declared in his life. This worde being brought to *Cleomenes*, who had kept the city from ſpoyling vntill that time: he was then ſo thorowly offended, that he gaue the goods in praye to the ſouldiers, ſent away their goodly tables, images, and pictures vnto SPARTA, and defaced the chiefeſt partes of the citie, and then returned home againe, being affrayed of *Antigonus*, and the ACHAIANS. Howebeit they ſturred not, bicauſe of the parlament that was kept at that time in the citie of ÆGIVM, where *Aratus* being in the pulpit for orations, and holding his gowne a long time before his face, the people maruelling at it, willed him to tell what he ayled: he anſwered them, MEGALIPOLIS is taken, and raſed by *Cleomenes*. The ACHAIANS being amazed at the ſodainnes of this great loſſe, ſtraight brake of their F parlament and aſſemblie. But *Antigonus* thinking to ayde them, ſent preſently for all his garriſons, who being long a comming, he willed them to ſtay where they were, and he him ſelfe taking a fewe ſouldiers with him, went vnto the citie of ARGOS. Therefore the ſeconde

Cleomenes wanne the citie of Megalipolis.

Cleomenes noble ſaying.

Cleomenes raſed the citie of Megalipolis.

enterprise of *Cleomenes*, seemeth at the first sight a verie rashe and desperate attempt: howe- A
beit *Polybius* wryteth, that it was an attempt of greate wisedome and policie. For *Cleomenes* vnderstanding that the MACEDONIANS were dispersed in garrisons in diuers places, and that *Antigonus* lay all the winter in the citie of ARGOS, with a certeyne number of footemen that were straungers: he inuaded the contrie of the ARGIVES with his armie, perswading him selfe, that either *Antigonus* woulde for shame come and fight with him, or if he did not, that then he shoulde put him in disgrace with the ARGIVES: which in deede came so to passe. The ARGIVES seeinge their contrie spoyled by *Cleomenes*, were in a maruelous rage, and gatheringe together at *Antigonus* lodginge, they cryed out vnto him, either to goe into the fielde, and fight with the enemie: or else if he were affrayed, to resigne his office of Generall of GRÆCE, vnto others that were vallianter than him selfe. But *Antigo-* B
nus like a wise and excellent Captayne, thinkinge it a dishonour to him rashely to put him selfe in daunger, and his frendes also, though he were prouoked with many iniuries and opprobrious wordes: woulde not goe into the fielde, but stoode constant in his first determination. Then *Cleomenes* hauing brought his armie hard to the walles of the citie of ARGOS, and spoyled and destroyed the contrie rounde about: without lette or daunger he safely returned home againe. Within a while after, *Cleomenes* beinge aduertised that *Antigonus* was come vnto TEGEA, with intent to inuade the contrie of LACONIA: he goinge an other way with his armie, (vnwitting to his enemies) they wondered when they saw him in the morning by the citie of ARGOS, spoylinge their contrie, and cuttinge downe their corne, not with sickles and knyues as other doe vse, but with long poles in forme of Sythes, C
that the souldiers as they went sportingewise, did ouerthrowe and spoyle it. But when they came to the place of exercises in the suburbes, called Cyllabaris, certaine of the souldiers goinge about to haue sette it afire, *Cleomenes* woulde not suffer them, and tolde them, that what he had done at MEGALIPOLIS, it was rather angrily then honestlie done. Now *Antigonus*, presentlye returninge backe againe, beinge minded first to haue gone directly to the citie of ARGOS, but sodainely alteringe his minde, did campe vpon the toppe of hilles and mountaynes. *Cleomenes* seeminge not to be affrayed of him, sent Heraulde to him to desire the keyes of the temple of *Iuno*, and then after he had done sacrifice, he woulde departe his waye. Thus mockinge *Antigonus*, after he had sacrificed vnto the goddesse, vnder the temple that was shut vp, he sent his armie vnto PHLIVNTA, D
and hauinge driuen awaye the garrison out of OLOGVNTA, he came vnto the citie of ORCHOMENVM, hauinge not onely incouraged his citizens, but gotten euen amongest the enemies them selues, a fame also to be a noble Captaine, and worthie to manage greate affaires. For euerie man iudged him to be a skillfull souldier, and a valliant Captaine, that with the power of one onely citie, did mainteine warre against the kingdom of MACEDON, against all the people of PELOPONNESVS, and against the treasure of so greate a king: and withall, not onely to keepe his owne contrie of LACONIA vnfoyled, but farre otherwise to hurte his enemies contries, and to take so many greate cities of theirs. But he that sayed first, that money was the sinewe of all thinges, spake it chiefly in my opinion, in respect of the warres. *Demades* the Orator sayed on a time, when the E
ATHENIANS commaunded certaine gallies shoulde be put out of the arsenall into the sea, and presently rigged and armed with all possible speed, though they lacked money: he that rules the prowe, must first see before him. Meaning, munition and vittells must be prouided, before the shippes be sette out. And it is reported also, that the auncient *Archidamus*, when the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS at the beginninge of the warre of PELOPONNESVS required, that they might be sessed at a certeine rate, aunswered: the charges of warre haue no certeyne stinte. For like as wrestlers that exercise their bodies continuallie in games, are better able to wrestle, and ouerthrowe them with tyme, that haue no strength, but onely arte and slight: euen so Kinge *Antigonus*, who by the greatnesse of his kingdome did defraye the charge of this warre, did wea- F
rie and ouercome *Cleomenes* at the length, bicause he lacked money bothe to paye the straungers that serued him, and also to mayntayne his owne citizens. For otherwise,

doublesse

Cleomenes stratageame.

A wise Captaine should not rashly put him selfe in hazard.

The moderacion of Cleomenes to his enemies.

Money, the sinewe of warres.

The saying of Archidamus.

Cleomenes ouercomen by Antigonus, for lacke of money to pay his souldiers.

A doubtleſſe the time ſerued his turne well, bicauſe the troubles that fell apon *Antigonus* in his realme, did make him to be ſent for home. For the barbarous people his neighbours, in his abſence did ſpoyle and deſtroye the realme of MACEDON, and ſpeciallie the ILLYRIANS of the high contrie that came downe then with a greate armie: whereupon, the MACEDONIANS being ſpoyled and harried on all ſides by them, they ſent poſte vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come home. If theſe letters had bene brought him but a litle before the battell, as they came afterwardes: *Antigonus* had gone his waye, and left the ACHAIANS. But fortune, that alwayes ſtriketh the ſtroke in all weightieſt cauſes, gaue ſuche ſpeede and fauour vnto time: that immediatly after the battell was fought at SELASIA, (where *Cleomenes* loſt his armie and citie) the verie meſſengers arriued that came for *Antigonus* to come home, B the which made the ouerthrowe of king *Cleomenes* ſo muche more lamentable. For if he had delayed battell but two dayes lenger, when the MACEDONIANS had bene gone, he might haue made what peace he would with the ACHAIANS: but for lacke of money, he was driuen (as *Polybius* wryteth) to geue battell, with twentie thowſande men, againſt thirtie thowſande: where he ſhewed him ſelfe an excellent and skilfull Captaine, and where his citizens alſo fought like valliant men, and the ſtraungers in like caſe did ſhewe them ſelues good ſouldiers. But his onely ouerthrowe was, by the manner of his enemies weapons, and the force of their battell of footemen. But *Phylarchus* wryteth, that treaſon was the cauſe of his ouerthrowe. For *Antigonus* had appointed the ACARNANIANS, and the ILLYRIANS which he had in his armie, to ſteale vppon the winge of his enemies armie, where *Euclidas*, king C *Cleomenes* brother was, to compaſſe him in behinde, whileſt he did ſette the reſt of his men in battell. When *Cleomenes* was got vp vpon ſome hill to looke about him, to ſee the countenaunce of the enemie, and ſeeing none of the ACARNANIANS, nor of the ILLYRIANS: he was then affrayed of *Antigonus*, that he went about ſome ſtratageame of warre. Wherefore he called for *Demoteles*, whoſe charge was to take heede of ſtratageames and ſecret ambuſhes, and commaunded him to looke to the rereward of his armie, and to be verie circumſpect all about. *Demoteles*, that was bribed before (as it is reported) with money, tolde him that all was cleere in the rereward, and bad him looke to ouerthrowe his enemies before him. *Cleomenes* truſting this reporte, ſette forward againſt *Antigonus*, and in the ende, his citizens of SPARTA which he had about him, gaue ſuche a fierce charge apon the ſquaD dron of the MACEDONIAN footemen, that they draue them backe fiue furlonges of. But in the meane time, *Euclidas* his brother, in the other wing of his armie, being compaſſed in behinde, *Cleomenes* turning him backe, and ſeeing the ouerthrowe, cried out alowde: alas, good brother, thou art but ſlaine, yet thou dyeſt valliantlie, and honeſtlie, and thy death ſhall be a worthie example vnto all poſteritie, and ſhall be ſong by the praiſes of the women of SPARTA. So *Euclidas* and his men being ſlaine, the enemies came ſtraight to ſette vpon *Cleomenes* winge. *Cleomenes* then ſeeing his men diſcouraged, and that they durſt no lenger reſiſt the enemie, fledde, and ſaued him ſelfe. Many of the ſtraungers alſo that ſerued him, were ſlaine at this battell: and of ſixe thowſande SPARTANS, there were left aliue but onely two hundred. Now *Cleomenes* being returned vnto SPARTA, the citizens comming to ſee him, E he gaue them counſell to yeeld them ſelues vnto *Antigonus* the conqueror: and for him ſelfe, if either aliue or dead he could doe any thing for the honor and benefit of SPARTA, that he would willingly doe it. The women of the citie alſo, comming vnto them that flying had eſcaped with him, when he ſaw them vnarme the men, and bring them drinke to refreſh them with: he alſo went home to his owne houſe. Then a maide of the houſe, which he had taken in the citie of MEGALIPOLIS (and whom he had enterteined euer ſince the death of his wife) came vnto him as her maner was, to refreſh him comming hot from the battell: howbeit he would not drinke though he was extreame drie, nor ſit being verie wearie, but armed as he was, layed his arme a croſſe apon a piller, and leaning his head apon it, repoſed himſelfe a litle, and caſting in his minde all the wayes that were to be thought of, he tooke his frendes F with him, and went to the hauen of Gythium, and there hauing his ſhippes which he had appointed for the purpoſe, he hoyſed ſayle, and departed his way. Immediatly after his departure, came *Antigonus* into the citie of SPARTA, and curteouſly intreated the citizens and

The power of fortune.

Battell betweni Cleomenes and Antigonus at Selaſia.

The treaſon of Demoteles.

Cleomenes ouerthrowen by Antigonus.

Antigonus wanne the citie of Sparta.

inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor prowdly despise the auncient honor and dignitie of SPARTA: but referring them to their owne lawes and gouernment, when he had sacrificed to the goddes for his victorie, he departed from thence the thirde daye, newes being brought him that the warre was verie great in MACEDON, and that the barbarous people did spoyle his contrie. Now a disease tooke him, whereof he dyed afterwards, which appeared a tificke, mixt with a sore catarre: but yet he yeelded not to his disease, and bare it out, that fighting for his contrie, and obteyning a famous victorie, with great slaughter of the barbarous people, he might yet dye honorably, as in deede he did, by *Phylarchus* testimonie, who sayth, that with the force of his voyce, fiercely crying out in the middest of his fight, he tare his lunges and lightes, worse then they were before. Yet in the schooles it is sayd, that after he had wonne the battell, he was so ioyfull of it, that crying out, O blessed day: he brake out into a great bleeding at the mouth, and a great feuer tooke him withall, that he dyed of it. Thus much touching *Antigonus*. Now *Cleomenes* departing out of the Isle of CYTHERA, went and cast ancker in an other Iland, called ÆGIALIA. Then determining to saile ouer to the citie of CYRENA, *Therycion*, one of *Cleomenes* frendes (a man that in warres shewed him selfe verie valliant, but a boaster besides of his owne doinges) tooke *Cleomenes* aside, and sayd thus vnto him: Truely O king, we haue lost an honorable occasion to dye in battell, though euery man hath heard vs vaunt and say, that *Antigonus* should neuer ouercome the king of SPARTA aliue, but dead. A seconde occasion yet is offered vs to dye, with much lesse honor and fame notwithstanding, then the first. Whether doe we saile to no purpose? Why doe we flie the death at hand, and seeke it so farre of? If it be no shame nor dishonor for the posteritie & race of *Hercules* to serue the successors of *Philip* and *Alexander*: let vs saue then our labor, and long daungerous sailing, and goe yeelde our selues vnto *Antigonus*, who in likelyhoode will better vse vs then *Ptolomy*, bicause the MACEDONIANS are farre more nobler persons then the ÆGYPTIANS. And if we disdaine to be commaunded by them which haue ouercommen vs in battell, why then will we make him Lord of vs, that hath not ouercomen vs: in steade of one, to make vs inferior vnto both, flying *Antigonus*, and seruing king *Ptolomy*? Can we say that we goe into ÆGYPT, in respect to see your mother there? A ioyfull sight no doubt, when she shall shew king *Ptolomyes* wiues her sonne, that before was a king, a prisoner, & fugitiue now. Were it not better for vs, that hauing yet LACONIA our contrie in sight, and our swordes besides in our owne hands, to deliuer vs from this great miserie, & so doing to excuse our selues vnto them that are slaine at SELASIA, for defence of SPARTA: then cowardly loosing our time in ÆGYPT, to inquire whom *Antigonus* left his Lieutenaunt and Gouernor in LACEDÆMON? *Therycion* ending his oration, *Cleomenes* aunswered him thus: Doest thou thinke it a glorie for thee to seeke death, which is the easiest matter, and the presentest vnto any man, that can be: and yet, wretche that thou art: thou flyest now more cowardly and shamefully, then from the battell. For diuers valliant men, and farre better then our selues, haue often yeelded vnto their enemies, either by some misfortune, or compelled by greater number and multitude of men: but he say I, that submitteth him selfe vnto paine and miserie, reproache and praise of men, he can not but confesse that he is ouercome by his owne vnhappinesse. For, when a man will willingly kill him selfe, he must not doe it to be rid of paynes and labour, but it must haue an honorable respect and action. For, to liue or dye for his owne respect, that can not but be dishonorable: the which now thou perswadest me vnto, to make me flie this present miserie we are in, without any honor or profitte in our death. And therefore, I am of opinion, that we shoulde not yet cast of the hope we haue to serue our contrie in time to come: but when all hope fayleth vs, then we may easely make our selues awaye when we list. Thereunto *Therycion* gaue no aunswere, but as soone as he founde oportunitie to slippe from *Cleomenes*, he went to the sea side, and slewe him selfe. *Cleomenes* hoysinge sayle from the Ile of ÆGIALIA, went into AFRICKE, and was brought by the kinges seruauntes vnto the citie of ALEXANDRIA. King *Ptolomy* at his first comming, gaue *Cleomenes* no speciall good, but indifferent intertainment: but after that he had shewed him selfe to be of great wisedom and iudgement, and that *Ptolomy* saw in the simplicity of his LACONIAN life he had also a noble disposition and corage, nothing degenerating from the princely race & blood of *Hercules*, and

The death of Antigonus the sonne of Demetrius, king of Macedon.

Cleomenes flieth out of Peloponnesus.

The oration of Therycion, vnto Cleomenes, against death.

Cleomenes oration of death.

Willing death, must haue honorable respect.

Cleomenes flieth into AEgypt vnto king Ptolomy.

A and that he yelded not to his aduersitie: he tooke more delight in his company, then in all the company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly, that he had made no more account of him before, but had suffered him to be ouerthrowne by *Antigonus*, who through the victory of him, had maruelously enlarged his honor and power. Then he began to comfort *Cleomenes*, and doing him as great honor as could be, promised that he would send him with shippes and money into GRÆCE, and put him againe into his kingdom: & further, gaue him an annuall pencion in the meane time, of foure and twenty talents, with the which he simply and soberly enterteyned him selfe and his men about him: and bestowed all the rest apon his contrymen that came out of GRÆCE into ÆGYPT. But now, old king *Ptolomy* deceasing before he could performe the promise he made vnto *Cleomenes*, to send him into
B GRÆCE: the Realme falling then into great lasciuiousnes, dronckennes, and into the gouernment of women, his case and miserie was cleane forgotten. For the young king his sonne was so giuen ouer to women and wine, that when he was most sober, and in his best witts, he most disposed him selfe to make feastes and sacrifices, and to haue the taber playing in his Court, to gather people together, like a stage player or iugler, whileſt one *Agathoclea* his lemman, and her mother, and *Oenanthes* a bawde, did rule all the affayres of the state. But when he came to be king, it appeared he had neede of *Cleomenes*: bicause he was affraid of his brother *Magas*, who by his mothers meanes, was very wel esteemed of among souldiers. Wherefore he called *Cleomenes* to him, and made him of his priuy counsel, where he deuised by practise, which way to kill his brother. All other his friends that were of counsell with him, did counsell him to do
C it: but *Cleomenes* onely vehemently disswaded him from it, and tolde him, that if it were possible, rather moe brethren should be begotten vnto the king for the safetie of his person, and for deuiding of the affayres of the kingdome betweene them. Amongest the kinges familliers that was chiefest about him, there was one *Sosibius* that said vnto *Cleomenes*: so long as his brother *Magas* liued, the souldiers that be straungers, whom the king entertayned, would neuer be true to him. *Cleomenes* aunswered him, for that matter there was no daunger: for sayth he, of those hiered straungers, there are three thowsand PELOPONNESIANS, which he knewe at the twinckling of an eye, would be at his commaundement, to come with their armor & weapon where he would appoynt them. These words of *Cleomenes* at that tyme shewed his fayth and good will he bare vnto the king, and the force he was of besides. But afterwards, *Ptolomyes*
D fearefulnes increasing his mistrust: (as it commonly hapneth, that they that lacke wit, thinke it the best safetie to be fearefull of euery wagging of a strawe, and to mistrust euery man) the remembrance of *Cleomenes* wordes made him much suspected of the Courtiers, vnderstanding that he could doe so much with the souldiers that were straungers: insomuch as some of them sayd, see (meaning *Cleomenes*) there is a lyon amongest sheepe. In deede, considering his facions and behauior, they might well say so of him: for he would looke thorough his fingers as though he saw nothing, and yet saw all what they did. In fine, he required an armie & ships of the king: and vnderstanding also that *Antigonus* was dead, and that the ACHAIANS and ÆTOLIANS were at great warres together, and that the affaires of his contry did call him home, all PELOPONNESVS being in armes and vprore, he prayed that they would licence him to de-
E part with his friends. But neuer a man would giue eare vnto him, and the king also heard nothing of it, bicause he was continually entertained among Ladies, with banckets, daunsing, & maskes. But *Sosibius* that ruled all the Realme, thought that to keepe *Cleomenes* against his wil, were a hard thing, and also daungerous: and to let him goe also, knowing that he was a valiant man, and of a sturring minde, and one that knew the vices and imperfections of their gouernment: he thought that also no safe way, sithe no giftes nor presents that could be offered him, could soften him. For as the holy bull (which they call in ÆGYPT Apis) that is ful fed in goodly pasture, doth yet desire to followe his naturall course and libertie, to runne and leape at his pleasure, and plainely sheweth that it is a griefe to him to be kept stil by the Priest: euen so the courtly pleasures did nothing delight *Cleomenes*, but as *Homer* writeth of *Achilles*:

Cleomenes vertue.

F *It irkt his noble hart to sit at home in slothfull rest,*
VVhen martiall matters vvere in hand, the vvhich he liked best.

Nowe *Cleomenes* standing in these tearmes, there arriued in ALEXANDRIA one *Nicagoras*

Nicagoras Messenian, an enemy to Cleomenes.

MESSENIAN, who maliced *Cleomenes* in his hart, but yet shewed as though he loued him. This *Nicagoras* on a time had sold *Cleomenes* certein land, but was not payed for it, either bicause he had no present money, or els by occasiō of the warres which gaue him no leasure to make payment. *Cleomenes* one day by chaunce walking vpon the sandes, he sawe *Nicagoras* landing out of his shippe, being newly arriued, and knowing him, he curteously welcomed him, and asked what wind had brought him into ÆGYPT. *Nicagoras* gently saluting him againe, tolde him that he had brought the king excellent horse of seruice. *Cleomenes* smiling, told him, thou haddest bene better haue brought him some curtisans & daunsers, for they would haue pleased the king better. *Nicagoras* faintly laughed at his aunswer, but within few dayes after he did put him in remembraunce of the land he sold him, and prayed him then that he would helpe him to money, telling him that he would not haue prest him for it, but that he had susteyned losse by marchandise. *Cleomenes* aunswered him, that all his pension was spent he had of the king. *Nicagoras* being offended with this aunswer, he went and told *Sosibius* of the mocke *Cleomenes* gaue the king. *Sosibius* was glad of this occasion, but yet desiring further matter to make the king offended with *Cleomenes*, he perswaded *Nicagoras* to write a letter to the king agaynst *Cleomenes*, as though he had conspired to take the citie of CYRENA, if the king had giuen him shippes, money, and men of warre. When *Nicagoras* had written this letter, he tooke shippe, and hoysed sayle. Foure dayes after his departure, *Sosibius* brought his letter to the king, as though he had but newly receiued it. The king apon sight of it was so offended with *Cleomenes*, that he gaue present order he should be shut vp in a great house, where he should haue his ordinary dyet allowed him, howbeit that he should keepe his house. This grieued *Cleomenes* much, but yet he was worse affraid of that which was to come, by this occasion: *Ptolomy* the sonne of *Chrysermus*, one of the kings familliers, who had oftentimes before bene very conuersant and familliar with *Cleomenes*, and did franckly talke together in all matters: *Cleomenes* one daye sent for him, to praye him to come vnto him. *Ptolomy* came at his requeste, and familliarly discoursing together, went about to dissuade him from all the suspicions he had, and excused the king also for that he had done vnto him: so taking his leaue he left him, not thinking that *Cleomenes* followed him (as he did) to the gate, where he sharply tooke vp the souldiers, saying, that they were very negligent and careles in looking to such a fearefull beast as he was, & so ill to be taken, if he once escaped their handes. *Cleomenes* heard what he sayd, and went into his lodging againe, *Ptolomy* knowing nothing that he was behind him: and reported the very wordes againe vnto his friendes. Then all the SPARTANS conuerting their good hope into anger, determined to be reuenged of the iniurie *Ptolomy* had done them, and to dye like noble SPARTANS not tarying til they should be brought to the shambles like fat weathers, to be sold and killed. For it would be a great shame and dishonor vnto *Cleomenes*, hauing refused to make peace with *Antigonus*, a noble Prince and warrier: to tary the kinges pleasure till he had left his dronckennes and daunsing, and then to come and put him to death. They beeing fully resolued hereof, as you haue heard: king *Ptolomy* by chaunce went vnto the citie of CANOBVS, & first they gaue out in ALEXANDRIA, that the king minded to set *Cleomenes* at libertie. Then *Cleomenes* friendes obseruing the custom of the kings of ÆGYPT, when they ment to set a prisoner at libertie (which was, to send the prisoners meate, and presents before to their supper) did send vnto him such manner of presents, & so deceiued the souldiers that had the keeping of him, saying, that they brought those presents from the king. For *Cleomenes* him selfe did sacrifice vnto the goddes, and sent vnto the souldiers that kept him, parte of those presents that were sent vnto him, and supping with his friendes that night, made mery with them, euery man being crowned with garlands. Some say, that he made the more haste to execute his enterprise, sooner then he would haue done, by meanes of one of his men that was priuye vnto his conspiracie: who went euery night to lye with a woman he kept, and therefore was affraid lest he would bewray them. *Cleomenes* about noone, perceiuing the souldiers had take in their cuppes, and that they were a sleepe: he put on his coate, and vnripping it on the right shoulder, went out of the house with his sword drawen in his hand, accompanied with his friends, following him in that sort, which were thirty in all. Amongest them there was one called *Hippotas*, who being lame, went very liuely out with them at the first: but when he saw they went faier

Cleomenes committed to prison in Alexandria.

Cleomenes practiseth to kill king Ptolomy.

A faier and ſoftly bicauſe of him, he prayed them to kil him, bicauſe they ſhould not hinder their enterpriſe for a lame man, that could doe them no ſeruice. Notwithſtanding, by chaunce they met with a townes man a horſebacke, that came hard by their dore, whome they pluckt from his horſe, and caſt *Hippotas* vppon him: and then ranne through the citie, and cryed to the people, libertie, libertie. Now the people had no other corage in them, but onely commended *Cleomenes*, and wondred at his valiantnes: but otherwiſe to follow him, or to further his enterpriſe, not a man of them had any hart in them. Thus running vp and downe the towne, they met with *Ptolomy* (the ſame whome we ſayde before was the ſonne of *Chryſermus*) as he came out of the Court: Whereuppon three of them ſetting on him, ſlue him preſently. There was alſo another *Ptolomy* that was gouernor and Lieuetenant of the citie of ALEXANDRIA: who B hearing a rumor of this ſturre, came vnto them in his coche. They went and met him, and firſt hauing driuen away his garde and ſouldiers that went before him, they pluckt him out of his coche, and ſlue him alſo. After that they went towards the caſtell, with intent to ſet all the priſoners there at libertie to take their part. Howbeit the gaylers that kept them had ſo ſtrongly locked vp the priſon dores, that *Cleomenes* was repulſed, and put by his purpoſe. Thus wandring vp and downe the citie, no man neither came to ioyne with him, nor to reſiſt him, for euery man fled for feare of him. Wherefore at length being weary with going vp and downe, he turned him to his friends, and ſayd vnto them: it is no maruell though women commaund ſuch a cowardly people, that flye in this ſort from their libertie. Thereuppon he prayed them all to dye like men, and like thoſe that were brought vp with him, and that were worthy of the C fame of his ſo noble deedes. Then the firſt man that made him ſelfe be ſlayne, was *Hippotas*, who dyed of a wound one of the younge men of his company gaue him with a ſword at his requeſt. After him euery man ſlue them ſelues, one after another, without any feare at all, ſauing *Panteas*, who was the firſt man that entred the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. He was a faier younge man, and had bene very well brought vp in the LACONIAN diſcipline, and better then any man of his yeares. *Cleomenes* did loue him dearely, and commaunded him that when he ſhould ſee he were dead, and all the reſt alſo, that then he ſhould kill him ſelfe laſt of all. Now they all being layed on the ground, he ſearched them one after another with the poynt of his ſword, to ſee if there were any of them yet left aliue: and when he had pricked *Cleomenes* on the heele amongeſt others, and ſaw that he did yet knit his browes, he kiſſed him, & ſate downe D by him. Then perceiuing that he had yelded vp the ghoſt, imbracing him when he was dead, he alſo ſlue him ſelfe, and fell vpon him. Thus *Cleomenes* hauing raigned king of SPARTA ſixteene yeares, being the ſame manner of man we haue deſcribed him to be: he ended his dayes in this ſort as ye heare. Now, his death being preſently bruted through the citie, *Crateſiclea* his mother, though otherwiſe ſhe had a noble minde, did notwithſtanding a litle forget her greatnes, through the extreame ſorow ſhe felt for the death of her ſonne: and ſo imbracing *Cleomenes* ſonnes, ſhe fell to bitter lamentacion. But the eldeſt of his ſonnes, (no man miſtruſting any ſuch matter) found meanes to get out of her handes, & running vp to the toppe of the houſe, caſt him ſelfe headlong downe to the ground, that his head was all broken and ſplitted, yet died not, but was taken vp crying, and angry with them, that they would not ſuffer him to dye.

The ende and death of Cleomenes and his friendes.

The corage of Panteas.

E This newes being brought to king *Ptolomy*, he commaunded they ſhould firſt flea *Cleomenes*, and then hange vp his body, and alſo, that they ſhould put his children, his mother, and all her women wayting on her to death: among the which was *Panteas* wife, one of the fayreſt and curteouſeſt women in her tyme. They had not beene longe maried before, when theſe miſchieues lighted apon them, at what tyme their loue was then in greateſt force. Her parents then would not let her depart, and imbarke with her husband, but had locked her vp, and kept her at home by force. Howbeit ſhortly after ſhe found the meanes to get her a horſe, & ſome money, and ſtale away in the night, and gallopped towards the hauen of Tænarus, where finding a ſhippe ready bound for ÆGYPT, ſhe imbarked, and went to ſeeke her husband, with whome ſhe gladly and louingly ledde her life, forſaking her owne contry, to liue in a ſtraunge F Realme. Now when the Sergeaunts came to take *Crateſiclea* to put her to death, *Panteas* wife led her by the arme, carying vp her traine, and did comfort her, although *Crateſiclea* otherwiſe was not affraid to dye, but onely asked this fauor, that ſhe might dye before her litle children.

This notwithstanding, when they came to the place of execution, the hangman first slue her children before her eyes, and then her selfe afterwards, who in such great griefe and sorowe, sayd no more but thus: Alas, my poore children, what is become of you? And *Panteas* wife also, being a mighty tall woman, girding her clothes to her, tooke vp the slayne bodies one after another, and wrapped them vp in such things as she could get, speaking neuer a word, nor shewing any signe or token of griefe: and in fine, hauing prepared her self to dye, and plucked of her attyre her selfe, without suffering any other to come neare her, or to see her, but the hangman that was appoynted to stryke of her head. In this sorte she dyed as constantly, as the stowtest man liuing could haue done, and had so couered her body, that no man needed after her death to touche her: so carefull was she to her ende, to keepe her honestie, which she had alwayes kept in her life, and in her death was mindefull of her honor, wherewith she decked her body in her life tyme. Thus these LACEDÆMON Ladies playing their partes in this pitifull tragedie, contending at the time of death, euen with the corage of the slayne SPARTANS their contrymen, which of them should dye most constantly: left a manifest proofe and testimonie, that fortune hath no power ouer fortitude and corage. Shortly after, those that were appoynted to keepe the body of king *Cleomenes* that hong vpon the crosse, they spied a great Serpent wreathed about his head, that couered all his face, insomuch as no rauening fowle durst come neare him to eate of it: whereuppon the king fell into a superstitious feare, being affrayd that he had offended the goddes. Hereuppon, the Ladyes in his Court began to make many sacrifices of purification, for the cleering of this sinne: perswading them selues, that they had put a man to death, beloued of the gods, and that he had something more in him then a man. The ALEXANDRINIANS thereuppon went to the place of execution, and made their prayers vnto *Cleomenes*, as vnto a demy god, calling him the sonne of the goddes. Vntill that the learned men brought them from that error, declaring vnto them, that like as of oxen being dead and rotten, there breede bees, and of horse also come waspes, & of asses likewise bitels: euen so mens bodies, when the marie melteth and gathereth together, doe bringe forth Serpents. The which comming to the knowledge of the auncients in olde tyme, of all other beastes they did consecrate the Dragon to Kinges and Princes, as proper vnto man.

Cleomenes hanging vpon a crosse, had a Serpent wreathed about his head.

Liuing things breeding of the corruption of dead beasts

VVhy the Dragon is cõsecrated vnto Princes.

The end of the life of Agis and Cleomenes.

TIBERIVS

TIBERIVS AND CAIVS GRACCHI.

NOW that we haue declared vnto you the hiſtorie of the liues of theſe two GRÆCIANS, *Agis*, and *Cleomenes* aforeſayd: we muſt alſo write the hiſtorie of two ROMANES, the which is no leſſe lamentable for the troubles and calamities that chaunced vnto *Tiberius* and *Caius*, both of them the ſonnes of *Tiberius Gracchus*. He hauing bene twiſe Conſul, and once Cenſor, and hauing had the honor of two triumphs: had notwithſtanding more honor and fame onely for his valiantnes, for the which he was thought worthy to marye with *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Scipio*, who ouercame *Hanniball* after the deathe of his father: though while he liued he was neuer his friend, but rather his enemy. It is reported, that *Tiberius* on a tyme found two ſnakes in his bed, and that the Soothſayers and wyſards hauing conſidered the ſignification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, and alſo to let them both eſcape, but one onely: aſſuring him that if he killed the male, he ſhould not liue long after: and if he killed the female, that then his wife *Cornelia* ſhoulde dye. *Tiberius* then louing his wife dearely, thinking it meeter for him alſo, that he being the elder of both, and ſhe yet a younge woman, ſhould dye before her: he ſlue the male, and let the female eſcape, howbeit he dyed ſoone after, leauing twelue children aliue, all of them begotten of *Cornelia*. *Cornelia* after the death of her husband, taking vpon her the rule of her houſe and children, led ſuch a chaſt life, was ſo good to her children, and of ſo noble a minde: that euery man thought *Tiberius* a wiſe man for that he dyed, and left her behind him. She remayning widow, king *Ptolomy* made ſute vnto her, and would haue made her his wife and Queene. But ſhe refuſed, and in her widowehed loſt all her children, but one Daughter, (whome ſhe beſtowed vpon the younger *Scipio African*) and *Tiberius*, and *Caius*, whoſe liues we preſently write. Thoſe ſhe ſo carefully brought vp, that they being become more ciuill, and better conditioned, then any other ROMANES in their time: euery man iudged, that education preuailed more in them, then nature. For, as in the fauors and pictures of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, there is a certaine difference diſcerned, whereby a man may know that the one was made for wreſtling, and the other for running: euen ſo betwene theſe two young brethren, amongeſt other the great likenes betwene them, being both happely borne to be valiant, to be temperate, to be liberall, to be learned, and to be nobly minded, there grew notwithſtanding great difference in their actions and doings in the common

The worthines of Tiberius Gracchus the father.

Tiberius Gracchus the father, maried Cornelia, the Daughter of Scipio Africa.

The tender loue of Tiberius to his wife Cornelia.

The praiſe of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

A true description of Tiberius & Caius Gracchi.

wealth: the which I thinke conuenient to declare, before I proceede any farther. First of all, for the fauor of the face, the looke and mouing of the bodye, *Tiberius* was much more milde and tractable, and *Caius* more hotte and earneſt. For the firſt in his orations was very modeſt, and kept his place: and the other of all the ROMANES was the firſt, that in his oration ietted vp and downe the pulpit, and that plucked his gowne ouer his ſhowlders: as they write of *Cleo* ATHENIAN, that he was the firſt of all Orators that opened his gowne, and clapped his hand on his thighe in his oration. Furthermore, *Caius* wordes, and the vehemencie of his perſwaſion, were terrible and full of paſſion: but *Tiberius* wordes in contrary manner, were mild, and moued men more to compaſſion, beeing very propper, and excellently applyed, where *Caius* wordes were full of finenes and curioſitie. The like difference alſo was betwene them in their fare and dyet. For *Tiberius* alwayes kept a conuenient ordinarie: and *Caius* alſo in reſpect of other ROMANES, liued very temperately, but in reſpect of his brothers fare, curiouſly and ſuperfluouſly. Inſomuch as *Druſus* on a tyme reproued him, bicauſe he had bought certayne Dolphyns of ſiluer, to the value of a thowſand two hundred and fiftie Drachmas for euery pownd waight. And now, as touching the manners and naturall diſpoſition of them both, agreeing with the diuerſitie of their tongues, the one being milde and plauſible, and the other hotte and chollerike: inſomuch that otherwhile forgetting him ſelfe in his oration, agaynſt his will he would be very earneſt, and ſtrayne his voice beyond his compaſſe, and ſo with great vncomelines confound his wordes. Yet finding his owne fault, he deuiſed this remedye. He had a ſeruaunt called *Licinius*, a good wiſe man, who with an inſtrument of Muſicke he had, by the which they teache men to ryſe and fall in their tunes, when he was in his oration, he euer ſtoode behinde him: and when he perceyued that his Maiſters voyce was a litle too lowde, and that through choller he exceeded his ordinary ſpeache: he played a ſofte ſtoppe behinde him, at the ſownde whereof *Caius* immediatly fell from his extreamitie, and eaſily came to him ſelfe agayne. And here was the diuerſitie betweene them. Otherwiſe, for their hardines againſt their enemies, the iuſtice vnto their tennaunts, the care and paynes in their offices of charge, and alſo their continencie againſt voluptuouſnes: in all theſe they were both alike. For age, *Tiberius* was elder by nyne yeares, by reaſon whereof their ſeuerall authoritie and doings in the common wealth fell out at ſundry times. And this was one of the chiefeſt cauſes why their doings proſpered not, bicauſe they had not both authoritie in one ſelfe time, nether could they ioyne their power together: the which if it had mette at one ſelfe time, had bene of great force, & peraduenture inuincible. Wherefore we muſt write perticularly of them both, but firſt of all we muſt begin with the elder. He, when he came to mans ſtate, had ſuch a name and eſtimacion, that immediatly they made him fellow, in the colledge of the Prieſts, which at ROME are called Augures: (being thoſe that haue the charge to conſider of ſignes and predictions of things to come) more for his valiantnes, then for nobility. The ſame doth *Appius Clodius* witneſſe vnto vs, one that hath bene both Conſul and Cenſor, & alſo Preſident of the Senate, and of greater authoritie then any man in his time. This *Appius* at a ſupper when all the Augures were together, after he had ſaluted *Tiberius*, & made very much of him, he offered him his daughter in mariage. *Tiberius* was very glad of the offer, and therewithall the mariage was preſently concluded betwene them. Thereuppon *Appius* comming home to his houſe, at the threſhold of his dore he called a lowd for his wife, and told her *Antiſtia*, I haue beſtowed our Daughter *Clodia*. She wondring at it, ô goddes ſayd ſhe, and what needed all this haſte? what couldeſt thou haue done more, if thou haddeſt gotten her *Tiberius Gracchus* for her husband? I know that ſome refer this hiſtorie vnto *Tiberius*, father of theſe two men we write of, and vnto *Scipio* the AFRICAN: but the moſt part of writers agree with that we write at this preſent. And *Polybius* him ſelfe alſo writeth, that after the death of *Scipio* AFRICAN, his friendes beeing met together, they choſe *Tiberius* before all the other younge men of the citie, to marye him vnto *Cornelia*, being free, and vnpromiſed, or beſtowed apon any man by her father. Now *Tiberius* the yonger being in the warres in AFRICKE vnder *Scipio* the ſecond, who had maryed his ſiſter: lying in his tent with him, he found his Captaine indued with many noble giftes of nature, to allure mens harts to deſire to follow his valiantnes. So in a ſhort tyme he did excell all the younge men of his tyme, aſwell in obedience, as in the

Tiberius made Augure

Tiberius maried Appius Clodius daughter.

Tiberius Gracchus ſouldierſfare.

valiantnes

A valiantnes of his perſon: inſomuch that he was the firſt man that ſcaled the walles of the enemies, as *Fannius* reporteth, who ſayeth that he ſcaled the walles with him, and did helpe him in that valiant enterpriſe. So that being preſent, all the campe were in loue with him: & when he was abſent, euery man wiſhed for him againe. After this warre was ended, he was choſen Treaſorer, and it was his chaunce to goe againſt the NVMANTINES, with *Caius Mancinus* one of the Conſuls, who was an honeſt man, but yet had the worſt lucke of any Captaine the ROMANES had. Notwithſtanding, *Tiberius* wiſedome and valiantnes, in this extreame ill lucke of his Captaine, did not onely appeare with great glorye to him, but alſo moſt wonderfull, the great obedience and reuerence he bare vnto his Captaine: though his misfortunes did ſo trouble and grieue him, that he could not tell him ſelfe, whether he was Captaine or not. *Tiberius Gracchus choſen Queſtor.*

B For when he was ouerthrowen in great foughten fieldes, he departed in the night, and left his campe. The NVMANTINES hearing of it, firſt tooke his campe, and then ranne after them that fled, and ſetting vpon the rereward, ſlue them, and enuyronned all his armye. So that they were driuen into ſtraight and narrowe places, where out they could by no meanes eſcape. Thereuppon *Mancinus* diſpayring that he could get out by force, he ſent a Herauld to the enemyes to treate of peace. The NVMANTINES made aunſwer, that they would truſt no man but *Tiberius* onely, and therefore they willed he ſhoulde bee ſent vnto them. They deſired that, partly for the loue they bare vnto the vertues of the younge man, bicauſe there was no talke of any other in all this warre but of him: and partly alſo, as remembring his father *Tiberius*, who making warres in SPAYNE, and hauing there ſubdued many nations, he

C graunted the NVMANTINES peace, the which he cauſed the ROMANES afterwardes to confirme and ratifie. Hereuppon *Tiberius* was ſent to ſpeake with them, and partly obteyning that he deſired, and partly alſo graunting them that they required: he concluded peace with them, whereby aſſuredly he ſaued the liues of twenty thowſande ROMANE Citizens, beſides ſlaues and other ſtragglers that willingly followed the campe. This notwithſtanding, the NVMANTINES tooke the ſpoyle of all the goods they founde in the ROMANES campe, amonge the which they founde *Tiberius* bookes of accompt touching the money diſburſed of the treaſure in his charge. *Tiberius* beeing maruailous deſirous to haue his bookes agayne, returned backe to NVMANTIA with two or three of his friendes onely, though the armye of the ROMANES were gone farre on their waye. So comming to the towne, he ſpake vnto the go- *Tiberius Gracchus concludeth peace with the Numantines.*

D uernors of the citie, and prayed them to redeliuer him his bookes of accompt, bicauſe his malicious enemies ſhould not accuſe him, calling him to accompt for his doings. The NVMANTINES were very glad of this good happe, and prayed them to come into the towne. He ſtanding ſtill in doubt with him ſelfe what to doe, whether he ſhould goe into the towne or not: the gouernors of the citie came to him, and taking him by the hande, prayed he would thinke they were not his enemies, but good friendes, and that he would truſt them. Whereuppon *Tiberius* thought beſt to yeelde to their perſwaſion, beeing deſirous alſo to haue his bookes agayne, and the rather, for feare of offending the NVMANTINES, if he ſhoulde haue denyed and miſtruſted them. When he was brought into the citie, they prouided his dynner, and were very earneſt with him, intreating him to dyne with them. Then they gaue him

E his bookes againe, and offered him moreouer to take what he woulde of all the ſpoyles they had gotten in the campe of the ROMANES. Howebeit of all that he woulde take nothing but frankenſence, which he vſed, when he did any ſacrifice for his contry: and then taking his leaue of them, with thankes he returned. When he was returned to ROME, all this peace concluded was vtterly miſliked, as diſhonorable to the maieſtie of the Empire of ROME. Yet the parents and friendes of them that had ſerued in this warre, making the greateſt part of the people: they gathered about *Tiberius*, ſaying that what faultes were committed in this ſeruice, they were to impute it vnto the Conſul *Mancinus*, and not vnto *Tiberius*, who had ſaued ſuch a number of ROMANES liues. Notwithſtanding, they that were offended with this *The peace broken with the Numantines.*

F diſhonorable peace, would that therein they ſhould follow the example of their forefathers in the like caſe. For they ſent backe their Captaines naked vnto their enemies, bicauſe they were contented the SAMNITS ſhould ſpoyle them of that they had, to eſcape with life. Moreouer, they did not onely ſend them the Captaines and Conſuls, but all thoſe alſo that bare any

office in the fielde, and had consented vnto that condition: to the ende they might lay all the periurie and breache of peace apon them. Herein therefore did manifestly appeare, the loue and good will the people did beare vnto *Tiberius*. For they gaue order, that the Consul *Mancinus* should be sent naked, and bound vnto the NVMANTINES, and for *Tiberius* sake, they pardoned all the rest. I thinke *Scipio*, who bare great sway at that time in ROME, and was a man of greatest accompt, did helpe him at that pinche: who notwithstanding was ill thought of, bicause he did not also saue the Consul *Mancinus*, and confirme the peace concluded with the NVMANTINES, considering it was made by *Tiberius* his friend & kinsman. But these mislikings grew chiefly through the ambition of *Tiberius* friendes, & certein learned men, which stirred him vp against *Scipio*. But yet it fell not out to open malice betwene them, neither followed there any hurte apon it. And surely I am perswaded, that *Tiberius* had not fallen into those troubles he did afterwards, if *Scipio* AFRICAN had bene present, when he passed those thinges he preferred. But *Scipio* was then in warres at the seege of NVMANTIA, when *Tiberius* apon this occasion passed these lawes. When the ROMANES in olde tyme had ouercomen any of their neighbours, for raunsom they tooke oftentymes a great deale of their land from them, parte whereof they solde by the cryer, for the benefite of the common wealth, and parte also they reserued to their state as demeane, which afterwards was let out to farme for a small rent yearely, to the poore Citizens that had no lands. Howbeit the riche men inhaunsed the rents, and so began to thrust out the poore men. Thereuppon was an ordinance made, that no Citizen of ROME should haue aboue fiue hundred acres lande. This lawe for a tyme did bridle the couetousnes of the riche men, and did ease the poore also that dwelt in the contry, apon the farmes they had taken vp of the common wealth, and so liued with their owne, or with that their Aunceſtors had from the beginning. But by proces of time, their riche neighbours, by names of other men, got their farmes ouer their heads, and in the end, the most of them were openly seene in it in their own names. Whereuppon, the poore people being thus turned out of all, went but with faint corage afterwards to the warre, nor cared any more for bringing vp of children: So that in short time, the free men left ITALY, and slaues and barbarous people did repleniſh it, whom the rich men made to plough those landes, which they had taken from the ROMANES. *Caius Lælius*, one of *Scipioes* friends, gaue an attempt to reforme this abuse: but bicause the chiefest of the citie were against him, fearing it would breake out to some vprore, he desisted from his purpose, and therefore he was called *Lælius* the wise. But *Tiberius* being chosen Tribune, he did forthwith preferre the reformation aforesayd, being allured vnto it (as diuers writers report) by *Diophanes* the Orator, and *Bloßius* the Philosopher: of the which, *Diophanes* was banished from the citie of MITYLENE, and *Bloßius* the ITALIAN from the citie of CVMES, who was scholler and familliar vnto *Antipater* of TARSVS at ROME, by whome he was honored by certaine workes of Philosophie he dedicated vnto him. And some also do accuse their mother *Cornelia*, who did twit her sonnes in the teeth, that the ROMANES did yet call her *Scipioes* mother in law, and not the mother of the GRACCHI. Other say it was *Spurius Posthumius*, a companion of *Tiberius*, and one that contended with him in eloquence. For *Tiberius* returning from the warres, and finding him farre beyond him in fame and reputacion, and well beloued of euery one: he sought to excell him by attempting this noble enterprise, and of so great exspectacion. His owne brother *Caius* in a certaine booke, wrote, that as he went to the warres of NVMANTIA, passing through THVSCAN, he founde the contrye in manner vnhabited: and they that did followe the ploughe, or keepe beastes, were the moste of them slaues, and barbarous people, comen out of a straunge contrie. Whereuppon euer after it ranne in his minde to bringe this enterprise to passe, which brought great troubles to their house. But in fine, it was the people onely that moste set his harte afire to couet honor, and that hastened his determinacion: first bringing him to it by bylles sette vppe on euery wall, in euery porche, and vppon the tombes, praying him by them to cause the poore Citizens of ROME to haue their landes restored, which were belonging to the common wealth. This notwithstanding he him selfe made not the lawe alone of his owne head, but did it by the counsell and aduise of the chiefest men of ROME, for vertue and estimation: Amonge the which, *Crassus* the high Bishoppe was one, and *Mutius Scæuola* the Lawyer, that then was Consul,

Why Tiberius preferred the law Agraria.

Iugera.

Why Caius Lælius was called the wise Tiberius Gracchus chosen Tribune of the people.

Counsellers to Tiberius for preferring the law.

A Conſul, and *Appius Claudius* his father in lawe. And truely it ſeemeth, that neuer lawe was made with greater fauor, then that which he preferred againſt ſo great iniuſtice, and auarice. For thoſe that ſhould haue bene puniſhed for tranſgreſſing the lawe, and ſhould haue had the landes taken from them by force, which they vniuſtly held againſt the lawe of Rome, and that ſhould alſo haue bene amerced for it: he ordeyned that they ſhould be payed by the common wealth to the value of the landes, which they held vniuſtly, and ſo ſhould leaue them to the poore Citizens againe that had no land, and lacked helpe and reliefe. Now, though the reformation eſtabliſhed by this lawe, was done with ſuch great fauor: the people notwithſtanding were contented, and would forget all that was paſt, ſo that they might haue no more wrongs offred them in time to come. But the rich men, and men of great poſſeſſions, hated the lawe for B their auarice, and for ſpight and ſelfwill (which would not let them yeeld) they were ſtudied in ſhode with the Lawyer that had preferred the lawe, and ſought by all deuiſe they could to diſſwade the people from it: telling them that *Tiberius* brought in this law Agraria againe, to diſturbe the common wealth, and to make ſome alteracion in the ſtate. But they preuailed not. For *Tiberius* defending the matter, which of it ſelfe was good and iuſt, with ſuch eloquence as might haue iuſtified an euill cauſe, was inuincible: and no man was able to argue againſt him to confute him, when ſpeaking in the behalfe of the poore Citizens of Rome, the people being gathered round about the pulpit for orations) he told them, that the wild beaſtes through Italy had their dennes and caues of abode, and that the men that fought, and were ſlaine for their contry, had nothing els but ayer and light, & ſo were compelled to wander vp & down C with their wiues & children, hauing no reſting place nor houſe to put their heads in: and that the Captaines do but mocke their ſouldiers, when they encorage them in battel to fight valiantly for the graues, the temples, their owne houſes, & their predeceſſors. For, ſaid he, of ſuch a number of poore Citizens as there be, there can not a man of them ſhew any auncient houſe or tombe of their auncеſtors: bicauſe the poore men doe go to the warres, & be ſlaine for the rich mens pleaſures and wealth: beſides they falſely cal them Lordes of the earth, where they haue not a handfull of ground, that is theirs. Theſe & ſuch other like wordes being vttered before all the people with ſuch vehemency & trothe, did ſo moue the common people withall, and put them in ſuch a rage, that there was no aduerſarye of his able to withſtand him. Therefore, leauing to contrary and deny the lawe by argument, the rich men did put all their truſt in D *Marcus Octauius*, colleague and fellow Tribune with *Tiberius* in office, who was a graue and wiſe young man, and *Tiberius* very familiar friend. So that the firſt time they came to him, to oppoſe him againſt the confirmation of this lawe: he prayed them to holde him excuſed, bicauſe *Tiberius* was his very friend. But in the ende, being compelled vnto it through the great number of the riche men that were importunate with him: he did withſtande *Tiberius* lawe, the which was enoughe to ouerthroweit. For if any one of the Tribunes ſpeake againſt it, though all the other paſſe with it, he ouerthroweth it: bicauſe they all can doe nothing, if one of them be againſt it. *Tiberius* being very much offended with it, proceeded no further in this firſt fauorable law, and in a rage preferred an other more gratefull to the common people, as alſo more extreme againſt the riche. In that law he ordeyned, that whoſoeuer had any landes E contrary to the auncient lawes of Rome, that he ſhould preſently depart from them. But thereuppon there fel out cõtinual brawles in the pulpit for orations, againſt *Octauius*: in the which, though they were very earneſt and vehement one againſt another, yet there paſſed no fowle words from them, (how hot ſoeuer they were one with another) that ſhould ſhame his companion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought vp, breedeth ſuch a ſtay & knowledge in a man, not onely in things of pleaſure to make him regard his credit, both in word & deede: but in paſſion and anger alſo, & in their greateſt ambition of glory. Thereuppon *Tiberius* finding that this lawe among others touched *Octauius*, bicauſe he enioyed a great deale of landes that was the common wealthes: he prayed him ſecretly to contend no more againſt him, promiſing him to giue him of his owne, the value of thoſe lands which he ſhould be driuen to forſ F ſake, although he was not very able to performe it. But when he ſawe *Octauius* would not be perſwaded, he then preferred a law, that all Magiſtrats and Officers ſhould ceaſe their authoritie, till the law were either paſt, or reiected, by voices of the people: & thereuppon he ſet his

Lex Agraria.

Tiberius oratiõs.

Marcus Octauius Tribune, did withſtand Tiberius lawe.

The modeſt contension betwixt Tiberius and Octauius.

own seale vpon the doores of the temple of *Saturne*, where the cofers of the treasure lay, himself the treasurers them selues during that time, should neither take out nor put in any thing, vpon great penalties to be forfited by the Praetors or an other Magistrat of authority, that should breake this order. Hereuppon all the Magistrates fearing this penaltie, did leaue to exercise their office for the time. But then the riche men that were of great liuings, chaunged their ap parell, and walked very sadly vp and downe the market place, and layed secret wayte to take *Tiberius*, hauing hyred men to kill him: which caused *Tiberius* him selfe, openly before them all, to weare a shorte dagger vnder his longe gowne, properly called in Latine, Dolon. When the day came that this lawe should be established, *Tiberius* called the people to giue their voyces: and the riche men on the other side, they tooke away the pots by force, wherein the papers of mens voyces were throwen, so that there was like to fall out great stirre vpon it. For the faction of *Tiberius* was the stronger side, by the number of people that were gathered about him for that purpose: had it not bene for *Manlius* & *Fabius*, both the which had ben Consuls, who went vnto him, & besought him with the teares in their eies, & holding vp their hands, that he would let the lawe alone. *Tiberius* thereuppon, foreseeing the instant daunger of some great mischief, as also for the reuerence he bare vnto two such noble persons, he stayed a litle, & asked them what they would haue him to doe. They made answer, that they were not able to counsel him in a matter of so great waight, but they praied him notwithstanding, he would be contented to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. Thereuppon he graunted them presently. But afterwards perceiuing that the Senate sate apon it, & had determined nothing, bycause the rich men were of too great authoritie: he entred into another deuise that was neither honest nor meete, which was, to depriue *Octauius* of his Tribuneship, knowing that otherwise he could not possibly come to passe the law. But before he tooke that course, he openly intreated him in the face of the people with courteous words, and tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to stand no more against him, & to doe the people this pleasure, which required a matter iust & reasonable, & onely requested this final recompence for the great paines they tooke in seruice abroad for their contry. *Octauius* denied him plainely. Then said *Tiberius* openly, that both of them being brethren in one selfe place and authoritie, & contrary one to another in a matter of so great waight, this contencion could not be possibly ended, without ciuill warre: and that he could see no way to remedy it, vnles one of them two were deposed from their office. Thereuppon he bad *Octauius* begin first with him, & he would rise from the benche with a good will, and become a priuate man, if the people were so contented. *Octauius* would doe nothing in it. *Tiberius* then replyed, that he would be doing with him, if he altered not his mind, apon a better breathe and consideracion: and so dismissed the assemblye for that daye. The next morning the people being againe assembled, *Tiberius* going vp to his seate, attempted agayne to perswade *Octauius* to leaue of. In fine, finding him still a man vnremoueable, he referred the matter to the voyce of the people, whether they were contented *Octauius* should be deposed from his office. Nowe there were fiue and thirtie trybes of the people, of the which seuenteene of them had already passed their voyces agaynst *Octauius*, so that there remayned but one tryb more to put him out of his office. Then *Tiberius* made them staye for proceeding any further, and prayed *Octauius* agayne, imbracing him before all the people, with all the intreatye possible: that for selfewill sake he would not suffer such an open shame to be done vnto him; as to be put out of his office: neither also to make him the occasion and instrument of so pitifull a deede. They saye that *Octauius* at this last intreatie was somewhat moued and wonne by his perswasions, and that weeping, he stayed a longe tyme, and made no answer. But when he looked apon the riche men that stoode in a great company together, he was ashamed (I thinke) to haue their ill willes, and rather betooke him selfe to the losse of his office, and so bad *Tiberius* doe what he would. Thereuppon he beeing deposed by voyces of the people, *Tiberius* commaunded one of his infranchised bondmen to pull him out of the pulpit for orations: for he vsed his infranchised bondmen in steede of Seruitours. This made the sight so much more lamentable, to see *Octauius* thus shamefully plucked away by force. Yea furthermore, the common people would haue ronne apon him, but the riche men came to rescue him, and would not suffer him to doe him further hurte.

Tiberius deposeth Octauius of his Tribuneship.

So

A So *Octauius* saued him selfe running away alone, after he had bene rescued thus from the fury of the people. Moreouer, there was a faithfull seruaunt of *Octauius*, who stepping before his Maister to saue him from hurt, had his eyes pulled out, against *Tiberius* minde, who ranne to the rescue with all speede when he heard the noyse. After that, the lawe Agraria passed for diuision of landes, and three Commissioners were appoynted to make inquirie and distribution thereof. The Commissioners appoynted were these: *Tiberius* him selfe: *Appius Claudius* his father in lawe, and *Caius Gracchus* his brother: who was not at that tyme in Rome, but in the campe with *Scipio* AFRICAN, at the seege of the citie of NVMANTIA. Thus *Tiberius* very quietly passed ouer these matters, and no man durst withstand him: and furthermore, he substituted in *Octauius* place no man of qualitie, but onely one of his followers, called *Mutius*. *Tiberius* preferreth the law Agraria.

B Wherewith the noble men were so sore offended with him, that fearing the increase of his greatnes, they being in the Senate house did what they could possible to doe him despyte and shame. For when *Tiberius* demaunded a tent at the charge of the common wealth, when he should goe abroad to make diuision of these landes, as they vsually graunted vnto others, that many tymes went in farre meaner commissions: they flatly denyed him, and through the procurement of *P. Nasica* (who being a great landed man in his contry, shewed him selfe in this action his mortall enemie, taking it greeuously to be compelled to depart from his land) onely graunted him nyne of their obuli a day, for his ordinarye allowance. But the people on the other side were all in an vprore against the riche. Insomuch as one of *Tiberius* frendes beeing deade vppon the sodaine, vppon whose body beeing deade there appeared very ill signes: the

C common people ranne sodainely to his buriall, and cryed out that he was poysoned: And so taking vppe the beere whereon his bodie laye vppon their showlders, they were present at the fire of his funeralls, where immediatly appeared certaine signes to make them suspect, that in deede there was vehement cause of presumption he was poysoned. For his belly burst, whereout there issued such aboundance of corrupt humors, that they put out the first fire, and made them fetche another, the which also they could not make to burne, vntil that they were compelled to cary the bodie into some other place, where notwithstanding they had much a doe to make it burne. *Tiberius* seeing that, to make the common people mutyne the more, he put on mourning apparell, and brought his sonnes before them, and besought the people to be good vnto them and their mother, as one that dispayred of his health and safetie. About that

D tyme dyed *Attalus*, surnamed *Philopater*, and *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN brought his will to ROME, in the which he made the people of ROME his heires. Wherefore *Tiberius*, still to encrease the good wil of the common people towards him, preferred a law immediatly, that the ready money that came by the inheritaunce of this king shoulde bee distributed amonge the poore Citizens, on whose lot it should fall to haue any parte of the diuision of the landes of the common wealth, to furnishe them towardes house, and to set vppe their tillage. Furthermore, he sayd, that concerning the townes and cities of the kingdome of *Attalus*, the Senate had nothing to doe to take any order with them, but that the people were to dispose of them, and that he him selfe would put it out. That made him againe more hated of the Senate then before, insomuch as there was one *Pompey* a Senator, that standing vp, sayde: that he was next

E neighbour vnto *Tiberius*, and that by reason of his neighbourhed he knew that *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN had giuen him one of king *Attalus* royall bands, with a purple gowne besides, for a token that he should one day be king of ROME. And *Quintus Metellus* also reproued him, for that his father being Censor, the ROMANES hauing supped in the towne, and repayring euery man home to his house, they did put out their torches and lights, bicause men seeing them returne, they should not thinke they taryed too long in companie bancketing: and that in contrary maner, the seditious and needy rabble of the common people did light his sonne home, and accompany him all night long vp and downe the towne. At that tyme there was one *Titus Annius*, a man that had no goodnes nor honestie in him, howbeit taken for a great reasoner, and for a suttell questioner and aunswerer. He prouoked *Tiberius* to aunswer him, whe-

F ther he had not committed a shamefull facte to his companion and brother Tribune, to defame him, that by the lawes of ROME should haue bene holy, & vntouched. The people tooke this prouocation very angrily, and *Tiberius* also comming out, and hauing assembled the

King Attalus made the people of Rome his heire.

Tiberius Law, for deuiding of Attalus money.

Titus Annius a suttle questioner and aunswerer of things.

people, commaunded them to bringe this *Annius* before him, that he might be endyted in the market place: But he finding him selfe farre inferior vnto *Tiberius*, both in dignitie and eloquence, ranne to his fine suttill questions, to take a man at his worde: and prayed *Tiberius* before he did proceede to his accusation, that he would first aunswer him to a question he would aske him. *Tiberius* bad him saye what he would. So silence being made, *Annius* asked him: if thou wouldest defame me, and offer me iniurie, and that I called one of thy companions to helpe me, and he should ryse to take my parte, and anger thee: wouldest thou therefore put him out of his office? It is reported that *Tiberius* was so grauelled with this question, that though he was one of the readiest speakers, and the boldest in his orations of any man: yet at that tyme he held his peace, and had no power to speake, and therefore he presently dismissed the assemblie. Afterwards, vnderstanding that of al the things he did, the deposing of *Octauius* from his office was thought (not onely of the nobilitie, but of the common people also) as fowle and wilfull a parte as euer he played, for that thereby he had imbased, and vtterly ouerthrowen the dignitie of the Tribunes, the which was alwayes had in great veneration vntill that present tyme: to excuse him selfe therefore, he made an excellent oration to the people, whereby shall appeare vnto you some special poyntes thereof, to discerne the better the force and effect of his eloquence. The Tribuneship sayd he, in deede was a holy and sacred thing, as perticularly consecrated to the people, and established for their benefit and safetie: Where contrariwise, if the Tribune doe offer the people any wronge, he thereby minisheth their power, and taketh away the meanes from them to declare their wills by voyces, besides that, he doth also imbase his owne authoritie, leauing to doe the thing for the which his authority first was giuen him. Or otherwise we could not choose but suffer a Tribune, if it pleased him, to ouerthrow the Capitoll, or to set fire on the arsenall: and yet notwithstanding this wicked part, if it were committed, he should be Tribune of the people still, though a lewde Tribune. But when he goeth about to take away the authoritie and power of the people, then he is no more a Tribune. Were not this against all reason, thinke you, that a Tribune when he list, may take a Consul, and commit him to prison: and that the people should not withstand the authoritie of the Tribune, who gaue him the same, when he would vse his authoritie to the preiudice of the people? for the people are they that doe choose, both Consul and Tribune. Furthermore, the kingly dignitie (bicause in the same is conteyned the absolute authoritie and power of all other kindes of Magistrates and offices together) is consecrated with very great and holy ceremonies, drawing very neare vnto the godhed: and yet the people expulsed king *Tarquin*, bicause he vsed his authoritie with crueltie, and for the iniurie he offered one man onely, the most auncient rule and gouernment, (by the which the foundacion of Rome was first layed) was vtterly abolished. And who is there in all the citie of Rome to be reckoned so holy as the Vestall Nunnes, which haue the custodie and keeping of the euerlasting fire? and yet if any of these be taken in fornication, she is buried aliue for her offence: for when they are not holy to the goddes, they lose the libertie they haue, in respect of seruing the goddes. Euen so also it is vnmeete, that the Tribune if he offend the people, should for the peoples sake be reuerenced any more: Seeing that through his owne folly he hath depriued him selfe of that authoritie they gaue him. And if it be so that he was chosen Tribune by the most parte of the trybes of the people: then by greater reason is he iustly depriued, that by all the whole trybes together is forsaken and deposed? There is nothing more holy nor inuiolate, then thinges offered vp vnto the goddes: and yet it was neuer seene that any man did forbid the people to take them, to remoue and transport them from place to place, as they thought good. Euen so, they may as lawfully transferre the office of the Tribune vnto any other, as any other offring consecrated to the goddes. Furthermore, it is manifest that any Officer or Magistrate may lawfully depose him selfe: For, it hath bene often seene, that men in office haue depriued them selues, or otherwise haue sued to be discharged. This was the effect of *Tiberius* purgation. Now his friendes perceiuing the threats the riche and noble men gaue out against him, they wished him for the safetie of his person, to make sute to be Tribune againe the next yeare. Whereuppon he began to flatter the common people againe afresh, by new lawes which he preferred: by the which he tooke away the time and number of yeares prescribed, when euery

The oration of Tiberius Gracchus, touching the power and authoritie of the Tribune.

Other lawes made by Tiberius Gracchus.

Citizen

A citizen of Rome was bound to goe to the warres being called, and his name billed. He made it lawfull also for men to appeale from sentence of the Iudges vnto the people, and thrust in also amongst the Senators (which then had absolute authoritie to iudge among them selues) a like number of the Romane Knightes, and by this meanes sought to weaken and imbase the authority of the Senate, increasing also the power of the people, more of malice then any reason, or for any iustice or benefit to the common wealth. Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voyces of the people for the confirmacion of his new lawes, finding that his enemies were the stronger in the assembly, bicause all the people were not yet come together: he fell a quarrelling with his brethren the Tribunes, alwayes to winne time, and yet in the end brake vp the assembly, commaunding them to returne the next morning. There he would be
B the first man in the market place apparelled all in blacke, his face beblubbered with teares, & looking heauely vpon the matter, praying the people assembled to haue compassion vpon him, saying, that he was affrayed least his enemies would come in the night, and ouerthrow his house to kill him. Thereupon the people were so moued withall, that many of them came and brought their tentes, and lay about his house to watche it. At the breake of the day, the keeper of the chickins, by signes of the which they doe diuine of thinges to come, brought them vnto him, and cast them downe meate before them. None of them would come out of the cage but one only, and yet with much a doe, shaking the cage: and when it came out, it would eate no meate, but only lift vp her left wing, and put forth her legge, and so ranne into the cage againe. This signe made *Tiberius* remember an other he had had before. He had a
C maruelous fayer helmet and very riche, which he ware in the warres: vnder it were crept two snakes vnwares to any, and layed egges, and hatched them. This made *Tiberius* wonder the more, bicause of the ill signes of the chickins: notwithstanding, he went out of his house, when he heard that the people were assembled in the Capitoll, but as he went out, he hit his foote such a blow against a stone at the thresshold of the dore, that he brake the nayle of his great toe, which fell in suche a bleeding, that it bled through his shooe. Againe, he had not gone farre, but he saw vpon the toppe of a house on his left hand, a couple of rauens fighting together: and notwithstanding that there past a great number of people by, yet a stone which one of these rauens cast from them, came & fell hard at *Tiberius* foote. The fall thereof staied the stowtest man he had about him. But *Blossius* the Philosopher of Cumes that did accõpany
D him, told him it were a great shame for him, and enough to kill the harts of all his followers: that *Tiberius* being the sonne of *Gracchus*, and nephew of *Scipio* the African, and the chiefe man besides of all the peoples side, for feare of a rauen, should not obey his citizens that called him: and how that his enemies and ill willers would not make a laughing sporte of it, but would plainly tell the people that this was a tricke of a tyran that raigned in dede, and that for pride and disdaine did abuse the peoples good wills. Furthermore, diuers messengers came vnto him, and sayd that his frends that were in the Capitoll, sent to pray him to make hast, for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honorably receiued: for the people seeing him comming, cried out for ioy to welcome him, and when he was gotten vp to his seate, they shewed them selues both carefull and louing towardes him, loooking warely that
E none came neere him, but such as they knew well. While *Mutius* beganne againe to call the tribes of the people to geue their voyces, he could not procede according to the accustomed order in the like case, for the great noyse the hindmost people made, thrusting forward, and being driuen backe, and one mingling with an other. In the meane time, *Flauius Flaccus*, one of the Senators, got vp into a place where all the people might see him, and when he saw that his voyce coulde not be heard of *Tiberius*, he made a signe with his hande that he had some matter of great importance to tell him. *Tiberius* straight bad them make a lane through the prease. So, with much a doe, *Flauius* came at length vnto him, and tolde him, that the riche men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Consull to their wills, determined them selues to come and kill him, hauing a great number of their frendes, and bondmen armed for
F the purpose. *Tiberius* immediatly declared this conspiracy vnto his frends and followers: who straight girte their long gownes vnto them, and brake the sergeaunts iauelins which they caried in their handes to make roome among the people, and tooke the tronchions of the same

Vnluckie signes vnto Tiberius.

Flauius Flaccus bewraieth the conspiracy against Tiberius.

to reſiſt thoſe that would ſet apon them. The people alſo that ſtoode furdeſt of, marueled at it, A
and asked what the matter was. *Tiberius* by a ſigne to tell them the daunger he was in, layd
both his hands on his head, bicauſe they coulde not heare his voyce for the great noyſe that
made. His enemies ſeeing the ſigne he gaue, ranne preſently to the Senate, crying out, that
Tiberius required a royall bande or diadeame of the people, and that it was an euident ſigne,
bicauſe they ſawe him clappe his handes apon his head. This tale troubled all the companie.
Whereupon *Naſica* beſought the Conſul, chiefe of the Senate, to help the common wealth,
and to take away this tyran. The Conſul gently aunſwered againe, that he would vſe no force,
neither put any citizen to death, but lawfully condemned: as alſo he would not receiue *Tibe-*
rius, nor protect him, if the people by his perſwaſion or commaundement, ſhould commit a-
ny acte contrarie to the law. *Naſica* then riſing in anger, ſith the matter is ſo, ſayd he, that the B
Conſull regardeth not the common wealth: all you then, that will defende the authoritie of
Naſica doth ſet apon Tiberius Gracchus. the law, follow me. Thereupon he caſt the skirt of his gowne ouer his head, & went ſtraight
to the Capitoll. They that followed him alſo tooke their gownes, and wrapt them about their
armes, and layed at as many as they might, to make them geue way: and yet very few of the
people durſt meete with ſuch ſtates as they were to ſtay them, bicauſe they were the chiefeſt
men of the citie, but euery man flying from them, they fell one on an others necke for haſte.
They that followed them, had brought from home great leauers & clubbes, and as they went,
they tooke vp feete of treſtles and chaires which the people had ouerthrowen and broken,
running away, and hyed them a pace to meete with *Tiberius*, ſtriking at them that ſtoode in
their way: ſo that in ſhort ſpace they had diſperſed all the common people, and many were C
Tiberius Gracchus the Tribune ſlaine. ſlaine flying. *Tiberius* ſeeing that, betooke him to his legges to ſaue him ſelfe, but as he was
flying, one tooke him by the gowne, and ſtayed him: but he leauing his gowne behinde him,
ranne in his coate, and running fell vpon them that were downe before. So, as he was riſing
vp againe, the firſt man that ſtrake him, and that was plainly ſeene ſtrike him, was one of the
Tribunes his brethren, called *Publius Satureius*: who gaue him a great rappe on the head with
the foote of a chaire, & the ſecond blow he had, was geuen him by *Lucius Rufus* that boaſted
of it, as if he had done a notable acte. In this tumult, there were ſlaine aboue three hundred
men, and were all killed with ſtaues and ſtones, and not one man hurt with any iron. This was
the firſt ſedition among the citizens of Rome, that fell out with murder, and bloodſhed, ſince
the expulſion of the kinges. But for all other former diſſentions (which were no trifles) they D
were eaſily pacified, either partie geuing place to other: the Senate for feare of the commo-
ners, and the people for reuerence they bare to the Senate. And it ſeemeth, that *Tiberius* him
ſelfe woulde eaſely haue yeelded alſo, if they had proceeded by faire meanes and perſwaſion,
ſo they had ment good faith, and would haue killed no man: for at that time he had not in all,
aboue 3000. men of the people about him. But ſurely it ſeemes this conſpiracie was executed
againſt him, more for very ſpite and malice the rich men did beare him, then for any other ap-
parant cauſe they preſuppoſed againſt him. For proofe hereof may be alleaged, the barbarous
cruelty they vſed to his body being dead. For they would not ſuffer his owne brother to haue
his bodie to burie it by night, who made earneſt ſute vnto them for it: but they threw him a-
mongeſt the other bodies into the riuer, and yet this was not the worſt. For, ſome of his frends E
Tiberius frends ſlaine. they baniſhed without forme of law, and others they put to death, which they coulde meete
The cruell death of Caius Billius. withall. Among the which, they ſlue *Diophanes* the Orator, and one *Caius Billius*, whom they
incloſed in a pype among ſnakes and ſerpentes, and put him to death in this ſorte. *Bloſſius* al-
ſo the Philoſopher of Cumes, was brought before the Conſuls, and examined about this
matter: who boldly confeſſed vnto them, that he did as much as *Tiberius* commaunded him.
When *Naſica* did aske him, and what if he had commaunded thee to ſet fire on the Capitoll?
He made him aunſwere, that *Tiberius* would neuer haue geuen him any ſuche commaunde-
ment. And when diuers others alſo were ſtill in hand with him about that queſtion: but if he
had commaunded thee? I would ſure haue done it, ſayd he: for he would neuer haue com-
maunded me to haue done it, if it had not bene for the commoditie of the people. Thus he F
ſcaped at that time, and afterwards fled into Asia vnto *Ariſtonicus*, whom misfortune hauing
ouerthrowen, he ſlue him ſelfe. Now, the Senate to pacifie the people at that preſent time,

did

did no more withstand the law Agraria, for diuision of the lands of the common wealth, but suffered the people to appoint another Commissioner for that purpose, in *Tiberius* place. Thereupon *Publius Crassus* was chosen, being allied vnto *Tiberius*, for *Caius Gracchus* (*Tiberius* brother) had maried his daughter *Licinia*. Yet *Cornelius Nepos* sayth, that she was not *Crassus* daughter, *Caius* maried, but the daughter of *Brutus*, that triumphed for the Lvsitanians. Howbeit the best writers and authority, agree with that we write. But assoone as he was dead, the people were maruelously offended with his death, and men might easily perceiue, that they looked but for time and oportunity to be reuenged, and did openly threaten *Nasica* to accuse him. Whereupon the Senate fearing some trouble towards him, deuised a way vpon no occasion, to sende him into Asia. For the common people did not dissemble the malice they bare him when they met him, but were verie rounde with him, and called him tyran, and murderer, excommunicate, and wicked man, that had imbrued his hands in the blood of the holy Tribune, and within the most sacred temple of all the citie. So in the ende he was inforced to forsake Rome, though by his office he was bounde to solemnise all the greatest sacrifices, bicause he was then chiefe Bishoppe of Rome. Thus trauelling out of his countrie like a meane man, and troubled in his minde: he dyed shortly after, not farre from the citie of Pergamvm. Truely it is not greatly to be wondred at, though the people so much hated *Nasica*, considering that *Scipio* the African him selfe (whom the people of Rome for iuster causes had loued better then any man else whatsoeuer) was like to haue lost all the peoples good will they bare him, bicause that being at the siege of Numantia, when newes was brought him of *Tiberius* death, he rang out this verse of *Homer*:

Nasica chiefe Bishoppe of Rome.

Such end vpon him euer light,
Wt bich in such doings doth delight.

Furthermore, being asked in the assemblie of the people, by *Caius*, or *Fabius*, what he thought of *Tiberius* death: he answered them, that he did not like his doinges. Whiles that the people handled him very churlishly, & did euer breake of his oration, which they neuer did before: & he him selfe also would reuile the people euen in the assembly. Now *Caius Gracchus* at the first, bicause he feared the enemies of his deade brother, or otherwise for that he sought meanes to make them more hated of the people: he absented him selfe for a time out of the common assembly, and kept at home and meddled not, as a man contented to liue meanely, without busying him selfe in the common wealth: insomuch as he made men thinke and report both, that he did vtterly mislike those matters which his brother had preferred. Howbeit he was then but a young man, and nine yeares younger then his brother *Tiberius*, who was not thirty yeare old when he was slaine. But in processe of time, he made his manners and conditions (by litle and litle) appeare, who hated sloth and idlenesse, and was least of all geuen vnto any couetous minde of getting: for he gaue him selfe to be eloquent, as preparing him wings afterwardes to practise in the common wealth. So that it appeared plainely, that when time came, he would not stand still, and looke on. When one *Vettius* a frende of his was sued, he tooke vpon him to defend his cause in courte. The people that were present, and heard him speake, they leaped for ioy to see him: for he had such an eloquent tongue, that all the Orators besides were but children to him. Hereuppon the rich men began to be affrayed againe, and whispered among them selues, that it behoued them to beware he came not to be Tribune. It chaunced so that he was chosen Treasorer, and it was his fortune to goe into the Ile of Sardinia, with the Consul *Orestes*. His enemies were glad of that, and he him selfe was not sory for it. For he was a martiall man, and as skilfull in armes, as he was else an excellent Oratour but yet he was affrayed to come into the pulpit for Orations, and mistrusted to deale in matters of state, albeit he could not altogether deny the people, and his frendes that prayed him forbearance. For this cause therfore he was very glad of this voyage, that he might absent him selfe for a time out of Rome: though diuers were of opinion, that he was more popular, and desirous of the common peoples good will and fauor, then his brother had bene before him. But in deede he was cleane contrarie: for it appeared that at the first he was drawen rather against his will, then of any speciall desire he had to deale in the common wealth. *Cicero* the Orator also sayth, that *Caius* was bent altogether to flie from office in the common wealth, and to liue

Scipios sentence of the death of Tiberius Gracchus.

Caius Gracchus manners.

Caius Gracchus Questor in Sardinia.

Caius Gracchus vision and dreame.

quietly as a priuat man. But *Tiberius* (*Caius* brother) appeared to him in his sleepe, and calling him by his name, sayd vnto him: brother, why doest thou prolong time, for thou canst not possiblie escape? For we were both predestined to one maner of life and death, for procuring the benefite of the people. Now when *Caius* arriued in SARDINIA, he shewed all the proofes that might be in a valliant man, and excelled all the young men of his age, in hardines against his enemies, in iustice to his inferiors, and in loue & obedience towards the Consul his Captaine: but in temperaunce, sobrietie, and in painfulnes, he excelled all them that were elder then he. The winter by chaunce fell out very sharpe, & full of sickenes in SARDINIA: whereupon the Consul sent vnto the cities to helpe his souldiers with some clothes: but the townes sent in poste to ROME, to pray the Senate they might be discharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegacion reasonable, whereuppon they wrote to the Consul to finde some other meanes to clothe his people. The Consul coulde make no other shift for them, and so the poore souldiers in the meane time smarted for it. But *Caius Gracchus* went him selfe vnto the cities and so perswaded them, that they of them selues sent to the ROMANES campe such thinges as they lacked. This being caried to ROME, it was thought straight it was a pretie beginning to creepe into the peoples fauor, and in dede it made the Senate also affrayed. In the necke of that, there arriued Ambassadors of AFRICKE at ROME, sent from king *Micipsa*, who told the Senate that the king their maister, for *Caius Gracchus* sake, had sent their armie corne into SARDINIA. The Senators were so offended withall, that they thrust the Ambassadours out of the Senate, and so gaue order that other souldiers shoulde be sent in their places that were in SARDINIA: and that *Orestes* should still remaine Consul there, meaning also to continue *Caius* their Treasorer. But when he hearde of it, he straight tooke sea, and returned to ROME in choller. When men saw *Caius* returned to ROME vnlooked for, he was reproued for it not onely by his enemies, but by the common people also: who thought his returne verie straunge before his Captaine, vnder whom he was Treasorer. He being accused hereof before the Censors, prayed he might be heard. So, aunswering his accusation, he so turned the peoples mindes that heard him, that they all sayd he had open wrong. For he told them, that he had serued twelue yeares in the warres, where others were enforced to remaine but ten yeres: and that he had continued Treasorer vnder his Captaine, the space of three yeares, where the law gaue him libertie to returne at the end of the yeare. And that he alone of all men else that had bene in the warres, had caried his purse full, and brought it home empty: where others hauing dronke the wyne which they caried thither in vessells, had afterwardes brought them home full of gold & siluer. Afterwards they went about to accuse him as accessarie to a conspiracie, that was reuealed in the citie of FREGELLES. But hauing cleared all that suspicion, and being discharged, he presently made sute to be Tribune: wherein he had all the men of qualitie his sworne enemies. On thother side also he had so great fauor of the common people, that there came men out of all partes of ITALIE to be at his election, & that such a number of them, as there was no lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the field of *Mars* not being large enough to hold such a multitude of people, there were that gaue their voyces vpon the toppe of houses. Nowe the noble men coulde no otherwise let the people of their will, nor preuent *Caius* of his hope, but where he thought to be the first Tribune, he was only pronounced the fourth. But when he was once possest officer, he became immediatly the chiefe man, bicause he was as eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occasion of calamity offred him: which made him bolde to speake, bewailing the death of his brother. For what matters soeuer he spake of, he alwayes fell in talke of that, remembring them what matters had passed: & laying before them the examples of their auncesters: who in olde time had made warre with the PHALISCES, by the meanes of one *Genutius* Tribune of the people, vnto whom they had offered iniurie: who also did condemne *Caius Veturius* to death, bicause that he onely woulde not geue a Tribune place, comming through the market place. Where these sayd he, that standing before you in sight, haue slaine my brother *Tiberius* with staues, and haue dragged his bodie from the mount of the Capitoll, all the citie ouer, to throw it into the riuer: and with him also haue most cruellie slaine all his frendes they coulde come by, without any lawe or iustice at all. And yet by an auncient custome of long time

Caius Gracchus returneth out of Sardinia vnto Rome.

Caius Gracchus, Tribune of the people.

A time obſerued in this citie of Rome, when any man is accuſed of treaſon, and that of duety he muſt appeare at the time appointed him: they doe notwithſtanding in the morning ſende a trompet to his houſe, to ſummone him to appeare: and moreouer the Iudges were not wont to condemne him, before this ceremony was performed: ſo carefull and reſpectiue were our predeceſſors, where it touched the life of any Romane. Now *Caius* hauing firſt ſtirred vp the people with theſe perſwaſions (for he had a maruelous lowde voyce) he preferred two lawes. The firſt, that he that had once bene put out of office by the people, ſhould neuer after be capable of any other office. *Caius Gracchus lawes.*

The ſeconde, that if any Conſul had baniſhed any citizen without lawefull accuſation, the ſentence and hearing of the matter ſhould perteine to the people.

B The firſt of theſe two lawes did plainly defame *Octauius*, whom *Tiberius* his brother had by the people depoſed from the Tribunſhippe. The ſeconde alſo touched *Populius*, who being Prætor, had baniſhed his brother *Tiberius* frendes: whereuppon he ſtayed not the triall, but willingly exiled him ſelfe out of Italie. And touching the firſt law, *Caius* him ſelfe did afterwards reuoke it, declaring vnto the people, that he had ſaued *Octauius* at the requeſt of his mother *Cornelia*. The people were verie glad of it, and confirmed it, honoring her no leſſe for reſpect of her ſonnes, then alſo for *Scipioes* ſake her father. For afterwards they caſt her image in braſſe, & ſet it vp with this inſcription: *Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi*. Many cõmon matters are found written touching *Cornelia* his mother, & eloquently pleaded in her behalfe, by *Caius* againſt her aduerſaries. As when he ſayd vnto one of them: how dareſt thou preſume *Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, honored of the people of Rome.*

C to ſpeake euill of *Cornelia*, that had *Tiberius* to her ſonne? And the other partie alſo that ſlandered her, being ſorely ſuſpected for a Sodomite: and art thou ſo impudent, ſayd he, to ſhew thy face before *Cornelia*? Haſt thou brought foorth children as ſhe hath done? And yet it is wel knowẽ to all men in Rome, that ſhe being but a woman, hath liued longer without a man, than thou that art a man. Thus were *Caius* words ſharpe & ſtinging, and many ſuch like are to be gathered out of his wrytinges. Furthermore he made many other lawes afterwardes to increaſe the peoples authoritie, and to imbaſe the Senates greatnes. *Other lawes preferred by Caius Gracchus.*

The firſt was, for the reſtoring of the Colonies to Rome, in diuiding the landes of the common wealth vnto the poore citizens that ſhould inhabite there.

The other, that they ſhoulde apparell the ſouldiers at the charge of the common wealth,

D and that it ſhould not be deducted out of their paye: and alſo, that no citizen ſhould be billed to ſerue in the warres, vnder ſeuenteene yeares of age at the leaſt.

An other law was, for their confederats of Italie: that through all Italie they ſhoulde haue as free voyces in the election of any Magiſtrate, as the naturall citizens of Rome it ſelfe.

An other ſetting a reaſonable price of the corne that ſhould be diſtributed vnto the poore people.

An other touching iudgement, whereby he did greatly miniſh the authority of the Senate. For before, the Senators were onely Iudges of all matters, the which made them to be the more honored and feared of the people, and the Romane Knights: and now he ioyned three

E hundred Romane Knights vnto the other three hundred Senators, and brought it ſo to paſſe, that all matters iudiciall ſhoulde be equally iudged, among thoſe ſix hundred men. After he had paſſed this law, it is reported he was verie curious in obſerning all other thinges, but this one thing ſpecially: that where all other Orators ſpeaking to the people turned them towards the pallace where the Senators ſate, and to that ſide of the market place which is called Comitium: he in contrarie manner when he made his Oration, turned him outwardes towardes the other ſide of the market place, and after that kept it conſtantly, and neuer failed. Thus, by a litle turning and altering of his looke only, he remoued a great matter. For he ſo transferred all the gouernment of the common wealth from the Senate, vnto the iudgement of the peo-

F ple: to teach the Orators by his example, that in their Orations they ſhould behold the people, not the Senate. Now, the people hauing not only confirmed the law he made touching the Iudges, but geuen him alſo full power and authoritie to chooſe amonge the Romane Knightes ſuche Iudges as he liked of: he founde thereby he had abſolute power in his owne *Caius Gracchus power.*

hands, insomuche as the Senators them selues did aske counsell of him. So did he euer geue good counsell, and did preferre matters meete for their honor. As amongest others, the lawe he made touching certaine wheate that *Fabius* Viceprætor had sent out of SPAYNE: which was a good and honorable acte. He perswaded the Senate that the corne might be solde, and so to send backe againe the money therof vnto the townes and cities from whence the corne came: and therewithall to punish *Fabius* for that he made the Empire of ROME hatefull and intollerable vnto the prouinces and subiectes of the same. This matter wanne him great loue and commendacion of all the prouinces subiect to ROME. Furthermore, he made lawes for the restoring of the decayed townes, for mending of high wayes, for building of garners for prouision of corne. And to bring all these things to passe, he him selfe tooke apon him the only care and enterprise, being neuer wearied with any paines taken in ordering of so great affaires. For, he followed all those thinges so earnestly and effectually, as if he had had but one matter in hand: insomuch that they who most hated and feared him, wondred most to see his diligence and quicke dispatche in matters. The people also wondred muche to beholde him only, seeing alwaies suche a number of laborers, artificers, Ambassadors, officers, souldiers, and learned men, whom he easely satisfied and dispatched, keping still his estate, and yet vsing great curtesie and ciuilitie, entertaining euery one of them priuately: so that he made his accusers to be found lyers, that sayd he was a stately man, and very cruell. Thus he wanne the good will of the common people, being more popular and familiar in his conuersation and deedes, then he was otherwise in his Orations. But the greatest paines and care he tooke apon him was, in seeing the high wayes mended, the which he woulde haue as well done, as profitablie done. For he would cast the cawcies by the lyne in the softest ground in the fields, and then woulde paue them with hard stone, and cast a great deale of grauell vpon it, which he caused to be brought thither. When he found any low or waterie places which the riuers had eaten into, he raised them vp, or else made bridges ouer them, with an euen height equall to either side of the cawcie: so that all his worke caried a goodly leauell withall euen by the lyne or plummet, which was a pleasure to beholde it. Furthermore, he deuided these high wayes by myles, euery myle conteining eight furlonges, and at euery myles ende he set vp a stone for a marke. At either end also of these high wayes thus paued, he set certaine stones of conuenient height, a prety way a sunder, to helpe the trauellers by to take their horse backes againe, without any helpe. The people for these things highly praising & extolling him, and being readie to make shew of their loue and good will to him any maner of way: he told them openly one day in his Oration, that he had a request to make vnto them, the which if it would please them to graunt him, he woulde thinke they did him a maruelous pleasure: and if they denied him also, he cared not muche. Then euerie man thought it was the Consulshippe he ment to aske, and that he woulde sue to be Tribune and Consul together. But when the day came to choose the Consuls, euery man looking attentiuely what he would doe: they marueled when they sawe him come downe the fielde of *Mars*, and brought *Caius Fannius* with his frends, to further his sute for the Consulshippe. Therein he serued *Fannius* turne, for he was presently chosen Consul: and *Caius Gracchus* was the seconde time chosen Tribune againe, not of his owne sute, but by the good will of the people. *Caius* perceiuing that the Senators were his open enemies, and that *Fannius* the Consul was but a slacke frende vnto him, he began againe to currie fauor with the common people, and to preferre new lawes, setting forth the lawe of the Colonies, that they should send of the poore citizens to replenishe the cities of TARENTVM and CAPVA, & that they should graunt all the Latines the freedom of ROME. The Senate perceiuing his power grew great, and that in the end he would be so strong that they coulde not withstande him: they deuised a new and straunge way to plucke the peoples good will from him, in graunting them things not altogether very honest. There was one of the Tribunes, a brother in office with *Caius*, called *Liuius Drusus*, a man noblely borne, and as well brought vp as any other ROMANE: who for wealth and eloquence was not inferior to the greatest men of estimacion in ROME. The chiefest Senators went vnto him, and perswaded him to take parte with them against *Caius*, not to vse any force or violence against the people to withstand them in any thing, but contrarily to graunt them those things which were more honesty

Other lawes of Caius Gracchus.

The Italian myle conteineth eight furlong.

Caius Gracchus chosen Tribune the second time.

Liuius Drusus one of the Tribunes.

A honeſtie for them to deny them with their ill will. *Liuius* offering to pleaſure the Senate with his authority, preferred lawes neither honorable nor profitable to the cõmon wealth, & were to no other ende, but contending with *Caius*, who ſhould moſt flatter the people of them two, as plaiers do in their cõmon plaies, to ſhew the people paſtime. Wherby the Senate ſhewed, that they did not ſo much miſlike *Caius* doings, as for the deſire they had to ouerthrow him & his great credit with the people. For where *Caius* preferred but the repleniſhing of the two cities, and deſired to ſend the honeſteſt citizens thither: they obiected againſt him, that he did corrupt the common people. On the other ſide alſo they fauored *Druſus*, who preferred a law that they ſhould repleniſh twelue Colonies, & ſhould ſend to euery one of them three thowſande of the pooreſt citizens. And where they hated *Caius* for that he had charged the poore B citizens with an annual rent for the lands that were deuided vnto them: *Liuius* in contrary maner did pleaſe them by disburdening them of that rent & payment, letting thẽ haue the lands ſcotfree. Furthermore alſo, where *Caius* did anger the people, bicauſe he gaue all the Latines the fredom of ROME to geue their voyces in chooſing of Magiſtrates as freely as the naturall ROMANES: when *Druſus* on thother ſide had preferred a law that thencefoorth no ROMANE ſhould whip any ſouldier of the Latines with rods to the warres, they liked the law, & paſt it. *Liuius* alſo in euery law he put forth, ſaid in all his orations, that he did it by the counſell of the Senate, who were very carefull for the profit of the people: and this was all the good he did in his office vnto the cõmon wealth. For by his meanes the people were better pleaſed with the Senate, & where they did before hate all the noble men of the Senate, *Liuius* tooke away that C malice, when the people ſaw that all that he propounded, was for the preferment & benefit of the common wealth, with the conſent & furtheraunce of the Senate. The only thing alſo that perſwaded the people to thinke that *Druſus* ment vprightly, & that he only reſpected the profit of the common people was: that he neuer preferred any law for him ſelfe, or for his owne benefit. For in the reſtoring of theſe Colonies which he preferred, he alwaies ſent other Commiſſioners, & gaue them the charge of it, and would neuer finger any money him ſelfe: where *Caius* tooke apon him the charge & care of all things himſelfe, & ſpecially of the greateſt matters. *Rubrius* alſo an other Tribune, hauing preferred a law for the reedifying & repleniſhing of CARTHAGE againe with people, the which *Scipio* had raſed and deſtroyed: it was *Caius* happe to be appointed one of the Commiſſioners for it. Whereupon he tooke ſhippe, & ſailed into D AFRIKE. *Druſus* in the meane time taking occaſion of his abſence, did as much as might be to ſeeke the fauor of the common people, and ſpecially by accuſing *Fuluius*, who was one of the beſt frends *Caius* had, & whom they had alſo choſen Commiſſioner with him for the diuiſion of theſe landes among the citizens, whom they ſent to repleniſh theſe Colonies. This *Fuluius* was a ſeditious man, & therefore maruelouſly hated of the Senate, & withall ſuſpected alſo of them that tooke parte with the people, that he ſecretly practiſed to make their confederats of ITALIE to rebell. But yet they had no euident proofe of it to iuſtifie it againſt him, more then that which he himſelfe did verifie, bicauſe he ſemed to be offended with the peace & quietnes they enioyed. And this was one of the chiefeſt cauſes of *Caius* ouerthrow, bicauſe that *Fuluius* was partely hated for his ſake. For when *Scipio* AFRICAN was found dead one morning in his E houſe, without any manifeſt cauſe how he ſhould come to his death ſo ſodainly: (ſauing that there appeared certaine blinde markes of ſtripes on his body that had bene geuen him: as we haue declared at large in his life) the moſt parte of the ſuſpicion of his death was layed to *Fuluius*, being his mortall enemy, & bicauſe the ſame day they had bene at great wordes together in the pulpit for orations. So was *Caius Gracchus* alſo partly ſuſpected for it. Howſoeuer it was, ſuch a horrible murder as this, of ſo famous & worthy a man as any was in ROME, was yet notwithſtanding neuer reuenged, neither any inquirie made of it: bicauſe the common people would not ſuffer the accuſacion to goe forward, fearing leaſt *Caius* would be found in fault, if the matter ſhould go forward. But this was a great while before. Now *Caius* at that time being in AFRICK about the reedifying and repleniſhing of the city of CARTHAGE againe, the which F he named IVNONIA: the voice goeth that he had many ill ſignes & tokens appeared vnto him. For the ſtaffe of his enſigne was broken with a vehemẽt blaſt of wind, & with the force of the enſigne bearer that held it faſt on thother ſide. There came a flaw of winde alſo that caried a-

Lawes preferred by Liuius Druſus.

Liuius Druſus pacificth the people againſt the Senate.

Fuluius Commiſſioner with Caius, a verie ſeditious man.

The death of Scipio Africanthe leſſe.

Vnluckie ſignes appearing vnto Caius.

way the ſacrifices vpon the aulters and blew them quite out of the circuite which was marked A
out for the compaſſe of the city. Furthermore, the woulues came and tooke away the markes
which they had ſet downe to limite the bonds of their circuite, & caried him quite away. This
notwithſtanding, *Caius* hauing diſpatched all things in the ſpace of three ſcore & ten daies, he
returned incontinently to Rome, vnderſtanding that *Fuluius* was oppreſſed by *Druſus*, and that
This man is named afterwardes Opimius. thoſe matters required his preſence. For *Lucius Hoſtilius* that was all in all for the nobility, & a
man of great credit with the Senate, being the yeare before put by the Conſulſhippe, by *Caius*
practiſe, who cauſed *Fannius* to be choſen: he had good hope this yere to ſpeede, for the great
number of frends that furthered his ſute. So that if he could obtaine it, he was fully bent to ſet
Caius beſide the ſaddle, & the rather, bicauſe his eſtimacion and countenaunce he was wont to
haue among the people, began now to decay, for that they were ful of ſuch deuiſes as his were: B
bicauſe there were diuers others that preferred the like to pleaſe the people withal, & yet with
the Senates great good will & fauor. So *Caius* being returned to Rome, he remoued from his
houſe, and where before he dwelt in mount Palatine, he came now to take a houſe vnder the
market place, to ſhew him ſelfe therby the lowlier & more popular, bicauſe many of the mea-
ner ſorte of people dwelt thereaboutes. Then he purpoſed to goe forward with the reſt of his
lawes, & to make the people to eſtabiſh thē, a great number of people repairing to Rome out
of all parts for the furtherance thereof. Howbeit the Senate counſelled the Conſul *Fannius* to
make proclamacion, that al thoſe which were no natural Romanes, reſident & abiding within
the city ſelf of Rome: that they ſhould depart out of Rome. Beſides all this, there was a ſtraūge
proclamacion made, and neuer ſeene before: that none of all the frends & confederats of the C
Romanes, for certaine daies ſhould come into Rome. But *Caius* on thother ſide ſet vp bills on
euery poſt, accuſing the Conſul for making ſo wicked a proclamacio: & further, promiſed the
confederates of Rome to aide them, if they would remaine there againſt the Conſuls procla-
macion. But yet he performed it not. For when he ſaw one of *Fannius* ſergeaūts cary a frend of
his to priſon, he held on his way, & would ſee nothing, neither did he helpe him: either of like-
lyhoode bicauſe he feared his credit with the people, which began to decay, or elſe bicauſe he
was loth (as he ſaid) to picke any quarrell with his enemies, which ſought it of him. Further-
Caius Gracchus fell out with the Tribunes. more, he chaunced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this occaſion.
The people were to ſee the paſtime of the ſword plaiers or fenſers at the ſharp, within the ve-
ry market place, and there were diuers of the officers that to ſee the ſport, did ſet vp ſcaffoldes D
rounde about, to take money for the ſtanding. *Caius* cōmaunded them to take them downe a-
gain, bicauſe the poore men might ſee the ſport without any coſt. But not a man of thē would
yeeld to it. Wherefore he ſtaid till the night before the paſtime ſhould be, & then he tooke all
his laborers he had vnder him, & went & ouerthrew the ſcaffolds euery one of thē: ſo that the
next morning all the market place was clere for the cōmon people, to ſee the paſtime at their
pleaſure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him maruelouſly, & tooke him for a worthie
man. Howbeit his brethren the Tribunes were very much offended with him, & tooke him for
Caius Gracchus repulſed from the third Tribuneſhip. a bold preſumptuous man. This ſeemeth to be the chiefe cauſe why he was put from his third
Tribuneſhip, where he had the moſt voices of his ſide: bicauſe his colleagues, to be reuēged of
the part he had plaied thē, of malice & ſpight, made falſe report of the voices. Howbeit there E
is no great troth in this. It is true that he was very angry with this repulſe, & it is reported he
ſpake ſomwhat too prowdly to his enemies, that were mery with the matter, & laughed him
to ſcorne: that they laughed a Sardonians laugh, not knowing how darkely his deedes had
wrapt them in. Furthermore, his enemies hauing choſen *Opimius* Conſul, they began imme-
diatly to reuoke diuers of *Caius* lawes: as among the reſt, his doings at Carthage for the re-
edifying of that city, procuring thus all the waies they could to anger him, bicauſe they might
haue iuſt occaſion of anger to kil him. *Caius* notwithſtanding did paciently beare it at the firſt:
but afterwards his frends, & ſpecially *Fuluius*, did encorage him ſo, that he began againe to ga-
ther men to reſiſt the Conſul. And it is reported alſo, that *Cornelia* his mother did help him in
it, ſecretly hyring a great number of ſtraungers which ſhe ſent vnto Rome, as if they had bene F
reapers, or harueſt men. And this is that ſhe wrote ſecretly in her letter, vnto her ſonne in ci-
phers. And yet other write to the contrary, that ſhe was very angry he did attēpt thoſe things.

When

A When the day came that they ſhould proceede to the reuocation of his lawes, both parties met by breake of day at the Capitoll. There when the Conſul *Opimius* had done ſacrifice, one of *Caius* ſergeaunts called *Quintus Antyllius*, carying the intrals of the beaſt ſacrificed, ſaid vnto *Fuluius*, and others of his tribe that were about him: giue place to honeſt men, vile citizens that ye be. Some ſay alſo, that beſides theſe iniurious wordes, in skorne & contempt he held out his naked arme to make thē aſhamed. Whereupon they ſlue him preſently in the field with great botkins to wryte with, which they had purpoſely made for that intent. Hereupon the cōmon people were maruelouſly offended for this murther, & the chiefe men of both ſides alſo were diuerſly affected. For *Caius* was very ſory for it, & bitterly reproued them that were about him, ſaying, that they had giuen their enemies the occaſion they looked for, to ſet vpon thē. *Opimius* B the Conſul in contrary maner, taking this occaſion, roſe apon it, & did ſtirre vp the people to be reuenged. But there fell a ſhower of raine at that time that parted them. The next morning the Conſul hauing aſſembled the Senate by breake of day, as he was diſpatching cauſes within, ſome had takē the body of *Antyllius* & layed it naked vpon the beere, & ſo caried it through the market place (as it was agreed vpon before amongſt thē) & brought it to the Senate dore: where they began to make great mone & lamētacion, *Opimius* knowing the meaning of it, but yet he diſſembled it, & ſeemed to wonder at it. Wherupon the Senators went out to ſee what it was, & finding this beere, in the market place, ſome fell a weeping for him that was dead, others cried out that it was a ſhamefull act, & in no wiſe to be ſuffred. But on the other ſide, this did reuiue the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickednes of the ambitious noble C men: who hauing thēſelues before ſlaine *Tiberius Gracchus* that was Tribune, & within the Capitoll it ſelfe, & had alſo caſt his body into the riuer, did now make an honorable ſhow openly in the market place, of the body of a ſergeaūt *Antyllius* (who though he were wrōgfully ſlaine, yet had himſelfe geuen thē the cauſe that ſlue him, to do that they did) & all the whole Senate were about the beere to bewaile his death, & to honor the funeralls of a hyerling, to make the people alſo kill him, that was only left the protector & defender of the people. After this, they went againe vnto the Capitoll, & there made a decree, wherby they gaue the Conſul *Opimius* extraordinary power & authority, by abſolute power to prouide for the ſafety of the common wealth, to preſerue the city, & to ſuppreſſe the tyrans. This decree being eſtabliſhed, the Conſul preſently commaunded the Senators that were preſent there, to go arme thē ſelues: & ap-D pointed the ROMANE Knights, that the next morning betimes euery man ſhould bring two of their men armed with thē. *Fuluius* on the other ſide, he prepared his foree againſt them, & aſſembled the cōmon people together. *Caius* alſo returning from the market place, ſtayd before the image of his father, & looked earneſtly apon it without euer a word ſpeaking, only he burſt out a weeping, and fetching a great ſigh, went his way. This made the people to pitie him that ſaw him: ſo that they talked among them ſelues, that they were but beaſts & cowards at ſuch a ſtraight to forſake ſo worthy a man. Therupon they went to his houſe, ſtayed there all night & watched before his gate: not as they did that watched with *Fuluius*, that paſſed away the night in guſeling and drinking drunke, crying out, and making noyſe, *Fuluius* him ſelfe being dronke firſt of all, who both ſpake and did many thinges farre vnmeete for his calling. For they that E watched *Caius* on thother ſide, were very ſorowfull, and made no noyſe, euen as in a common calamitie of their contrie, deuiſing with them ſelues what would fall out apon it, waking, and ſleeping one after an other by turnes. When the day brake, they with *Fuluius* did awake him, who ſlept yet ſoundly for the wine he dranke ouer night, and they armed them ſelues with the ſpoiles of the GAVLES that hong rounde about his houſe, whom he had ouercome in battell the ſame yeare he was Conſul: and with great cries, and thundering threats, they went to take the mount Auentine. But *Caius* would not arme him ſelfe, but went out of his houſe in a long gowne, as if he woude haue gone ſimply into the market place according to his wonted maner, ſauing that he caried a ſhort dagger at his girdel vnder his gowne. So as he was going out of his houſe, his wife ſtayed him at the dore, and holding him by the one hand, and a litle child F of his in her other hand, ſhe ſayd thus vnto him: Alas *Caius*, thou doeſt not now goe as thou wert wont, a Tribune into the market place to ſpeake to the people, neither to preferre any new lawes: neither doeſt thou goe vnto an honeſt warre, that if vnfortunately that ſhoulde

Sedition betwext Caius Gracchus & the Senate.

Antillius, C. Gracchus ſergeaunt ſlaine.

An ordinance made by the Senate, againſt C. Gracchus.

The people defended C. Gracchus.

The words of Licinia to her husband Caius Gracchus.

» happen to thee that is common to all men, I might yet at the leaſt mourne for thy death with A
» honor. But thou goeſt to put thy ſelfe into bloodie burchers handes, who moſt cruelly haue
» ſlaine thy brother *Tiberius*: and yet thou goeſt, a naked man vnarmed, intending rather to
» ſuffer, then to doe hurt. Beſides, thy death can bring no benefit to the common wealth. For
» the worſer part hath now the vpper hand, conſidering that ſentence paſſeth by force of ſword.
» Had thy brother bene ſlaine by his enemies, before the citie of NVMANTIA: yet had they ge-
» uen vs his bodie to haue buried him. But ſuch may be my misfortune, that I may preſently go
» to pray the riuer or ſea to geue me thy bodie, which as thy brothers they haue likewiſe thro-
» wen into the ſame. Alas, what hope or truſt is left vs now, in lawes or gods, ſithence they haue
» ſlaine *Tiberius*? As *Licinia* was making this pitiefull mone vnto him, *Caius* fayer and ſoftly
pulled his hand from her, and left her, geuing her neuer a word, but went on with his frends. B
But ſhe reaching after him to take him by the gowne, fell to the ground, and lay flatling there
a great while, ſpeaking neuer a word: vntill at length her ſeruaunts tooke her vp in a ſwoone,
and caried her ſo vnto her brother *Craſſus*. Now *Fuluius*, by the perſwaſion of *Caius*, when all
Fuluius ſent his ſonne to the Conſull with a Heraulds rodde to offer peace. their faction were met: ſent his younger ſonne (which was a prety fayer boy) with a Heraulds
rodde in his hand for his ſafetie. This boy humbly preſenting his duetie, with the teares in his
eyes, before the Conſul and Senate, offred them peace. The moſt of them that were preſent
thought verie well of it. But *Opimius* made aunſwere ſaying, that it became them not to ſend
meſſengers, thinking with fayer wordes to winne the Senate; but it was their duetie to come
thẽ ſelues in perſons, like ſubiects & offendors to make their triall, & ſo to craue pardon, & to
ſeeke to pacifie the wrath of the Senate. Then he commaunded the boy he ſhould not returne C
againe to them, but with this condicion he had preſcribed. *Caius* (as it is reported) was ready
to go and cleare him ſelfe vnto the Senate: but the reſidue would not ſuffer him to go. Wher-
uppon *Fuluius* ſent his ſonne backe againe vnto them, to ſpeake for them as he had done be-
fore. But *Opimius* that was deſirous to fight, cauſed the boy to be taken, and committed him
in ſafe cuſtodie, & then went preſently againſt *Fuluius* with a great number of footemen well
armed, & of CRETAN archers beſides: who with their arrowes did more trouble & hurt their
enemies, then with any thing elſe, that within a while they all began to flie. *Fuluius* on the o-
ther ſide fled into an old hottehouſe that no body made reckoning of, and there being found
The death of Fuluius and his eldeſt ſonne. ſhortly after, they ſlue him, and his eldeſt ſonne. Now for *Caius*, he fought not at all, but being
mad with him ſelfe, and grieued to ſee ſuch bloodſhed: he got him into the temple of *Diana*, D
where he would haue killed him ſelfe, had not his very good frends *Pomponius* and *Licinius* ſa-
ued him. For both they being with him at that time, tooke his ſword from him, and counſel-
led him to flie. It is reported that then he fell downe on his knees, and holding vp both his
hands vnto the goddeſſe, he beſought her that the people might neuer come out of bondage,
to be reuenged of this their ingratitude & treaſon. For the common people (or the moſt parte
of them) plainly turned their coats, when they heard proclamacion made, that all men had
The flight of Caius. pardon graunted them, that woulde returne. So *Caius* fled apon it, and his enemies followed
him ſo neere, that they ouertooke him apon the wodden bridge, where two of his frends that
were with him ſtayed, to defende him againſt his followers, and bad him in the meane time
make ſhift for him ſelfe, whileſt they fought with them apon the bridge: and ſo they did, and E
kept them that not a man got the bridge of them, vntill they were both ſlaine. Nowe there
was none that fled with *Caius*, but one of his men called *Philocrates*: notwithſtanding, euerie
man did ſtill encorage and counſell him, as they do men to winne a game, but no man would
helpe him, nor offer him any horſe, though he often required it, bicauſe he ſawe his enemies
ſo neere vnto him. This notwithſtanding, by their defence that were ſlaine apon the bridge,
he got ground on them ſo, that he had leaſure to crepe into a litle groue of wodde which was
conſecrated to the furies. There his ſeruaunt *Philocrates* ſlue him, and then ſlue him ſelfe alſo,
and fell dead vpon him. Other write notwithſtanding, that both the maiſter & ſeruaunt were
The faithfulnes of Caius Gracchus ſeruaunt. ouertaken, and taken aliue: and that his ſeruaunt did ſo ſtraight imbrace his maiſter that none
of the enemies could ſtrike him for all the blowes they gaue, before he was ſlaine him ſelfe. So F
one of the murderers ſtrake of *Caius Gracchus* head to carie to the Conſul. How beit one of *O-
pimius* frendes called *Septimuleius*, tooke the head from the other by the way, bicauſe procla-

mation

A macion was made before they fought by trompet, that whosoeuer brought the heades of *Fuluius* and *Caius*, they should be payed the weight of them in gold. Wherefore this *Septimuleius* caried *Caius* head vpon the toppe of his speare vnto *Opimius*: whereuppon the skales being brought to wey it, it was found that it weyed seuentesne pounde weight and two third partes of a pound, bicause *Septimuleius* besides the horrible murder he had committed, had also holpen it with this villanie, that he had taken out his braine, and in stew thereof had filled his scull with lead. Now the other also that brought *Fuluius* head, bicause they were poore men, they had nothing. The bodies of these two men, *Caius Gracchus* and *Fuluius*, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thowsand that were slaine) were all throwen into the riuer, their goods confiscate, and their widowes forbidden to mourne for their death. Fur-
B thermore, they tooke from *Licinia Caius* wife, her ioynter: but yet they delt more cruelly and beastly with the young boy, *Fulaius* sonne: who had neither lift vp his hand against them, nor was in the fight among them, but only came to the to make peace before they fought, whom they kept as prisoner, and after the battell ended, they put him to death. But yet that which most of all other grieued the people, was the temple of concorde, the which *Opimius* caused to be built: for it appeared that he boasted, and in maner triumphed, that he had slaine so many citizens of Rome. And therefore there were that in the night wrote vnder the inscription of the temple these verses:

The temple of concord built by Opimius the Consul.

A furious fact and full of beastly shame,
This temple built, that beareth concordes name.

C This *Opimius* was the first man at Rome, that being Consul, vsurped the absolute power of the Dictator: and that without law or iustice condemned three thowsand citizens of Rome, besides *Fuluius Flaccus*, (who had also bene Consul, and had receiued the honor of triumphe) and *Caius Gracchus* a young man in like case, who in vertue & reputacion excelled all the men of his yeares. This notwithstanding, coulde not keepe *Opimius* from theuerie and extorcion. For when he was sent Ambassador vnto *Iugurthe* king of Numidia, he was bribed with mo-
ney: & therupon being accused, he was most shamefully conuicted, and condemned. Where-
fore he ended his dayes with this reproch and infamy, hated, and mocked of all the people: bi-
cause at the time of the ouerthrow he delt beastly with them that fought for his quarrell. But
shortly after, it appeared to the world, how much they lamented the losse of the two brethren
D of the *Gracchi*. For they made images and statues of them, and caused them to be set vp in an
open and honorable place, consecrating the places where they had bene slaine: and many of
them also came and offred to them, of their first frutes and flowers, according to the time of
the yere, & went thither to make their prayers on their knees, as vnto the temples of the gods.
Their mother *Cornelia*, as writers report, did beare this calamity with a noble hart: and as for
the chappells which they built & consecrated vnto them in the place where they were slaine,
she said no more, but that they had such graues, as they had deserued. Afterwardes she dwelt
continually by the mount of Misene, and neuer chaunged her manner of life. She had many
frends, and bicause she was a noble Ladie, and loued euer to welcome straungers, she kept a
very good house, and therefore had alwayes great repaire vnto her, of Grecians & learned
E men: besides, there was no king nor Prince, but both receiued giftes from her, and sent her a-
gaine. They that frequented her cõpany, delighted maruelously to heare her report the dedes
and maner of her fathers life, *Scipio* African: but yet they wondred more, to heare her tell
the actes and death of her two sonnes, *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*, without sheading teare, or
making any shew of lamentacion or griefe, no more then if she had told an history vnto them
that had requested her. Insomuch some writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had
ouercomen and taken her reason and sence from her, to feele any sorowe. But in deede they
were senseless to say so, not vnderstandinge, howe that to be noblie borne, and vertuouslie
brought vp, doth make men temperatly to disgest sorow, and that fortune oftentimes
ouercomes vertue, which regardeth honestie in all respectes, but yet
F with any aduersity she can not take away the temperaunce
from them, whereby they paciently beare it.

Opimius the first Consul, vsurping the power of the Dictator.

Opimius bribed with money of Iugurthe, and condemned.

The Gracchi were maruelously desired of the people.

The magnanimity of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.

The power of learning to ouercome sorow.

THE COMPARISON OF
Tiberius and Caius Gracchi with Agis and Cleomenes.

The wisedom of the Gracchi.

NOw that we be come to the end of this history, we are to compare the liues of these two men the one with the other. First, as touching the two *Gracchi*: their enemies that most hated them, and spake the worst they could of them, could not deny but that they were the best geuen to vertue, and as well taught and brought vp, as any ROMANES that were in their time. But yet it appeareth, that nature had the vpper hand of them, in *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they hauing bene very ill brought vp, both for learning and good manners, for lacke whereof the oldest men were almost spoyled: yet did they notwithstandinge make them selues the first maisters and example of sobrietie, temperaunce, and simplicitie of life. Furthermore, the two first hauing liued in that time, when ROME florished most in honor and vertuous desires: they were more then ashamed to forsake the vertues inherited from their auncesters. These two last also being borne of fathers that had a cleane contrarie disposicion, and finding their contrie altogether without any order, and infected with dissolute life: were not therefore any whit the more moued with desire to do well. Furthermore, the greatest praise they gaue vnto the two *Gracchi*, was, their abstinence and integritie from taking of money all the time they were in office, and delt in matters of state, euer keeping their handes cleane, and tooke not a pennie wrongfully from any man. Where *Agis* on thother side was offended if any man praised him, for that he tooke nothing from an other man: seeing that he dispossessed him selfe of his owne goods, and gaue it to his citizens, which amounted in readie coyne to the value of six hundred talents. Whereby men may easely iudge, how grieuous a sinne he thought it to take any thing wrongfully from any man: seeing that he thought it a kinde of auarice, lawfully to be richer then others. Furthermore, there was maruelous great difference in their alteracions, and renuing of the state, which they did both preferre. For the actes of the two ROMANES were to mend high wayes, and to reedifie and repleniſh decayed townes: and the worthiest acte *Tiberius* did, was the lawe Agraria, which he brought in for

diuiding

A diuiding of the lands of the common wealth amongest the poore Citizens. And the best and his brother *Caius* also did, was the mingling of the Iudges: adding to the three hundred Senators, three hundred ROMANS knightes to be indifferent Iudges with them. Whereas *Agis* and *Cleomenes* in contrary maner were of opinion, that to reforme smal faults, & to redresse them by litle and litle, was (as *Plato* sayd) to cut of one of the Hydraes heads, of the which came afterwards seuen in the place: and therefore they tooke vpon them a change and innouation, euen at once to roote out all the mischiefs of their contry, (or to speake more truely, to take away the disorder which brought in all vice and mischief to the common wealth) and so to restore the citie of SPARTA againe to her former auncient honorable estate. Nowe this may be said againe, for the gouernment of the GRACCHI: that the chiefest men of ROME were euer a-
B gainst their purposes. Where, in that that *Agis* attempted, and *Cleomenes* ended, they had the noblest ground that could be, & that was the auncient lawes and ordinances of SPARTA, touching temperance and equalitie: the first, instituted in old time by *Lycurgus*, the other confirmed by *Apollo*. Furthermore, by the alteracions of the first, ROME became no greater then it was before. Where, by that which *Cleomenes* did, all GRAECIA in short time sawe that SPARTA commaunded all the rest of PELOPONNESVS, and fought at that time against those that were of greatest power in all GRAECI, for the signiorie thereof. Whereby their onely marke & purpose was, to rid all GRAECE from the warres of the GAVLES and ILLYRIANS, and to restore it againe to the honest gouernment of the race and lyne of *Hercules*. Their deathes, me thinkes, doe shew great difference of their corages. For the GRACCHI fighting with their owne Citi-
C zens, were slaine flying. Of these two also, *Agis*, bicause he would put neuer a Citizen to death, was slayne in manner voluntarily: and *Cleomenes* receiuing iniurie stoode to his defence, and when he had no oportunitie to doe it, he stowtly killed him selfe. And so may it be said on thother side, that *Agis* did neuer any noble acte of a Captaine or souldier, bicause he was slayne before he could come to it. And for the victories of *Cleomenes* on thother side, may be opposed the scaling of the walls of CARTHAGE, where *Tiberius* was the first man that at the assault got vp vpon the wall, which was no small exployte: and the peace which he made also at the seege of NVMANTIA, whereby he saued twenty thowsand fighting men of the ROMANES, the which had no meanes otherwise to saue their liues. And *Caius* also in the selfe same warre, at the seege of NVMANTIA, and afterwards in SARDINIA, did many noble feates of warre: so that
D there is no doubt, but if they had not bene slaine so soone as they were, they might haue bene compared with the excellentest Captaines that euer were in ROME. Again, touching their doings in ciuill pollicie, it appeareth that *Agis* delt more slackly, being abused by *Agesilaus*: who likewise deceiued the poore Citizens of the diuision of the landes which he had promised them. In fine, for lacke of corage, bicause he was very young, he left the thinges vndone which he had purposed to haue performed. On thother side, *Cleomenes* went too rowndly to worke to renew the auncient gouernment of the common wealth againe, by killing the Ephores with too much crueltie, whom he might easily haue wonne, or otherwise by force haue gotten the vpper hande. For it is not the parte of a wise Phisition, nor of a good gouernor of a common weale to vse the sword, but in great extreamitie, where there is no other helpe nor remedie: &
E there lacked iudgement in them both, but worst of all in the one, for iniury is euer ioyned with crueltie. The GRACCHI on thother side, nether the one nor the other, began to embrew their hands in the blood of their Citizens. For it is reported, that though they did hurt *Caius*, yet he would neuer defend him selfe: and where it was knowen that he was very valliant in battell with his sword in his hand against the enemie, he shewed him selfe as cold againe in the vprore against his Citizens. For he went out of his house vnarmed, and fled when he saw them fight: being more circumspect not to doe hurt, then not to suffer any. Therefore they are not to be thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearefull to offend any man. For they were driuen, either to yeeld to them that followed them, or els if they stayed, to stande to their de-
F fence, bicause they might keepe them selues from hurt. And where they accuse *Tiberius* for the faults he committed, the greatest that euer he did, was when he deposed *Octauius* his colleague from the Tribuneship, and that he him selfe made suto for the second. And as for *Caius*, they falsely accused him for the death of *Antyllius* the Sergeaunt, who in deede was slayne vn-

The Actes of the Gracchi did litle profit Rome.

The ende of the Gracchi vnfortunate.

The deedes of the Gracchi.

The faultes of the Gracchi.

knowen to him, and to his great griefe. Where *Cleomenes* on thother side, although we should forget the murder he committed vpon the Ephores, yet he set slaues at libertie, and ruled the kingdom in manner him selfe alone: but yet for manners sake onely he ioyned his owne brother with him, which was of the selfe same house. And when he had perswaded *Archidamus*, (who was next heire to the kingdom of the other royall house) to be bold to returne home from MESSENA vnto SPARTA: he suffered him to be slayne, and bicause he did not reuenge his death, he did confirme their opinion that thought he was consenting to his death. *Lycurgus* on the other side, whose example he did counterfeate to followe, bicause he did willingly resigne the kingdom vnto his brothers sonne *Charilaus*, and being afrayd also, that if the young child should chaunce to miscary, they would suspect him for his death: he exiled him selfe out of his owne contry a long time, trauelling vp and downe, and returned not to SPARTA againe, before *Charilaus* had gotten a sonne to succeede him in his kingdom. But we can not set another GRÆCIAN by *Lycurgus* comparable vnto him. We haue declared also that amongest *Cleomenes* deedes, there were many other greater alteracions then these, and also many other breaches of the lawe. So they that doe condemne the manners of the one and the other, say, that the two GRÆCIANS from the beginning had an aspyring minde to be tyrannes, still practising warres. Whereas the two ROMANES onely, euen by their most mortall enemies, could be blamed for nothing els, but for an extreame ambition, and did confesse that they were too earnest and vehement aboue their nature, in any strife or contencion they had with their aduersaries, and that they yelded vnto that choller and passion, as vnto ill windes, which brought them to doe those thinges they did in the ende. For what more iust or honest intent could they haue had, then the first was: had not the riche men (euen through stowtnes and authoritie to ouerthrow the lawes) brought them against their wills into quarrell: the one to saue his life, the other to reuenge his brothers death, who was slayne without order, iustice, or the authoritie of any officer? Thus thou maiest thy selfe see the difference, that was betwene the GRÆCIANS and ROMANES: and nowe to tell you plainly my opinion of both, I think that *Tiberius* was the stowtest of the foure, that the younge king *Agis* offended least, and that for boldnes and corage, *Caius* came nothing neare vnto *Cleomenes*.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Demosthenes.*

A HE that made the litle booke of the praiſe of *Alcibiades*, touching the victorie he wanne at the horſe raſe of the Olympian games, (were it the Poet *Euripides* as ſome thinke, or any other) my friende *Soſius*: ſayde, that to make a man happy, he muſt of neceſſitie be borne in ſome famous citie. But to tell you what I thinke hereof, douteles, true happines chiefly conſiſteth in the vertue and qualities of the minde, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be borne in a pelting village, or in a famous citie: no more then it is for one to be borne of a fayer or fowle mother. For it were a madnes to thinke that the litle village of IVLIDE, being the leaſt part of the Ile of CEO (the whole Iland of it ſelfe being but a ſmall B thing) and that the Ile of ÆGINA (which is of ſo ſmal a length, that a certaine ATHENIAN on a time made a motion it might be taken away, bicauſe it was but as a ſtrawe in the ſight of the hauen of Piræa) could bring forth famous Poets, and excellent Comediants: and not breede an honeſt, iuſt, and wiſe man, and of noble corage. For, as we haue reaſon to thinke that artes and ſciences which were firſt deuiſed and inuented to make ſome thinges neceſſary for mens vſe, or otherwiſe to winne fame and credit, are drowned, and caſt away in litle poore villages: So are we to iudge alſo, that vertue, like a ſtrong and frutefull plant, can take roote, and bringe forth in euery place, where it is graffed in a good nature, and gentle perſon, that can patiently away with paines. And therefore if we chaunce to offend, and liue not as we ſhould: we can not accuſe the meanenes of our contry where we were borne, but we muſt iuſtly accuſe our C ſelues. Surely he that hath taken vpon him to put forth any worke, or to write any hiſtorie, into the which he is to thruſt many ſtraunge things vnknowen to his contry, and which are not ready at his hand to be had, but diſperſed abroad in diuers places, and are to be gathered out of diuers bookes and authorities: firſt of all, he muſt needes remaine in ſome great and famous citie throughly inhabited, where men doe delight in good and vertuous thinges, bicauſe there are commonly plenty of all ſortes of bookes: and that peruſing them, and hearing talke alſo of many things beſides, which other Hiſtoriographers peraduenture haue not written of, and which will cary ſo much more credit, bicauſe men that are aliue may preſently ſpeake of them as of their owne knowledge, whereby he may make his worke perfect in euery poynt, hauing many and diuers neceſſary things conteyned in it. But I my ſelfe that dwell in a poore litle

True happines conſiſteth in the minde and manners of man, not in any place or contry.

Expedient for an Hiſtoriographer to be in a famous citie.

Plutarkes cōtry very litle.

towne,and yet doe remayne there willingly leaſt it ſhould become leſſe: whileſt I was in ITALY,and at ROME,I had no leyſure to ſtudy and exerciſe the Latine tongue, aſwell for the great buſines I had then to doe, as alſo to ſatisfie them that came to learne Philoſophie of me: ſo that euen ſomewhat too late,and now in my latter time, I began to take my Latine bookes in my hand. And thereby,a ſtraunge thing to tell you,but yet true: I learned not, nor vnderſtood matters ſo much by the words,as I came to vnderſtand the words,by common experience & knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to knowe howe to pronownce the Latin tongue well,or to ſpeake it readily,or to vnderſtand the ſignification,tranſlations, and fine ioyning of the ſimple words one with another,which doe bewtifie & ſet forth the tongue: ſurely I iudge it to be a maruailous pleaſant and ſweete thing, but withall it requireth a long and laborſome ſtudy,meete for thoſe that haue better leyſure then I haue,& that haue young yeares on their backes to follow ſuch pleaſure. Therefore,in this preſent booke,which is the fift of this work, where I haue taken vpon me to compare the liues of noble men one with another: vndertaking to write the liues of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, we will conſider and examine their nature, manners and condicions,by their acts and deedes in the gouernment of the common wealth, not meaning otherwiſe to conferre their workes and writings of eloquence, nether to define which of them two was ſharper or ſweeter in his oration. For,as the Poet *Ion* ſayth,

In this behalfe a man may rightly ſay,
The Dolphynes in their proper ſoyle doe play.

Demoſthenes cõpared with Cicero.

The which *Cæcilius* litle vnderſtanding,being a man very raſhe in all his doings,hath vnaduiſedly written and ſet forth in print, a compariſon of *Demoſthenes* eloquence,with *Ciceroes*. But if it were an eaſie matter for euery man to know him ſelfe, then the goddes needed haue giuen vs no commaundement,nether could men haue ſaid that it came from heauen. But for my opiniõ,me thinks fortune euen from the beginning hath framed in maner one ſelf mowld of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*,and hath in their natures facioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as,both of them to be ambitious,both of them to loue the libertie of their contry, and both of them very feareful in any daunger of warres. And likewiſe their fortunes ſeeme to me,to be both much alike. For it is harde to finde two Orators againe,that being ſo meanely borne as they, haue comen to be of ſo great power and authoritie as they two, nor that haue deſerued the ill will of kings & noble men ſo much as they haue done, nor that haue loſt their Daughters,nor that haue bene baniſhed their contries,& that haue bene reſtored againe with honor,and that againe haue fled,and haue bene taken againe, nor that haue ended their liues with the libertie of their cõtry. So that it is hard to be iudged,whether nature haue made them liker in manners, or fortune in their doings, as if they had both like cunning workemaiſters ſtriued one with the other,to whome they ſhould make them beſt reſemble. But firſt of all we muſt write of the elder of them two.

The parentsage of Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes the father of this Orator *Demoſthenes*, was as *Theopompus* writeth, one of the chiefe men of the citie,and they called him *Machæropœus*, to wete, a maker of ſworde blades, bicauſe he had a great ſhoppe where he kept a number of ſlaues to forge them. But touching *AEſchynes*,the Orators report of his mother,who ſaid that ſhe was the Daughter of one *Gelon* (that fled from ATHENS beeing accuſed of treaſon) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother: I am not able to ſay whether it be true,or deuiſed of malice to doe him deſpite. Howſoeuer it was,it is true that his father died, leauing him ſeuen yeare olde, and left him reaſonable wel: for his goods came to litle leſſe then the value of fifteene talents. Howbeit his gardians did him great wronge: for they ſtale a great parte of his goods them ſelues, and did let the reſt runne to naught,as hauing litle care of it, for they would not pay his ſchoolemaiſters their wages. And this was the cauſe that he did not learne the liberall ſciences which are vſually taught vnto honeſt mens ſonnes: and to further that want alſo, he was but a weakling, & very tender,and therefore his mother would not much let him goe to ſchoole,nether his maſters alſo durſt keepe him too hard to it,bicauſe he was but a ſickly childe at the firſt, and very weake. And it is reported alſo, that the ſurname of *Battalus* was giuen him in mockery by other ſchooleboyes his companions,bicauſe of his weaknes of bodye. This *Battalus* (as diuers men doe report) was an effeminate player on the flute,againſt whom the Poet *Antiphanes* to

The patrimony left Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes why he was called Battalus.

mocke

A mocke him, deuiſed a litle play. Others alſo doe write of one *Battalus*, a diſſolute Orator, and that wrote laſciuious verſes: and it ſeemeth that the ATHENIANS at that time did call a certaine part of mans body vncomely to be named, *Battalus*. Now for *Argas* (which ſurname men ſay was alſo giuen him) he was ſo called, either for his rude and beaſtly maners, (bicauſe ſome Poets doe call a ſnake *Argas*) or els for his maner of ſpeech, which was very vnpleaſant to the eare: for *Argas* is the name of a Poet, that made alwayes bawdy & ill fauored ſongs. But hereof enough as *Plato* ſaid. Furthermore, the occaſion (as it is reported) that moued him to giue him ſelfe to eloquence, was this. *Caliſtratus* the Orator was to defend the cauſe of one *Oropus* before the Iudges, and euery man longed greatly for this daye of pleading, both for the excellencie of the Orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accuſati-

B on, which was manifeſtly knowen to all. *Demoſthenes* hearing his ſchoolemaſters agree together to goe to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his ſchoolemaſter to be ſo good, as to let him goe with him. His Maiſter graunted him, and being acquainted with the keepers of the hal dore where this matter was to be pleaded, he ſo intreated them, that they placed his ſcholler in a very good place, where being ſet at his eaſe, he might both ſee and heare all that was done, and no man could ſee him. Thereuppon, when *Demoſthenes* had heard the caſe pleaded, he was greatly in loue with the honor which the Orator had gotten, when he ſawe howe he was wayted vpon home with ſuch a trayne of people after him: but yet he wondred more at the force of his great eloquence, that could ſo turne and conuey all thinges at his pleaſure. Thereuppon he left the ſtudie of all other ſciences, and all other exerciſes of witte and bodye,

C which other children are brought vp in: and beganne to labor continually, and to frame him ſelfe to make orations, with intent one day to be an Orator amonge the reſt. His Maiſter that taught him Rethoricke was *Iſæus*, notwithſtanding that *Iſocrates* alſo kept a ſchoole of Rethoricke at that time: either bicauſe that beeing an orphane he was not able to paye the wages that *Iſocrates* demaunded of his ſchollers, which was ten Minas: or rather for that he founde *Iſæus* manner of ſpeeche more propper for the vſe of the eloquence he deſired, bicauſe it was more finer, & ſutler. Yet *Hermippus* writeth notwithſtanding, that he had red certayne bookes, hauing no name of any author, which declared that *Demoſthenes* had bene *Platoes* ſcholler, and that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronunciation and eloquence. And he writeth alſo of one *Cteſibius*, who reporteth that *Demoſthenes* had ſecretly redde *Iſocrates* workes of Re-

D thoricke, and alſo *Alcidamus* bookes, by meanes of one *Callias* SYRACVSAN, and others. Wherefore when he came out of his wardeſhippe, he beganne to put his gardians in ſute, and to write orations and pleas againſt them: who in contrary manner did euer vſe delayes and excuſes, to ſaue them ſelues from giuing vp any accompt vnto him, of his goods and patrimony left him. And thus, following this exerciſe (as *Thucydides* writeth) it proſpered ſo well with him, that in the ende he obtayned it, but not without great paynes and daunger: and yet with all that he could doe, he could not recouer all that his father left him, by a good deale. So hauing now gotten ſome boldnes, and being vſed alſo to ſpeake in open preſence, and withall, hauing a feeling and delight of the eſtimation that is wonne by eloquence in pleading: afterwards he attempted to put forward him ſelfe, and to practiſe in matters of ſtate. For, as there

E goeth a tale of one *Laomedon* an ORCHOMENIAN, who hauing a grieuous paine in the ſplene, by aduiſe of the Phiſitions was willed to runne long courſes to helpe him: and that following their order, he became in the end ſo luſty & nymble of body, that afterwards he would needes make one to ronne for games, & in deede grew to be the ſwifteſt runner of all men in his time. Euen ſo the like chaunced vnto *Demoſthenes*. For at the firſt, beginning to practiſe oratorie for recouerie of his goods, and thereby hauing gotten good skill and knowledge how to pleade: he afterwards tooke apon him to ſpeake to the people in aſſemblies, touching the gouernment of the common wealth, euen as if he ſhould haue contended for ſome game of price, & at length did excell all the Orators at that time that got vp into the pulpit for orations: notwithſtanding that when he firſt ventred to ſpeake openly, the people made ſuch a noyſe, that

F he could ſcant be heard, and beſides they mocked him for his manner of ſpeeche that was ſo ſtraunge, bicauſe he vſed ſo many long confuſed peryods, and his matter he ſpake of was ſo intricate with arguments one apon another, that they were tedious, and made men weary to

Demoſthenes, why ſurnamed Argas.

Caliſtratus the Orator.

The earneſt deſire of Demoſthenes to learne eloquence.

Iſæus, Demoſthenes ſchole maſter of Rethorike.

Demoſthenes firſt practiſe in drawing & penning of orations.

A remedie for the paine of the ſplene.

Demoſthenes mocked of the people for his long orations.

Demosthenes impediments of nature.

heare him. And furthermore, he had a very soft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had A
also a short breath, the which made that men could not well vnderstand what he ment, for his
long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the ende of his sen-
tence. So that at length, perceiuing he was thus reiected, he gaue ouer to speake any more be-
fore the people, and halfe in dispaire withdrew him selfe into the hauen of Piræa. There *Eu-*
nomus the THESSALIAN beeing a very olde man, founde him, and sharpely reproued him, and
told him that he did him selfe great wronge, considering, that hauing a manner of speeche
much like vnto *Pericles*, he drowned him selfe by his faynt harte, bicause he did not seeke the
way to be bolde against the noyse of the common people, and to arme his body to away with
the paines and burden of publike orations, but suffering it to growe feebler, for lacke of vse
and practise. Furthermore, being once againe repulsed and whistled at, as he returned home, B
hanging downe his heade for shame, and vtterly discouraged: *Satyrus* an excellent player of
comedies, being his familliar friende, followed him, and went and spake with him. *Demosthe-*
nes made his complaynt vnto him, that where he had taken more paynes then all the Orators
besides, and had almost euen worne him selfe to the bones with studie, yet he coulde by no
meanes deuise to please the people: whereas other Orators that did nothing but bybbe all
day long, and Maryners that vnderstoode nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occu-
pied the pulpit with orations: and on thother side that they made no accompt of him. *Saty-*
rus then aunswered him, thou sayest true *Demosthenes*, but care not for this, I will helpe it
straight, and take away the cause of all this: so thou wilt but tell me without booke certaine
verses of *Euripides*, or of *Sophocles*. Thereuppon *Demosthenes* presently rehearsed some vnto C
him, that came into his minde. *Satyrus* repeating them after him, gaue them quite another
grace, with such a pronunciation, comely gesture, and modest countenance becomming the
verses, that *Demosthenes* thought them cleane chaunged. Whereby perceiuing how much the
action (to wete, the comely manner and gesture in his oration) doth giue grace and comlines
in his pleading: he then thought it but a trifle, and almost nothing to speake of, to exercise to
pleade well, vnles therewithall he doe also study to haue a good pronunciation and gesture.

Demosthenes celler.

Thereuppon he built him a celler vnder the ground, the which was whole euen in my time, &
he would daily goe downe into it, to facion his gesture and pronunciation, and also to exercise
his voice, and that with such earnest affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three
monethes one after an other, and did shaue his heade of purpose, bicause he durst not goe a- D
broade in that sorte, although his will was good. And yet he tooke his theame and matter to
declame apon, and to practise to pleade of the matters he had had in hande before, or els vpon
occasion of such talke as he had with them that came to see him, while he kept his house. For
they were no sooner gone from him, but he went downe into his celler, and repeated from the
first to the last all matters that had passed betwene him and his friendes in talke together, and
alleaged also both his owne and their aunswers. And if peraduenture he had bene at the hea-
ring of any long matter, he would repeate it by him selfe: and would finely cowche and con-
uey it into propper sentences, and thus chaunge and alter euery way any matter that he had
heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very
quicke capacitie by nature, and that his eloquence was not naturall, but artificially gotten E
with extreame labor. And for proofe hereof, they make this probable reason, That they neuer

Demosthenes seldom pleaded on the suddein.

sawe *Demosthenes* make any oration on the suddein, and that oftentymes when he was sette in
the assemblie, the people would call him by his name, to say his opinion touching the matter
of counsell then in hand: Howbeit that he neuer rose vpon their call, vnles he had first studied
the matter well he would speake of. So that all the other Orators would many times giue him
a tawnte for it: as *Pytheas* among other, that tawnting him on a tyme, tolde him, his reasons
smelled of the lampe. Yea, replyed *Demosthenes* sharply againe: so is there great difference, *Py-*
theas, betwixt thy labor and myne by lampelight. And him selfe also speaking to others, did
not altogether deny it, but told them plainly, that he did not alwaies write at length all that he

Demosthenes in his oration studieth to please the people.

would speake, nether did he also offer to speake, before he had made briefes of that he would F
speake. He sayd furthermore, that it was a token the man loued the people well, that he would
be carefull before what he would say to them. For this prepratiue (sayd he) doth shewe that he

doth

A doth honor and reuerence them. In contrary manner also, he that passeth not how the people take his words, it is a plaine token that he despiseth their authoritie, & that he lacketh no good will (if he could) to vse force against them, rather then reason and perswasion. But yet further to enlarge the proofes, that *Demosthenes* had no hart to make any oration on the suddein, they doe alleage this reason: that *Demades* many times rose vpon the sodaine to mainteyne *Demosthenes* reasons, when the people otherwhile did reiect him: and that *Demosthenes* on thother side did neuer rise to make *Demades* words good, which he had spoken in his behalfe. But now might a man aske againe: if *Demosthenes* was so timerous to speake before the people vpon the sodaine: what ment *AEschines* then to say, that he was maruelous bold in his words. And how chanceth it, that he rising vpon the sodaine, did presently aunswer the Orator *Python* BIZAN-
B TINE in the field, that was very lusty in speech, (& rough like a vehement running streame) against the ATHENIANS. And how chanced it that *Lamachus* MYRRINÆIAN, hauing made an oration in the praise of *Philip* and *Alexander*, kings of MACEDON, in the which he spake all the ill he could of the THEBANS, and of the OLYNTHIANS, and when he had red and pronounced it in the open assembly of the Olympian games: *Demosthenes* apon the instant rising vp on his feete, declared, as if he had red some historie, & poynted as it were with his finger vnto all the whole assembly, the notable great seruice & worthy deedes the which the CHALCIDIANS had done in former times, for the benefit and honor of GRÆCE. And in contrary maner also, what mischief & inconuenience came by meanes of the flatterers, that altogether gaue them selues to curry fauor with the MACEDONIANS? With these and such like perswasions, *Demosthenes*
C made such sturre amongest the people, that the Orator *Lamachus* being affraid of the sodaine vprore, did secretly conuey him selfe out of the assembly. But yet to tell you what I thinke, *Demosthenes* in my opinion facioning him selfe euen from the beginning, to followe *Pericles* steppes and example, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not so requisite for him, and that he would counterfeate his grauitie and sober countenance, and to be wise, not to speake ouer lightly to euery matter at all aduentures: iudging, that by that manner of wisedom he came to be great. And like as he would not let slippe any good occasion to speake, where it might be for his credit: so would he not likewise ouer rashely hazard his credit and reputacion to the mercy of fortune. And to proue this true, the orations which he made vpon the sodaine without premeditacion before, doe shewe more boldnes and courage, then
D those which he had written, and studied long before: if we may beleeue the reports of *Eratosthenes*, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, and of the other comicall Poets. For *Eratosthenes* sayd, that he would be often caried away with choller and furie. *Demetrius* also sayth, that speaking one daye to the people, he swaare a great othe in ryme, as if he had bene possessed with some diuine spirit, and sayd,

By sea and land, by riuers, springes, and Ponds.

There are also certaine comicall Poets that doe call him *Ropoperperethra*, as who would say, a great babbler that speaketh all thinges that commeth to his tongues ende. Another mocked him for too much affecting a figure of Rethoricke called, Antitheton: which is, opposicion, with saying, *Sic recepit sicut cepit*, (which signifieth, he tooke it as he found it.) In the vse of
E this figure *Demosthenes* much pleased him selfe, vnles the poet *Antiphanes* speaketh it of pleasure, deriding the counsel he gaue the people, not to take the Ile of HALONESVS of king *Philip*, as of gift: but to receiue it as their owne restored. And yet euery body did graunt, that *Demades* of his owne naturall wit, without arte, was inuincible: and that many times speaking vpon the sodaine, he did vtterly ouerthrow *Demosthenes* long studied reasons. And *Aristo*, of the Ile of CHIO, hath written *Theophrastus* iudgement of the Orators of that time. Who being asked what maner of Orator he thought *Demosthenes*: he aunswered, worthy of this citie. Then again, how he thought of *Demades*: aboue this citie, said he. The same Philosopher writeth also, that *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN, (one of those that practised at that time in the common wealth) gaue this sentence: that *Demosthenes* in deede was a great Orator, but *Phocions* tongue had a sharper
F vnderstanding, bicause in fewe wordes, he comprehended much matter. And to this purpose, they say that *Demosthenes* him selfe said also, that as oft as he saw *Phocion* get vp into the pulpit for orations to speake against him, he was wont to say to his friends: see, the axe of my words

Demosthenes terrified Lamachus in his oration.

Ouτος ἀπέλαβεν ὅπλα. Μὴ λαμβάνε· ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνει παρὰ φιλίππου.

The naturall eloquence of Demades the Orator.

Theophrastus iudgement of Orators.

Phocion called the axe of Demosthenes orations.

riſeth. And yet it is hard to iudge, whether he ſpake that in reſpect of his tongue, or rather for the eſtimacion he had gotten, bicauſe of his great wiſedome: thinking (as in deede it is true) that one word only, the twinckling of an eye, or a nod of his head of ſuch a man (that through his worthines is attained to that credit) hath more force to perſwade, then all the fine reaſons & deuiſes of Rethoricke. But now for his bodily defects of nature, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN writeth, that he heard *Demoſthenes* him ſelfe ſay, being very olde, that he did helpe them by theſe meanes. Firſt, touching the ſtammering of his tongue, which was very fat, and made him that he could not pronounce all ſyllables diſtinctly: he did helpe it by putting of litle pybble ſtones into his mouth, which he found vpon the ſands by the riuers ſide, & ſo pronounced with open mouth the orations he had without booke. And for his ſmal and ſoft voice, he made that lowder, by running vp ſteepe and high hills, vttering euen with full breath ſome orations or verſes that he had without booke. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great looking glaſſe in his houſe, and euer ſtanding on his feete before it, he would learne and exerciſe him ſelfe to pronounce his orations. For proofe hereof it is reported, that there came a man vnto him on a time, and prayed his helpe to defend his cauſe, and tolde him that one had beaten him: and that *Demoſthenes* ſayd agayne vnto him, I doe not beleeue this is true thou telleſt me, for ſurely the other did neuer beate thee. The playntif then thruſting out his voyce alowde, ſayde: what, hath he not beaten me? yes, in deede, q. *Demoſthenes* then: I beleeue it now, for I heare the voyce of a man that was beaten in deede. Thus he thought, that the ſound of the voyce, the pronunciation or geſture in one ſort or other, were thinges of force to beleeue or diſcredit that a man ſayth. His countenaunce when he pleaded before the people, did maruailouſly pleaſe the common ſorte: but the noble men, and men of vnderſtanding, found it too baſe and meane, as *Demetrius Phalerius* ſayde, amonge others. And *Hermippus* writeth, that one called *AEſion*, beeing asked of the auncient Orators, and of thoſe of his tyme, aunſwered: that euery man that had ſeene them, would haue wondred with what honor, reuerence, and modeſtie, they ſpake vnto the people: howbeit that *Demoſthenes* orations (whoſoeuer red them) were too artificiall and vehement. And therefore we may eaſily iudge, that the orations *Demoſthenes* wrote are very ſeuere and ſharpe. This notwithſtanding, otherwhile he would giue many pleaſant and witty aunſwers apon the ſodain. As when *Demades* one day ſayd vnto him, *Demoſthenes* will teach me: after the common prouerbe, the ſowe will teach *Minerua*. He aunſwered ſtraight againe: This *Minerua* not long ſince, was in Collytus ſtreete, taken in adulterie. A certein theefe alſo called *Chalcus* (as much to ſay, as of copper) ſtepping forth to ſaye ſomewhat of *Demoſthenes* late ſitting vp a nights, and that he wrote and ſtudied the moſt part of the night by lampe light: in deede, q. *Demoſthenes*, I know it grieues thee to ſee my lampe burne all night. And therefore, you, my Lords of ATHENS, me thinkes you ſhould not wonder to ſee ſuch robberies in your citie, conſidering we haue theeues of copper, and the walles of our houſes be but of claye. We could tell you of diuers others of his like wittie and pleaſant aunſwers, but theſe may ſuffice for this preſent: and therefore we will proceede to conſider further of his nature and conditions, by his actes and deedes in the affaires of the common wealth. Now *Demoſthenes* firſt beginning when he came to deale in the affaires of the ſtate, was in the time of the warre made with the PHOCIANS, as him ſelfe reporteth: and as appeareth further in his orations which he made againſt *Philip*: of the which, the laſt were made after the warre was ended, & the firſt doe touch alſo ſome particuler doings of the ſame. He made the oration againſt *Midias*, when he was but 32. yeare old, and was of ſmall countenance & reputacion in the common wealth: the want whereof was the chiefeſt cauſe (as I thinke) that induced him to take money for the iniury he had done him, & to let his action fall againſt him.

He vvas not of a meeld and gentle mind,
But feerce and haſtie to reuenge by kind.

But, knowing that it was no ſmall enterpriſe, nor that could take effect by a man of ſo ſmall power & authoritie as him ſelfe, to ouerthrow a man ſo wealthy, ſo befriended, & ſo eloquent as *Midias*: he therfore yelded him ſelfe vnto thoſe, that did ſpeake & intreate for him. Nether do I think that the three thowſand Drachmas which he receiued, could haue brideled the bitternes of his nature, if otherwiſe he had ſeene any hope or likelihood that he could haue prevailed

Demoſthenes by induſtry reformeth his defects of nature.

Demoſthenes countenance and geſture miſliked of the nobilitie.

Demoſthenes witty anſwers.

The time of Demoſthenes comming to practiſe in the affayres of the ſtate.

Diſpleaſure betwixt Demoſthenes and Midias.

A trailed againſt him. Now at his firſt cõming vnto the common wealth, taking a noble matter in hãd to ſpeak againſt *Philip*, for the defence & maintenãce of the lawes & liberties of the GRÆCIANS, wherein he handled himſelf ſo worthely: that in ſhort ſpace he wanne him maruelous fame for his great eloquence and plaine manner of ſpeech. Thereby he was maruelouſly honored alſo through all GRÆCE, and greatly eſteemed with the king of PERSIA: and *Philip* himſelf made more accompt of him, then of all the Orators in ATHENS, & his greateſt foes which were moſt againſt him, were driuen to confeſſe that they had to doe with a famous man. For, in the orations which *AEſchines* & *Hyperides* made to accuſe him, they write thus of him. And therefore I maruell what *Theopompus* ment, when he wrote that *Demoſthenes* had a ſuttell, vnconſtant mind, & could not long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for matters

B of ſtate. For in contrary maner, in my iudgement, he continued conſtant ſtill to the end, in one ſelfe maner & order, vnto the which he had betaken him ſelf at the beginning: & that not only he neuer chaunged all his life time, but to the contrary he loſt his life, bicauſe he would be no chaungeling. For he did not like *Demades*, who to excuſe him ſelf for that he had oft turned coate in matters of gouernment, ſaid, that he went oftentimes againſt his own ſayings, as matters fel out: but neuer againſt the benefit of the common wealth. And *Melanopus* alſo, who was euer againſt *Calliſtratus*, hauing his mouth ſtopped many times with money, he would vp to the pulpit for orations, & tel the people, that in deede *Calliſtratus*, which mainteineth the contrary opinion againſt me, is mine enemy, & yet I yeld vnto him for this time: for, the benefit of the common wealth muſt cary it. And another alſo, *Nicodemus* MESSENIAN, who being firſt of

C *Caſſanders* ſide, toke part afterwards with *Demetrius*, & then ſaid, that he did not ſpeake againſt him ſelfe, but that it was meete he ſhould obey his ſuperiors. They can not detect *Demoſthenes* with the like, that he did euer halt or yeld, either in word or deed: For he euer continued firme and conſtant in one mind in his orations. Inſomuch that *Panetius* the Philoſopher ſayth, that the moſt part of all his orations are grounded vpon this *maxime* and principle: that for it ſelfe, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honeſt. As, the oration of the crowne, the which he made againſt *Ariſtocrates*: that alſo which he made for the franches and freedom: and in fine, all his orations againſt *Philip* of MACEDON. And in all thoſe he doth not perſwade his contry men to take that which is moſt pleaſant, eaſieſt, or moſt profitable: but he proueth that oftentimes honeſtie is to be preferred aboue ſafetie or health. So that, had he in

D all his orations and doings, ioyned to his honeſtie, curteſie, and francke ſpeeche, valliantnes in warres, and cleane hands from briberye: he might deſeruedly haue bene compared, not with *Myrocles*, *Polyeuctus*, *Hyperides* and ſuch other Orators: but euen with the higheſt, with *Cimon*, *Thucydides*, and *Pericles*. For *Phocion*, who tooke the worſt way in gouernment of the common wealth, bicauſe he was ſuſpected that he tooke part with the MACEDONIANS: yet for valliantnes, wiſedom and iuſtice, he was euer thought as honeſt a man, as *Ephialtes*, and *Ariſtides*. But *Demoſthenes* on thother ſide (as *Demetrius* ſayth) was no man to truſt to for warres, nether had he any power to refuſe gifts and bribes. For, though he would neuer be corrupted with *Philip* king of MACEDON, yet he was bribed with gold and ſiluer that was brought from the cities of

E SVSA & ECBATANA, & was very ready to praiſe & commend the deedes of their auncеſtors, but not to follow them. Truely, yet was he the honeſteſt man of all other Orators in his time, excepting *Phocion*. And beſides, he did euer ſpeake more boldely and plainely to the people then any man els, and would openly contrary their mindes, and ſharpely reproue the ATHENIANS for their faultes, as appeareth by his orations. *Theopompus* alſo writeth, that the people on a time would haue had him to accuſe a man, whome they would needes haue condemned. But he refuſing to doe it, the people were offended, and did mutine againſt him. Thereuppon he riſing vp, ſayd openly vnto them: my Lordes ATHENIANS, I will alwayes counſell ye to that which I thinke beſt for the benefit of the common wealth, although it be againſt your mindes: but falſely to accuſe one, to ſatisfie your minds, though you commaund me, I wil not do it. Furthermore, that which he did againſt *Antiphon*, ſheweth plainly, that he was no people

F pleaſer, and that he did leane more vnto the authoritie of the Senate. For when *Antiphon* was quit by the people in an aſſemblie of the citie: *Demoſthenes* notwithſtanding tooke him, & called him againe into the Court of the Areopagites, ahd did not paſſe vpon the peoples ill will,

Demoſthenes, an enemy to the Macedonians.

The conſtancy of Demoſthenes defended againſt Theopompus.

Note the inconſtancy and ſuttell euaſion of theſe Orators.

Demoſthenes preferreth honeſty, as a ſpeciall rule in his orations.

Demoſthenes, a timorous man, and giuen to bribes.

Demoſthenes franke ſpeech in his orations

but there conuinced him for promising *Philip* of MACEDON to burne the arsenall of ATHENS: so by sentence of that court he was condemned, & suffred for it. He did also accuse the Nunne *Theorides* for many lewd parts committed, & amongst others, for that she taught slaues to deceiue their maisters: & so following the matter against her to death, she was condemned, and executed. It is thought also, that he made the oration *Apollodorus* spake against the Prætor *Timotheus*, & proued thereby that he was a detter to the common wealth, & so a naughty man: & that he wrote those orations also intituled vnto *Formio* and *Stephanus*, for the which he was iustly reproued. For *Formio* pleaded against *Apollodorus* with the oration which *Demosthenes* selfe had made for him: which was euen alike, as if out of one selfe cutlers shoppe, he had solde his enemies swords one to kil another. And for his knowen orations, those which he made against *Androtion*, *Timocrates*, and *Aristocrates*: he caused them to giue them vnto others, when he had not yet delt in matters of state. For in deede when he did put them forth, he was not passing seuen or eight and twenty yeare olde. The oration which he made against *Aristogiton*, and the other also of libertie, against *Ctesippus* the sonne of *Cabrias*, he spake them, as he saith him selfe, (or as others write) openly vnto the people, bicause he intended to marry *Chabrias* mother. Howbeit he did not, but maried a SAMIAN womā, as *Demetrius Magnesius* writeth in his booke he made intituled Synonyma, and in that he wrote against *AEschines*: where he accuseth him that he delt falsely when he was Ambassador. It is not knowen whether it was euer recited or not, although *Idomeneus* writeth, that there lacked but thirtye voices onely to haue quit *AEschines*. But in this me thinkes he spake not truely, and doth but coniecture it, by that the one & the other haue sayd in their orations against the crowne, in the which, nether the one nor the other doe say precisely, that this accusation proceeded to iudgement. But let other that lyst decide this doubt. Now before the warre beganne, it was euident enough, to which parte *Demosthenes* would incline in the common wealth: For, he would neuer leaue to reproue and withstand *Philippes* doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in *Philippes* Court, then any man els, he was sent vnto him the tenth person with nyne others in ambassade. *Philippe* gaue them all audience one after an other: howbeit he was more carefull and circumspect to aunswer *Demosthenes* oration, then all the rest. But otherwise out of that place, he did not *Demosthenes* so much honor, nor gaue him so good entertainment, as to his other companions. For *Philip* shewed more kindnes, and gaue better countenance vnto *Æschines*, and *Philocrates*, then vnto him. Wherefore when they did highly praise *Philip*, and sayd that he was a well spoken Prince, a fayer man, and would drinke freely, and be pleasant in company: *Demosthenes* smyled at it, and turned all those thinges to the worst, saying, that those qualities were nothing commendable nor meete for a king. For, the first was a qualitie meete for a pleader, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge. In fine, warres falling out betwene them, bicause *Philip* of the one side could not liue in peace, & the ATHENIANS on the other side were stil incensed & stirred vp by *Demosthenes* daily orations. Whereupon, the ATHENIANS first sent into the Ile of EVBOEA, (the which by meanes of certaine priuate tyrannes that had taken the townes, became subiect againe vnto *Philip*) following a decree *Demosthenes* had preferred, & so went to expulse the MACEDONIANS againe. After that also he caused them to send ayde vnto the BIZANTINES, & vnto the PERINTHIANS, with whom *Philip* made warre. For he so perswaded the ATHENIANS, that he made them forget the malice they did beare vnto those two nations, & the faults which either of both the cities had committed against them in the warres, touching the rebellion of their confederats: & he caused them to send them ayde, which kept them frō *Philips* force & power. Furthermore, going afterwards vnto all the great cities of GRÆCE as Ambassador, he did so solicite & perswade them, that he brought them all in manner to be against *Philip*. So that the army which their tribe should find at their common charge, was fifteene thowsand footemen, all straungers, and two thowsand horsemen, besides the Citizens of euery citie which should also serue in the warres at their charge: and the money leauied for the maintenance of this warre, was very willingly disbursed. *Theophrastus* writeth, that it was at that tyme their confederats did pray that they would set downe a certaine summe of money, what euery citie shoulde paye: and that *Crobylus* an Orator shoulde make aunswer, that the warre had no certaine maintenance: inferring that the charges of warre was infinite

Demosthenes orations which were true and which falst.

Demosthenes doings against Philip.

Demosthenes stirreth vp Græce against the Macedonians.

A infinite. Now all GRÆCE being in armes, attending what should happen, and all these people and cities being vnite in one league together, as, the EVBOIANS, the ATHENIANS, the CORINTHIANS, the MEGARIANS, the LEVCADIANS, and the GORGYRIÆTANS: the greatest matter *Demosthenes* had to do, was to perswade the THEBANS also to enter into this league, bicause their contry confined and bordered with ATTICA, besides, their force and power was of great importance, for that they caried the fame of all GRÆCIA at that time, for the valliantest souldiers. But it was no trifling matter to winne the THEBANS, and so make them breake with *Philip*, who but lately before had bound them vnto him by many great pleasures which he had done to them, in the warre of the PHOCIANS: besides also that betwixt ATHENS & THEBES, by reason of vicinitie, there fell out daily quarells and debates, the which with euery litle thing were
B soone renued. This notwithstanding, *Philippe* being prowde of the victorie he had wonne by the citie of AMPHISSE, when he came and inuaded the contry of ELATEIA, and was entred into PHOCIDE: the ATHENIANS were then so amased with it, that no man durst occupie the pulpit for orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole assemblie standing in a doubt with great silence, *Demosthenes* onely stept vp, and did agayne giue them counsell to seeke to make league and alliance with the THEBANS: and so did further encourage the people, and put them in good hope, as he was alwayes wont to doe. Then with others he was sent Ambassador vnto THEBES: and *Philippe* also for his parte, sent Ambassadors vnto the THEBANS, *Amyntas* and *Clearchus*, two gentlemen MACEDONIANS, and with them, *Deochus*, *Thessalus*, and *Thrasydeus*, to answer and withstande the perswasions of the ATHENIAN
C Ambassadors. Thereuppon the THEBANS beganne to aduise them selues for the best, and layd before their eyes the miserable frutes and calamities of warre, their woundes being yet greene and vncured, which they gotte by the warres of PHOCIDE. Notwithstanding, the great force of *Demosthenes* eloquence (as *Theopompus* writeth) did so inflame the THEBANS courage with desire of honor, that it trode vnder their feete all manner of considerations, and did so rauishe them with the loue and desire of honestie: that they cast at their heeles, all feare of daunger, all remembrance of pleasures receiued, and all reason perswading the contrary. This acte of an Orator was of so great force, that *Philippe* forthwith sent Ambassadors vnto the GRÆCIANS, to intreate for peace, and all GRÆCE was vppe, to see what would become of this sturre. Thus, not onely the Captaines of ATHENS obeyed *Demosthenes*, doing all that he commaun-
D ded them: but the gouernors also of THEBES, and of all the contry of BOEOTIA besides. And the assemblies also of the counsell of THEBES were as well gouerned by him, as the assemblies of ATHENS, being alike beloued both of the one and the other, and hauing a like authoritie to commaund both, and not vndeseruedly, as *Theopompus* sayth, but by iust desert. But some fatall destinie, and the reuolucion of times had determined the finall ende of the libertie of GRÆCE at that time, cleane contrary to his purpose and intent. There were also many celestiall signes that did foreshewe and prognosticate what ende should ensue thereof. And amonge others, *Apolloes* Nunne gaue these dreadful oracles: and this olde prophecie of the SIBYLS was com-
E monly song in euery bodies mouth.

Demosthenes force of eloquence ioyned the Thebans with the Athenians, and wanne them from Philippe king of Macedon.

The ouerthrow of the Græcians foreshewed at Chæronea, by signes and auncient oracles.

VVhat time the bluddy battell shall be fought at Thermodon,
God graunt I may be farre awray, or els (to looke theron)
Haue Egles vvings to sore aboue, among the clouvdes on hye.
For there the vanquisht side shall vveepe, and Conquerer shall dye.

Men do report that this Thermodon is a litle riuer of our contry of CHÆRONEA, the which falleth into the riuer of Cephisus: howbeit at this present time there is neuer a riuer nor brook in all our contry, that I know, called Thermodon. And I thinke, that that riuer which we call now Hæmon, was in old time Thermodon: for it runneth by the temple of *Hercules*, where the GRÆCIANS lay in campe. And it may be, that bicause it was filled with dead bodies, and that it ranne bloud at the day of the battel, it chaunged her name, & was surnamed Hæmon, bicause Hæma in the Greeke tongue, signifieth bloud. Yet *Duris* writeth notwithstanding, that this
F Thermodon was no riuer, but that certaine men setting vp their tent, and trenching it about, found a litle image of stone, whereuppon were engrauen these letters, whereby it appeareth that it was a man called *Thermodon*, who caried an AMAZON hart in his armes, & that for this

The riuer of Thermodon, or Hæmon, in the contry of Chæronea.

Another opinion of Thermodon.

image of *Thermodon*, they do sing such another olde oracle as this: A

Ye Ernes and Rauens tary till the field of Thermodon
There will be store of carkesses of men to fede vpon.

This notwithstanding, it is very hard to tell the trothe of these things. But *Demosthenes* trusting to the vallianenes and power of the GRÆCIANS, and being maruelously incoraged to see such a great number of valliant & resolute me, so willing to fight with the enemy: he bad them be of good corage, & not to busse about such olde tales, & to giue eare to those prophecies. And furthermore, he told them plainly, that he did mistrust the Nunne *Pythia* did leane vnto *Philip*, as fauoring him, & did put the THEBIANS in mind of their Captaine *Epaminondas*, & the ATHENIANS of *Pericles*, & perswaded them, that those two famous men were alwaies of opinion, that such prophecies were no other, but a fine cloke for cowards, & that taking no heede to them, B they did dispatch their matters according to their owne discretion. Vntil this present time, *Demosthenes* shewed him selfe alwaies an honest man: But when it came to the battel, he fled like a coward, and did no valliant acte any thing answerable to the orations whereby he had perswaded the people. For he left his ranck, & cowardly cast away his weapons to ronne the lighter, & was not ashamed at al, as *Pythias* said, of the words written vpon his shield in golden letters, which were, *Good Fortune*. Now *Philip* hauing wonne the battel, he was at that present so ioyfull, that he fell to commit many fond parts. For after he had droncke well with his friends, he went into the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, & there in mockery began to sing the beginning of the decree which *Demosthenes* had preferred, (by the which, the ATHENIANS accordingly proclaimed warres against him) rising and falling with his voyce, and dauncing it in C measure with his foote:

Demosthenes, the sonne of Demosthenes Peanian did put forth this.

Demosthenes flieth from the battell.

Demosthenes word and deuise vpon his shield.

But afterwards beginning to waxe sober, & leauing his dronckennes, & that he had remembred him selfe what daunger he had bene in: then his heare stood bolt vpright vpon his head, considering the force & power of such an Orator, that in a peece of a day had inforced him to hazard his Realme & life at a battell. Now *Demosthenes* fame was so great, that it was caried euen to the great king of PERSIANS court, who wrote vnto his Lieuetenants & gouernors, that they should feede *Demosthenes* with money, & should procure to entertaine him aboue all the men in GRÆCE, as he that could best withdraw *Philip*, & trouble him with the warres and tumults of GRÆCE. And this was afterwards proued by letters found of *Demosthenes* him selfe, D the which came to king *Alexanders* hands in the citie of SARDIS, and by other writings also of the gouernors & Lieuetenants of the king of PERSIA: in the which were named directly the expresse sommes of money which had bene sent & giuen vnto him. Now, the GRÆCIANS being thus ouerthrowen by battel, the other Orators, aduersaries vnto *Demosthenes* in the common wealth, began to set apon him, & to prepare to accuse him. But the people did not onely cleere him of all the accusations obiected against him, but did continue to honor him more then before, & to call him to assemblies, as one that loued the honor and benefit of his contry. So that when the bones of their contry men which were slayne at the battell of CHÆRONEA, were brought to be openly buried according to the custom: the people gaue him the honor to make the funeral oration in praise of the dead, & made no shew of sorow or griefe for the losse E they had receiued: (as *Theopompus* witnesseth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary manner shewed that they did not repent them in following of his counsel, but did honor him that gaue it. *Demosthenes* then did make the funerall oration. But afterwards in all the decrees he preferred to the people, he would neuer subscribe any, to preuent the sinister lucke & misfortune of his name, but did passe it vnder his friends names one after another, vntill he grew coragious againe, shortly after that he vnderstoode of the death of *Philip*, who was slaine immediatly after the victorie he wanne at CHÆRONEA. And it seemeth this was the meaning of the prophecie or oracle in the two last verses:

Demosthenes corrupted with money of the king of Persia

Demosthenes praiseth them that were slaine at the battell of Chæronea.

The death of Philip king of Macedon.

The vanquished bewayles his luckelesse lot,
And he that vvinnes, vvith life escapeth not. F

Now *Demosthenes* hearing of *Philips* death, before the newes were openly known, to preuēt them, he would put the people again into a good hope of better lucke to come. Thereupon he went

A wēt with a cheerfull coũtenãce into the assembly of the coũsel, & told them there, that he had had a certain dreame that promised great good hap, & that out of hād vnto the Athenians: & immediatly after, the messengers arriued that brought certain newes of king *Philips* death. Thereupon the Athenians made sacrifices of ioy to the goddes for this happie newes, and appointed a crowne vnto *Pausanias* that had slaine him. *Demosthenes* also came abroade in his best gowne, and crowned with flowers, seuen dayes after the death of his daughter, as *AEschines* reporteth: who reproueth him for it, and noteth him to be a man hauing litle loue or charitie vnto his owne children. But in deede *AEschines* selfe deserueth more blame, to haue such a tender womanish hart, as to beleue, that weeping, and lamenting, are signes of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that with pacience and constancie doe passe away
B such misfortunes. But now to the Athenians againe. I can neither thinke nor say that they did wisely to shew such open signes of ioy, as to weare crownes & garlands vpon their heads, nor also to sacrifice to the goddes for the death of a Prince, that behaued him selfe so Princely and curteously vnto them in the victories he had won of them. For, though in dede all cruelty be subiect to the reuenge of the goddes, yet is this an act of a vile and base minde, to honor a man, and while he liued to make him free of their citie, & now that an other hath slaine him, they to be in such an exceeding iolitie withall, and to exceede the bondes of modestie so farre, as to rampe in maner with both their feete vpon the dead, and to sing songes of victorie, as if they them selues had bene the men that had valliantly slaine him. In contrarie manner also, I praise and commend the constancie and corage of *Demosthenes*, that he leauing the teares and
C lamẽtacion of his home trouble vnto women, did him selfe in the meane time that he thought was for the benefite of the common wealth: and in my opinion, I thinke he did therein like a man of corage, and worthy to be a gouernor of a common wealth, neuer to stowpe nor yeeld, but alwayes to be found stable and constant, for the benefit of the common wealth, reiecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in respect of the seruice of his contrie, and to keepe his honor much more carefully, then common players vse to doe, when they play the partes of Kings and Princes, whom we see neither weepe nor laugh when they list, though they be on the stage: but when the matter of the play falleth out to geue them iust occasion. But omitting those reasons, if there be no reason (as in deede there is not) to leaue and forsake a man in his sorow and trouble, without geuing him some wordes of comfort, and rather to deuise some
D matter to asswage his sorow, and to withdraw his minde from that, to thinke vpon some pleasaunter thinges: euen as they should keepe sore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours, in offering them greene & darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles & grieues at home, when the common wealth doth well: then to ioyne their priuate grieues with common ioyes, to the end, that the better may obscure & take away the worse? But thus farre I disgressed from my historie, enlarging this matter, bicause *AEschines* in his Oration touching this matter, did moue the peoples hartes too muche to womanish sorow. But now to the rest. The cities of Græce being againe stirred vp by *Demosthenes*, made a new league againe together: and the Thebans also hauing armed them selues by his practise, did one day set vpon the garrison of the Macedonians within their city, and slue many of them.
E The Athenians prepared also to maintaine warre on the Thebans behalfe and *Demosthenes* was dayly at all the assemblies of counsell, in the pulpit, perswading the people with his Orations: and he wrote also into Asia vnto the king of Persians Lieutenaunts and Captaines, to make warre with *Alexander* on their side, calling him child, and Margites, as muche to say, as foole. But after that *Alexander* hauing set all his things at stay within his realme, came him selfe in person with his armie, and inuaded the contrie of Boeotia: then fell the pride of the Athenians greatly, & *Demosthenes* also plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length, the poore Thebans being left vnto them selues, forsaken of euerie man: they were compelled them selues alone to beare the brunte of this warre, & so came their city to vtter ruine and destruction. Thereby the Athenians being in a maruelous feare and perplexitie, did sodain-
F ly choose Ambassadors to send vnto this young king, and *Demosthenes* chiefly among others: who being affrayed of *Alexanders* furie and wrath, durst not goe to him, but returned from mount Cytheron, and gaue vp the Ambassade. But *Alexander* sent to summone the Athe-

Demosthenes preferreth the ioy of his contrie, before the sorow of his owne daughter.

AEschines reproued by Plutarch for his fonde beleefe, that blubbering and sorowing are signes of loue and charitie.

Plutarch praiseth Demosthenes constancie, for leauing of his mourning, to reioyce for his common contries benefit.

Demosthenes raiseth vp the Græcians against Alexander.

Alexander required certaine Orators of Athens.

NIANS, to ſend vnto him ten of their Orators, as *Idomeneus* and *Duris* both doe write: or eight, A
as the moſt writers and beſt hiſtoriographers doe reporte, which were theſe: *Demoſthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Calliſthenes*, and *Charidemus*. At which time,

Demoſthenes tale of the ſheepe and woulues.

they wryte that *Demoſthenes* told the people of ATHENS, the fable of the ſheepe and woulues, how that the woulues came on a time, and willed the ſheepe, if they woulde haue peace with them, to deliuer them their maſtiues that kept them. And ſo he compared him ſelfe, and his companions that trauelled for the benefit of the contrie, vnto the dogges that kepe the flocks of ſheepe, and calling *Alexander* the woulfe. And ſo forth, ſayd he, like as you ſee theſe corne maiſters bringing a ſample of their corne in a diſh or napkin to ſhew you, and by that litle doe ſell all that they haue: ſo I thinke you will all wonder, that deliuering of vs, you will alſo deliuer your ſelues into the handes of your enemies. *Ariſtobulus* of CASSANDRA reporteth this B
matter thus. Now the ATHENIANS being in conſultacion, not knowing how to reſolue: *Demades* hauing taken fiue talents of them whom *Alexander* demaunded, did offer him ſelfe, and promiſed to goe in this Ambaſſade vnto *Alexander*, and to intreate for them, either bicauſe he truſted in the loue the king did beare him, or elſe for that he thought he hoped he ſhoulde finde him pacified, as a Lyon glutted with the blood of beaſtes which he had ſlaine. Howſoeuer it happened, he perſwaded the people to ſend him vnto him, and ſo handled *Alexander*, that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the citie of ATHENS. Thereuppon *Alexander* being retyred, *Demades* and his fellowes bare all the ſway and authoritie, and *Demoſthenes* was vnder foote. In deede when *Agis* king of LACEDÆMON, came with his armie into the field, he began a litle to rowſe him ſelfe, and to lift vp his head: but he ſhrunke choller againe C
ſoone after, bicauſe the ATHENIANS woulde not riſe with the LACEDÆMONIANS, who were ouerthrowen, and *Agis* ſlaine in battell. At that time was the cauſe of the crowne pleaded againſt *Cteſiphon*, and the plea was written a litle before the battell of CHÆRONEA, in the yeare when *Charondas* was Prouoſt of ATHENS: howbeit no ſentence was giuen but ten yeres after that *Ariſtophon* was Prouoſt. This was ſuch an open iudgement, and ſo famous, as neuer was any, as well for the great fame of the Orators that pleaded in emulacion one of the other, as alſo for the worthines of the Iudges that gaue ſentence thereof: who did not leaue *Demoſthenes* to his enemies, although in deede they were of greater power then he, and were alſo ſupported with the fauor and good will of the MACEDONIANS: but they did notwithſtanding ſo well quit him, that *AEſchines* had not ſo muche as the fift parte of mens voyces and opinions D
in his behalfe. Wherefore immediatly after ſentence geuen, he went out of ATHENS for ſhame, and trauelled into the contrie of IONIA, and vnto the RHODES, where he did teache Rethoricke. Shortly after, *Harpalus* flying out of *Alexanders* ſeruice, came vnto ATHENS, being to be charged with many fowle matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigalitie: and alſo bicauſe he feared *Alexanders* furie, who was growen ſeuere and cruell, vnto his chiefeſt ſeruauntes. He comming now amongeſt the ATHENIANS, with ſtore of gold and ſiluer, the Orators being greedie and deſirous of the golde and ſiluer he had brought: beganne ſtraight to ſpeake for him, and did counſell the people to receiue & protect a poore ſuter that came to them for ſuccour. But *Demoſthenes* gaue counſell to the contrarie, and bad them rather driue him out of the citie, and take heede they brought not warres apon their backes, for E
a matter that not onely was not neceſſarie, but furthermore meerely vniuſt. But within fewe daies after, inuentory being taken of all *Harpalus* goods, he perceiuing that *Demoſthenes* tooke great pleaſure to ſee a cuppe of the kings, and conſidered verie curiouſly the facion & workemanſhippe vpon it: he gaue it him in his hand, to iudge what it weyed. *Demoſthenes* peaſing it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was ſo heauie: ſo he asked how many pownd weight it weyed. *Harpalus* ſmiling, anſwered him: it will wey thee twentie talents. So when night was come, he ſent him the cuppe, with the twentie talentes. This *Harpalus* was a verie wiſe man, and found ſtraight by *Demoſthenes* countenaunce that he loued money, and coulde preſently iudge his nature, by ſeeing his pleaſaunt countenaunce, and his eyes ſtill vpon the cuppe. So

Demoſthenes bribed by Harpalus with twenty talets.

Demoſthenes refuſed not his gift, and being ouercomen withall, as if he had receiued a garriſon into his houſe, he tooke *Harpalus* parte. The next morning, he went into the aſſemblie F
of the poople, hauing his necke bound vp with wolle and rolles. So when they called him by

The iudgement of the crowne vnto Cteſiphon.

Harpalus a great money man came to Athens, flying from Alexander.

his

A his name to steppe vp into the pulpit, to speake to the people as he had done before: he made a signe with his head, that he had an impediment in his voyce, & that he could not speake. But wise men laughing at his fine excuse, tolde him it was no sinanche that had stopped his wesill that night, as he would make them beleue: but it was *Harpalus* argentsynanche which he had receiued, that made him in that case. Afterwardes when the people vnderstoode that he was corrupted; *Demosthenes* going about to excuse him selfe, they would not abide to heare him: but made a noyse and exclamacion against him. Thereuppon there rose vp a pleasaunt conceited man, that sayd: why my maisters, do ye refuse to heare a man that hath * such a golden tongue? The people thereuppon did immediatly banishe *Harpalus*, and fearing least king *Alexander* would require an accompt of the gold and siluer which the Orators had robbed and
B pilfred away among them: they made very diligent searche and inquirie in euery mans house; excepting *Callicles* house, the sonne of *Arrenidas*, whose house they would haue searched by no meanes, bicause he was but newly maried, and had his newe spowse in his house, as *Theopompus* wryteth. Nowe *Demosthenes* desiring to shewe that he was in fault, preferred a decree, that the court of the Areopagites should heare the matter, and punish them that were found faultie, and therewithall straight offered him selfe to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the first whom the court condemned in the summe of fiftie talents, and for lacke of payment, they put him in prison: where he could not endure long, both for the shame of the matter for the which he was condemned, as also for his sickely body. So he brake prison, partely without the priuitie of his keepers, and partely also with their consent: for they were willing he should make a
C scape. Some doe report that he fled not farre from the citie: where it was told him that certaine of his enemies followed him, whereuppon he would haue hidden him selfe from them. But they them selues first called him by his name, and comming to him, prayed him to take money of them, which they had brought him from their houses to helpe him in his banishment: and that therefore they ran after him. Then they did comfort him the best they could, & perswaded him to be of good cheere, & not to dispaire for the misfortune that was comen vnto him. This did pearce his hart the more for sorow, that he aunswered them: why, would you not haue me be sorie for my misfortune, that compelleth me to forsake the citie where in deede I haue so curteous enemies, that it is hard for me to finde any where so good frends? So
D he tooke his banishment vnmanly, and remained the most parte of his banishment in the citie of Ægina, or at the citie of Troezen, where oftentimes he would cast his eyes towards the contrie of Attica, and weepe bitterly. And some haue written certeine words he spake, which shewed no minde of a man of corage, nor were aunswerable to the noble thinges he was wont to perswade in his Orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of Athens, he looked backe againe, and holding vp his handes to the castell, sayd in this sorte: O Ladie *Minerua*, Ladie patroneſſe of this city: why doest thou delight in three so mischieuous beastes: the owle, the draggon, and the people? Besides, he perswaded the young men that came to see him, and that were with him, neuer to meddle in matters of state, assuring them, that if they had offred him two wayes at the first, the one to goe into the assembly of the people, to make Orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death presently, and that he
E had knowen as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to suffer that medleth with the affaires of the state, the feare, the enuie, the accusacions, and troubles in the same: he would rather haue chosen the way to haue suffered death. So, *Demosthenes* continuing in his exile, king *Alexander* dyed, and all Græce was vp againe: insomuch as *Leosthenes* being a man of great valure, had shut vp *Antipater* in the citie of Lamia, and there kept him straightly besieged. Then *Pytheas* and *Callimedon*, surnamed *Carabos*, two Orators, and both of them banished from Athens, they tooke parte with *Antipater*, and went from towne to towne with his Ambassadors and frendes, perswading the Græcians not to sturre, neither to take parte with the Athenians. But *Demosthenes* in contrarie maner, ioyning with the Ambassadors sent from Athens into euerie quarter, to solicite the cities of Græce, to seeke to recouer
F their libertie: he did aide them the best he coulde, to solicite the Græcians, to take armes with the Athenians, to driue the Macedonians out of Græce. And *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Demosthenes* encountered with *Pytheas* wordes in an open assemblie of the people in a

* This conceit can hardly be expressed in any other language, then in Greeke. For he sayth, ὡς ἀκούσαι τῶ τὴν κυλίκα ἔχοντος: alluding to the verbe κυλίω, which signifieth to delight by pleasaunt speeche or sound.

Demosthenes banishment.

Demosthenes tooke his banishment grieuously.

Three mischieuous beasts.

Antipater besieged of the Athenians.

certaine towne of ARCADIA. *Pytheas* hauing ſpoken before him, had ſaid: like as we preſume alwaies that there is ſome ſickeneſſe in the houſe whether we doe ſee aſſes milke brought: ſo muſt that towne of neceſſitie be ſicke, wherein the Ambaſſadors of ATHENS doe enter. *Demoſthenes* aunſwered him againe, turning his compariſon againſt him: that in deede they brought aſſes milke, where there was neede to recouer health: and euen ſo, the Ambaſſadors of ATHENS were ſent, to heale and cure them that were ſicke. The people at ATHENS vnderſtanding what *Demoſthenes* had done, they ſo reioyced at it, that preſently they gaue order in the fielde, that his baniſhment ſhould be reuoked. He that perſwaded the decree of his reuocation, was called *Dæmon*, PÆANIAN, that was his nephew: and thereupon the ATHENIANS ſent him a galley to bring him to ATHENS, from the city of ÆGINA. So *Demoſthenes* being arriued at the hauen of Piræa, there was neither Gouernor, Prieſt, nor almoſt any townes man left in the city, but went out to the hauen to welcome him home. So that *Demetrius* MAGNESIAN wryteth, that *Demoſthenes* then lifting vp his handes vnto heauen ſayed, that he thought him ſelfe happie for the honor of that iorney, that the returne from his baniſhment was farre more honorable, then *Alcibiades* returne in the like caſe had bene. For *Alcibiades* was called home by force: & he was ſent for with the good will of the citizens. This notwithſtanding, he remained ſtill condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people coulde not diſpence withall, nor remit it. Howbeit they deuiſed a way to deceiue the lawe: for they had a manner to geue certaine money vnto them that did prepare and ſette out the aulter of *Iupiter* ſauior, for the day of the ſolemnitie of the ſacrifice, the which they did yearely celebrate vnto him: ſo they gaue him the charge to make this preparacion for the ſumme of fifty talents being the ſumme of the fine aforeſayd wherin he was condemned. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the good happe of his reſtitucion to his contry and goodes. For the affaires of the GRÆCIANS were immediatly after brought to vtter ruine. For the battell of Cranon which they loſt, was in the moneth Munichyon (to wit, Iulie) and in the moneth Boedromion next enſuing, (to wit, Auguſt) the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS entred into the forte of Munichya. And in the moneth Pyanepſion (to wit, the October following) *Demoſthenes* died in this maner. When newes came to ATHENS, that *Antipater* and *Craterus* were comming thither with a great armie, *Demoſthenes* and his frends got out of the towne a litle before they entred, the people, by *Demades* perſwaſion, hauing condemned them to dye. So, euery man making ſhift for him ſelfe, *Antipater* ſent ſouldiers after them to take them: and of them *Archias* was Captaine, ſurnamed *Phygadotheras*, as muche to ſay, as a hunter of the baniſhed men. It is reported that this *Archias* was borne in the citie of THVRIES, and that he had bene ſometimes a common player of tragedies: and that *Polus* alſo who was borne in the citie of ÆGINES, (the excellenteſt craftes maiſter in that facultie of all men) was his ſcholler. Yet *Hermippus* doth recite him amongeſt the number of the ſchollers of *Lacritus* the Orator. And *Demetrius* alſo wryteth, that he had bene at *Anaximenes* ſchoole. Now, this *Archias* hauing founde the Orator *Hyperides* in the citie of ÆGINA, *Ariſtonicus* MARATHONIAN, and *Himeræus* the brother of *Demetrius* the PHALERIAN, which had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Aiax*: he tooke them out of the temple by force, and ſent them vnto *Antipater*, who was at that time in the citie of CLEONES, where he did put them all to death: and ſome ſay, that he did cut of *Hyperides* tongue. Furthermore, hearing that *Demoſthenes* had taken ſanctuarie in the Ile of CALAVRIA, he tooke litle pinnaſies, and a certaine number of THRACIAN ſouldiers, & being comen thither, he ſought to perſwade *Demoſthenes* to be contented to goe with him vnto *Antipater*, promiſing him that he ſhould haue no hurt. *Demoſthenes* had a ſtraunge dreame the night before, and thought that he had played a tragedie contending with *Archias*, and that he handled him ſelfe ſo well, that all the lookers on at the Theater did commende him, and gaue him the honor to be the beſt player: howbeit that otherwiſe, he was not ſo well furniſhed, as *Archias* and his players, and that in all maner of furniture he did farre exceede him. The next morning when *Archias* came to ſpeake with him, who vſing gentle wordes vnto him, thinking thereby to winne him by fayer meanes to leaue the ſanctuarie: *Demoſthenes* looking him full in the face, ſitting ſtill where he was, without remouing, ſayd vnto him: O *Archias*, thou diddeſt neuer perſwade me when thou playedſt a play, neither ſhalt thou nowe perſwade me, though

Demoſthenes called home from exile.

Demoſthenes fine of fiftie talentes remitted.

Archias Phygadotheras, a hunter of the baniſhedmen.

Demoſthenes dream.

A though thou promise me. Then *Archias* began to be angrie with him, and to threaten him. O, sayd *Demosthenes*, now thou speakest in good earnest, without dissimulacion, as the Oracle of MACEDON hath commaunded thee: for before, thou spakest in the clowdes, and farre from thy thought. But I pray thee stay a while, till I haue written somewhat to my frendes. After he had sayd so, he went into the temple as though he would haue dispatched some letters, and did put the ende of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withall, and bit it as his manet was when he did vse to write any thing, and held the ende of the quill in his mouth a pretie while together: then he cast his gowne ouer his head, and layed him downe. *Archias* souldiers seeing that, being at the dore of the temple, laughing him to scorne (thinking he had done so for that he was affrayed to dye) called him coward, and beast. *Archias* also comming to him, B prayed him to rise, and beganne to vse the former perswasions, to him, promising him that he would make *Antipater* his frende. Then *Demosthenes* feeling the poyson worke, cast open his gowne, and boldly looking *Archias* in the face, sayd vnto him: Nowe when thou wilt, play *Creons* parte, and throwe my bodie to the dogges, without further graue or buriall. For my parte, O god *Neptune*, I do goe out of thy temple being yet aliue, bicause I will not prophane it with my death: but *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS, haue not spared to defile thy sanctuarie with blood, and cruell murder. Hauing spoken these wordes, he prayed them to stay him vp by his armeholes, for his feete began alreadie to faile him, and thinking to goe forward, as he past by the author of *Neptune*, he fel downe, and geuing one gaspe, gaue vp the ghost. Now touching the poyson, *Aristo* reporteth, that he sucked and drewe it vp into his mouth out of C his quill, as we haue sayd before. But one *Pappus*, (from whom *Hermippus* hath taken his historie) wryteth, that when he was layed on the ground before the aulter, they founde the beginning of a letter which sayd: *Demosthenes* vnto *Antipater*, but no more. Nowe his death being thus sodaine, the THRACIAN souldiers that were at the temple dore, reported that they sawe him plucke the poyson which he put into his mouth, out of a litle cloth he had, thinking to them that it had bene a pece of gold he had swallowed downe. Howbeit a maide of the house that serued him, being examined by *Archias* about it: tolde him that he had caried it about him a long time, for a preseruatife for him. *Eratosthenes* writeth, that he kept this poyson in a litle boxe of gold made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arme. There are many writers also that do reporte his death diuersly, but to recite them all it were in vaine: D sauing that there was one called *Demochares* (who was *Demosthenes* verie frende) sayd, that he dyed not so sodainly by poyson, but that it was the speciall fauor of the gods (to preserue him from the crueltie of the MACEDONIANS) that so sodainly tooke him out of his life, and made him feele so litle paine. *Demosthenes* dyed the sixteenth day of the moneth Pynepsion (to wit, October) on the which day they doe celebrate at ATHENS the feast of *Ceres*, called Thesmophoria, which is the dolefullest feast of all the yeare: on the which day also, the women remaine all day longe in the temple of the goddesse, without meate or drinke. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS to honor him according to his desertes, did cast his image in brasse, & made E a lawe besides, that the oldest man of his house shoulde for euer be kept within the pallace, at the charge of the common wealth: and ingraued these verses also apon the base of his image.

Demosthenes taketh poyson to kill him selfe, in the temple of Neptune, in the Ile of Calauria.

The death of Demosthenes.

The time of Demosthenes death.

The Athenians honored Demosthenes after his death.

Hadst thou Demosthenes had strength according to thy hart,
The Macedons should not haue vvrought the Greekes such vvoe and smart.

For they that thinke, that it was *Demosthenes* him selfe that made the verses in the Ile of CALAVRIA, before he tooke his poyson: they are greatly deceiued. But yet a litle before my first comming to ATHENS, there went a reporte that such a thing happened. A certaine souldier being sent for to come vnto his Captaine, did put such peeces of gold as he had into the handes of *Demosthenes* statue, which had both his hands ioyned together: and there grew hard by it a great plane tree, diuers leaues whereof either blowen of by winde by chaunce, or else put there of purpose by the souldier, couered so this golde, that it was there a long time, and F no man found it: vntill such time as the souldier came againe, and found it as he left it. Hereuppon this matter running abroade in euerie mans mouth, there were diuers wise men that tooke occasion of this subiect, to make epigrammes in the praise of *Demosthenes*, as one who in

his life was neuer corrupted. Furthermore, *Demades* did not long enioy the honor he thought he had newly gotten. For the iuſtice of the goddes, reuenger of the death of *Demoſthenes*, brought him into MACEDON, to receiue iuſt puniſhment by death, of thoſe whom he diſhoneſtly flattered: being before growen hatefull to them, and afterwardes committed a fault whereby he coulde not eſcape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did perſwade, and pray * *Perdiccas*, to make him ſelfe king of MACEDON, & to deliuer GRÆCE from bondage, ſaying that it hong but by a threde, and yet it was halfe rotten, meaning thereby, *Antipater*. *Dinarchus* CORINTHIAN accuſed him, that he wrote theſe letters: the which ſo grieuouſly offended *Caſſander*, that firſt he ſlewe his owne ſonne in his armes, and then commaunded they ſhould afterwards kill *Demades*, making him feele then by thoſe miſeries (which are the cruelleſt that can happen vnto man) that traitors betraying their owne contrie do firſt of all betray them ſelues. *Demoſthenes* had often forewarned him of his end, but he would neuer beleue him. Thus, my frend *Soſſius*, you haue what we can deliuer you, by reading, or reporte, touching *Demoſthenes* life and doings.

* *He ſayth Antigonus, in the life of Phocion.*

Demades death and reward for his treaſon.

THE LIFE OF *Marcus Tullius Cicero.*

AS touching *Ciceroes* mother, whoſe name was *Heluia*, it is reported ſhe was a gentlewoman borne, & liued alwayes verie honeſtly: but for his father, the reports of him are diuers and infinite. For ſome ſay that he was borne and brought vp in a fullers ſhoppe: others reporte that he came of *Tullius Attius*, who while he liued was honored among the VOLSCES as king, and made verie ſharpe and cruell warres with the ROMANES. But ſurely it ſeemes to me, that the firſt of that name called *Cicero*, was ſome famous man, and that for his ſake his offſpring continued ſtill that ſurname, and were glad to keepe it, though many men ſcorned it, becauſe *Cicer* in Engliſh ſignifieth a riche peaſe. That *Cicero* had a thing vpon the tippe of his noſe, as it had bene a litle wart, muche like to a riche peaſe, whereuppon they ſurnamed him *Cicero*. But this *Cicero*, whoſe life we write of nowe, nobly aunſwered certaine of

Ciceroes parentage.

Cicero, why ſo called.

A of his frendes on a time geuing him counsell to chaunge his name, when he first made sute for office, and beganne to practise in matters of state: that he woulde endeuour him selfe to make the name of the *Ciceroes* more noble and famous, then the *Scauri*, or *Catuli*. After that, *Cicero* beinge made Treasorer in SICILE, he gaue an offering of certeine siluer plate vnto the goddes, and at large engraued on it his two first names, *Marcus Tullius*: and in place of his third name, he pleasauntly commaunded the workeman to cut out the forme and facion of a riche pease. Thus muche they wryte of his name. Nowe for his birth, it was sayed that his mother was brought a bedde of him without any paine, the third daye of Ianuarie: on which day the Magistrates and Gouernours of ROME doe vse at this present, yearely to make solemne prayers and sacrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and prosperi-
B tie of the Emperour. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an image to his nurse, that did prognosticate vnto her she gaue a childe sucke, which in time to come shoulde doe great good vnto all the ROMANES. Nowe though such thinges may seeme but dreames and fables vnto many, yet *Cicero* him selfe shortly after proued this prophecie true: bicause that when he came of age to learne, he grewe so toward, and wanne suche fame among the boyes, for his excellent wit and quicke capacitie. For thereuppon came the other boyes fathers them selues to the schoole to see his face, and to be eye witnesses of the reporte that went of him, of his sharpe and quicke witte to learne. But others of the rude and baser sorte of men were offended with their sonnes, bicause to honor *Cicero*, they did alwayes put him in the middest betwene them, as they went in the streetes. *Cicero* in deede had suche a naturall witte and
C vnderstanding, as *Plato* thought meete for learning, and apt for the studie of Philosophie. For he gaue him selfe to all kinde of knowledge, and there was no arte, nor any of the liberall sciences, that he disdained: notwithstanding in his first young yeares he was apter, and better disposed to the studie of Poetrie, then any other. There is a pretie poeme of his in verses of eight staues, called *Pontius Glaucus*, extant at this day, the which he made when he was but a boye. After that, being geuen more earnestlie vnto this studie, he was not onely thought the best Orator, but the best Poet also of all the ROMANES in his time: and yet doth the excellencie of his eloquence, and commendacion of his tongue continewe, euen to this daye, notwithstanding the great alteracion and chaunge of the Latine tongue. But his Poetrie hath lost the name and estimacion of it, bicause there were many after him that be-
D came farre more excellent therein then he. After he had left his childishe studies, he beeame then *Phileos* scholler, the Academicke Philosophet, the onely scholler of all *Clitomachus* schollers, whome the ROMANES esteemed so muche for his eloquence, and loued more for his gentle behauiour and conuersation. He gaue him selfe also to be a follower of *Mutius Scæuola*, who at that time was a greate man in ROME, and Prince of the Senate, and who did also instruct *Cicero* in the lawes of ROME. He did also followe *Sylla* for a time, in the warres of the MARSIANS. But when he sawe that the common wealth of ROME fell to ciuill warres, and from ciuill warres to a monarchie: then he returned againe to his booke and contemplatiue life, and frequented the learned men of GREECE, and alwayes studied with them, vntill *Sylla* had gotten the vpper hande, and that he saw all the common wealth againe
E at some stay. About that time, *Sylla* causing the goods of one that was sayd to be slaine, to be solde by the crier: (beinge one of the outlawes and proscriptes, to witte, banished by billes sette vp on postes) *Chrysogonus*, one of *Syllaes* freed bondemen, and in great fauour with his maister, bought them for the summe of two thowsande Drachmes. Therewithall the sonne and heire of the deade person called *Roscius*, being maruelously offended, he shewed that it was too shamefull an abuse: for his fathers goodes amounted to the summe of two hundred and fiftie talentes. *Sylla* finding him selfe thus openlie touched with pubblike fraude and deceite, for the onely gratifyinge of his man: he procured *Chrysogonus* to accuse him, that he had killed his owne father. Neuer an Orator durst speake in *Roscius* behalfe to defende
F his cause, but shronke colour, feating *Syllaes* cruelties and seueritie. Wherefore poore *Roscius* the younge man, seeinge euerie man forsake him, had no other refuge but to goe to *Cicero*, whome his frendes did counsell and perswade boldly to take vpon him the defence of *Roscius* cause: for he shoulde neuer haue a happier occasion, nor so noble a beginning to bring him

Cicero Quæstor.

Ciceroes birth.

An Image appeared to Ciceroes nurse.

Ciceroes towardnes and wit.

Cicero a notable Poet.

Cicero, Phileos scholler, the Academicke Philosopher.

Cicero a follower of Mutius Scæuola.

Roscius sute in suite.

selfe into estimacion, as this. Thereuppon *Cicero* determined to take his cause in hande, and did handell it so well, that he obteyned the thing he sued for: whereby he wanne him greate fame and credit. But yet being affrayed of *Syllaes* displeasure, he absented him selfe from Rome, and went into Græce, geuinge it out that his trauell was for a disease he had vppon him. In deede *Cicero* was dogge leane, a litle eater, and woulde also eate late, bicause of the greate weakenesse of his stomacke: but yet he had a good lowde voyce, though it was somewhat harshe, and lacked grace and comelynesse. Furthermore he was so earnest and vehement in his Oration that he mounted still with his voyce into the highest tunes: insomuche that men were affrayed it woulde one daye put him in hazard of his life. When he came to Athens, he went to heare *Antiochus* of the citie of Ascalona, and fell in greate likinge with his sweete tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwise he misliked his newe opinions in Philosophie. For *Antiochus* had then forsaken the opinions of the newe Academicke Philosophers, and the sect of the Carneades: being moued thereunto, either through the manifest proofe of thinges, or by his certaine iudgement, or (as some say) for that of an ambition or dissention against the schollers and followers of *Clitomachus* and *Philo*, he had reproued the resolucions of the Academickes, which he had of long time defended, onely to leane for the moste parte to the Stoickes opinions. Howebeit *Cicero* had most affection vnto the Academickes, and did studie that sect more then all the rest, of purpose, that if he sawe he were forbidden to practise in the common wealth at Rome, he woulde then goe to Athens (leauing all pleaes and Orators in the common wealth) to bestowe the rest of his time quietly in the studie of Philosophie. At length, when he hearde newes of *Syllaes* death, and sawe that his bodie was growen to good state and health by exercise, and that his voyce became dayly more and more to fill mens eares with a sweete and pleasaunt founde, and yet was lowde enough for the constitucion of his bodie: receiuing letters dayly from his frendes at Rome, that prayed him to returne home, and moreouer, *Antiochus* selfe also earnestlie perswadinge him to practise in the common wealth: he beganne againe to fall to the studie of Rethoricke, and to frame him selfe to be eloquent, being a necessarie thing for an Orator, and did continuallie exercise him selfe in making Orations vppon any speache or propoficion, and so frequented the chiefe Orators and maisters of eloquence that were at that time. To this ende therefore he went into Asia vnto Rhodes, and amongest the Orators of Asia, he frequented *Xenocles* Adramettin, and *Dionysius* Magnesian, and studied also with *Menippus* Carian: at Rhodes he hearde *Apollonius Molon*, and the Philosopher *Posidonius*. And it is reported also, that *Apollonius* wanting the Latine tongue, he did pray *Cicero* for exercise sake, to declame in Græke. *Cicero* was verie well contented with it, thinkinge that thereby his faultes shoulde be the better corrected. When he had ended his declamacion, all those that were present were amazed to heare him, and euerie man praised him one after an other. Howebeit *Apollonius* all the while *Cicero* spake, did neuer shewe any glad countenaunce: and when he had ended, he stayed a greate while and sayed neuer a worde. *Cicero* misliking withall, *Apollonius* at length sayed vnto him. As for me *Cicero*, I doe not onely praise thee, but more then that, I wonder at thee: and yet I am sorie for poore Græce, to see that learning and eloquence (which were the two onely giftes and honor left vs) are by thee obtained with vs, and caried vnto the Romanes. Nowe *Cicero* being verie well disposed, to goe with good hope to practise at Rome, he was a litle discouraged by an Oracle that was tolde him. For, inquiring of the god *Apollo* Delphian, howe he might doe to winne fame and estimacion: the Nunne *Pythias* aunswered him he shoulde obtayne it, so that in his doinges he woulde rather followe the disposicion of his owne nature, then the opinion of the common people. Wherefore when he came to Rome, at the first he proceeded verie warely, and discreetely, and did vnwillinglie seeke for any office, and when he did, he was not greatlie esteemed: for they commonlie called him the Græcian, and scholler, which are two wordes, the which the artificers, (and suche base mechanicall people at Rome,) haue euer readie at their tongues ende. Nowe he beinge by nature ambicious of honour, and prickt forward also by the perswasion of his father and frendes: in the ende he beganne to pleade, and there-

obteined

Cicero a weake man.

Cicero, Antiochus scholler.

The commoditie of exercise.

Cicero goeth into Asia, and to Rhodes.

Cicero declamed in Græke.

Apollonius testimonie of Cicero.

An Oracle giuen to Cicero.

Ciceroes first practising in the common wealth.

A obteyned not the chiefeſt place by litle and litle, but ſo ſoone as he fell to practiſe, he was immediatly eſteemed aboue all the other Orators and pleaders in his time, and did excell them all. Yet it is reported notwithſtanding, that for his geſture and pronunciacion, hauing the ſelfe ſame defectes of nature at the beginning, which *Demoſthenes* had: to reforme them, he carefully ſtudied to counterfeate *Roſcius*, an excellent commediant, and *AEſope* alſo a player of tragedies. Of this *AEſope* men wryte, that he playing one day *Atrius* parte vpon a ſtage (who determined with him ſelfe how he might be reuenged of his brother *Thyeſtes*) a ſeruaunt by chaunce hauing occaſion to runne ſodainly by him, he forgetting him ſelfe, ſtriuing to ſhewe the vehement paſſion and furie of this king, gaue him ſuche a blowe on his head with the ſcepter in his hand, that he ſlue him dead in the place. Euen ſo *Ciceroes* words

Roſcius and AEſopus common players.

B were of ſo great force to perſwade, by meanes of his grace and pronunciacion. For he mocking the Orators that thruſt out their heades, and cried in their Orations, was wont to ſay that they were like to lame men, who were driuen to ryde, bicauſe they coulde not goe a foote: euen ſo (ſayed he) they crie out, bicauſe they can not ſpeake. Truely pleaſaunt tawntes doe grace an Orator, and ſheweth a fine witte: but yet *Cicero* vſed them ſo commonly, that they were offenſiue vnto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious ſcoffer and ſpightfull man. He was choſen Treaſorer in the time of dearth, when there was great ſcarcetie of corne at Rome: and the prouince of Sicile fell to his lotte. At his firſt comming thither, the Sicilians miſliked him verie muche, bicauſe he compelled them to ſende corne vnto Rome: but after they had founde his diligence, iuſtice, and lenitie, they honored him aboue any Go-

Cicero, a fine Tawnter.

Cicero choſen Queſtor.

Ciceroes diligence, iuſtice, and lenitie.

C uernor that euer was ſent from Rome. Nowe there were diuers young gentlemen of Rome of noble houſes, who being accuſed for ſundrie faultes committed in warres againſt their honor, and martiall diſcipline, had bene ſent backe againe vnto the Prætor of Sicile: for whome *Cicero* pleaded, and did ſo excellently defende their cauſe, that they were pardoned euerie man. Thereuppon, thinking well of him ſelfe, when his time expired, he went to Rome, and by the way there happened a prety ieaſt vnto him. As he paſſed through the contrie of Campania, (otherwiſe called the lande of labor) he met by chaunce with one of the chiefeſt Romanes of all his frends. So falling in talke with him, he asked him what they ſayd of him at Rome, and what they thought of his doinges: imagining that all Rome had bene full of the glorie of his name and deedes. His frende asked him againe: and where haſt thou

D bene *Cicero* all this while, that we haue not ſeene thee at Rome? This killed his hart ſtraight, when he ſawe that the reporte of his name and doinges, entring into the citie of Rome as into an infinite ſea, was ſo ſodainely vanquiſhed away againe, without any other fame or ſpeach. But after that, when he looked into him ſelfe, and ſawe that in reaſon he tooke an infinite labor in hande to attaine to glorie, wherein he ſawe no certaine ende whereby to attaine vnto it: it cut of a great parte of the ambicion he had in his head. And yet the great pleaſure he tooke to heare his owne praiſe, and to be ouermuche geuen to deſire of honor and eſtimacion: thoſe two thinges continued with him euen to his dying day, and did eſtſoones make him ſwarue from iuſtice. Furthermore, when he beganne thorowely to practiſe in the affaires of the ſtate, he thought it an ill thing that artificers and craftes men ſhoulde haue ma-

Cicero, ambitious, & deſirous of praiſe.

E ny ſortes of inſtrumentes and tooles without life, to knowe the names of euerie one of them, the places where they ſhoulde take them, and the vſe whereto they ſhoulde employ them: and that a man of knowledge and qualitie (who doth all thinges with the helpe and ſeruice of men) ſhoulde be ſlothfull, and careleſſe, to learne to knowe the names of his citizens. Therefore he gaue him ſelfe to knowe, not onely mens names of qualitie, but the ſtreetes alſo they dwelt in, what parte of the citie ſoeuer it was: their goodly houſes in the contrie, the frendes they made of, and the neighbours whome they companied with. So that when he went abroade into Italie, whereſoeuer he became, *Cicero* coulde ſhewe and name his frendes houſes. He was not verie riche, and yet he had enough to ſerue his turne: the which made men muſe the more at him, and they loued him the better, bicauſe he tooke

Cicero geuen to know mens names, their Landes, and frendes.

F no fee nor gifte for his pleading, what cauſe ſoeuer he had in hande, but then ſpeciallie, when he defended a matter againſt *Verres*. This *Verres* had bene Prætor of Sicilia, and had committed many lewde partes there, for the which the Sicilians did accuſe him.

Ciceroes doings againſt Verres.

Cicero taking apon him to defende their cauſe, made *Verres* to be condemned, not by plea- A
ding, but in manner without pleading, and in this ſorte. The Prætors being his Iudges, and
fauoring *Verres*, had made ſo many reiornementes and delayes, that they had driuen it of
to the laſte day of hearing. *Cicero* perceiuing then he ſhoulde not haue day light to ſpeake
all that he had to ſay againſt him, and that thereby nothing ſhoulde be done and iudged: he
roſe vp, and ſayed, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but onely brought
foorth the witneſſes before the Iudges, and hauing cauſed their depoſicions to be taken,
he prayed they woulde proceede to ſentence, according to their euidence geuen on that
behalfe. Yet ſome doe reporte, that *Cicero* gaue many pleaſaunt tawntes and girdes, in plea-
ding the accuſacion of the SICILIANS againſt *Verres*. The ROMANES doe call a bore, *Ver-*
res. There was one *Cæcilius*, the ſonne of a freed bondman, who was ſuſpected to holde with B
the ſuperſticion of the IEWES. This *Cæcilius* woulde haue put by the SICILIANS from fol-
lowing the accuſacion of *Verres*, and woulde haue had the matter of his accuſacion only re-
ferred to him, for the proſecuting of it againſt him. *Cicero* skorning his ſute, ſayd vnto him:
He ſpake it bicauſe the Iewes doe eate no ſwines fleſh. what hath a IEWE to doe with a ſwine? This *Verres* had a ſonne ſomewhat aboue twentie
yeares of age, who (as the reporte went) had a verie ill name for his beawtie. And there-
fore when *Verres* one day thought to mocke *Cicero*, ſaying that he was too womanly: his
children (ſayd he) are to be reproued of that ſecretly at home. In this accuſacion, *Horten-*
ſius the Orator durſt not directly defende *Verres*: but touching the condemnacion of his fine,
he was then contented to aunſwere for him, for he had a Sphinx of Yuory geuen him by *Ver-*
res for his reward. Thereuppon *Cicero* gaue him a pretie nippe by the way: but *Hortenſius* C
not vnderſtanding him, ſayd he coulde no skill of darke ſpeaches. Well, ſayd *Cicero*, yet haſt
thou a ſphinx in thy houſe. In the ende *Verres* being condemned, and a fine ſette on his
heade to the value of ſeuentie fiue Myriades, *Cicero* notwithſtandinge was ſuſpected to be
bribed with money for agreeing to caſt him in ſo ſmall a ſumme. But yet when he came to
Cicero choſen AEdilis. be Ædilis, the SICILIANS to ſhew them ſelues thankefull to him, both brought and ſent him
many preſentes out of SICILE. Of all that he tooke nothing to his owne vſe, but onely be-
ſtowed their liberalitie in bringing downe the priſes of vittells at ROME. He had a goodly
houſe within the confines of the citie of ARPOS, a farme alſo by NAPLES, and an other a-
Ciceroes riches. bout the citie of POMPEII: but all theſe were no great thinges. Afterwardes alſo he had the
ioynter of his wife *Terentia*, which amounted to the ſumme of twelue Myriades, and be- D
ſides all this, there came to him by inheritaunce, eleuen Myriades of their Denarij. There-
uppon he liued verie honeſtly and ſoberly, without exceſſe, with his familiar frendes that
loued him, both GRÆCIANS and ROMANES, and woulde neuer goe to ſupper till after ſunne
ſet, not ſo muche for any great buſineſſe he had, as for the weakeneſſe of his ſtomake. But o-
therwiſe he was verie curious, and carefull of his perſon, and woulde be rubbed and noynt-
ed, and he would vſe alſo to walke a certaine number of turnes by proporcion: and ſo exerci-
ſing his bodie in that ſorte, he was neuer ſicke, and beſides was alwayes verie ſtrong and lu-
ſtie of bodie, able to abide great paines and ſorowes which he fell into afterwardes. He gaue
Ciceroes great curteſie and reſorte. his fathers chiefe manſion houſe to his brother, and went to dwell him ſelfe in the mount
Palatine: bicauſe ſuche as came to waite vpon him to doe him honor, ſhoulde not take the E
paines to goe ſo farre to ſee him. For, he had as many men dayly at his gate euerie mor-
ning, as either *Craſſus* had for his wealth, or *Pompey* for his eſtimacion among the ſouldiers
both of them being at that time the chiefeſt men of ROME. Yea furthermore, *Pompeys* ſelfe
came vnto *Cicero*, bicauſe his Orations ſtoode him to great purpoſe, for thincreaſe of his
Cicero choſen Prætor. honor and authoritie. Nowe when *Cicero* came to make ſute to be Prætor (which is, to be
as an ordinarie iudge) though he had many competitors, and fellowe ſuters with him, yet
was he firſt choſen affore them all: and he did ſo honeſtly behaue him ſelfe in that office,
that they did not ſo muche as once ſuſpect him of briberie or extorcion. And for proofe
hereof, it is reported, that *Licinius Macer* (a man that of him ſelfe was of great power, and
yet fauored and ſupported beſides by *Craſſus*) was accuſed before *Cicero* of theft and extor- F
cion in his office: but he truſtinge muche to his ſuppoſed credit, and to the greate ſute
and labour his frendes made for him, went home to his houſe before ſentence proceeded
againſt

A againſt him (the Iudges being yet to geue their opinions) and there ſpeedely trimmed his beard, and put a newe gowne vppon his backe, as though he had bene ſure to haue bene quitte of his accuſacion, and then returned againe into the market place. But *Craſſus* went to meete him, and tolde him all the Iudges had condemned him. *Licinius Macer* tooke ſuche a griefe and conceite vpon it, that he went home to his houſe againe, layed him downe on his bedde, and neuer roſe after. This iudgement wanne *Cicero* greate fame, for they praiſed him exceedingly for the great paines he tooke, to ſee iuſtice duely executed. Another called alſo *Vatinius*, (a bedlem fellowe, and one that behaued him ſelfe verie vnreuerently to the Magiſtrates in his pleadinge, and beſides had a ſwollen necke) came verie arrogantly one day vnto *Cicero* being in his Prætoriall ſeate, and asked him a thing which *Ci-*

B *cero* woulde not graunte him there, but woulde thinke of it at better leaſure. Thereuppon *Vatinius* tolde him, that he would not be ſcrupulous to graunt that, if he were Prætor. *Cicero* turning to him, aunſwered him againe: no more haue I (ſayd he) ſuche a ſwollen necke as thou haſt. Towardes the ende of his office, two or three dayes before his time expired, there was one accuſed *Manilius* before him, that he alſo had robbed the common wealth. This *Manilius* was verie well beloued of the common people, who were perſwaded that he was put in ſute, not for any fault he had committed, but onely to deſpighe *Pompey* with, whoſe familiar frende he was. So he required certaine dayes to aunſwere the matter he was accuſed of: but *Cicero* woulde geue him no further reſpit, but to aunſwere it the next day. The people therewith were maruelouſly offended, bicauſe the other Prætors in ſuche like

C caſes were wont to geue tenne dayes reſpit to others. The next morninge when the Tribunes had brought him before the Iudges, and alſo accuſed him vnto them: he beſought *Cicero* to heare him pacientlie. *Cicero* made him aunſwere, that hauinge alwayes vſed as muche fauour and curteſie as he poſſiblie might by lawe, vnto thoſe that were accuſed, he thought he ſhoulde offer *Manilius* too greate wrong, if he ſhoulde not doe the like to him: wherefore, bicauſe he had but one day more to continewe Prætor in office, he had purpoſely geuen him that day to make his aunſwere before him. For he thought that to leaue his accuſacion to the hearing of an other Prætor, he coulde not haue bene thought a man that had borne him good will, and ment to pleaſure him. Theſe wordes did maruelouſlie chaunge the peoples opinion and affection towardes him, and euerie man ſpeaking well of

D him, they prayed him to defend *Manilius* cauſe. He willingly graunted them: and comming from the benche, ſtanding at the barre like an Orator to pleade for him, he made a notable Oration, and ſpake both boldly and ſharpely againſt the chiefe men of the citie, and thoſe ſpeciallie that did enuie *Pompey*. This notwithſtanding, when he came to ſue to be Conſul, he founde as great fauour amongeſt the Nobilitie, as he did with the communaltie. For they did further his ſute, for the common wealthes ſake, vpon this occaſion. The chaunge and alteracion of gouernment the which *Sylla* brought in, was thought ſtraunge at the firſt among the people: but nowe men by proceſſe of time being vſed to it, it was throughly eſtabliſhed, and no man miſliked it. At that time many men practiſed to ſubuert the gouern-

E ment, not for the benefit of the common wealth, but to ſerue their owne couetous mindes. For *Pompey* being then in the Eaſt partes, made warres with the kings of PONTVS and ARMENIA, and had not left ſufficient force at ROME to oppreſſe theſe ſeditious perſons, that ſought nothing but rebellion. Theſe men had made *Lucius Catilina* their Captaine: a deſperate man to attempt any great enterpriſe, ſuttle, and malicious of nature. He was accuſed before (beſides many other vile faultes) for deflowering of his owne daughter, and killinge his brother: and being affrayed to be put in ſute for it, he prayed *Sylla* to put his brother amongeſt the number of the outlawes (or proſcriptes) as if he had bene then aliue. Theſe wicked rebells hauinge choſen them ſuche a Captaine, were ſworne and bounde one to an other in this manner. They killed a man, and did eate of his fleſhe together, and had beſides corrupted the moſt parte of all the youth. For *Catiline* their Captaine ſuffered euerie man

F to take his pleaſure, as his youth was inclined vnto: as to banket, to followe harlottes, and gaue them money largelie to beſtowe in theſe vayne expences. Furthermore all THVSCAN beganne to riſe, and the moſt parte of GAVLE alſo, lying betwene the Alpes and ITALIE.

Licinius Macer condemned.

Cicero with one word pacified the offended Tribunes.

Cicero made Conſul.

The conſpiracy of Catiline.

Catilines wickednes.

The citie of Rome it selfe was also in great daunger of rising, for the inequalitie of the goods of the inhabitauntes. For the noble men, and of greatest corage, had spent all their landes in playes and feasts, or in buildings and common workes, which they built at their owne charge, to currie fauour with the common people, that they might obtaine the chiefe offices: so that thereby they became verie poore, and their goodes were in the handes of meane men and wretches. Thus the state of Rome stoode in great hazard of vprore, the which any man might easely haue procured, that durst haue taken vppon him any change or alteracion of gouernment, there was then suche diuision among them in the state. *Catiline* notwithstanding, to prouide him of a strong bullwarke to prosecute his intent, came to sue to be Consul, hoping that he should be chosen with *Caius Antonius*, a man that of him selfe was apt neither to doe any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that could be a great strength and aide vnto him that woulde attempt any thing. Diuers noble and wise men foreseeing that, did procure *Cicero* to sue for the Consulshippe. The people accepted him, and reiected *Catiline*. *Antonius* and *Cicero* thereuppon were created Consuls, although that *Cicero* of all the surers for the Consulship was but only a Knightes sonne, and not the sonne of a Senator of Rome. Nowe, though the common people vnderstoode not the secret practise and meaning of *Catiline*: yet at the beginning of *Ciceroes* Consulshippe, there fell out great trouble and contencion in the common wealth. For they of the one side, whom *Sylla* had by his ordinaunces deposed from their dignities and offices in Rome (who were no small men, neither fewe in number) beganne to creepe into the peoples good will, alleaging many true and iust reasons against the tyrannicall power of *Sylla*: howebeit spoken in ill time, when it was out of time to make any chaunge or alteracion in the common wealth. The Tribunes on the other side preferred lawes and ordinaunces to further this deuise. They preferred the lawe to choose the Decemuiri, with soueraine power and authoritie through all Italie and Syria, and also through all the contries and prouinces which *Pompey* had newly conquered to the Empire of Rome: to sell, and release all the landes belonging to the state of Rome, to accuse any man whome they thought good, to banishe any man, to restore the Colonies with people, to take what money they woulde out of the treasurie, to leauie men of warre, and to keepe them in pay as long as they thought good. For this great and absolute power of the Decemuiri, there were many men of great accompt that fauored this law, but *Antonius* chiefly, being colleague and fellowe Consul with *Cicero*, for he had good hope to be chosen one of these ten Commissioners: and furthermore, it was thought that he was priuie vnto *Catilines* conspiracie, and that he misliked it not, bicause he was so muche in det. And this was it that the noble men most feared of all other thinges. Thereuppon *Cicero*, to prouide first to preuent this daunger, graunted him the prouince of the realme of Macedon: and the prouince of Gaule being offered vnto him selfe, he refused it. By this good turne, he wanne *Antonius* like a hiered player making him to promise him that he would assist & aide him for the benefit of the common wealth, and that he would say no more, then he shoulde will him. When he had brought him to this, and had wonne him to his minde: he then beganne to be the bolder, and more stowtly to resist them that were authors of this innouation and new lawes. *Cicero* therefore in open Senate, did one day sharply reproue, and inuey against this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes would haue established. But thereby he did so terrifie the authors thereof, that there was not one man durst speake against him. This notwithstanding, the Tribunes afterwardes attempted once againe to haue it to passe, & appointed the Consuls to appeare before the people. Howbeit *Cicero* being nothing abashed at it, he commaunded the Senate to follow him. So he did not only ouerthrow this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes did preferre: but furthermore they were vtterly discoraged and out of hope to bring any of their matters to passe they intended, he strooke them so dead with his eloquence. For *Cicero* onely of all men in Rome made the Romanes know, how muche eloquence doth grace and beawtifie that which is honest, and how inuincible right and iustice are, being eloquently set forth: and also how that a man that will be counted a wise Gouernor of a comman weale, should alwayes in his doinges rather preferre profit, than to seeke to currie fauor with the common people: yet so to vse his words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be also vnpleasant. And to proue his sweete and

C. Antonius, and M.T. Cicero created Consuls.

Great troubles at Rome, in the time of Ciceroes Consulshippe.

A law preferred for the creacion and authority of the Decemuiri.

Cicero by his eloquence ouerthrew the law of the Decemuiri.

A & pleasant tongue, may be alleaged that which he did in the time of his Consulship, touching the placing of men at the Theater to see the pastimes. For before, the knights of Rome did sit mingled one with another amongst the common people, and tooke their place as they came. The first that made the difference betwene them, was * *Marcus Otho*, at that time Prætor: who made a law, by the which he appoynted seuerall seates for the knights, where they might from thenceforth see the pastimes. The people tooke this grieuously, as a thing done to discountenance them: insomuch that *Otho* comming afterwards into the Theater, all the common people fel a whistling at him, to shame him withal. The knights also in contrariwise made him roome amongst them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honor. Therewith the people fell a whistling lowder then before, and the knights in like manner to clapping of their handes, B and so grew to wordes one with another: that all the Theater was straight in vprore with it. *Cicero* vnderstanding it, went thither him selfe, & calling the people to the temple of the goddesse *Bellona*, he there so sharpely reproued them, and therewith so perswaded them, that returning presently to the Theater, they did then welcome and receiue *Otho* with clapping of their handes, and contended with the knights which of them should doe him greatest honor. But now againe, the rebells of *Catilines* conspiracie (who were pretily cooled at the first for the feare they stoode in) began to be lustie againe, and to gather together, boldely incoraging one another to broache their practise, before *Pompey* returned, who was sayd to be on the way towards Rome with his armye. But besides them, those souldiers that had serued before in the warres vnder *Sylla*, being dispersed vppe and downe Italy, (but specially the best souldiers a- C mong them dwelling in the good townes of Thvscan) did stirre vp *Catiline* to hasten the enterprise, perswading them selues that they should once againe haue goods enough at hand, to spoyle and ransacke at their pleasure. These souldiers hauing one *Manlius* to their Captaine, that had borne office in the field vnder *Sylla*, conspyred with *Catilin*, and came to Rome to assist him in his sute: who purposed once againe to demaund the Consulship, being determined at the election to kill *Cicero*, in the tumult and hurly burly. The goddes also did plainly shewe by earthquakes, lightning & thunder, and by vision of spirits that did appeare, the secret practise and conspiracie: besides also, there fell out manifest coniectures & proofes by men that came to reueale them, howbeit they had not power sufficient to encownter so noble a man, and of so great power as *Catilin* was. *Cicero* therefore deferring the day of election, called *Catilin* into D the Senate, and there did examine him of that which was reported of him. *Catiline* supposing there were many in the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and also bicause he would shewe him self ready vnto them that were of his conspiracie: he gaue *Cicero* a gentle aunswer, & said thus, What doe I offend, sayd he, if that beeing two bodies in this towne, the one leane and weake, and throughly rotten, and hath a head: and the other being great, strong, & of power, hauing no head, I doe giue it one? meaning vnder this darke aunswer, to signifie the people & Senate. This aunswer being made, *Cicero* was more affrayd then before, insomuch that he put on a brigantine for the safetie of his body, & was accõpanied with the chiefest men of Rome, and a great number of younge men besides, going with him from his house vnto the fielde of *Mars*, where the elections were made: & had of purpose left open his iacket lose at the chol- E ler, that his brigantyne he had on might be seene, thereby to let euery man that saw him, know the daunger he was in. Euery man misliked it when they saw it, and came about him to defend him, if any offered to assayle him. But it so came to passe, that by voyces of the people, *Catilin* was againe reiected from the Consulship, and *Syllanus* and *Murena* chosen Consuls. Shortly after this election, the souldiers of Thvscan being ioyned, which should haue come to *Catilin*, and the day appoynted being at hande to broache their enterprise: about midnight there came three of the chiefest men of Rome to *Ciceroes* house (*Marcus Crassus*, *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Scipio Metellus*) and knocking at his gate, called his porter, and bad him wake his maister presently, and tell him how they three were at the gate to speake with him, about a matter of importance. At night after supper, *Crassus* porter brought his maister a packet of letters, de- F liuered him by a straunger vnknowen, which were directed vnto diuers persons, amonge the which one of them had no name subscribed, but was onely directed vnto *Crassus* him self. The effect of his letter was, that there should be a great slaughter in Rome made by *Catilin*, and

Ciceros sweet tongue.

* *Others doe say Lucius Roscius Otho, Tribune of the people. Roscius law for deuiding of the Roman Knights from the common people.*

Sylles souldiers conspired with Catiline.

Cicero examined Catilin in the Senate.

Syllanus and Murena Consulls.

Letters brought to Crassus, of Catilines conspiracie.

therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of Rome to saue him selfe. *Crassus* hauing A
red his owne letter, would not open the rest, but went forthwith vnto *Cicero*, partly for feare of
the daunger, and partly also to cleere him selfe of the suspition they had of him for the friend-
ship that was betwixt him and *Catiline*. *Cicero* counselling with them what was to be done, the
next morning assembled the Senate very earely, and carying the letters with him, he did deli-
uer them according to their direction, and commaunded they should read them out alowde.
All these letters, & euery one of them particulerly, did bewray the conspiracie. Furthermore,
Quintus Arrius, a man of authoritie, and that had bene Prætor, tolde openly the souldiers and
men of warre that were leauied in Thvscan. And it was reported also, that *Manlius* was in the
fielde with a great number of souldiers about the cities of Thvscan, gaping daily to heare
newes of some chaunge at Rome. All these thinges being throughly considered, a decree pas- B
sed by the Senate, that they should referre the care of the common wealth vnto the Consuls,
to thend that with absolute authoritie they might (as well as they could) prouide for the safe-
tie and preseruation thereof. Such manner of decree and authoritie, was not often seene con-
cluded of in the Senate, but in time of present feare and daunger. Now *Cicero* hauing this ab-
solute power, he referred all forreine matters to *Quintus Metellus* charge, and did him self take
vppon him the care and gouernment of all ciuill affayres within Rome. On the day time when
he went vp and downe the towne, he had such a trowpe of men after him, that when he came
through the great market place, he almost filled it with his trayne that followed him. There-
uppon *Catiline* would no lenger delay time, but resolued to goe him selfe vnto *Manlius* where
their armie lay. But before he departed, he had drawen into his confederacie one *Martius*, & C
an other called *Cethegus*, whome he commaunded betimes in the morning to goe to *Ciceroes*
house with short daggers to kil him, pretending to come to salute him, and to giue him a good
morow. But there was a noble woman of Rome, called *Fuluia*, who went ouer night vnto *Cice-*
Fuluia bewrayeth Catilines intent to kill Cicero. *ro*, and bad him beware of that *Cethegus*, who in deede came the next morning betimes vnto
him: but being denied to be let in, he began to chafe and raile before the gate. This made him
the more to be suspected. In thend *Cicero* comming out of his house, called the Senate to the
temple of *Iupiter Stator*, (as much to say, a stayer) which standeth at the vpper end of the holy
streete as they goe to the Mount Palatine. There was *Catiline* with others, as though he ment
to cleere him selfe of the suspition that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senator that
would sit downe by him, but they did all rise from the benche where *Catiline* had taken his D
place. And further, when he began to speake, he could haue no audience for the great noyse
they made against him. So at length *Cicero* rose, and commaunded him to auoid out of Rome:
saying, that there must needes be a separacion of walles betweene them two, considering that
Catiline departed Rome. the one vsed but words, and the other force of armes. *Catiline* thereuppon immediatly depar-
ting the citie with three hundred armed men, was no sooner out of the precinct of the walles,
but he made his Sergeaunts cary axes and bundells of roddes before him, as if he had beene a
Consul lawfully created, and did display his ensignes of warre, & so went in this order to seeke
Manlius. When they were ioyned, he had not much lesse then twenty thowsand men toge-
ther, with the which he went to practise the townes to rebell. Nowe open warre beeing thus
proclaimed, *Antonius*, *Ciceroes* colleage and fellowe Consul, was sent against him to fight with E
him. In the meane space, *Cornelius Lentulus* surnamed *Sura* (a man of a noble house, but of a
wicked disposition, and that for his ill life was put of the Senate) assembled all the rest which
were of *Catilines* conspiracie, and that remained behind him in Rome, and bad them be affraid
of nothing. He was then Prætor the second time, as the manner is when any man comes to re-
couer againe the dignitie of a Senator which he had lost. It is reported that this surname of
C. Lentulus why called Sura. *Sura* was giuen him vpon this occasion. He being Treasorer in *Syllaes* Dictatorship, did fondly
waste and consume a maruelous summe of money of the common treasure. *Sylla* being offen-
ded with him for it, and demaunding an accompt of him before the Senate: he careles ly and
contemptuously stepped forth, saying he could make him no other accompt, but shewed him
the calfe of his legge, as children doe, when they make a fault at tennys. And thereof it came F
that euer after that they called him *Sura*, because *Sura* in Latin signifieth, the calfe of the legge.
Another time also being accused for a lewde part he had committed, he bribed some of the

Iudges

A Iudges with money, and being onely quit by two voyces more which he had in his fauor, he
sayd he had loſt his money he had giuen to one of thoſe two Iudges, bicauſe it was enough
for him to be cleered by one voice more. This man being of this diſpoſition, was firſt of all in-
cenſed by *Catiline*, and laſtly marred by certaine wiſards & falſe prognoſticators that had moc-
ked him with a vaine hope, ſinging verſes vnto him which they had fayned and deuiſed, and
falſe prophecies alſo, which they bare him in hande they had taken out of *Sybilles* bookes of
prophecie, which ſayd: that there ſhould raigne three *Cornelij* at Rome, of the which, two had
already fulfilled the prophecie, *Cinna* and *Sylla*, and for the third, fortune layd it vpon him, and
therefore bad him goe thorow withall, and not to dreame it out loſing oportunitie as *Catiline*
had done. Now this *Lentulus* vndertooke no ſmall enterpriſe, but had an intent with him to kil
B all the whole Senate, and as many other Citizens as they could murther, and to ſet fire of
Rome, ſparing none but *Pompeys* ſonnes, whome they would reſerue for pledges, to make their
peace afterwards with *Pompey*. For the rumor was very great and certein alſo, that he returned
from very great warres and conqueſts which he had made in the Eaſt contryes. So they layed
a plat to put their treaſon in execution, in one of the nights of *Saturnes* feaſtes. Further, they
had brought flaxe and brimſtone, and a great number of armors and weapons into *Cethegus*
houſe. Beſides all this prouiſion, they had appoynted a hundred men in an hundred partes of
the citie, to the ende that fire being rayſed in many places at one tyme, it ſhould the ſooner
ronne through the whole citie. Other men alſo were appoynted to ſtoppe the pypes and wa-
ter conduits which brought water to Rome, and to kill thoſe alſo that came for water to
C quench the fire. In all this ſturre, by chaunce there were two Ambaſſadors of the Allobro-
ges, whoſe contry at that tyme did much miſlike of the Romanes, and were vnwilling to be
ſubiect vnto them. *Lentulus* thought theſe men very fit inſtruments to cauſe all Gavle to re-
bell. Thereuppon practiſing with them, he wanne them to be of their conſpiracie, and gaue
them letters directed to the counſell of their contrie, and in them did promiſe them freedom.
He ſent other letters alſo vnto *Catilin*, and perſwaded him to proclaime libertie to all bond-
men, and to come with all the ſpeede he could to Rome: and ſent with them one *Titus* of the
citie of Crotona, to cary theſe letters. But all their counſells and purpoſes (like fooles that
neuer met together but at feaſtes, drincking droncke with light women) were eaſily found
out by *Cicero*: who had a carefull eye vpon them, and very wiſely and diſcreetely ſawe thorow
D them. For he had appoynted men out of the citie to ſpie their doings, which followed them to
ſee what they intended. Furthermore he ſpake ſecretly with ſome he truſted, (the which o-
thers alſo tooke to be of the conſpiracie) and knewe by them that *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had
practiſed with the Ambaſſadors of the Allobroges, and drawen them into their conſpira-
cie. At length he watched them one night ſo narrowly, that he tooke the Ambaſſadors, and
Titus Crotonian with the letters he caried, by helpe of the Ambaſſadors of the Allo-
broges, which had ſecretly informed him of all before. The next morning by breake of day,
Cicero aſſembled the Senate in the temple of Concorde, and there openly red the letters, and
heard the euidence of the witneſſes. Further, there was one *Iunius Syllanus* a Senator that gaue
in euidence, that ſome heard *Cethegus* ſay they ſhould kill three Conſuls, and foure Prætors.
E *Piſo* a Senator alſo, and that had bene Conſul, tolde in manner the ſelfe ſame tale. And *Caius*
Sulpitius a Prætor, that was ſent into *Cethegus* houſe, reported that he had found great ſtore of
darts, armor, daggers and ſwordes new made. Laſtly, the Senate hauing promiſed *Titus* Cro-
tonian he ſhould haue no hurt, ſo he would tell what he knew of this conſpiracie: *Lentulus*
thereby was conuinced, and driuen to giue vppe his office of Prætor before the Senate, and
chaunging his purple gowne, to take another meete for his miſerable ſtate. This being done,
Lentulus and his conſorts were committed to warde, to the Prætors houſes. Now growing to-
wards euening, the people waiting about the place where the Senate was aſſembled, *Cicero* at
length came out, and told them what they had done within. Thereuppon he was conueyed by
all the people vnto a friendes houſe of his hard by: for that his owne houſe was occupied by
F the Ladies of the citie, who were buſy ſolemnly celebrating a ſecret ſacrifice in the honor of
the goddeſſe, called of the Romanes the good goddeſſe, and of the Græcians *Gynæcia*, to
wit feminine: vnto her this yearely ſacrifice is done at the Conſuls houſe, by the wife or mo-

Oracles of three Cornelij that ſhould raigne at Rome.

Great treaſon practiſed in Rome by C. Lentulus, and Cethegus.

The conſpirators apprehended.

ther of the Conſul then being, the Veſtal Nunnes being preſent at it. Now *Cicero* being comen into his neighbours houſe, beganne to bethinke him what courſe he were beſt to take in this matter. For, to puniſh the offenders with ſeueritie, according to their deſerts, he was afraid to doe it: both bicauſe he was of a curteous nature, as alſo for that he would not ſeeme to be glad to haue occaſion to ſhew his abſolute power and authoritie, to puniſh (as he might) with rigour, Citizens that were of the nobleſt houſes of the citie, & that had beſides many friends. And contrariwiſe alſo, being remiſſe in ſo waightie a matter as this, he was affraid of the daunger that might enſue of their raſhnes, miſtruſting that if he ſhould puniſh them with leſſe then death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and deſperate then euer they were: adding moreouer the ſtyng and ſpight of a newe malice vnto their accuſtomed wickednes, beſides that he him ſelfe ſhould be thought a coward and tymerous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. *Cicero* being perplexed thus with theſe doubts, there appeared a miracle to the Ladies, doing ſacrifice at home in his houſe. For the fire that was thought to be cleane out vpon the aulter where they had ſacrificed, there ſodainely roſe out of the imbers of the ryend or barkes which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amaſed all the other Ladies. Howbeit the Veſtall Nũnes willed *Terentia* (*Ciceroes* wife) to go ſtraight vnto her husband, & to bid him not to be affraid to execute that boldly which he had conſidered of, for the benefit of the cõmon wealth: and that the goddeſſe had raiſed this great flame, to ſhewe him that he ſhould haue great honor by doing of it. *Terentia*, that was no timerous nor faint harted woman, but very ambitious, and furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her husband of the affayres of the ſtate, then otherwiſe ſhe had acquainted him with her houſewiuery in the houſe, as *Cicero* him ſelfe reporteth: ſhe went to make report thereof vnto him, and prayed him to doe execution of thoſe men. The like did *Quintus Cicero* his brother, and alſo *Publius Nigidius*, his friend and fellow ſtudent with him in Philoſophie, and whoſe counſell alſo *Cicero* followed much in the gouernment of the common wealth. The next morning, the matter being propounded to the arbitrement of the Senate, how theſe malefactors ſhould be puniſhed: *Syllanus* being asked his opinion firſt, ſaid that they ſhould be put in priſon, and from thence to ſuffer execution. Others likewiſe that followed him, were all of that minde, but *Caius Cæſar*, that afterwards came to be Dictator, and was then but a young man, and began to come forward, but yet ſuch a one, as by his behauior and the hope he had, tooke ſuch a courſe, that afterwards he brought the common wealth of Rome into an abſolute Monarchie. For at that time, *Cicero* had vehement ſuſpicions of *Cæſar*, but no apparant proofe to conuince him. And ſome ſay, that it was brought ſo neare, as he was almoſt conuicted, but yet ſaued him ſelfe. Other write to the contrary, that *Cicero* wittingly diſſembled, that he either heard or knew any ſignes which were told him againſt *Cæſar*, being affraid in deede of his friends and eſtimation. For it was a cleere caſe, that if they had accuſed *Cæſar* with the reſt, he vndoubtedly had ſooner ſaued all their liues, then he ſhould haue loſt his owne. Nowe when *Cæſar* came to deliuer his opinion touching the puniſhment of theſe priſoners: he ſtoode vp and ſayde, that he did not thinke it good to put them to death, but to confiſcate their goods: and as for their perſons, that they ſhould beſtow them in priſon, ſome in one place, ſome in another, in ſuch cities of Italy, as pleaſed *Cicero* beſt, vntill the warre of *Catilin* were ended. This ſentence being very mild, and the author thereof maruelous eloquent to make it good: *Cicero* him ſelf added thereunto a counterpeaſe, inclining vnto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the firſt, and partly alſo the opinion of *Cæſar*. His friends thinking that *Cæſars* opinion was the ſafeſt for *Cicero*, bicauſe thereby he ſhould deſerue leſſe blame for that he had not put the priſoners to death: they followed rather the ſecond. Whereuppon *Syllanus* alſo recanted that he had ſpoken, and expounded his opinion: ſaying, that when he ſpake they ſhould be put to death, he ment nothing ſo, but thought the laſt puniſhment a Senator of Rome could haue, was the priſon. But the firſt that contraried this opinion, was *Catulus Luctatius*, and after him *Cato*, who with vehement wordes enforced *Cæſars* ſuſpition, and furthermore filled all the Senate with wrath and corage: ſo that euen vpon the inſtant it was decreed by moſt voyces, that they ſhould ſuffer death. But *Cæſar* ſtept vp again, & ſpake againſt the confiſcation of their goods, miſliking that they ſhould reiect

Syllanus ſentence of the conſpirators.

Cæſar priuie to Catilines conſpiracie.

Cæſars opinion for the puniſhment of the conſpirators.

A reiect the gentlest part of his opinion, and that contrariwise they should sticke vnto the sauerest onely: howbeit bicause the greatest number prenailed against him, he called the Tribunes to ayde him, to the ende they should withstand it: but they would giue no eare vnto him. *Cicero* thereupon yelding of him self, did remit the confiscation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetche the prisoners: who were not all in one house; but euery Prætor had one of them. So he went first to take *C. Lentulus*, who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him through the holy streete and the market place, accompanied with the chiefest men of the citie, who compassed him round about, and garded his person. The people seeing that, quaked and trembled for feare, passed by, and sayd neuer a word: and specially the younge men, who thought it had bene some solemne misterie for the health of their contry, that was so accom-

B panied with the chiefe Magistrate, and the noble men of the citie, with terror and feare. So when he had passed through the market place, and was come to the prison, he deliuered *Lentulus* into the handes of the hangman, and commaunded him to doe execution. Afterwardes also *Cethegus*, and then all the rest one after another, whome he brought to the prison him selfe, and caused them to be executed. Furthermore, seeing diuers of their accomplices in a rowpe together in the market place, who knewe nothing what he had done, and watched onely till night were come, supposing then to take away their companions by force from the place where they were, thinking they were yet aliue: he turned vnto them, and spake alowd, they liued. This is a phrase of speeche which the ROMANES vse sometyme, when they will finely conuey the hardnes of the speeche, to say he is dead. When night was comen, and that

C he was going homeward, as he came through the market place, the people did wayte vpon him no more with silence as before, but with great eryes of his praise, and clapping of handes in euery place he went, and called him Sauior, and second fownder of ROME. Besides all this, at euery mans dore there were lynckes and torches lighted, that it was as light in the streetes, as at noone dayes. The very women also did put lights out of the toppes of their houses to doe him honor, and also to see him so nobly brought home, with such a long trayne of the chiefest men of the citie, (of the which many of them had ended great warres for the which they had triumphed, and had obteyned many famous conquests to the Empire of ROME, both by sea and land) confessing betwene them selues one to another, that the ROMANES were greatly bound to many Captaines and generalls of armies in their time, for the wonderfull riches,

D spoyles, and increase of their power which they had wonne: howbeit that they were to thanke *Cicero* onely, for their health and preseruation, hauing saued them from so great and extreme a daunger. Not for that they thought it so wonderfull an acte to haue striken dead the enterprise of the conspirators, and also to haue punished the offenders by death: but bicause the conspiracie of *Catilin* being so great and daungerous an insurrection as euer was any, he had quenched it, and pluckt it vp by the roores, with so small hurt, and without vprore, trouble, or actuall sedition. For, the most part of them that were gathered together about *Catiline*, when they heard that *Lentulus* and all the rest were put to death, they presently forsooke him: and *Catiline* him selfe also fighting a battell with them he had about him, against *Antonius* the o-

E ther Consul with *Cicero*, he was slayne in the fielde, and all his armie defeated. This notwithstanding, there were many that spake ill of *Cicero* for this facte, and ment to make him repent it, hauing for their heades *Cæsar*, (who was already chosen Prætor for the yeare to come) *Metellus* and *Bestia*, who should also be chosen Tribunes. They, so soone as they were chosen Tribunes, would not once suffer *Cicero* to speake to the people, notwithstanding that he was yet in his office of Consul for certaine dayes. And furthermore, to let him that he should not speake vnto the people, they did set their benches vpon the pulpit for orations, which they call at ROME, Rostra: and would neuer suffer him to set foote in it, but onely to resigne his office, and that done, to come downe againe immediatly. He graunted thereunto, and went vp to the pulpit vpon that condition. So silence being made him, he made an othe, not like vnto other Consuls othes when they resigne their office in like manner, but straunge, and neuer

F heard of before: swearing, that he had saued the citie of ROME, and preserued all his contry and the Empire of ROME from vtter ruine and destruction. All the people that were present, confirmed it, and sware the like othe. Wherewithall *Cæsar* and the other Tribunes his ene-

The execution of the conspirators.

They liued: A word vsurped for the dead.

Ciceros praise.

Catilin slaine in battell by Antonius.

Cæsar chosen Prætor. Metellus and Bestia Tribunes of the people.

Cicero resigneth his office.

to

mies were so offended with him, that they deuised to breede him some new sturre & trouble: & amongest others, they made a decree, that *Pompey* should be sent for with his army to bridle the tyranny of *Cicero*. *Cato*, (who at that time was also Tribune) did him great pleasure in the furtherance of the common wealth, opposing him selfe against all their practises, with the like authoritie and power that they had, being a Tribune and brother with them, and of better estimation then they. So that he did not onely easily breake all their deuises, but also in a goodly oration he made in a full assembly of the people, he so highly praised and extolled *Ciceroes* Consulship vnto them, and the thinges he did in his office: that they gaue him the greatest honors that euer were decreed or graunted vnto any man liuing. For by decree of the people he was called, father of the contry, as *Cato* him selfe had called him in his oration: the which name was neuer giuen to any man, but onely vnto him, & also he bare greater swaye in Rome at that time, then any man beside him. This notwithstanding, he made him selfe enuyed and misliked of many men, not for any ill acte he did, or ment to doe: but onely bicause he did too much boast of him selfe. For he neuer was in any assembly of people, Senate, or iudgement, but euery mans head was full still to heare the sound of *Catulus* and *Lentulus* brought in for sporte, and filling the bookes and workes he compiled besides full of his owne prayses: the which made his sweete and pleasant stile, tedious, and troublesom to those that heard them, as though this misfortune euer followed him to take away his excellent grace. But nowe, though he had this worme of ambition, and extreme couetous desire of honor in his head, yet did he not malice or enuy any others glory, but would very franckly praise excellent men, as well those that had bene before him, as those that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his writings. They haue written also certaine notable wordes he spake of some auncient men in olde time, as of *Aristotle*: that he was like a golden flowing riuer: and of *Plato*, that if *Iupiter* him selfe would speake, he would speake like him: and of *Theophrastus*, he was wont to call him his delight: & of *Demosthenes* orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked best: the longest saide he. There be diuers writers also, who to shewe that they were great followers of *Demosthenes*, doe followe *Ciceroes* saying in a certaine epistle he wrote vnto one of his friends, wherein he said that *Demosthenes* slept in some of his orations: but yet they forget to tel how highly he praised him in that place, and that he calleth the orations which he wrote against *Antonius* (in the which he tooke great paines, and studied more then all the rest) Philippians: to followe those which *Demosthenes* wrote against *Philip* king of Macedon. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his tyme, either in eloquence, or in learning, whose fame he hath not commended in writing, or otherwise in honorable speech of him. For he obteyned of *Cæsar*, when he had the Empire of Rome in his handes, that *Cratippus* the Peripateticke Philosopher was made Citizen of Rome. Further, he procured that by decree of the court of the Areopagites, he was intreated to remaine at Athens, to teach and instruct the youth there: for that he was a great honor & ornament vnto their city. There are extant also of *Ciceroes* epistles vnto *Herodes*, & others vnto his sonne, willing him to follow *Cratippus* in his studie and knowledge. He wrote an other letter also vnto *Gorgias* the Rethoritian, and forbad him his sonnes company: bicause he vnderstood he intised him to dronkennes, & to other great dishonestie. Of all his epistles he wrote in greeke, there is but that onely written in choller, and another which he wrote vnto *Pelops* Byzantine. And for that he wrote to *Gorgias*, he had great reason to be offended with him, and to tawnt him in his letter: bicause (as it seemed) he was a man of very lewde life and conuersation. But in contrary manner, writing as he did to *Pelops*, finding him selfe greued with him, for that he was negligent in procuring the Byzantines to ordeine some publike honors in his behalfe: that me thinkes proceeded of ouermuch ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honest man, and onely bicause he would be commended for his eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded *Munatius* cause before the Iudges, who shortly after accused *Sabinus* a friend of his: it is reported that he was so angry with him, that he told him, what *Munatius*, hast thou forgotten that thou wert discharged the last day of thine accusation, not for thine innocency, but for a miste I cast before the Iudges eies, that made them they could not discerne the fault? An other tyme also, hauing openly praysed *Marcus Crassus* in the pulpit, with good audience of

Ciceroes Consulship praised by Cato.

Cicero the first man called, Father of the contry.

Cicero too much giuen to praise him self

Cicero friendly to praise others.

Cicero sayth, Demosthenes sleepeth in his orations.

Ciceroes subtile and pleasant sayings.

A of the people: shortly after he spake to the contrary, all the euill he could of him, in the same place. Why, how now, sayde *Crassus*: dideſt thou not thy ſelfe highly prayſe me in this place, the laſt day? I can not deny it, ſayd *Cicero*: but in deede I tooke an ill matter in hand to ſhewe mine eloquence. An other time *Craſſus* chaunced to ſay in an open aſſembly, that none of all the *Craſſi* of his houſe that euer liued aboue lx. yeares: and afterwards againe repenting him ſelfe, he called it in againe, and ſayde, Sure I knewe not what I did, when I ſayd ſo. *Cicero* aunſwered him againe: thou kneweſt well enough the people were glad to heare it, and therefore ſpakeſt it to pleaſe them. Another time *Craſſus* liking the opinion of the Stoicke Philoſophers, that ſayd the wiſe man was euer riche: *Cicero* aunſwered him, and bad him conſider whether they ment not thereby, that the wiſe man had all thinges. *Craſſus* couetouſnes was

The Stoickes opinion: A wiſe man is neuer riche.

B defamed of euery man. Of *Craſſus* ſonnes, one of them did much reſemble *Actius*, and therefore his mother had an ill name by him: one daye this ſonne of *Craſſus* made an oration before the Senate, which diuers of them commended very muche. So, *Cicero* beeing asked how he liked it: me thinkes, ſayde he, it is * *Actius* of *Craſſus*. About this tyme, *Craſſus* being ready to take his iorney into SYRIA, he deſired to haue *Cicero* his friend, rather the his enemy. Therefore one night making muche of him, he tolde *Cicero* that he would come and ſuppe with him. *Cicero* ſayde he ſhould be welcome. Shortly after ſome of his friendes told him of *Vatinius*, how he was deſirous to be made friendes with him, for he was his enemy. What, q. *Cicero*, and will he come to ſupper too? Thus he vſed *Craſſus*. Now this *Vitinius* hauing a ſwollen necke, one daye pleading before *Cicero*: he called him the ſwollen Orator. Another

** Ἄξιος χάλκεος. Actius, is a proper name of a Romane, and ἄξιος in Greeke ſignifieth, worthy: So the grace of the equiuocation can not be expreſſed in any other language.*

C tyme when he heard ſay that he was dead, and then that he was aliue againe: a vengeance on him, ſayde he, that hath lyed ſo ſhamefully. Another tyme when *Cæſar* had made a lawe for the deuiding of the lands of CAMPANIA vnto the ſouldiers: diuers of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, *Lucius Gellius* (a very olde man) ſaid, he would neuer graunt it while he liued. *Cicero* pleaſauntly aunſwered againe, alas, tary a litle, the good olde man will not trouble you long. Another tyme there was one *Octauius*, ſuppoſed to be * an AFRICAN borne. He when *Cicero* on a time pleaded a matter, ſaide that he heard him not: *Cicero* preſently aunſwered him againe, and yet haſt thou a hole bored through thine eare. Another time *Metellus Nepos* told him, that he had ouerthrowen moe men by his witnes, then he had ſaued by his eloquence. I graunt ſaid *Cicero*, for in deede I haue more faith, then eloquence in

** Because the Africanes haue commonly their eares bored through.*

D me. So was there alſo a younge man that was ſuſpected to haue poyſoned his father with a tarte, that boaſted he would reuile *Cicero*: I had rather haue that of thee, q. *Cicero*, then thy tarte. *Publius Sextius* alſo hauing a matter before the Iudges, enterteyned *Cicero*, with other of his Counſellers: but yet he would ſpeake all him ſelfe, and giue none of the Orators leaue to ſay any thing. In the ende, when they ſawe plainely that the Iudges would diſcharge him, being ready to giue ſentence: *Cicero* ſaide vnto him, beſturre thee hardily to day for to morrowe *Sextius* thou ſhalt be a priuate man. Another, one *Publius Scotta*, who would fayne haue bene thought a wiſe Lawyer, and yet had litle witte and vnderſtanding: *Cicero* appealed to him as a witnes in a matter, and being examined, he aunſwered he knewe nothing of

E it. *Cicero* replied to him againe: thou thinkeſt peraduenture they aske thee touching the law. Againe, *Metellus Nepos*, in a certaine diſputacion he had with *Cicero*, did many times repeate, who is thy father? *Cicero* aunſwered him againe: thy mother hath made this queſtion harder for thee to aunſwer. This *Nepos* mother was reported to be a light houſewife, and he as ſuttle witted and vnconſtant. For he being Tribune, left in a geere the exerciſe of his office, and went into SYRIA to *Pompey*, vpon no occaſion: and as fondly againe he returned thence, vpon a ſodaine. His Schoolemaiſter *Philager* alſo being dead, he buried him very honeſtly, and ſet a crowe of ſtone vpon the toppe of his tombe. *Cicero* finding it, tolde him thou haſt done very wiſely: for thy Maiſter hath taught thee rather to flie, then to ſpeake. Another time *Appius Clodius* pleading a matter, ſaide in his preamble that his friende had earneſtly requeſted him to employe all his knowledge, diligence, and faith vpon this matter. O

F goddes, ſaide *Cicero*, and haſt thou ſhewed thy ſelfe ſo harde hatted to thy friende, that thou haſt performed none of all theſe he requeſted thee? Nowe to vſe theſe fine tawnts and girds to his enemies, it was a parte of a good Orator: but ſo commonly to girde euery man to

make the people laughe, that wanne him greate ill will of many, as ſhall appeare by ſome examples I will tell you. *Marcus Aquinius* had two ſonnes in lawe, who were both baniſhed: *Cicero* therefore called him *Adraſtus*. *Lucius Cotta* by chaunce alſo was Cenſor at that tyme, when *Cicero* ſued to be Conſul: and beeing there at the daye of the election, he was a thyrſt, and was driuen to drinke. But while he dranke, all his friendes ſtoode about him, and after he had dronke, he ſaide vnto them. It is well done of ye, ſayde he, to be affrayed leaſt the Cenſor ſhoulde be angry with me, bicauſe I drinke water: for it was reported the Cenſor loued wine well. Another tyme *Cicero* meeting one *Voconius*, with three fowle Daughters of his with him, he cryed out alowd:

This man hath gotten children in deſpight of Phœbus.

It was thought in Rome that *Marcus Gellius* was not borne of free parents by father and mother, who reading certaine letters one daye in the Senate very lowde: *Cicero* ſayde vnto them that were about him, wonder not at it, q he, for this man hath beene a cryer in his dayes. *Fauſtus*, the ſonne of *Sylla* Dictator at Rome, which ſette vppe billes outlawing diuers Romanes, making it lawefull for any man to kill them without daunger where they founde them: this man after he had ſpent the moſte parte of his fathers goods, was ſo ſore in debt, that he was driuen to ſell his houſhold ſtuffe, by billes ſette vp on euery poſte. *Cicero* when he ſawe them, yea mary ſaide he, theſe billes pleaſe me better, then thoſe which his father ſette vppe. Theſe tawntes and common quippes without purpoſe, made diuers men to malice him. The great ill will that *Clodius* bare him, beganne vppon this occaſion. *Clodius* was of a noble houſe, a younge man, and very wilde and inſolent. He being in loue with *Pompeia Cæſars* wife, founde the meanes ſecretly to gette into *Cæſars* houſe, apparelled like a younge ſinging wenche, bicauſe on that daye the Ladyes of Rome did ſolemnly celebrate a ſecret ſacrifice in *Cæſars* houſe, which is not lawefull for men to be preſent at. So there was no man there but *Clodius*, who thought he ſhoulde not haue bene knowen, bicauſe he was but a younge man without any heare on his face, and that by this meanes he might come to *Pompeia* amongeſt the other women. He beeing gotten into this great houſe by night, not knowing the roomes and chambers in it: there was one of *Cæſars* mothers maydes of her chamber called *Aurelia*, who ſeeing him wandring vp and downe the houſe in this ſorte, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to aunſwer, he ſaide he ſought for *Aura*, one of *Pompeias* maides. The maide perceiued ſtraight it was no womans voice, and therewithal gaue a great ſhriche, and called the other women: the which did ſee the gates faſt ſhut, and then ſought euery corner vp and downe, ſo that at length they found him in the maides chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was ſtraight blowen abroad in the citie, whereuppon *Cæſar* put his wife away: and one of the Tribunes alſo accuſed *Clodius*, and burdened him that he had prophaned the holy ceremonies of the ſacrifices. *Cicero* at that time was yet his friend, beeing one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had euer accompanied him to garde him, if any man would haue offered him iniurie in the buſie time of the conſpiracie of *Catiline*. *Clodius* ſtowtly denied the matter he was burdened with, and ſaide that he was not in Rome at that time, but farre from thence. Howbeit *Cicero* gaue euidence againſt him, and depoſed, that the ſelfe ſame daye he came home to his houſe vnto him, to ſpeake with him about certaine matters. This in deede was true, though it ſeemeth *Cicero* gaue not this euidence ſo muche for the truthes ſake, as to pleaſe his wife *Terentia*: for ſhe hated *Clodius* to the deathe, bicauſe of his ſiſter *Clodia* that would haue maried *Cicero*, and did ſecretly practiſe the mariage by one *Tullius*, who was *Ciceroes* very friende, and bicauſe he repayred very often to this *Clodia* that dwelt harde by *Cicero*, *Terentia* beganne to ſuſpect him. *Terentia* beeing a cruell woman, and wearing her husbandes breeches: allured *Cicero* to ſette vppon *Clodius* in his aduerſitie, and to witneſſe agaynſt him, as many other honeſt men of the citie alſo did: Some that he was periured, others that he committed a thowſande lewde partes, that he brybed the people with money, that he had intiſed and deflowred many women. *Lucullus* alſo brought forthe certayne Maydens which depoſed that *Clodius* had deflowred the youngeſt of his owne ſiſters, ſhe beeing in houſe with him, and maryed. And there went a greate rumor alſo, that he

The malice betwixt Cicero & Clodius.

Cicero gaue euidence againſt Clodius

The wicked parts of Clodius.

knewe

A knewe his two other ſiſters, of the which the one was called * *Terentia*, and maried vnto king *Martius*: and the other *Clodia*, whome *Metellus Celer* had maried, and whom they commonly called *Quadrantaria*: bicauſe one of her Paramours ſent her a purſe ful of quadrynes (which are litle peeces of copper money) in ſtead of ſiluer. *Clodius* was ſlaundered more by her, then with any of the other two. Notwithſtanding, the people were very much offended with them, that gaue euidence againſt him, and accuſed him. The Iudges being affrayed of it, got a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his iudgemēt, for the ſafetie of their perſons: and in the tables where they wrote their ſentences, their letters for the moſt part were confuſedly ſet downe. This notwithſtanding, it was found that he was quit by the greateſt number: and it was reported alſo that ſome of them were cloſe fiſted. *Catulus* therefore meeting with

* Some olde bookes doe read Tertia.

Clodius quit and found not guilty.

B ſome of them going home, after they had giuen their ſentence, told them: ſurely ye had good reaſon to be well garded for your ſafetie, for you were affraid your money ſhould haue bene taken from you, which you tooke for bribes. And *Cicero* ſayd vnto *Clodius*, who reproued him that his witnes was not true he gaue againſt him: cleane contrary, quod *Cicero*, for fiue and twenty of the Iudges haue beleued me, beeing ſo many that haue condemned thee, and the thirty would not beleeue thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingered money. Notwithſtanding, in this iudgement *Cæſar* neuer gaue euidence againſt *Clodius*: & ſaid moreouer, that he did not think his wife had committed any adultery, howbeit that he had put her away, bicauſe he would that *Cæſars* wife ſhould not only be clean from any diſhoneſty, but alſo void of all ſuſpition. *Clodius* being quit of this accuſation and trouble, & hauing alſo found meanes

Cæſars wordes of the putting away his wife Pompeia.

C to be choſen Tribune: he beganne ſtraight to perſecute *Cicero*, chaunging all thinges, and ſtirring vp all manner of people againſt him. Firſt he wanne the good will of the common people by deuiſing of newe lawes which he preferred, for their benefit and commoditie: to both the Conſuls he graunted great and large prouinces: vnto *Piſo*, MACEDON, and to *Gabinius*, SYRIA. He made alſo many poore men free Citizens, and had alwayes about him a great number of ſlaues armed. At that preſent tyme there were three notable men in ROME, which caried all the ſwaye: *Craſſus*, that ſhewed him ſelfe an open enemie vnto *Cicero*: *Pompey* the other, made muche both of the one and the other: the third was *Cæſar*, who was prepared for his iorney into GAVLE with an armie. *Cicero* did leane vnto him, (though he knewe him no faſt friende of his, and that he miſtruſted him for matters paſt in *Catilines* conſpira-

Clodius chaſen Tribune of the people. Piſo and Gabinius Conſuls.

Craſſus, Pompey, and Cæſar, three of the greateſt men in Rome, tooke part with Clodius againſt Cicero

D cie) and prayed him that he might goe to the warres with him, as one of his Lieuetenants. *Cæſar* graunted him. Thereuppon *Clodius* perceiuing that by this meanes he got him out of the daunger of his office of Tribuneſhip for that yeare, he made fayer weather with him (as though he ment to reconcile him ſelfe vnto him) and tolde him that he had cauſe rather to thinke ill of *Terentia*, for that he had done againſt him, then of him ſelfe, and alwayes ſpake very curteouſly of him as occaſion fell out, and ſayde he did thinke nothing in him, nether had any malice to him, howbeit it did a litle grieue him, that being a friend, he was offered vnkindnes by his friend. Theſe ſweete wordes made *Cicero* no more affraied, ſo that he gaue vp his Lieuetenancie vnto *Cæſar*, and beganne againe to pleade as he did before. *Cæſar* tooke this in ſuch diſdaine, that he hardened *Clodius* the more againſt him, and beſides, made *Pompey*

E his enemie. And *Cæſar* him ſelfe alſo ſayd before all the people, that he thought *Cicero* had put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the reſt, vniuſtly to death, and contrary to lawe, without lawfull tryall and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which *Cicero* was openly accuſed. Thereuppon *Cicero* ſeeing him ſelfe accuſed for this facte, he chaunged his vſuall gowne he wore, and put on a mourning gowne: and ſo ſuffering his beard and heare of his head to growe without any coeming, he went in this humble manner, and ſued to the people. But *Clodius* was euer about him in euery place and ſtreete he went, hauing a ſight of raskalls and knaues with him that ſhamefully mocked him for that he had chaunged his gowne and countenance in that ſort, and oftentimes they caſt durt and ſtones at him, breaking his talke and requeſts he made vnto the people. This notwithſtanding, all the knights of ROME did in manner

Cicero accuſed of Clodius

The knights of Rome and Senate chaunged garmentes for Ciceroes ſake.

F chaunge their gownes with him for companie, and of them there were commonly twenty thowſand younge gentlemen of noble houſe which followed him with their heare about their eares, & were ſuters to the people for him. Furthermore, the Senate aſſembled to decree

that the people ſhould mourne in blacks, as in a common calamitie: But the Conſuls were A
gainſt it. And *Clodius* on thother ſide was with a band of armed men about the Senate, ſo that
many of the Senators ranne out of the Senat, crying, & tearing their clothes for ſorow. How-
beit theſe men ſeeing all that, were nothing the more moued with pity and ſhame: but either
Cicero muſt needes abſent him ſelfe, or els determine to fight with *Clodius*. Then went *Cicero*
to intreat *Pompey* to ayde him: But he abſented him ſelfe of purpoſe out of the citie, becauſe
he would not be intreated, and laye at one of his houſes in the contry, neare vnto the citie of
Alba. So he firſt of all ſent *Piſo* his ſonne in lawe vnto him to intreate him, and afterwardes
Pompey would not ſee Cicero being accuſed. went him ſelfe in perſon to him. But *Pompey* beeing tolde that he was come, had not the
harte to ſuffer him to come to him, to looke him in the face: for he had bene paſt all ſhame B
to haue refuſed the requeſt of ſo worthy a man, who had before ſhewed him ſuche pleaſure,
and alſo done and ſayde ſo many thinges in his fauor. Howbeit *Pompey* beeing the ſonne in
lawe of *Ceſar*, did vnfortunately (at his requeſt) forſake him at his neede, vnto whome he
was bownde for ſo many infinite pleaſures, as he had receyued of him afore: and therefore
when he hearde ſaye he came to him, he went out at his backe gate and woulde not ſpeake
with him. So *Cicero* ſeeing him ſelfe betrayed of him, and nowe hauing no other refuge to
whome he might repayre vnto: he put him ſelfe into the handes of the two Conſuls. Of
them two, *Gabinius* was euer cruell, and churliſhe vnto him. But *Piſo* on thother ſide ſpake
alwayes very curteouſly vnto him, and prayed him to abſent him ſelfe for a tyme, and to
giue place a litle to *Clodius* furie, and paciently to beare the chaunge of the tyme: For in ſo
doing, he might come agayne another tyme to be the preſeruer of his contry, which was C
nowe for his ſake in tumult and ſedition. *Cicero* vpon this aunſwer of the Conſul, conſulted
with his friendes: amonge the which *Lucullus* gaue him aduiſe to tary, and ſayd that he ſhould
be the ſtronger. But all the reſt were of contrary opinion, and would haue him to get him a-
way with ſpeede: for the people would ſhortly wiſhe for him agayne, when they had once
bene beaten with *Clodius* furie and folly. *Cicero* liked beſt to followe this counſell. Where-
uppon hauing had a ſtatue of *Minerua* a long tyme in his houſe, the which he greatly reue-
Ciceros exile renced: he caried her him ſelfe, and gaue her to the Capitoll with this inſcription: *Vnto Mi-
nerua, Protector of* Rome. So, his friends hauing giuen him ſafe conduct, he went out of Rome
about midnight, and tooke his way through the contry of Lvke by lande, meaning to goe
into Sicile. When it was knowen in Rome that he was fledde, *Clodius* did preſently ba- D
niſhe him by decree of the people, and cauſed billes of inhibition to be ſette vppe, that no
man ſhould ſecretly receiue him within fiue hundred myles compaſſe of Italy. Howbeit
diuers men reuerencing *Cicero*, made no reckoning of that inhibition: but when they had v-
ſed him with all manner of curteſie poſſible, they did conduct him beſides at his departure,
Hipponium, alias Vibone: a city in Luke ſauing one citie onely in Lvke, called at that tyme Hipponivm, and nowe Vibone: where
a Sicilian called *Vibius*, (vnto whome *Cicero* before had done many pleaſures, and ſpeci-
ally amonge others, had made him Maiſter of the workes in the yeare that he was Conſul)
would not once receyue him into his houſe, but promiſed him he woulde appoynt him a
place in the contry that he might goe vnto. And *Caius Virgilius* alſo, at that tyme Prætor
and gouernor of Sicile, who before had ſhewed him ſelfe his very greate friende: wrote E
then vnto him, that he ſhoulde not come neare vnto Sicile. This grieued him to the
harte. Thereuppon he went directly vnto the citie of Brvndvsivm, and there imbarked
to paſſe ouer the ſea vnto Dyrrachivm, and at the firſt had winde at will: but when he
was in the mayne ſea, the winde turned, and brought him backe agayne to the place from
whence he came. But after that, he hoyſed ſayle agayne, and the reporte went, that at his
A wonder ſhewed vnto Cicero in his exile. arryuall at Dyrrachivm when he tooke lande, the earth ſhooke vnder him, and the ſea
gaue backe together: Whereby the Soothſayers enterpreted, that his exile ſhoulde not
be longe, becauſe both the one and the other was a token of chaunge. Yet *Cicero*, notwith-
Ciceroes faint hart in his exile. ſtanding that many men came to ſee him for the goodwill they bare him, and that the cities
of Græce contended who ſhoulde moſt honor him, he was alwayes ſadde, and could not F
be merie, but caſt his eyes ſtill towardes Italy, as paſſioned louers doe towardes the wo-
men they loue: ſhewing him ſelfe ſaynte harted, and tooke this aduerſitie more baſely,

then

A then was looked for of one ſo well ſtudied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes praied his friends, not to call him Orator, but rather Philoſopher: ſaying, that Philoſophie was his chiefeſt profeſſion, & that for his eloquence he did not vſe it, but as a neceſſary inſtrument to one that pleadeth in the common wealth. But glory, and opinion, hath great power to take mans reaſon from him, euen like a culler, from the minds of them that are common pleaders in matters of ſtate, and to make them feele the ſelfe ſame paſſions that common people doe, by dayly frequenting their companie: vnles they take great heede of them, and that they come to practiſe in the common wealth with this reſolute minde, to haue to doe with the like matters that the common people haue, but not to entangle them ſelues with the like paſſions and moodes, by the which their matters doe riſe. Nowe *Clodius* was not contented that he had ba-
B niſhed *Cicero* out of Italy, but further he burnt all his houſes in the contry, and his houſe alſo in Rome ſtanding in the market place, of the which he built a temple of libertie, and cauſed his goods to be ſolde by the cryer: ſo that the cryer was occupied all daye long crying the goods to be ſold, and no man offered to buye any of them. The chiefeſt men of the citie beginning to be afrayd of theſe violent parts, and hauing the common people at his commaundement, whom he had made very bold and inſolent: he beganne to inuey againſt *Pompey*, and ſpake ill of his doings in the time of his warres, the which euery man els but him ſelf did commend. *Pompey* then was very angry with him ſelfe that he had ſo forſaken *Cicero*, and repented him of it, and by his friendes procured all the meanes he could to call him home againe from his baniſhment. *Clodius* was againſt it all he could. The Senate notwithſtanding with one full
C conſent ordeyned, that nothing ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the common wealth, before *Ciceroes* baniſhment were firſt repealed. *Lentulus* was at that tyme Conſul, and there grewe ſuch an vprore and ſturre apon it, that ſome of the Tribunes were hurt in the market place, and *Quintus Cicero* (the brother of *Cicero*) was ſlayne and hidden vnder the deade bodies. Then the people beganne to chaunge their mindes. And *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, was the firſt man that durſt venter vpon *Clodius*, and bringe him by force to be tryed before the Iudges. *Pompey* him ſelfe alſo hauing gotten a great number of men about him, aſwell of the citie of Rome as of other townes adioyning to it, beeing ſtrongly garded with them: he came out of his houſe, and compelled *Clodius* to get him out of the market place, and then called the people to giue their voyces, for the calling home agayne of *Cicero*. It is reported
D that the people neuer paſſed thinge with ſo great good will, nor ſo wholy together, as the returne of *Cicero*. And the Senate for their partes alſo, in the behalfe of *Cicero*, ordeyned that the cities which had honored and receiued *Cicero* in his exile, ſhoulde be greatly commended: and that his houſes which *Clodius* had ouerthrowen and raſed, ſhould be reedified at the charge of the common wealth. So *Cicero* returned the ſixtenth moneth after his baniſhment, and the townes and cities he came by, ſhewed them ſelues ſo ioyfull of his returne, that all manner of men went to meete and honor him, with ſo great loue and affection, that *Ciceroes* reporte thereof afterwardes came in deede ſhort of the very truth as it was. For he ſayde, that Italy brought him into Rome vpon their ſhoulders. Inſomuch as *Craſſus* him ſelfe, who before his baniſhment was his enemie, went then with very good will vn-
E to him, and became his friende, ſaying: that he did it for the loue of his ſonne, who loued *Cicero* with all his hart. Nowe *Cicero* beeing returned, he found a tyme when *Clodius* was out of the citie, and went with a good companie of his friendes vnto the Capitoll, and there tooke away the tables, and brake them, in the which *Clodius* had written all his actes that he had paſſed and done in the tyme of his Tribuneſhip. *Clodius* would afterwardes haue accuſed *Cicero* for it: But *Cicero* aunſwered him, that he was not lawfully created Tribune, bicauſe he was of the Patricians, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuneſhip was voyde, and of none effect. Therewith *Cato* was offended, and ſpake againſt him, not for that he liked any of *Clodius* doings: (but to the contrary, vtterly miſliked all that he did) but bicauſe he thought it out of all reaſon, that the Senate ſhoulde cancell all thoſe thinges
F which he had done and paſſed in his Tribuneſhip, and ſpecially, bicauſe amongeſt the reſt that was there which he him ſelfe had done in the Ile of Cyprvs, and in the citie of Byzantivm. Hereuppon there grewe ſome ſtraungenes betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, the which

The wonderfull power of glory.

Pompey chaūging mind, doth fauor Cicero.

Lentulus, Conſul.

Cicero called home from baniſhment.

Cicero taketh away the tables of Clodius actes out of the Capitoll.

notwithstanding brake not out to open enmitie: but onely to an abstinence of their wonted familiaritie, and accesse one to another. Shortly after, *Milo* slue *Clodius*. *Milo* beeing accused of murder, prayed *Cicero* to pleade his cause. The Senate fearing that this accusation of *Milo*, (who was a hardie man, and of qualitie besides) woulde moue some sedition and vprore in the citie: they gaue commission to *Pompey* to see iustice executed aswell in this cause, as in other offences, that the citie might be quiet, and iudgement also executed with safetie. Thereuppon *Pompey* the night before tooke the higheſt places of the market place, by his souldiers that were armed, whome he placed thereabout. *Milo* fearing that *Cicero* woulde bee affraied to see suche a number of harneſt men about him, beeing no vsuall matter, and that it might peraduenture hinder him to pleade his cause well: he prayed him he woulde come betymes in the morning in his litter into the market place, and there to staye the comming of the Iudges, till the place were full. For *Cicero* was not onely fearefull in warres, but timerous also in pleading. For in deede he neuer beganne to speake, but it was in feare: and when his eloquence was come to the beſt proofe and perfection, he neuer left his trembling and timerousnes. Insomuch that pleading a case for *Mutius Murena* (accused by *Cato*,) striuing to excell *Hortensius*, whose pleading was very well thought of: he tooke no rest all night, and what through watching, and the trouble of his minde he was not very well, so that he was not so well liked for his pleading, as *Hortensius*. So, going to defend *Miloes* cause, when he came out of his litter, and sawe *Pompey* set aloft as if he had beene in a campe, and the market place compassed about with armed men, glistering in euery corner: it so amated him, that he could scant facion him selfe to speake, all the partes of him did so quake and tremble, and his voyce could not come to him. But *Milo* on the other side stoode boldly by him him selfe, without any feare at all of the iudgement of his cause, nether did he let his heere growe, as other men accused did: nether did he weare any mourning gowne, the which was (as it seemed) one of the chiefeſt causes that condemned him. Yet many held opinion that this timerousnes of *Cicero* came rather of the goodwill he bare vnto his friends, then of any cowardly minde of him selfe. He was also chosen one of the Prieſtes of the Soothesayers, which they call Augures, in the roome of *P. Crassus* the younger, who was slayne in the Realme of Parthia. Afterwardes, the prouince of Cilicia being appoynted to him, with an armie of twelue thowsand footemen, and two thowsand fiue hundred horsemen, he tooke the sea to goe thither. So when he was arriued there, he brought Cappadocia agayne into the subiection and obedience of king *Ariobarzanes* according to his commission and commaundement giuen by the Senate: moreouer, both there and elsewhere he tooke as excellent good order as could be deuised, in reducing of thinges to quietnes, without warres. Furthermore, finding that the Cilicians were growen somewhat stowt and vnruly, by the ouerthrowe the Romanes had of the Parthians, and by reason of the rising and rebellion in Syria: he brought them vnto reason by gentle perswasions, and neuer receiued giftes that were sent him, no not from Kinges and Princes. Furthermore, he did disburden the prouinces of the feaſtes and banckets they were wont to make other gouernors before him. On the other side also, he woulde euer haue the company of good and learned men at his table, and would vse them well, without curiositie and excesse. He had neuer porter to his gate, nor was seene by any man in his bed: For he would alwayes rise at the breake of daye, and would walke or stande before his dore. He would curteously receiue all them that came to salute and visite him. Further they report of him, that he neuer caused man to be beaten with roddes, nor to teare his owne garments. In his anger he neuer reuiled any man, nether did dispightfully set fine vpon any mans heade. Finding many thinges also belonging to the common wealth, which priuate men had stollen and imbecelled to their owne vse: he restored them agayne vnto the cities, whereby they grewe very riche and wealthie: and yet did he saue their honor and credit that had taken them away, and did them no other hurte, but onely constrayned them to restore that which was the common wealthes. He made a litle warre also, and draue away the theeues that kept about the Mountayne Amanus, for the which exployte his souldiers called him Imperator, to saye, chiefe Captaine. About that tyme there was an Orator called *Cæcilius*, who wrote vnto him

Clodius the Tribune, slain by Milo.

Cicero feare-full in warres, and timerous in pleading.

Cicero plea-deth Miloes cause.

Cicero chosen Augure.

Cicero pro-consul of Cilicia.

Ciceroes integritie for the gouernment of his prouinces.

Mōs Amanus Cicero called Imperator.

from

A from Rome, to praye him to sende him some Leoperds, or Panthers out of Cilicia, bicause he woulde shewe the people some pastyme with them. *Cicero* boasting of his doinges, wrote to him agayne, that there were no more Leoperds in Cilicia, but that they were all fledde into Caria for anger, that seeing all thinges quiet in Cilicia, they had leasure now to hunte them. So when he returned towardes Rome, from the charge of his gouernment, he came by Rhodes: and stayed a few dayes at Athens, with great delight, to remember how pleasauntly he liued there before, at what time he studied there. Thither came to him the chiefest learned men of the citie, and his frendes also, with whom he was acquainted at his first being there. In fine, hauing receiued all the honorable enterteinment in Grece that could be: he returned vnto Rome, where at his arriuall he found great factions kindled,
B the which men saw plainly would growe in the ende to ciuill warre. Thereuppon the Senate hauing decreed that he should enter in triumphe into the citie: he aunswered, that he would rather (all parties agreed) follow *Cæsars* coche in triumphe. So he trauelled verie earnestly betwene *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, eftsoones wryting vnto *Cæsar*, and also speaking vnto *Pompey* that was presen, seeking all the meanes he coulde, to take vp the quarrell and misliking betwext them two. But it was so impossible a matter, that there was no speeche of agreement woulde take place. So *Pompey* hearing that *Cæsar* was not farre from Rome, he durst no lenger abide in Rome, but fled with diuers of the greatest men in Rome. *Cicero* would not followe him when he fled, and therefore men thought he would take parte with *Cæsar*: but this is certaine, that he was in a maruelous perplexitie, and could not easely determine what way to take. Where-
C uppon he wrote in his Epistells: what way should I take? *Pompey* hath the iuster and honester cause of warre, but *Cæsar* can better execute, and prouide for him selfe and his frendes with better safetie: so that I haue meanes enow to flie, but none to whome I might repaire. In all this sturre, there was one of *Cæsars* frendes called *Trebatius*, which wrote a letter vnto *Cicero*, and told him that *Cæsar* wished him in any case to come to him, and to run with him the hope & fortune he vndertooke: but if he excused him selfe by his age, that then he should get him into Græce, and there to be quiet from them both. *Cicero* marueling that *Cæsar* wrote not to him him selfe, aunswered in anger, that he would doe nothing vnworthie of his actes all the dayes of his life thitherto: & to this effect he wrote in his letters. Now *Cæsar* being gone into Spayne, *Cicero* imbarked immediatly to go to *Pompey*. So when he came vnto him, euery man
D was very glad of his comming, but *Cato*. Howbeit *Cato* secretly reproued him for comming vnto *Pompey*, saying: that for him selfe he had bene without all honestie at that time to haue forsaken that parte, the which he had alwayes taken and followed from the beginning of his first practise in the common wealth: but for him on thother side, that it had bene better for the safetie of his contrie, and chiefly for all his frendes, that he had bene a newter to both, and so to haue taken thinges as they had fallen out: and that he had no maner of reason nor instant cause to make him to become *Cæsars* enemie, and by comming thither to put him selfe into so great perill. These perswasions of *Cato* ouerthrewe all *Ciceroes* purpose and determination, besides that *Pompey* him selfe did not employe him in any matter of seruice or importance. But hereof him selfe was more in fault then *Pompey*, bicause he confessed openly that he did
E repent him he was come thither. Furthermore, he scorned and disdained all *Pompeys* preparacions and counsells, the which in deede made him to be had in gealousie and suspicion. Also he would euer be fleering and gybing at those that tooke *Pompeys* parte, though he had no list him selfe to be merie. He would also goe vp and downe the campe very sad and heauy, but yet he woulde euer haue one geast or other to make men laugh, although they had as litle lust to be merie as he: and surely, it shall doe no hurte to call some of them to minde in this place. *Domitius* being verie desirous to preferre a gentleman to haue charge of men, to recommende him, he sayd he was an honest, wise, and sober man. Whereto *Cicero* presently answered. Why doest thou not kepe him then to bring vp thy children? An other time when they commended *Theophanes* Lesbian, (that was maister of all the artificers of the campe)
F bicause he had notablie comforted the Rhodians when they had receiued a greate losse of their nauy: see, sayd *Cicero*, what a goodly thing it is to haue a Græcian, master of artificers in the campe? When both battells came to ioyne together, and that *Cæsar* had in manner all

Cicero seeketh to pacifie the quarrell betwext Pompey and Cæsar.

Ciceroes words of Pompey and Cæsar.

Cicero goeth vnto Pompey.

the aduauntage, & kept them as good as beſieged: *Lentulus* told him on a time, that he heard A
ſay all *Cæſars* frendes were madde, and melancholy men. Why, ꝙ *Cicero* to him againe: doeſt
thou ſay that they doe enuie *Cæſar*? An other called *Martius*, comming lately out of ITALIE,
ſayd, that there ranne a rumor in ROME, that *Pompey* was beſieged. What, ꝙ *Cicero* to him a-
gaine: and diddeſt thou take ſhippe to come and ſee him thy ſelfe, bicauſe thou mighteſt be-
leue it, when thou haddeſt ſeene it? *Pompey* being ouerthrowen, one *Nonius* ſayed there was
yet good hope left, bicauſe they had taken ſeuen Eagles within *Pompeys* campe. Thy perſwa-
ſion were not ill, ꝙ *Cicero*, ſo we were to fight but with pyes or dawes. *Labienus* repoſed all his
truſt in certaine Oracles, that *Pompey* of neceſſitie muſt haue the vpper hand. Yea ſayd *Cicero*,
but for all this goodly ſtratageame of warre, we haue not longe ſince loſt our whole campe.

Cato gaue place to Cicero, and offered him the charge of the warr at Dyrrachium.

After the battell of Pharſalia, where *Cicero* was not by reaſon of his ſickeneſſe: *Pompey* being B
fled, and *Cato* at that time at DYRRACHIVM, where he had gathered a great number of men of
warre, & had alſo prepared a great nauie: he prayed *Cicero* to take charge of all this army, as it
perteyned vnto him, hauing bene Conſul. *Cicero* did not only refuſe it, but alſo tolde them he
would meddle no more with this warre. But this was enough to haue made him bene ſlaine:
for the younger *Pompey* and his frendes called him traitor, and drewe their ſwordes vpon him
to kill him, which they had done, had not *Cato* ſtepped betwene them and him, and yet had
he muche a doe to ſaue him, and to conuey him ſafely out of the campe. When *Cicero* came
to BRVNDVSIVM, he ſtayed there a certaine time for *Cæſars* comming, who came but ſlowly,
by reaſon of his troubles he had in ASIA, as alſo in ÆGYPT. Howbeit newes being brought
at length that *Cæſar* was arriued at TARENTVM, and that he came by lande vnto BRVNDVSI- C
VM: *Cicero* departed thence to goe meete him, not miſtruſting that *Cæſar* woulde not pardon
him, but rather being aſhamed to come to his enemie being a conqueror, before ſuch a num-
ber of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to doe or ſpeake any thing vnſeemely
to his calling. For *Cæſar* ſeeing him comming towardes him farre before the reſt that came
with him: he lighted from his horſe and imbraced him, and walked a great way a foote with
him, ſtil talking with him only, and euer after he did him great honor and made much of him.
Inſomuche as *Cicero* hauing written a booke in praiſe of *Cato*: *Cæſar* on the other ſide wrote
an other, and praiſed the eloquence and life of *Cicero*, matching it with the life of *Pericles*, and
Theramenes. *Ciceroes* booke was intituled *Cato*, & *Cæſars* booke called *Anticato*, as much to ſay,
as againſt *Cato*. They ſay further, that *Quintus Ligarius* being accuſed to haue bene in the field D
againſt *Cæſar*, *Cicero* tooke vpon him to defend his cauſe: and that *Cæſar* ſayd vnto his frendes
about him, what hurte is it for vs to heare *Cicero* ſpeake, whome we haue not heard of long
time? For otherwiſe *Ligarius* (in my opinion) ſtandeth already a condemned man, for I know
him to be a vile man, and mine enemie. But when *Cicero* had begonne his Oration, he moued

The force of Ciceroes eloquence, how it altered Cæſar.

Cæſar maruelouſly, he had ſo ſweete a grace, and ſuche force in his words: that it is reported
Cæſar chaunged diuers colours, and ſhewed plainly by his countenance, that there was a mar-
uelous alteracion in all the partes of him. For, in thend when the Orator came to touche the
battell of Pharſalia, then was *Cæſar* ſo troubled, that his bodie ſhooke withall, and beſides,
certaine bookes he had, fell out of his handes, and he was driuen againſt his will to ſet *Liga-*
rius at libertie. Afterwardes, when the common wealth of ROME came to be a kingdom, *Ci-* E
cero leauing to practiſe any more in the ſtate, he gaue him ſelfe to reade Philoſophie to the

Ciceroes life vnder Cæſar.

young men that came to heare him: by whoſe acceſſe vnto him (bicauſe they were the chiefeſt
of the nobilitie in ROME) he came againe to beare as great ſway and authoritie in ROME, as e-
uer he had done before. His ſtudie and endeuour was, to wryte matters of Philoſophie dia-
logue wiſe, and to tranſlate out of Græke into Latin, taking paynes to bring all the Græke
wordes, which are proper vnto logicke and naturall cauſes, vnto Latin. For he was the firſt
man by report that gaue Latin names vnto theſe Græke words, which are proper vnto Philo-
ſophers, as, Φαντασία, he termed, *Viſio*. Κατάθεσις *Aſſenſus*. Ἐποχὴ, *Aſſenſus cohibitio*. Κατάληψις, *Com-*
prehenſio. Τὸ ἄτομον *Corpus indiuiduum*. Τὸ ἁπλοῦς *Corpus ſimplex*. Τὸ κενὸν *Vacuum*, and many other
ſuche like wordes. But though he were not the firſt, yet was it he that moſt did deuiſe and vſe F
them, and turned ſome of them by tranſlation, others into proper termes: ſo that at length
they came to be well taken, knowen, and vnderſtanded of euerie man. And for his readineſſe

in

A in wryting of verſes, he would vſe them many times for his recreation: for it is reported, that whenſoeuer he tooke in hand to make any, he would diſpatch fiue hundred of them in a night. Nowe, all that time of his recreation and pleaſure, he woulde commonly be at ſome of his houſes in the contrie, which he had neere vnto TVSCVLVM, from whence he would wryte vnto his frends, that he led *Laertes* life: either ſpoken merily as his maner was, or elſe pricked forward with ambition, deſiring to returne againe to be a practiſer in the common wealth, being wearie with the preſent time and ſtate thereof. Howſoeuer it was, he came oftentimes to ROME, onely to ſee *Ceſar* to keepe him his frend, and would euer be the firſt man to confirme any honors decreed vnto him, and was alwayes ſtudious to vtter ſome newe matter to praiſe him and his doinges. As that was he ſayd touching the ſtatues of *Pompey*, the which being o-

B uerthrowen, *Ceſar* commaunded them to be ſet vp againe, and ſo they were. For *Cicero* ſayd, that by that curteſie in ſetting vp of *Pompeys* ſtatues againe, he did eſtabliſhe his owne. So, *Cicero* being determined to wryte all the ROMANE hiſtorie, and to mingle with them many of the GRECIANS doings, adding thereunto all the fables and deuiſes which they doe write and reporte: he was hindered of his purpoſe againſt his will, by many open and priuate troubles that came vpon him at once: whereof notwithſtanding he him ſelfe was cauſe of the moſt of them. For firſt of all, he did put away his wife *Terentia*, bicauſe ſhe had made but ſmall ac- *Cicero did put away his wife Terentia.*
compt of him in all the warres: ſo that he departed from ROME hauing no neceſſarie thing with him to enterteine him out of his contrie, and yet when he came backe againe into ITA-
LIE, ſhe neuer ſhewed any ſparke of loue or good will towardes him. For ſhe neuer came to

C BRVNDVSIVM to him, where he remeyned a long time: and worſe then that, his daughter hauing the hart to take ſo long a iorney in hand to goe to him, ſhe neither gaue her company to conduct her, nor money or other furniture conuenient for her, but ſo handled the matter, that *Cicero* at his returne to ROME founde bare walles in his houſe and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in det beſides. And theſe were the honeſteſt cauſes alleaged for their diuorſe. But beſides that *Terentia* denyed all theſe, *Cicero* him ſelfe gaue her a good occaſion to cleere her ſelfe, bicauſe he ſhortly after maried a young maiden, being fallen in fancie with her (as *Cicero maried a young maiden.*
Terentia ſayd) for her beawtie: or, as *Tyro* his ſeruaunt wrote, for her riches, to thende that with her goods he might pay his dets. For ſhe was very rich, & *Cicero* alſo was appointed her gardian, the being left ſole heire. Now, bicauſe he ought a maruelous ſumme of money, his

D parents and frends did counſell him to mary this young maiden, notwithſtanding he was too olde for her, bicauſe that with her goodes he might ſatisfie his creditors. But *Antonius* ſpeaking of this mariage of *Cicero*, in his aunſwers & Orations he made againſt the PHILIPPIANS: he doth reproue him for that he put away his wife, with whome he was growen olde, being merie with him by the way for that he had bene an idle man, and neuer went from the ſmoke of his chimney, nor had bene abroade in the warres in any ſeruice of his contrie or common wealth. Shortly after that he had maried his ſecond wife, his daughter dyed in labor of child, in *Lentulus* houſe, whoſe ſeconde wife ſhe was, being before maried vnto *Piſo*, who was her firſt husband. So the Philoſophers and learned men came of all ſides to comfort him: but he tooke her death ſo ſorowfully, that he put away his ſecond wife, bicauſe he thought ſhe did reioyce

E at the death of his daughter. And thus muche touching the ſtate and troubles of his houſe. Nowe touching the conſpiracie againſt *Ceſar*, he was not made priuie to it, although he was *Cicero not made priuy to the conſpiracie againſt Ceſar.*
one of *Brutus* greateſt frendes, and that it grieued him to ſee thinges in that ſtate they were brought vnto, and albeit alſo he wiſhed for the time paſt, as much as any other man did. But in deede the conſpirators were affrayed of his nature, that lacked hardineſſe: and of his age, the which oftentimes maketh the ſtowteſt and moſt hardieſt natures, faint harted & cowardly. Notwithſtanding, the conſpiracie being executed by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, *Ceſars* frendes beinge gathered together, euerie man was affrayed that the citie woulde againe fall into ciuill warres. And *Antonius* alſo, who was Conſul at that time, did aſſemble the Senate, and made ſome ſpeache and mocion then to draw things againe vnto quietnes. But *Cicero* hauing vſed

F diuers perſwaſions fit for the time, in the end he moued the Senate to decree (following the example of the ATHENIANS) a generall obliuion of thinges done againſt *Ceſar*, and to aſſigne vnto *Brutus* and *Caſſius* ſome gouernmentes of prouinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded:

for the people of them ſelues were ſorie, when they ſawe *Cæſar*'s bodie brought through the market place. And when *Antonius* alſo did ſhew them his gowne all bebloodied, cut, & thrust through with ſwordes: then they were like madde men for anger, and ſought vp and downe the market place if they coulde meete with any of them that had ſlaine him: and taking fire brandes in their handes, they ranne to their houſes to ſet them a fire. But the conſpirators hauing preuented this daunger, ſaued them ſelues: and fearing that if they taried at Rome, they ſhould haue many ſuch alaroms, they forſooke the citie. Then *Antonius* began to looke aloft, and became fearefull to all men, as though he meant to make him ſelfe king: but yet moſt of all vnto *Cicero*, aboue all others. For *Antonius* perceiuing that *Cicero* began againe to increaſe in credit and authoritie, and knowing that he was *Brutus* very frend, he did miſlike to ſee him come neere him, and beſides, there was at that time ſome gealouſie betwext them, for the diuerſitie and difference of their manners and diſpoſicions. *Cicero* being affrayed of this, was firſt of all in minde to go with *Dolabella*, to his prouince of Syria, as one of his Lieutenaunts. But they that were appointed to be Conſuls the next yeare following after *Antonius*, two noble citizens, & *Ciceroes* great frends, *Hircius*, & *Panſa*: they intreated him not to forſake them, vndertaking that they would plucke downe this ouergreat power of *Antonius*, ſo he would remaine with them. But *Cicero*, neither beleuing nor altogether miſtruſting them, forſooke *Dolabella*, and promiſed *Hircius* and *Panſa*, that he would ſpend the ſommer at Athens, and that he would returne againe to Rome ſo ſoone as they were entred into their Conſulſhip. With this determination *Cicero* tooke ſea alone, to goe into Græce. But as it chaunceth oftentimes, there was ſome let that kept him he could not ſaile, and newes came to him daily from Rome, as the manner is, that *Antonius* was wonderfully chaunged, and that nowe he did nothing any more without the authoritie & conſent of the Senate, & that there lacked no thing but his perſon, to make all things well. Then *Cicero* condemning his daſtardly feare, returned foorthwith to Rome, not being deceiued in his firſt hope. For there came ſuche a number of people out to meete him, that he coulde doe nothing all day long, but take them by the handes, and imbrace them: who to honor him, came to meete him at the gate of the citie, as alſo by the way to bring him to his houſe. The next morning *Antonius* aſſembled the Senate, and called for *Cicero* by name. *Cicero* refuſed to goe, and kept his bedde, fayning that he was werie with his iorney and paines he had taken the day before: but in deede, the cauſe why he went not, was, for feare and ſuſpicion of an ambuſhe that was layed for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his verie good frends. *Antonius* was maruelouſly offended that they did wrongfully accuſe him, for laying of any ambuſh for him: and therefore ſent ſouldiers to his houſe, and commaunded them to bring him by force, or elſe to ſette his houſe a fire. After that time, *Cicero* and he were alwayes at iarre, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heede of an other: vntill that the young *Cæſar* returning from the citie of Apollonia, came as lawfull heire vnto *Iulius Cæſar* Dictator, and had contencion with *Antonius* for the ſumme of two thowſande fiue hundred Myriades, the which *Antonius* kept in his handes of his fathers goodes. Thereuppon, *Philip* who had maried the mother of this young *Cæſar*, and *Marcellus*, who had alſo maried his ſiſter, went with young *Cæſar* vnto *Cicero*, and there agreed together, that *Cicero* ſhould helpe young *Cæſar* with the fauour of his authoritie, and eloquence, as well towardes the Senate, as alſo to the people: and that *Cæſar* in recompence of his good will ſhould ſtande by *Cicero*, with his money and ſouldiers. For this young *Cæſar*, had many of his fathers old ſouldiers about him, that had ſerued vnder him. Now there was an other cauſe that made *Cicero* glad to imbrace the frendſhippe of this young *Cæſar*, and that was this. Whileſt *Pompey* and *Iulius Cæſar* were aliue, and in good caſe: *Cicero* dreamed one night that the Senators ſonnes were called into the Capitoll, bicauſe *Iupiter* had appointed to ſhew them him, that one day ſhould come to be Lord and king of Rome, and that the Romanes being deſirous to ſee who it ſhould be, ranne all vnto the temple: and that all the children likewiſe were waiting there in their goodly garded gownes of purple, vntill that ſodainly the dores of the temple were open, & then that al the children roſe one after an other, & went and paſſed by the image of *Iupiter*, who looked vpon them all, and ſent them diſcontented, ſauing this young *Cæſar*, vnto whom he put foorth his hand as he paſſed by, and ſayd:

Priuate grudge betwext Antonius and Cicero.

Cicero faileth into Greece.

Ill will betwext Cicero & Antonius.

Cicero and Octauius Cæſar ioyned in frendſhip.

Ciceroes dreame of Octauius, the adopted ſonne of Iulius Cæſar.

My

A My Lordes of Rome, this childe is he that ſhall end all your ciuill warres, when he commeth to be Lord of Rome. Some ſay, that *Cicero* had this viſion in his dreame, and that he caried in good memory the looke of this child, howbeit that he knew him not: and that the next morning he went of purpoſe into the fielde of *Mars*, where theſe young boyes did exerciſe themſelues, who, when he came thither, had broken vp from playing, and were going home, and that amongeſt them he firſt ſaw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him verie well, and muſing at him the more, asked him whoſe ſonne he was. The boy aunſwered, that he was the ſonne of one *Octauius*, (a man otherwiſe of no great calling) & of *Accia*, the ſiſter of *Iulius Cæſar*: who hauing no childe, made him his heire by his laſt will and teſtament, and left him all his landes and goodes. After that time, it is reported, that *Cicero* was verie glad to ſpeake to B him when he met with him, and that the boy alſo liked *Ciceroes* frendſhippe, and making of him: for by good happe the boy was borne the ſame yeare that *Cicero* was Conſul. And theſe be the reaſons alleaged, why *Cicero* did fauor this young *Cæſar*. But in truth, firſt of all the great malice he bare vnto *Antonius*, and ſecondly his nature that was ambitious of honor, were (in my opinion) the chiefeſt cauſes why he became young *Cæſars* frend: knowing that the force and power of his ſouldiers, would greatly ſtrengthen his authority and countenance in manedging the affaires of the ſtate, beſides that the young man coulde flatter him ſo well, that he called him father. But *Brutus* being offended with him for it, in his Epiſtells he wrote vnto *Atticus*, he ſharply reproueth *Cicero*, ſaying, that for feare of *Antonius* he flattered this young *Cæſar*: whereby it appeared, he did not ſo much ſeeke for the libertie of Rome, as he did pro- C cure him ſelfe a louing and gentle maiſter. This notwithſtanding, *Brutus* brought with him *Ciceroes* ſonne that ſtudied Philoſophie at Athens, and gaue him charge of men vnder him, and imployed him in great affaires, wherein he ſhewed him ſelfe verie forward, and valliant. Now *Ciceroes* authoritie and power grew againe to be ſo great in Rome, as euer it was before. For he did what he thought good, and ſo vexed *Antonius*, that he draue him out of the citie, and ſent the two Conſuls *Hircius* and *Panſa* againſt him, to fight with him: and cauſed the Senate alſo to decree, that young *Cæſar* ſhould haue ſergeaunts to carie roddes and axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prætor, as a man that fighteth for his contry. After that *Antonius* had loſt the battell, and that both the Conſuls were ſlaine, both the armies came vnto *Cæſar*. The Senate then being affraied of this young man, that had ſo great good fortune, they D practiſed by honors and gifts to call the armies from him, which he had about him, and ſo to miniſh the greatnes of his power: ſaying, that their contrie now ſtoode in no neede of force, nor feare of defence, ſith her enemie *Antonius* was fled and gone. *Cæſar* fearing this, ſent men ſecretly vnto *Cicero*, to pray him to procure that they two together might be choſen Conſuls, and that when they ſhould be in office, he ſhould doe and appoint what he thought good, hauing the young man at his commaundement, who deſired no more but the honor only of the name. *Cæſar* him ſelfe confeſſed afterwardes, that being affrayed he ſhould haue bene vtterly caſt away, to haue bene left alone: he finely ſerued his turne by *Ciceroes* ambition, hauing perſwaded him to require the Conſulſhip, through the helpe and aſſiſtance that he would geue him. But there was *Cicero* finely colted, as old as he was, by a young man, when he was con- E tented to ſue for the Conſulſhip in his behalfe, and to make the Senate agreable to it: wherefore his frendes preſently reproued him for it, and ſhortly after he perceiued he had vndone him ſelfe, and together alſo loſt the libertie of his contrie. For this young man *Octauius Cæſar* being growen to be verie great by his meanes and procurement: when he ſaw that he had the Conſulſhippe vpon him, he forſooke *Cicero*, and agreed with *Antonius* and *Lepidus*. Then ioyning his armie with theirs, he deuided the Empire of Rome with them, as if it had bene lands left in common betwene them: and beſides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and vpwards, whom they had appointed to be ſlaine. But the greateſt difficultie and dif- ference that fell out betwene them, was about the outlawing of *Cicero*. For *Antonius* woulde hearken to no peace betwene them, vnleſſe *Cicero* were ſlaine firſt of all: *Lepidus* was alſo in F the ſame mind with *Antonius*: but *Cæſar* was againſt them both. Their meeting was by the citie of Bolonia, where they continued three dayes together, they three only ſecretly conſulting in a place enuironned about with a litle riuer. Some ſay that *Cæſar* ſtuck hard with *Cicero*

Octauius, and Accia: the parents of Octauius Cæſar.

Octauius Cæſar was borne in the yere of Ciceroes Conſulſhip.

Ciceroes great power at Rome.

Octauius Cæſar ſueth to be Conſul.

Octauius Cæſar forſaketh Cicero.

Note the fickelnes of youth.

The meeting of the Triumuiri: Antonius, Lepidus, Octauius Cæſar.

the two firſt dayes, but at the third, that he yeelded and forſooke him. The exchaunge they a- A
greed vpon betwene them, was this. *Cæſar* forſooke *Cicero*: *Lepidus*, his owne brother *Paulus*:
and *Antonius*, *Lucius Cæſar*, his vncle by the mothers ſide. Such place tooke wrath in them, as
they regarded no kinred nor blood, and to ſpeake more properly, they ſhewed that no brute
or ſauage beaſt is ſo cruell as man, if with his licentiouſnes he haue liberty to execute his will.
While theſe matters were a brewing, *Cicero* was at a houſe of his in the contrie, by the city of
THVSCVLVM, hauing at home with him alſo his brother *Quintus Cicero*. Newes being brought
them thither of theſe proſcriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be ſlaine: they determi-
ned to goe to ASTYRA, a place by the ſea ſide where *Cicero* had an other houſe, there to take
ſea, and from thence to goe into MACEDON vnto *Brutus*. For there ran a rumor that *Brutus*
was verie ſtrong, and had a great power. So, they cauſed them ſelues to be conueyed thither B
in two litters, both of them being ſo weake with ſorow and griefe, that they could not other-
wiſe haue gone their wayes. As they were on their waye, both their litters going as neere to
ech other as they could, they bewailed their miſerable eſtate: but *Quintus* chiefly, who tooke
it moſt grieuouſly. For, remembring that he tooke no money with him when he came from
his houſe, and that *Cicero* his brother alſo had verie litle for him ſelfe: he thought it beſt that
Cicero ſhoulde holde on his iorney, whileſt he him ſelfe made an arrant home to fetche ſuche
thinges as he lacked, and ſo to make haſt againe to ouertake his brother. They both thought
it beſt ſo, and then tenderly imbracing one an other, the teares falling from their eyes, they
Quintus Cicero ſlaine. tooke leaue of ech other. Within few dayes after, *Quintus Cicero* being betrayed by his owne
ſeruaunts, vnto them that made ſearch for him: he was cruelly ſlaine, and his ſonne with him. C
But *Marcus Tullius Cicero* being caried vnto ASTYRA, and there finding a ſhippe readie, im-
barked immediatly, and ſayled alongeſt the coaſt vnto mount Circe, hauing a good gale of
winde. There the mariners determining forthwith to make ſayle againe, he came a ſhore, ei-
ther for feare of the ſea, or for that he had ſome hope that *Cæſar* had not altogether forſaken
him: and therewithall returning towardes ROME by lande, he had gone about a hundred fur-
long thence. But then being at a ſtraight howe to reſolue, and ſodainly chaunging his minde:
he woulde needes be caried backe againe to the ſea, where he continued all night maruelous
ſorowfull, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in minde to goe ſecretly vnto *Octauius*
Cæſars houſe, & to kill him ſelfe by the hearth of his chimney, to make the furies of hell to re-
uenge his blood: but being affraied to be intercepted by the way, & cruelly handled, he turned D
from that determination. Then falling into other vnaduiſed determinations, being perplexed
as he was, he put him ſelfe againe into his ſeruauntes handes, to be conueyed by ſea to an o-
* *Some doe read Caiete.* ther place called * CAPITES. There he had a very proper pleaſaunt ſommer houſe, where the
North winds, called Eteſiæ, doe geue a trimme freſh ayer in the ſommer ſeaſon. In that place
alſo there is a litle temple dedicated vnto *Apollo*, not farre from the ſea ſide. From thence there
came a great ſhole of crowes, making a maruelous noyſe, that came flying towardes *Ciceroes*
A wonderous matter foreſhewed by crowes vnto Cicero. ſhippe, which rowed vpon the ſhore ſide. This ſhole of crowes came and lighted vpon the
yard of their ſaile, ſome crying, and ſome pecking the cords with their bills: ſo that euery man
iudged ſtraight, that this was a ſigne of ill lucke at hand. *Cicero* notwithſtanding this, came a
ſhore, and went into his houſe, and layed him downe to ſee if he coulde ſleepe. But the moſt E
parte of theſe crowes came and lighted vpon the chamber windowe where he lay, making a
wonderfull great noyſe: and ſome of them got vnto *Ciceroes* bedde where he lay, the clothes
being caſt ouer his head, and they neuer left him, till by litle and litle they had with their bills
pluckt of the clothes that couered his face. His men ſeeing that, & ſaying to them ſelues that
they were too vile beaſts, if they would tarie to ſee their maiſter ſlaine before their eyes, conſi-
dering that brute beaſts had care to ſaue his life, ſeeing him ſo vnworthily intreated, and that
they ſhould not doe the beſt they coulde to ſaue his life: partely by intreatie, and partely by
force, they put him againe into his litter to carie him to the ſea. But in the meane time came
Herennius, & Popilius, ſent to kill M. T. Cicero. the murderers appointed to kill him, *Herennius* a Centurion, and *Popilius Læna*, Tribune of the
ſouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thowſande men, whoſe cauſe *Cicero* had once pleaded before F
the Iudges, when he was accuſed for the murther of his owne father) hauing ſouldiers atten-
ding vpon them. So *Ciceroes* gate being ſhut, they entred the houſe by force, and miſſing him,
they

they asked them of the house what was become of him. They answered they could not tell. Howbeit there was a young boy in the house called *Philologus*, a slaue infranchised by *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Tullius Cicero* had brought vp in the latin tongue, and had taught him the liberall sciences: he told this *Herennius*, that his seruauntes caried him in a litter towards the sea, through darke narrowe lanes, shadowed with woode on either side. *Popilius* the Colonell taking some souldiers with him, ranne about on the outside of the lanes to meete him at his comming out of them: and *Herennius* on thother side entred the lanes. So *Cicero* hearing him comming, commaunded his men to set downe his litter, and taking his beard in his left hande, as his manner was, he stowtly looked the murderers in the faces, his head and beard being all white, and his face leane & wrinckled, for the extreame sorowes he had taken: diuers of them that were by, helde their handes before their eyes, whilest *Herennius* did cruelly murder him. So *Cicero* being three score and foure yeares of age, thrust his necke out of the litter, and had his head cut of by *Antonius* commaundement, and his hands also, which wrote the Orations (called the Philippians) against him. For so did *Cicero* call the Orations he made against him, for the malice he bare him: & do yet continue the same name vntill this present time. When these poore dismembred members were brought to Rome, *Antonius* by chaunce was busily occupied at that time about the election of certaine officers: who when he heard of them & saw them, he cried out alowde that now all his outlawries and proscriptions were executed: and thereuppon commaunded his head and his hands should straight be set vp ouer the pulpit for Orations, in the place called Rostra. This was a fearefull and horrible sight vnto the Romanes, who thought they saw not *Ciceroes* face, but an image of *Antonius* life and disposicion: who among so many wicked deedes as he committed, yet he did one act only that had some shew of goodnes, which was this. He deliuered *Philologus* into the handes of *Pompeia*, the wife of *Quintus Cicero*: and when she had him, besides other cruell tormentes she made him abide, she compelled him to cut his owne flesh of by little morsells, and to broyle them, and then to eate them. Some historiographers doe thus reporte it. But *Tyro* who was a slaue infranchised by *Cicero*, made no mencion of the treason of this *Philologus*. Howbeit I vnderstoode that *Cæsar Augustus*, long time after that, went one day to see one of his Nephewes, who had a booke in his hande of *Ciceroes*: and he fearing least his Vncle would be angrie to finde that booke in his handes, thought to hide it vnder his gowne. *Cæsar* saw it, and tooke it from him, and red the most parte of it standing, and then deliuered it to the young boy, and sayd vnto him: he was a wise man in deede, my childe, and loued his contrie well. After he had slaine *Antonius*, being Consul: he made *Ciceroes* sonne his colleague and fellow Consul with him, in whose time the Senate ordeyned, that the images of *Antonius* should be throwen downe, and depriued his memory of all other honors: adding further vnto his decree, that from thence foorth none of the house & familie of the *Antonij* should euer after beare the christen name of *Marcus*. So, Gods iustice made the extreame reuenge and punishment of *Antonius*, to fal into the house of *Cicero*.

M. T. Cicero slaine by Herennius.

Ciceros head and hands set vp ouer the pulpit for Orations.

A straunge and cruell punishmēt taken by Pompeia (Quintus Ciceroes wife) of Philologue for betraying of his maister.

Augustus Cæsars testimony of Cicero.

Ciceroes sonne Consul with Augustus Cæsar.

The decree of the Senate against Antonius being dead.

THE COMPARISON OF *Cicero with Demosthenes.*

THis is as muche as we coulde gather by our knowledge touching the notable actes and deedes worthie of memorie, wrytten of *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*. Furthermore, leauing the comparison a side of the difference of their eloquence in their Orations: me thinkes I may say thus muche of them. That *Demosthenes* did whollie imploy all his wit and learning (naturall or artificiall) vnto the arte of Rethoricke, and that in force, and vertue of eloquence, he did excell all the Orators in his time: and for grauetie and magnificent style, all those also that onely wryte for shewe or ostentation: and for sharpnesse and arte, all the Sophisters and Maisters of Rethoricke. And that *Cicero* was a man generallie learned in all sciences, and that had studied diuers bookes, as appeareth plainely by the sundrie bookes of Philosophie of his owne making, written after the manner of the Academicke Philosophers. Furthermore, they may see in his Orations he wrote in certeine causes to serue him when he pleaded: that he sought occasions in his bytalke to shewe men that he was excellently well learned. Furthermore, by their phrases a man may discerne some sparke of their manners and condicions. For *Demosthenes* phrase hath no maner of finenesse, geastes, nor grace in it, but is altogether graue and harshe, and smelleth not of the lampe, as *Pytheas* sayd when he mocked him: but sheweth a great drinker of water, extreame paines, and therewith also a sharpe and sower nature. But *Cicero* oftentimes fell from pleasaunt rawntes, vnto plaine scurrilitie: and turning all his pleadinges of matters of importaunce, to sporte and laughter, hauing a grace in it, many times he did forget the comlynesse that became a man of his calling. As in his Oration for *Cælius*, where he sayeth, it is no maruell if in so greate aboundance of wealth and fineneſse he giue him selfe a litle to take his pleasure: and that it was a folly not to vse pleasures lawefull, and tollerable, sith the famousest Philosophers that euer were, did place the chiefe felicitie of man, to be in pleasure. And it is reported also, that *Marcus Cato* hauing accused *Muræna*, *Cicero* being Consul, defended his cause, and in his Oration pleasauntly girded all the sect of the Stoicke Philosophers for *Catoes* sake, for the straunge opinions they holde, which they call Paradoxes: insomuch as he made all the people and Iudges also fall a laughing a good. And *Cato* him selfe also smiling a litle, sayd vnto them that sate by him: what a laughing and mocking Consul haue we, my Lordes? but letting that passe, it seemeth that *Cicero* was of a pleasaunt and merie nature: for his face shewed euer greate life and mirth in it. Whereas in *Demosthenes* countenaunce on thother side, they might discerne a maruelous diligence & care, and a pensiue man, neuer weary with paine: insomuch that his enemies, (as he reporteth him selfe) called him a peruerse & froward man. Furthermore, in their writings

Demosthenes eloquence.

Ciceroes wyt and diuers doctrines.

Demosthenes and Ciceroes maners.

is

A is discerned, that the one speaketh modestly in his owne praise, so as no man can iustly be offended with him: and yet not alwayes, but when necessitie enforceth him for some matter of great importaunce, but otherwise verie discreete and modest to speake of him selfe. *Citero* in contrarie maner, vsing too often repeticion of one selfe thing in all his Orations, shewed an extreame ambition of glorie, when incessantly he cried out:

Demosthenes modest in praising of him selfe. Cicero too full of affectacion.

Let speare and shield geue place to gowne,
And geue the tung the laurell Crowne.

Yea furthermore, he did not onely praise his owne actes and deedes, but the Orations also which he had wrytten or pleaded: as if he shoulde haue contended against *Isocrates*, or *Anaximenes*, a maister that taught Rethoricke, and not to goe about to reforme the people of
B Rome:

Which were both fierce and stowt in armes,
And fit to worke their enemies harmes.

For, as it is requisite for a Gouernour of a common wealth to seeke authoritie by his eloquence: so, to couet the praise of his owne glorious tongue, or as it were to begge it, that sheweth a base minde. And therefore in this poynt we must confesse that *Demosthenes* is farre grauer, and of a nobler minde: who declared him selfe, that all his eloquence came onely but by practise, the which also required the fauor of his auditorie: and further, he thought them fooles and madde men (as in deede they be no lesse) that therefore woulde make any boast of them selues. In this they were both alike, that both of them had great credit and authoritie
C in their Orations to the people, and for obtayning that they would propound: Insomuche as Captaines, and they that had armies in their handes, stoode in neede of their eloquence. As *Chares*, *Diopithes*, and *Leosthenes*, they all were holpen of *Demosthenes*: and *Pompey*, and *Octauius Cæsar* the young man, of *Cicero*: as *Cæsar* him selfe confesseth in his Commentaries he wrote vnto *Agrippa*, and *Mæcenas*. But nothing sheweth a mans nature and condicion more, (as it is reported, and so is it true) then when one is in authoritie: for that bewrayeth his humor, and the affections of his minde, and layeth open also all his secret vices in him. *Demosthenes* coulde neuer deliuer any suche proofe of him selfe, bicause he neuer bare any office, nor was called forward. For he was not Generall of the armie, which he him selfe had prepared against king *Philippe*. *Cicero* on thother side being sent Treasorer into Sicile, and Pro-
D consul into Cilicia and Cappadocia, in such a time as couetousnes raigned most: (insomuch that the Captaines & Gouernors whom they sent to gouerne their prouinces, thinking it villanie and dastardlinesse to robbe, did violently take thinges by force, at what time also to take bribes was reckoned no shame, but to handle it discreetly, he was the better thought of, and beloued for it) he shewed plainely that he regarded not money, and gaue foorth many proofes of his curtesie and goodnes. Furthermore, *Cicero* being created Consul by name, but Dictator in deede, hauing absolute power and authoritie ouer all thinges to suppresse the rebellion and conspirators of *Catiline*: he proued *Platoes* prophecie true, which was: That the cities are safe from daunger, when the chiefe Magistrates and Gouernors (by some good diuine fortune) doe gouerne with wisedom and iustice. *Demosthenes* was reproued for his cor-
E ruption, and selling of his eloquence: bicause secretly he wrote one Oration for *Phormio*, and an other in the selfe same matter for *Apollodorus*, they being both aduersaries. Further, he was defamed also for receiuing money of the king of Persia, and therewithall condemned for the money which he had taken of *Harpalus*. And though some peraduenture woulde obiect, that the reporters thereof (which are many) doe lye: yet they can not possibly deny this, that *Demosthenes* had no power to refraine from looking of the presentes which diuers kinges did offer him, praying him to accept them in good parte for their sakes: neither was that the part of a man that did take vsurie by trafficke on the sea, the extreamest yet of all other. In contrarie maner (as we haue sayd before) it is certeine that *Cicero* being Treasorer, refused the gifts which the Sicilians offered him, there: and the presentes also which the king of the Cap-
F padocians offred him whilest he was Proconsul in Cilicia, and those especially which his frendes pressed vpon him to take of them, being a great summe of money, when he went as a banished man out of Rome. Furthermore, the banishment of the one was infamous to him,

Ciceroes abstinence from money.

Demosthenes a money taker.

Diuers causes of the banishment of Demosthenes and Cicero.

bicause by iudgement he was banished as a theefe. The banishment of the other was for as honorable an acte as euer he did, being banished for ridding his contrie of wicked men. And therefore of *Demosthenes*, there was no speeche after he was gone: but for *Cicero*, all the Senate chaunged their apparell into blacke, and determined that they would passe no decree by their authoritie, before *Ciceroes* banishment was reuoked by the people. In deede *Cicero* idlely passed his time of banishment, and did nothing all the while he was in MACEDON: and one of the chiefest acts that *Demosthenes* did, in all the time that he delt in the affaires of the common wealth, was in his banishment. For he went vnto euery city, and did assist the Ambassadors of the GRÆCIANS, and refused the Ambassadors of the MACEDONIANS. In the which he shewed him selfe a better citizen, then either *Themistocles*, or *Alcibiades*, in their like fortune and exile. So when he was called home, and returned, he fell againe to his old trade which he practised before, and was euer against *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS. Where *Lælius* in open Senate sharply tooke vp *Cicero*, for that he sate still and sayd nothing, when that *Octauius Cæsar* the young man made peticion against the law, that he might sue for the Consulshippe, and being so young, that he had neuer a heare on his face. And *Brutus* selfe also doth greatly reproue *Cicero* in his letters, for that he had maintained and nourished, a more grieuous and greater tyrannie, then that which they had put downe. And last of all, me thinketh the death of *Cicero* most pitiefull, to see an olde man caried vp and downe, (with tender loue of his seruauntes) seeking all the waies that might be to flie death, which did not long preuent his naturall course: and in the ende, olde as he was, to see his head so pitiefully cut of. Whereas *Demosthenes*, though he yeelded a litle, intreating him that came to take him: yet for that he had prepared the poyson long before, that he had kept it long, and also vsed it as he did, he can not but be maruelously commended for it. For sith the god *Neptune* denyed him the benefit of his sanctuarie, he betooke him to a greater, and that was death: whereby he saued him selfe out of the souldiers handes of the tyran, and also scorned the bloody crueltie of *Antipater*.

The difference betwext Demosthenes and Ciceroes death.

THE LIFE OF *Demetrius.*

A WHo firſt likened arts to our ſences, ſemeth to haue reſpected eſpecially that one property of them both, in receiuing obiects of contrary quality: for, in the vſe & end of their operacion, there is great difference. The ſenſes receiue indifferently, without diſcretion and iudgement, white and blacke, ſweete and ſower, ſoft and hard: for their office is only to admit their ſeuerall obiects, and to carie and referre the iudgement thereof to the common ſence. But artes being the perfection of reaſon, receiue and allow thoſe things onely which make for their operacion, regarding & eſchuing the contraries. Thone chiefly, and for vſe: thother by the way, and with intent to auoyde them. So Phiſicke dealeth with diſeaſes, B Muſicke with diſcordes, to thend to remoue them, and worke their contraries, and the great Ladies of all other artes. Temperaunce, iuſtice, and wiſdom, doe not only conſider honeſtie, vprightnes, and profit: but examine withall, the nature and effectes of lewdnes, corruption, and damage. And innocencie, which vaunteth her want of experience in vndue practiſes: men call ſimplicitie, and ignoraunce of thinges, that be neceſſarie and good to be knowen. And therefore the auncient LACEDÆMONIANS in their ſolemne feaſtes forced their ILOTES the bondmen, to ouercharge them ſelues with wine: and ſuche they ſhewed them vnto their youth, by the apparant beaſtlines of dronken men, to worke in them an abhorring of ſo lotheſome vice. Wherin, although I can not much praiſe them for humanity or wiſedom, that corrupt and ſpoile one man, by example of him, to correct and reclaime an other: yet (as I hope) C it ſhall not be reprehended in me, if amongeſt the reſt I put in one or two paier of ſuche, as liuing in great place & accompt, haue increaſed their fame with infamy. Which in truth, I doe not, to pleaſe & draw on the reader with variety of report: but as *Iſmenias* the THEBAN Muſitian ſhewed his ſchollers, both thoſe that ſtrake a cleane ſtroke, with, do ſo, & ſuch as bungled it, with, do not ſo: & *Antigenidas* thought men ſhould like better, & with greater deſire cõtend for skill, if they heard and diſcerned vntunable notes: ſo thinke I, we ſhall be the forwarder in reading & following the good, if we know the liues, and ſee the deformity of the wicked. This treaty conteineth the liues of *Demetrius*, ſurnamed the Fortgainer, & *M. Antony* the Triumuir, & great examples to confirme the ſaying of *Plato*: That from great minds, both great vertues & great vices do procede. They were both giuen ouer to women & wine, both valliat & liberal, both ſumptuous & high minded, fortune ſerued them both alike, not only in the courſe of their

How ſences and artes dot agree & diſſer.

The maner of the Spartãs to make their ſlaues dronken.

The cauſe of deſcribing the liues of the wicked. Plato: of vertue and vice.

liues, in attẽpting great matters, somtimes with good, somtimes with ill succesſe, in getting & A
loſing things of great conſequence, ouerthrowing both when they feared not, reſtoring both
when they hoped not. But alſo in their ende there was no great difference, thone brought to
his death by his mortal enemies, & the other, fortune not much vnlike. But now to our hiſto-
rie. *Antigonus* had two ſonnes by his wife *Stratonice*, the daughter of *Corræus*, the one of them
he named *Demetrius*, and the other *Philip*, after his fathers name. Thus farre the moſt wry-
ters doe agree: howbeit ſome holde opinion, that *Demetrius* was not the ſonne of *Antigonus*,
but his Nephewe. But becauſe his father dyed leauing him a childe, and that his mother was
ſtraight maried againe vnto *Antigonus*: thereuppon came the reporte that he was *Antigonus*
ſonne. How ſoeuer it was, *Philip*, that was not much younger then *Demetrius*, dyed. Now for
Demetrius, though he was a verie bigge man, he was nothing ſo high as his father, but yet ſo B
paſſing and wonderfull fayer, that no painter could poſſibly draw his picture and counterfeat
to his likenes. For they ſaw a ſweete countenance, mixed with a kinde of grauetie in his face,
a feare with curteſie, and an incomparable Princely maieſtie accompanied with a liuely ſpirit
and youth, and his wit and manners were ſuch, that they were both fearefull, and pleaſaunt
vnto men that frequented him. For as he was moſt pleaſaunt in company hauing leaſure, and
moſt geuen to banketing, pleaſaunt life, and more wantonly geuen to follow any luſt and plea-
ſure, than any king that euer was: yet was he alwayes very carefull & diligent in diſpatching
matters of importance. And therefore he maruelouſly commended, and alſo endeuoured to
follow *Dionyſius*, (as much to ſay, as *Bacchus*) aboue all the other goddes, as he that had bene
a wiſe and valliant Captaine in warre, and that in peace inuented and vſed all the pleaſure that C
might be. He maruelouſly loued and reuerenced his father, and it ſeemeth that the dutieful-
nes he ſhewed vnto his mother, was more to diſcharge the due obedience & dutie of a ſonne, A
than otherwiſe to enterteine his father, for feare of his power, or hope to be his heire. And
for proofe hereof we read, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went vnto his fa-
ther *Antigonus*, geuing audience to certaine Ambaſſadors, and after he had done his duetie to
him, and kiſſed him: he ſate downe by him euen as he came from hunting, hauing his dartes
in his hande, which he caried out a hunting with him. Then *Antigonus* calling the Ambaſſa-
dors alowde as they went their way, hauing receiued their aunſwere: my Lords, ſayd he, you
ſhall carie home this reporte of my ſonne and me, be witneſſes I pray you, how we liue one
with an other. As meaning to ſhewe thereby, that the agreement betwext the father and the D
ſonne together, is a great ſafetie to the affaires of a king, as alſo a manifeſt proofe of his great-
nes: ſo gealous is a king to haue a companion, beſides the hate and miſtruſt it ſhould breede.
So that the greateſt Prince and moſt auncienteſt of all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, boaſted
that he ſtoode not in feare of his ſonne, but did ſuffer him to ſitte by him, hauing a dart in his
hand. So was this houſe onely of all other the MACEDONIAN kinges, leaſt defiled with ſuche
villanie, many ſucceſſions after: and to confeſſe a troth, in all *Antigonus* raſe there was not
one, but *Philip* onely, that ſlue his owne ſonne. But we haue many examples of diuers other
houſes of kinges, that haue put their ſonnes, wiues, and mothers to death: and for their bre-
thren, it was an ordinarie thing with them to kill them, and neuer ſticke at it. For like as Geo-
metricians would haue men graunt them certaine propoſicions which they ſuppoſe without E
proofe: euen ſo was this holden for a generall rule, to kill their brethren, for the ſafetie of their
eſtate. But further, to ſhewe you more plainly that *Demetrius* was of a noble and curteous na-
ture, and that he dearely loued his frendes: we may alleage this example. *Mithridates*, the
ſonne of *Ariobarzanes*, was his familiar frend and companion (for they were both in maner of
an age) and he commonly followed *Antigonus* courte, and neuer practiſed any villanie or trea-
ſon to him, neither was he thought ſuch a man: yet *Antigonus* did ſomewhat ſuſpect him, bi-
cauſe of a dreame he had. He thought that being in a goodly great fielde, he ſowed of theſe
ſcrapinges of gold, and that of that ſeede, firſt of all came vp goodly wheate which had eares
of gold: howbeit that ſhortly after returning that way againe, he found nothing but the ſtraw,
and the eares of the wheate cut of, and that he being angrie and verie ſorie for it, ſome tolde F
him that *Mithridates* had cut of theſe golden eares of wheate, and had caried them with him
into the realme of PONT. *Antigonus* being maruelouſly troubled with this dreame, after he had

made

Demetrius parentage.

The death of Philip the younger brother of Demetrius.

Demetrius bawtie.

Demetrius maners.

Demetrius loue to his father.

A king can abide no equall.

The ſports of the Eaſt kinges, were to kill their owne children, wiues, and mothers.

Demetrius curteſie.

Antigonus dreame.

A made his ſonne ſweare vnto him that he would make no man aliue priuy to that he would tell him: he told him all his dreame what he had dreamed, and therewith that he was determined to put this young man *Mithridates* to death. *Demetrius* was maruelous ſory for it, and therefore the next morning, this young noble Prince going as he was wont to paſſe the time away with *Mithridates*, he durſt not by word of mouth vtter that he knew, bicauſe of his othe: howbeit, taking him aſide from his other familiers, when they were both together by them ſelues, he wrote on the ground with the end of his dart, *Mithridates* loking on him: flie *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* found ſtraight what he ment, and fled the very ſame night into CAPPADOCIA, and ſhortly after it was his deſtinie to fulfill *Antigonus* dreame. For he conquered many goodly contries, and it was he onely that eſtabliſhed the houſe of the kingdom of PONT, the which B the ROMANES afterwardes ouerthewe, about the eight ſucceſſion. By theſe examples we may eaſily coniecture the good nature and curteſie of *Demetrius*. For like as the elements (according to *Empedocles* opinion) are euer at * ſtrife together, but ſpecially thoſe that are neareſt eache to other: euen ſo, though all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* were at continuall warres together, yet was it ſooneſt kindled, and moſt cruell betwene them which bordered neareſt vnto eche other, and that by being neare neighbours, had alwaies occaſion of brawle together, as fell out at that time betwene *Antigonus* and *Ptolomy*. This *Antigonus* lay moſt commonly in the contry of PHRYGIA: who hauing intelligence that *Ptolomy* was gone into CYPRVS, and that he ouerranne all SYRIA, winning by force, or faier meanes, all the townes and cities ſubiect vnto them: he ſent his ſonne *Demetrius* thether, beeing at that time but two and twenty C yeares of age, and it was the firſt time that euer he tooke charge as generall to his father, in matters of great importance. But he being a young man, and that had no skill of warres, fighting a battell with an olde ſouldier (trained vp in the diſcipline of warres vnder *Alexander* the great, and that through him, and in his name, had fought many great battels) was ſoone ouerthrowen, and his armie put to flight, by the citie of GAZA. At which ouerthrow were ſlayne fiue thowſand men, and almoſt eight thowſand taken: and beſides, *Demetrius* loſt his tents & pauilions, his gold and ſiluer, and to be ſhort, all his whole cariage. But *Ptolomy* ſent him all his thinges againe, and his friends alſo that were taken after the battell, with great curteous wordes: that he would not fight with them for all thinges together, but onely for honor, and Empire. *Demetrius* receiuing them at his handes, beſought the gods that he might not long D liue a debter vnto *Ptolomy* for this great curteſie, but that he might quickly requite it with the like againe. Now *Demetrius* tooke not this ouerthrow like a young man, though it was his firſt ſouldierfare: but like an olde and wiſe Captaine, that had abidden many ouerthrowes, he vſed great diligence to gather men againe, to make new armors, and to keepe the cities & contries in his hands vnder obedience, and did traine and exerciſe his ſouldiers in armes, whonie he had gathered togither. *Antigonus* hauing newes of the ouerthowe of his ſonne *Demetrius*, ſaid no more, but that *Ptolomy* had ouercomen beardles men: and that afterwardes he ſhould fight with bearded men. But now, bicauſe he would not diſcorage his ſonne altogether, who craued leaue once againe to fight a battell with *Ptolomy*: he graunted him. So, ſhortly after came *Cilles*, *Ptolomyes* generall, with a great puyſant armie, to driue him altogether out of SY- E RIA. For they made no great accompt of *Demetrius*, bicauſe he had bene once ouerthrowen before. Howbeit *Demetrius* ſtale apon him, gaue him charge on the ſodaine, and made him ſo affraid, that he tooke both the campe, & the generall, with ſeuen thowſand priſoners beſides, and wanne a maruelous treaſure of money: which made him a glad man, not ſo much for the gaine he ſhould haue by it, as for the oportunitie he had thereby to come out of *Ptolomyes* det, nothing regarding the treaſure nor the honor he had gotten by this victorie, but onely the benefit of his requitall of *Ptolomyes* curteſie towardes him. But yet he did nothing of his owne head, before he had written to his father: and then receiuing full graunt and commiſſion from him to diſpoſe of all things as he thought good, he ſent backe *Cilles* vnto *Ptolomy*, and al his other friends beſides, with great and rich gifts which he bountifully beſtowed on them. F This misfortune and ouerthrow did vtterly put *Ptolomy* out of all SYRIA, and brought *Antigonus* alſo from the citie of CELENES, for the exceeding ioy he had of this victorie, as alſo for the great deſire he had to ſee his ſonne. After that, he ſent *Demetrius* into ARABIA, againſt a

Demetrius faueth Mithridates life. Mithridates king of Pont.

** Bicauſe he ſayd, that loue and diſcord were euer the efficient cauſes of generation and corruption of all thinges.*

Enmitie betwixt Antigonus and Ptolomy.

Demetrius, generall to Antigonus, againſt Ptolomy.

Demetrius ouerthrowen in battaile, by Ptolomy.

The bountifulnes of Ptolomy the Conqueror, vnto Demetrius conquered.

Demetrius victorie of Ptolomy.

Demetrius thankefulnes vnto Ptolomy

people called the NABATHÆIANS, to conquer them: but there he was in great daunger and distresse in the deserts for lacke of water, howbeit he neuer shewed any signe that he was afraid. Thereby he so astonied the barbarous people, that he had leysure enough to retyre with safetie, and with a great boory of a thowsand camells, which he brought away with him. About that time *Seleucus*, (whome *Antigonus* had driuen from BABYLON) returning thither againe, he came and conquered it without other ayde then of him selfe: and went with a great armie against the people and nations confining vpon the INDIANS, and the prouinces adioyning vnto mount Caucasus, to conquer them. Thereuppon *Demetrius* hoping to find MESOPOTAMIA without any gard or defence, sodainly passed ouer the riuer of Euphrates, & came vnlooked for vnto BABYLON, and there distressed the garrison of *Seleucus*, that kept one of the castells or citadells of the citie, being two of them: and then putting in seuen thowsand souldiers to keepe them, he commaunded the rest of his men to get what they could, & to bringe it away with them. After that, he marched towards the sea to returne home, leauing thereby the Realme and kingdom of *Seleucus* in better state and safetie, then it was when he inuaded it. For it appeared that he had taken all the contry from *Seleucus*, leauing him nothing in it, by spoiling and forraging all that was there. At his returne home, newes were brought him that *Ptolomy* lay at the seege of the citie of HALYCARNASSVS: whereuppon he drew thither with speede to make him raise the seege, and thereby saued the city from him. Now, bicause by this exployte they wanne great fame, both of them, (*Antigonus* and *Demetrius*) fell into a maruelous desire to set all GRÆCE at libertie, the which *Ptolomy* and *Cassander* kept in seruitude and bondage. Neuer king tooke in hande a more honorable nor iuster warre and enterprise, then that was. For, what power or riches he could gather together, in oppressing of the barbarous people: he bestowed it all in restoring the GRÆCIANS to their libertie, and onely to winne fame and honor by it. So, they being in consultacion what way to take, to bring their purpose and desire to passe, and hauing taken order to begin first at ATHENS: one of *Antigonus* chiefest friends about him, told him that he should take the citie, and place a good garrison there for them selues, if they could once winne it: for, said he, it will be a good bridge to passe further into all GRÆCE. *Antigonus* would not harken to that, but said, that the loue and good will of men was a surer bridge, & that the citie of ATHENS was as a beacon to all the land, the which would immediatly make his doings shine through the world, as a cresset light, vpon the toppe of a kepe or watche tower. Thus *Demetrius* hoysed sayle, hauing fiue thowsand siluer talents, and a fleete of two hundred and fiftie sayle, and sailed towardes the citie of ATHENS: in the which *Demetrius* PHALERIAN was gouernor in the behalfe of *Cassander*, & kept a great strong garrison there within the hauen and castell of MVNICHEA. He had an excellent good winde to further his iorney, so that with his good foresight and speede he made, he arriued in the hauen of PIRÆA, the fiue and twenty day of the moneth Thargelion, (now called Maye) before any man knew of his comming. Now when this fleete was within a kenning of the citie, and lesse, that they might easily see them from thence: euery man prepared him selfe to receiue them, taking them to be *Ptolomyes* shippes. But in fine, the Captaines and gouernors vnderstanding too late who they were, did what they could to helpe them selues: but they were all in hurly burly, as men compelled to fight out of order, to keepe their enemies from landing, and to repulse them, comming so sodainly vpon them. *Demetrius* hauing found the barre of the hauen open, launched in presently. Then being comen to the view of them all, & standing vpon the hatches of his galley, he made signes with his hand that he prayed silence. The tumult being pacified, he proclaymed alowd by one of his Heraulds, that his father had sent him in happy hower to deliuer the ATHENIANS from all their garrisons, and to restore them againe to their auncient libertie and freedom, to enioye their lawes and auncient gouernment of their forefathers. After the proclamacion made, all the common people straight threwe downe their weapons and targets at their feete, to clappe their handes with great showtes of ioy: praying him to land, and calling him alowde their Sauior, and benefactor. Now for them that were with *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, they all thought good to let the stronger in, although he performed not that he promised, and also sent Ambassadors vnto him to treate of peace. *Demetrius* receiued them very curteously, and sent with them for pledge, one of the dearest

friendes

Demetrius inuaded Arabia.

Demetrius inuadeth Mesopotamia.

Antigonus & Demetrius do goe about to set Græce at libertie.

Demetrius Phalerian, gouernor of Athens for Cassander.

Demetrius restoreth the Athenians to their liberties

A friends his father had, *Aristodemus* Milesian. Furthermore, he was not careles of the health and safety of *Demetrius* Phalerian, who, by reason of the chaunge and alteracion of the gouernment of the common wealth at Athens, stoode more in feare of the people of Athens, than of his enemies. Therefore *Demetrius* regarding the fame and vertue of the man, caused him to be conueyed (according to his desire) vnto Thebes, with good and sufficient safe conduct. And for *Demetrius* him selfe, although he was very desirous to see the citie, he saide he would not come into it, before he had first restored it vnto her auncient libertie and freedom, and also driuen away the garrison thence: and thereuppon he cast trenches round about the castell of Munychia. In the meane season bicause he would not be idle, he hoysed sayle, and coasted towards the citie of Megara, within the which *Cassander* also kept a strong garrison.

Demetrius Antigonus, honoreth Demetrius Phalerius.

B *Demetrius* busily following these matters, was aduertised that *Cratesipolis*, surnamed *Polyperchon*, (who had bene *Alexanders* wife) a Lady of passing fame and beauty, and lay at that time in the citie of Patras, would be glad to see him: he leauing his armie within the territorie of the Megarians, tooke his iorney presently vnto her, with a few of his lightest armed men, and yet he stale from them, and made his tent to be set vp a good way from them, bicause this Ladie might not be seene when she came vnto him. Some of his enemies hauing present intelligence thereof, came and set vpon him before he knew it. *Demetrius* was so scared, that he had no further leysure, but to cast an ill fauored cloke about him, the first that came to hand, and disguising him selfe to flie for life, and scaped very hardly, that he was not shamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinencie. But though they missed him, they tooke his tent, and

Demetrius daunger for lechery.

C all his money in it. After that, the citie of Megara was taken and won from *Cassanders* men, where *Demetrius* souldiers would haue sacked all: howbeit the Athenians made humble intercession for them, that they might not be spoyled. *Demetrius* thereuppon, after he had driuen out *Cassanders* garrison, he restored it againe to her former libertie. In doing that, he called to mind the Philosopher *Stilpo*, a famous man in Megara, though he liued a quiet and contemplatiue life. He sent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken any thing of his. *Stilpo* aunswered him, they had not: For, q he, I sawe no man that tooke my learning from me. This notwithstanding, all the slaues of the citie were in manner caried away. Another time, *Demetrius* making much of him, as he was going his way saide vnto him: well, *Stilpo*, I leaue you your citie free. It is true, O king, q he, for thou hast left vs neuer a slaue. Shortly af-

Demetrius winneth the city of Megara, and restoreth it to her libertie.

Stilpo, a famous Philosopher in Megara.

Stilpoes sayings vnto Demetrius.

D ter, he returned againe vnto Athens, and layde seege to the castell of Munichia, the which he tooke, and draue out the garrison, & afterwards rased it to the ground. After that, through the intreatie and earnest desire of the Athenians, who prayed him to come and refresh him selfe in their citie: he made his entry into it, and caused all the people to assemble, and then restored vnto them their auncient lawes and libertie of their contry, promising them besides, that he would procure his father to sende them a hundred and fiftye thowsand busshells of wheate, and as much woode and tymber as should serue to make them a hundred and fiftie gallies. Thus, the Athenians through *Demetrius* meanes, recouered the Democratia again, (to wit, their populer gouernment) fifteene yeares after they had lost it, and liued all the time betwene their losse and restitucion from the warre called Lamiacus warre, and the battell that

Demetrius restoreth the Athenians to their lawes & libertie.

Democratia populer gouernment.

E was fought by the citie of Cranon, in the state of Oligarchia, to wit, vnder the gouernment of a fewe gouernors in sight, but in truth a Monarchie or kingdome, bicause they were vnder the gouernment of one man *Demetrius* Phalerian, that had absolute authoritie ouer them. But by this meanes they made their sauior and preseruer of their contry, *Demetrius* (who seemed to haue obteined such honor and glory through his goodnes and liberalitie) hateful and odious to all men, for the ouergreat and vnmeasurable honors which they gaue him. For first of all, they called *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* kings, who before that time had alwayes refused the name, and the which, (among all other princely honors and prerogatiues graunted) they that had deuided betwene them the Empire of *Philip* and *Alexander*, durst neuer once presume to chalenge, nor to take vppon them. So vnto them only they gaue the style and names

Oligarchiat the gouerment of a fewe.

Too much honors decreed to Demetrius by the Athenians.

F of the goddes sauiors, and tooke away their yearely Maior, whome they called *Eponymos*, bicause they did shew the yeares of olde time, by the names of them that had bene Maiors. Furthermore, in stead thereof they ordeyned in the counsell of the citie, that there should yearely

be choſen one by voyces of the people, whom they ſhould name the Prieſt of their Sauiors, whoſe name they ſhould write and ſubſcribe in all publike graunts and couenants, to ſhewe the yeare: and beſides all this, that they ſhould cauſe their pictures to be drawen in the veyle or holy banner, in the which were ſet out the images of their goddes, the patrones and protectors of their citie. And furthermore they did conſecrate the place, where *Demetrius* firſt came out of his coche, and there did ſet vp an aulter, and called it *Demetrius* aulter comming out of his coche: and vnto their tribes they added two other, the ANTIGONIDES and the DEMETRIADES. Their great counſell at large which they created yearely of fiue hundred men, was then firſt of all brought into ſixe hundred, bicauſe euery tribe muſt needes furniſhe of them ſelues, fifty counſellers. But yet the ſtraungeſt acte, and moſt new found inuention of flattery, was that of *Stratocles*, (being the common flatterer and people pleaſer) who put forth this decree, by the which it was ordeined: that thoſe whome the common wealth ſhould ſend vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, ſhould in ſtead of Ambaſſadors be called Theori, as much to ſay, as miniſters of the ſacrifices. For ſo were they called, whome they ſent to DELPHES to *Apollo Pytheas*, or vnto ELIDE, to *Iupiter Olympias*, at the common and ſolemne feaſts of all GRÆCE, to doe the ordinary ſacrifices and oblations for the health and preſeruation of the cities. This *Stratocles* in all things els was a deſperate man, and one that had alwayes led a wicked and diſſolute life: & for his ſhameles boldnes, he ſeemed wholy to follow the ſteppes of *Cleons* foole hardines, and olde inſolencie, which (when he liued) he ſhewed vnto the people. He openly kept a harlot in his houſe called *Phylacion*. One day ſhe hauing bought for his ſupper, beaſtes heades and neckes commonly eaten, he ſayd vnto her: why, how now? thou haſt bought me acates which we toſſe like balls, that haue to doe in the common wealth. Another time when the armie of the ATHENIANS was ouerthrowen by ſea, by the Ile of AMORGOS: he would needes preuent the newes of this ouerthrowe, and came through the ſtreete of Ceranicus, crowned with garlands of flowers, as if the ATHENIANS had wonne the battell: and was alſo the author of a decree, whereby they did ſacrifice vnto the goddes, to giue them thankes for the victorie: and meate was giuen amongeſt euery tribe, in token of common ioy. But ſhortly after the Meſſengers arriued, which brought report of the ſhipwracke and ouerthrowe. The people were in an vprore withal, and ſent for *Stratocles* in a maruelous rage. But he with a face of braſſe came vnto them, and arrogantly defended the peoples ill will, and angrily told them: well, and what hurt haue I done you, if I haue made you mery theſe two dayes? Such was *Stratocles* impudencie and raſhnes. But, as the Poet *Ariſtophanes* ſayth:

The boldnes of Stratocles Athenian.

Stratocles cruell ſaying.

But vvhotter matters vvere that time in hand,
Than fire that vvaſteth both by ſea and land.

For there was another that paſſed *Stratocles* in knauerie. Who procured a decree, that as often as *Demetrius* came into the citie of ATHENS, he ſhould be receiued with all ceremonies and like ſolemnitie, as they vſe in the feaſts of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*: and further that they ſhould giue vnto him that did excell all the reſt in ſumptuouſnes and riches, at ſuch time as *Demetrius* made his entry into the citie, ſo much money out of the common treaſure, as ſhould ſerue to make an image or other offring, which ſhould be conſecrated to the temples in memorie of his liberalitie. And laſt of all, they chaunged the name of the moneth Munichion (to wit the moneth of Ianuary) and called it Demetrion: and the laſt day of the moneth which they called before the new and old moone, they then called it the Demetriade: and the feaſtes of *Bacchus* alſo called then Dionyſia, they preſently named Demetria. But the goddes by diuers ſignes and tokens ſhewed plainly, that they were offended with theſe chaunges and alteracions. For the holy banner in the which (according to the order ſet downe) they had paynted the images of *Antigonus*, and *Demetrius*, with the pictures of *Iupiter* and *Minerua*: as they caried it a proceſſion through the ſtreete Ceranicus, it was torne a ſonder in the middeſt by a tempeſt of winde. And furthermore, about the aulters which were ſet vp in the honor of *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*, there grew a great deale of hemlocke, the which otherwiſe was vnpoſſible to growe there. On the feaſt day alſo of *Bacchus*, they were compelled to leaue the pompe or proceſſion for that daye, it was ſuch an extreame hard froſt out of all ſeaſon: and beſides, there fell ſuch a myll dewe and great froſt vpon it, that not onely their vines and oliues were killed

The moneth of Munychion altered, & called Demetrion, for the honor of Demetrius name

Vvonders. Hemlocke, the vſuall erbe, with the iuyce whereof they poyſoned offenders at Athens.

filled with it, but also the most part of the wheate blades which were newly sprong vp. And therefore the Poet *Philippides* (an enemie of the aforesayd *Stratocles*) in one of his comedies writeth certaine verses against him to this effect.

The parrie for whose wickednes the veyle was rent in twayne,
VVhich with the honor due to God did worship men most vayne.
Is he for whom our budding vines were blasted with the frost.
Those thinges and not our enemies haue vs so deerly cost.

This *Philippides* was very well beloued of king *Lysimachus*, insomuch that for his sake the king had done many pleasures to the common wealth of Athens. For he loued him so dearly, that as often as he saw him, or met with him at the beginning of any warre, or matter of great importance: he was of opinion that he brought him good lucke. For in deed he did not so much esteeme him for the excellencie of his arte, but he was much more to be beloued & esteemed, for his vertuous and honest condictions. He was no troublesom man, neither was he infected with the fineneſſe of court, as he shewed one day when the king made much of him, and giuing him good countenance said vnto him: what wilt thou haue me giue thee of my things *Philippides*? euen what it shall please thee, O king, so it be none of thy secrets. Thus much we thought good to speake of him in by talke, bicause an honest player of comedies should matche with a shameles and impudent Orator of the people. But yet there was another *Democlides*, of the village of Sphettus, that dreamed out a more straunger kind of honor, touching the consecration of their targets, which they dedicated to the temple of *Apollo* in Delphes, that is to say, that they should goe & aske the oracle of *Demetrius*. And I will shew you the very effect and forme of the law as it was set downe. In good howers the people ordeyle that he should be chosen one of the Citizens of Athens, which shall goe vnto our Sauior: and after that he hath done due sacrifice vnto him, he shal aske *Demetrius* our Sauior, after what sort the people shall with greatest holines and deuotion, without delay, make consecration of their holiest gifts and offerings: and according to the oracle it shall please him to giue them, the people shal duely execute it. Thus, laying vpon *Demetrius* al these foolish mockeries, who besides was no great wise man, they made him a very foole. *Demetrius* being at that time at leisure in Athens, he married a widow called *Eurydice*, which came of that noble and auncient house of *Miltiades*, and had bene married before vnto one *Opheltas* Prince of the Cyrenians, and that after his death returned againe to Athens. The Athenians were very glad of this marriage, and thought it the greatest honor that came to their citie, supposing he had done it for their sakes. Howbeit he was soone wonne to be married, for he had many wiues, but amongest them all, he loued *Phila* best, and gaue her most honor and preheminence aboue them all: partly for the respect of her father *Antipater*, and partly also for that she had bene first maried vnto *Craterus*, whome the Macedonians loued best when he liued, and most lamented after his death, aboue all the other successors of *Alexander*. His father I suppose made him to marry her by force, although in deede her yeares was not meete for him: for he was maruelous young, and she very olde. And when *Demetrius* seemed not to be contented withall, his father rowned him softly in the eare with this saying:

Refuze no vvoman neuer so old,
VVhose mariage bringeth store of gold.

Wherein he alluded cunningly to these verses of *Euripides*.

Refuze not to become a thrall,
VVhere lucre may inserue withall.

But so much did *Demetrius* honor his wife *Phila*, and all his other wiues he married, that he was not ashamed to keepe a number of Curtisans, and other mens wiues besides: so that he onely of all other kings in his time, was most detected with this vice of lecherie. While these things passed on in this sort, he was commaunded by his father, to fight with *Ptolomy* for the Realme of Cyprus. So there was no remedie but he must needes obey him, although otherwise he was very sory to leaue the warre he had begonne, to set the Grecians at libertie, the which had bene farre more honorable and famous. Howbeit, before he departed from Athens, he sent vnto *Cleonides Ptolomyes* generall, that kept the cities of Corinth and Sicy-

Philippides the Poet.

Philippides notable answer vnto king Lysimachus, not desiring to heare his secrets.

Demetrius married vnto Eurydice, an Athenian.

Demetrius had many wiues together.

Phila Demetrius wife, Antipaters Daughter, & Craterus widdow.

The iudgemēts of marriage, & obedience.

one, to offer him money if he would sette those cities at libertie. But *Cleonides* would not deale withall that way. Thereuppon *Demetrius* straight way tooke sea, and sayled with all his armie towards Cyprvs, where at his first comming he ouercame *Menelaus Ptolomyes* brother. But shortly after, *Ptolomy* went thither in person with a great armie both by sea and land, and there passed betwixt them fierce threatnings and prowde words to eche other. For *Ptolomy* sent to *Demetrius* to bid him to depart if he were wise, before all his armie came together: which would tread him vnder their feete, and marche vpon his bellie, if he taried their comming. *Demetrius* on the other side sent him word, that he would doe him this fauor to let him escape, if he would sweare and promise vnto him to withdrawe his garisons which he had in the cities of Corinthe, and Sycione. So the expectacion of this battell made these two Princes not onely very pensiue to fight one with the other, but also all the other Lords, Princes, and kings: bicause the successe thereof was vncertaine, which of them two should prevaile. But euery man iudged this, that which of them obteyned the victorie, he should not only be Lord of the Realme of Cyprvs and Syria, but therewith also of greater power then all the rest. *Ptolomy* in person with fiftie sayle beganne to rowe against his enemie *Demetrius*, and commaunded his brother *Menelaus* that when he sawe them fast grappled in fight together, he should launche out of the hauen of Salamina, and giue charge vpon the rereward of *Demetrius* shippes, to breake their order, with the three score gallies he had in charge. *Demetrius* on the other side prepared tenne gallies against these three score, thinking them enowe to choke vp the hauen mouth being but narrowe, so that none of the gallies that were within could come out: and furthermore, he disperfed his armie by land vpon the foreland poynt which reacheth into the sea, and went him selfe into the maine sea with nyne score gallies, and gaue such a fierce charge vpon *Ptolomy*, that he valiantly made him flie. Who when he sawe his armie broken, fled as speedily as he could with eight gallies onely: for all the rest were either broken or suncke in fight, and those eight onely escaped, besides three score and tenne which were taken, and all their souldiers in them. And as for his cariage, his traine, his friends, his officers, and houshold seruaunts, his wiues, his gold and siluer, his armor, engines of batterie, and all such other warlike furniture and munition as was conueyed abourd his carects and great shippes riding at anker: of all these things nothing escaped *Demetrius* hands, but all was brought into his campe. Among those spoyles also was taken that famous Curtisan *Lamia*, who at the first had her name onely, for her passing playing vpon the flute: but after she fell to Curtisan trade, her countenance and credit increased the more. So that euen then when her beautie through yeares fell to decaye, and that she found *Demetrius* much younger then her selfe: yet she so wanne him with her sweete conuersation and good grace, that he onely liked her, and all the other women liked him. After this victorie by sea, *Menelaus* made no more resistance, but yeelded vp Salamina & his shippes vnto *Demetrius*, and put into his handes also twelue hundred horsemen, and twelue thowsand footemen well armed. This so famous & triumphant victorie was yet much more beautified, by *Demetrius* great bountie and goodnes which he shewed in giuing his enemies slaine in battell honorable funeralls, setting the prisoners at liberty without ransom paying, and giuing moreouer twelue hundred complet armors vnto the Athenians. After this, *Demetrius* sent *Aristodemus* Milesian vnto his father *Antigonus*, to tell him by word of mouth the newes of this victorie. *Aristodemus* was the greatest flatterer in all *Antigonus* Court, who deuised then, as it seemeth to me, to adde vnto this exployte the greatest flatterie possible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of the Ile of Cyprvs, he would in no wise haue the shippe he came in to come neare the shoare, but commaunded them to ride at anker, and no man so hardy to leaue the shippe: but he him selfe got into a litle boate, and went vnto *Antigonus*, who all this while was in maruelous feare and perplexitie for the successe of this battell, as men may easily iudge they are, which hope after so great incertainties. Now when worde was brought him that *Aristodemus* was comming to him all alone, then was he worse troubled than afore, insomuch that he could scant keepe within dores him selfe, but sent his seruaunts and friends one after another to meete *Aristodemus*, to aske him what newes, and to bring him worde presently againe how the world went. But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on still fayer and softly with

a sad

Battell by sea in the Ile of Cyprus, betwixt Demetrius Antigonus, and Ptolomy.

Demetrius victorye of Ptolomy.

Lamia, the famous Curtisan, taken by Demetrius, vpon the defeating of Ptolomy.

Salamina yelded vp to Demetrius.

Aristodemus a notorious flatterer in Antigonus Court.

A a ſad countenance, and very demurely, ſpeaking neuer a worde. Wherefore *Antigonus* hart being cold in his belly, he could ſtay no lenger, but would him ſelfe goe and meete with *Ariſtodemus* at the gate, who had a maruelous preaſſe of people following on him, beſides thoſe of the Court which ranne out to heare his aunſwer. At length when he came neare vnto *Antigonus*, holding out his right hand vnto him, he cryed out alowd, God ſaue thee, O king *Antigonus*: we haue ouercome king *Ptolomy* in battell by ſea, and haue wonne the Realme of CYPRVS, with ſixteene thowſand and eyght hundred priſoners. Then aunſwered *Antigonus*, and God ſaue thee to: Truely *Ariſtodemus* thou haſt kept vs in a trawnſe a good while, but to puniſhe thee for the payne thou haſt put vs to, thou ſhalt the later receiue the reward of thy good newes. Then was the firſt time that the people with a lowde voice called *Antigonus* and
B *Demetrius* kings. Now for *Antigonus*, his friendes and familliers did at that preſent inſtant put on the royall band or diadeame vppon his heade: But for *Demetrius*, his father ſent it vnto him, and by his letters called him king. They alſo that were in ÆGYPT with *Ptolomy*, vnderſtanding that, did alſo call and ſalute him by the name of king: bicauſe it ſhoulde not ſeeme that for one ouerthrowe receiued, their hartes were deade. Thus this ambition by ielouſie & emulation, went from man to man to all *Alexanders* ſucceſſours. For *Lyſimachus* then alſo beganne to weare the diadeame, and likewiſe *Seleucus*, as often as he ſpake with the GRÆCIANS: for before that tyme, he delt in matters with the barbarous people as a king. But *Caſſander*, though others wrote them ſelues kinges, he onely ſubſcribed after his wonted manner. Now this was not onely an increaſe of a newe name, or chaunging of apparell, but it was ſuch an
C honor, as it lyft vp their hartes, and made them ſtand vpon them ſelues: and beſides it ſo framed their manner of life and conuerſation with men, that they grewe more prowd and ſtately, then euer they were before: like vnto common players of tragedies, who apparelling them ſelues to playe their partes vpon the ſtage, doe chaunge their gate, their countenaunce, their voyce, their manner of ſitting at the table, and their talke alſo. So that afterwards they grew more cruell in commaunding their ſubiects, when they had once taken away the viſer and diſſimulation of their abſolute power, which before made them farre more lowly and gentle in many matters vnto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought ſuch a wonderfull chaunge in the worlde. *Antigonus* therefore puffed vp with the glory of the victorie of his ſonne *Demetrius*, for the conqueſt of CYPRVS: he determined forthwith to ſet
D vpon *Ptolomy*. Him ſelfe led the armie by land, hauing his ſonne *Demetrius* ſtill rowing by the ſhore ſide with a great fleete of ſhippes. But one of his familliers called *Medius*, being aſleepe had a viſion one night that told him, what ſhould be the ende and ſucceſſe of this iorney. He thought he ſawe *Antigonus* ronne with all his armie who ſhould haue the vpper hande, and that at the firſt he ranne with great force and ſwiftnes: but that afterwardes his ſtrength and breath fayled him ſo much, that when he ſhould returne, he had ſcant any pouſe or breath, and with much adoe retyred agayne. And euen ſo it chaunced vnto him. For *Antigonus* by land, was eftſoones in great daunger: and *Demetrius* alſo by ſea was often in hazard to leaue the coaſt, and by ſtorme and weather to be caſt into places, where was nether hauen, creekes, nor harbarough for his ſhippes. And at length, hauing loſt a great number of his ſhippes,
E he was driuen to returne without any attempt giuen. Nowe *Antigonus* was at that tyme litle leſſe then foure ſcore yeare olde, but yet his fatte and corpulent bodie was more comberſom to him then his yeares: therefore beeing growen vnmeete for warres, he vſed his ſonne in his place. Who for that he was fortunate, as alſo skilfull through the experience he had gotten, did wiſely gouerne the waightieſt matters. His father beſides did not paſſe for his youthfull partes, lauiſhe expences, and common dronkennes he gaue him ſelfe vnto. For in tyme of peace, he was giuen ouer to all thoſe vices: but in tyme of warre, he was as ſober and continent, as any man ſo borne by nature. And therefore it is reported, that *Lamia* beeing manifeſtly knowen to be Myſtreſſe ouer him, one daye when he was come from hunting, he came (as his manner was) to kiſſe his father: and that *Antigonus* ſmyling vpon him
F ſayde, what, howe now Sonne, doeſt thou thinke thou art kiſſing of *Lamia*? Another tyme *Demetrius* was many dayes together drinking and ryoting, and ſawe not his father: and then to excuſe him ſelfe vnto him, he tolde him he had gotten a rewme that made him keepe his

The firſt time Antigonus & Demetrius were called kinges.

Note the force of flattery by Ariſtodemus Mileſian.

Antigonus & Demetrius iorney againſt Ptolomy.

Medius dreame.

Antigonus wroth with his sonne Demetrius.

chamber, that he could not come to him. So I heard sayde *Antigonus* but was it of Thasos or Chios, that rewme? he spake it, bicause that in either of those two Ilands, there were excellent good wines. Another tyme *Demetrius* sent his father worde that he was not well. Thereuppon *Antigonus* went to see him, and comming thither, he mette a fayer younge boye at his doore. So he went vppe to his chamber, and sitting downe by his bedde side, he tooke him by the hande to feele his poulse. *Demetrius* tolde him that his feuer had left him but a litle before. I knowe it well, sayde *Antigonus*: for I mette the younge boye euen at the doore as I came in. So *Antigonus* did gently beare with his sonnes faultes, in respecte of his many other vertues he had. The voyce goeth that the Scythians, when they are disposed to drinke dronke together, doe diuers tymes twange the strynges of their bowes, as though that woulde serue to keepe the strength of their courage and hardines: which otherwise the pleasauntnes of the wine woulde take from them. But *Demetrius* gaue him selfe to one thinge at one selfe tyme. Sometyme to take his pleasure, sometyme to deale in matters of waight, and in all extreamitie he euer vsed but one of them, and woulde neuer myngle the one with the other: and yet this notwithstanding he was no lesse politike and circumspect to prepare all manner of munition for warres. For as he was a wise Captaine to leade an armie, so was he also very carefull to prouide all thinges meete for their furniture, and woulde rather haue too muche, then too litle. But aboue all, he exceeded in sumptuous building of shippes, and framing of all sortes of engines of batterie, and specially for the delight he tooke to inuent and deuise them. For he had an excellent naturall witte to deuise suche workes, as are made by witte and hande, and did not bestowe his witte and inuention in handie craftes, in trifeling toyes and bables: as many other kinges that haue giuen them selues to playe on flutes, others to paynte and drawe, and others also to Turners crafte. As *AEropus* kinge of Macedon, who delighted to make fine tables, and pretye lampes. And *Attalus*, surnamed *Philometor* (to saye, as louer of his mother) that woulde plante and sette Phisicall herbes, as Helleborum, Lingewort, or Beares foote: Hyoscynamum, Henbane, Cicuta, Hemlocke, Aconitum, Libardbaine or Woolfebaine, and Dorycinum: for the which we haue no Englishe worde: all these would he set him selfe with his owne handes in the gardeins of his pallaice, and also gather them in tyme of the yeare, to knowe the vertue and power of them. As *Arsaces*, the kinges of Parthia, that boasted they coulde them selues make their arrowe heades, and sharpen them. But the artificers workes which *Demetrius* practised, shewed that they came from a king. For his manner of workemanshippe had a certen greatnes in it, the which euen with the sutteltie and finenes of his workes, shewed the trymme handeling of the workeman: So that they appeared not onely worthye the vnderstanding and riches of a king, but also the forging and making by the handes of a great king. For his friendes did not onely wonder at their greatnes, but his very enemies also were delighted with the beautie of them. And this is more true, then meete to be spoken: the enemies could but maruell when they sawe his gallies rowing alongest the coaste, with fifteene or sixteene bankes of ores: and his engines of batterie which they called Elepolis (to saye, engines to take cities) were a spectacle of great admiration vnto those whome he beseeged, as the euents following did throughly witnesse. For *Lysimachus* who of all other kings did malice *Demetrius* most, comming to raise the seege from the citie of Soli in Cilicia, the which *Demetrius* beseeged: he sent vnto him to pray him to let him see his engines of batterie, and his gallies rowing vppon the sea. *Demetrius* graunting him, *Lysimachus* returned with wonderfull admiration. The Rhodians also hauing long time defended his seege, at the last made peace with him, and prayed him to leaue some one of his engines with them, for a perpetuall testimonie & remembrance both of his power, and also of their corage and valliantnes. The cause why *Demetrius* made warre with the Rhodians, was, bicause they were confederats with king *Ptolomy*, he brought against their walles the greatest engine he had, the foote whereof was like a tyle, more long then broade, and at the base on either side it was eyght and fortie cubits longe, and three score and sixe highe, rising still narrow euen to the very top: so that the ypper partes were narrower then the nether, & within it were many prety roomes and places conueied for souldiers. The forepart of it was open

A straunge custom of the Scythians in their dronkennes.

Demetrius a skilfull Captaine, and an excellent Shipwright.

Sondry delights of Princes.

Demetrius wonderfull workes.

Demetrius beseged Rhodes.

The description of Demetrius greatest engine of battery, called Elepolis.

A open towards the enemie, & euery roome or partition had windowes, out of the which they bestowed all kind of shot, bicause they were full of armed men, fighting with all sortes of weapons. But nowe, bicause it was so well framed and counterpeased, that it gaue no way, nor reeld of either side, which way sooner they remoued it, but that it stoode fast and vpright vpon her foundacion, making a terrible noyse and sownde: that made the worke as wonderfull to behold, as it was a maruelous pleasure for men to see it. In this warre were brought vnto *Demetrius* two notable armors weying fortie pownd a peece, and made by one *Zoilus* an armorer: who to shewe the hardnes and goodnes of the temper, suffered them to be proued and shot at at six score paces, with the engines of their batterie: and albeit the armors were shot at, and hit, yet were they neuer pearsed, and but onely a litle race or skreech seene, as it were of a bodkin or penknife, and had no more hurte. *Demetrius* alwayes ware one of them in these warres, and *Alcimus* Albanian the other, the strongest and valliantest man he had in all his hoast, and that onely caried a complete armour weying sixe score pownde, where all other souldiers ware none aboue three score. This *Alcimus* was slayne at Rhodes valliantly fighting by the Theater. In this seege the Rhodians did valliantly defende them selues, that *Demetrius* could doe no acte worthy memorie. This notwithstanding, although he saw he could not preuaile, but lose his tyme, yet was he the more obstinately bent against them, to be euen with them: bicause they had taken a shippe of his, in the which his wife *Phila* had sent vnto him certaine hangings of tapestrie, linnen, apparell, and letters, and bicause they had sent them all vnto *Ptolomy*, assoone as they had taken them. But therein they did not follow the honest curtesie of the Athenians: who hauing intercepted certaine letters of king *Philips* that made warre against them, they opened all the letters they caried, and red them, sauing onely his wife *Olympias* letters she sent him, the which they sent vnto king *Philip* sealed, as they were when they receiued them. Nowe though this part did inuerh grene and offend him, yet he could not finde in his hart to serue them in that sorte, when he might haue done it not longe after. For by chaunce at that tyme, *Protogenes* an excellent paynter, borne in the city of Cavnvs, did paynt them the draught of the citie of Ialysvs. *Demetrius* found this table in a house in the suburbes of the citie, being almost ended. The Rhodians thereupon sending a Herauld vnto him, to beseeche him to spare the defacing of so good a worke, he returned them aunswer, that he would rather suffer his fathers images to be burnt, then so excellent and passing a worke as that to be lost, and brought to nothing. For it is reported, that *Protogenes* was seuen yeares drawing of the same: and it is also sayde, that *Apelles* himselfe when he sawe it did so wonder at it, that his speeche sayled him, and he stoode mute a longe tyme, and at last sayde: surely there is a wonderfull peece of worke, and of great labor, yet they want those graces and ornaments whereby those that I paynt doe reache vnto heauen. This table afterwardes being brought to Rome, and hanged vp with others, was in the ende burnt by fire. Nowe as the Rhodians were desirous to be rid of this warre, and that *Demetrius* also was willing to take any honest occasion to doe in the Ambassadors of the Athenians came happely to serue both their desires, who made peace betweene them with these condicions. That the Rhodians shoulde be confederats with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, against all men, but *Ptolomy* onely. The Athenians sent for *Demetrius*, vpon *Cassanders* coming to laye seege to their citie. Whereuppon *Demetrius* immediatly hoysed sayle towards Athens, with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great number of men of warre besides: so that he did not only driue *Cassander* out of the prouince of Attica, but followed him euen to the straight of Thermopyles, and there ouerthrew him in set battell, and recouered the citie of Heraclea, which willingly yelded vnto him, and sixe thowsand Macedonians that came vnto him to take his part. So in his returne backe, he set all the Grecians at liberte on this side the straight: he made league with the Boeotians, and tooke the citie of Cenchreis, and the castells of Phyle and Panactos, in the frontiers and confines of Attica, in the which *Cassander* had left garrisons to keepe the contry in subiection: and after he had driuen them out of the contry, he rendred the forts againe vnto the Athenians. Therefore though it seemed the Athenians had before bestowed to their vttermost power all kinds of honors that could be offered him, euery man striuing for life to preferre the same: yet they found out

Two armors made of notable temper by Zoilus an armorer.

Alcimus Albanian ware an armor of six score pound weight.

The discurtesie of the Rhodians.

The great curtesie of the Athenians vnto king Philip.

Protogenes borne in the citie of Cavnvs an excellent paynter.

Protogenes table of the citie of Ialysvs, greatly commended by Apelles himselfe.

Demetrius concludeth peace with the Rhodians.

Demetrius warres in Grece.

new deuises to flatter and please him. For they ordeyned that the place behind the temple of *Minerua*, called Parthenon (as who would say, the temple of the virgin) should be prepared for his house to lye in: and they sayd, that the goddesse *Minerua* did lodge him with her. But to say truely, he was too vnchast a ghest, to thinke that a mayden goddesse would be content he shoulde lye with her. And yet his father *Antigonus* perceiuing that they had lodged his sonne *Philip* on a time in a house, where there were three younge women, he sayde nothing to *Philip* him selfe, but before him he sent for the harbinger, and sayde vnto him: wilt thou not remoue my sonne out of this straight lodging, & prouide him of a better? And *Demetrius*, that should haue reuerenced the goddesse *Minerua*, though for no other respect, but bicause he called her his eldest sister, (for so he woulde she shoulde be called) he defiled all the castell where was the temple of these holy virgines, with horrible and abominable insolencies, both towards younge boyes of honest houses, as also vnto younge women of the citie. So that this place seemed to be most pure and holy, at such time as he laye with his common Curtisans; *Chryses*, *Lamia*, *Demo*, and *Anteera*. It shall not be greatly for the honor of the citie of Athens to tell particularly all the abhominable partes he committed there, But *Democles* vertue and honestie deserueth worthye and condigne remembrance. This *Democles* was a younge boye that had no heare on his face, of whose beautie *Demetrius* being informed by the surname he had, as commonly called through the citie, *Democles* the fayer: he sought diuers waies to intise him, both by fayer meanes, large promisses and giftes, and also with threates besides. But when he saw no man could bringe him to the bent of his bowe, and that the younge boye in the ende seeing him so importunate vpon him, came no more to the common places of exercise where other children vsed to recreate them selues, and that to auoide the common stooues, he went to wash him selfe in another secret stooue: *Demetrius* watching his time and hower of going thither, followed him, and got in to him being alone. The boy seing him selfe alone & that he could not resist *Demetrius*, tooke of the couer of the ketle or chawdron where the water was boyling, and leaping into it, drowned him selfe. Truely he was vnworthy of so lamentable an ende, but yet he shewed a noble hart, worthy of his beautie and contry. But he did not as another called *Cleanetus*, the sonne of *Cleomedon*, who brought letters from *Demetrius* directed to the people, whereby, through *Demetrius* intercession & request, his fathers fine of fifty talents in the which he was condemned (and for nonpayment remained prisoner) was clerely remitted and forgiuen. But by this acte, he not onely shamed and dishonored him self, but also troubled all the citie. For the people thereuppon released *Cleomedon* of his fine, but therewith they made a decree that no Citizen should thenceforth bring any moe letters from *Demetrius*. But afterwards, vnderstanding that *Demetrius* was maruelously offended with this decree; they did not onely reuoke their first decree, but they did also put some of them to death, which were the procurers and authors of the decree, and others also they banished. And further they made a lawe, that the people of Athens should account all religious to the gods, and iust vnto men, whatsoeuer it pleased *Demetrius* to order and appoynt. At that time there was one of the chiefest men of the citie, that saide *Stratocles* was a mad man to preferre such matters. In deede, o *Demochares* surnamed Laconian, he were a mad man if he were otherwise: and he spake it, bicause this *Stratocles* had many great pleasures at *Demetrius* hands for this flatterie. Howbeit *Demochares* being accused and condemned vpon these wordes, he was banished Athens. See after what sorte the Athenians vsed them selues, who seemed to be deliuered from the garrison they had before, and to be restored vnto their former libertie and freedom. From thence *Demetrius* went into Peloponnesvs, and neuer an enemie of his durst tary his comming, but all fled before him, and left him their castels & townes. Thus *Demetrius* wan vnto him selfe all the contry called Acte, and all Archadia, saiuing the citie of Mantinea: & for the summe of an hundred talents giuen amongest them, he deliuered the cities of Argos, Sicyone, and of Corinthe, from the garrisons that laye amongest them. About that tyme fell out the great feast of *Iuno* in Argos, called Heræa. Therefore *Demetrius*, to honor this feaste with the Græcians, married *Deidamia* (the Daughter of *Æacides*, king of the Molossians, and sister of *Pyrrhus*) and perswaded the Sicyonians to leaue their citie, and to come and builde in an other goodly place neare vnto it, where

Antigonus shame fastnes.

Demetrius wantonnesse.

The names of Demetrius Curtisans.

Demetrius iorney into Peloponnesus

Demetrius maried Deidamia, king Pyrrhus sister: & chaui-

A where they now doe dwell: and ſo with the place and ſituacion, he chaunged alſo the name of the citie. For in ſteade of SICYONE, he made it to be called DEMETRIADE. Then at a generall aſſembly of the ſtates of GRÆCE, which was kept in the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, called ISTHMOS: *Demetrius* was choſen Lieuetenant generall of all the GRÆCIANS, as *Philip* & *Alexander*, (both kings of MACEDON) had bene before him, vnto whom he did not only compare him ſelfe, but thought him ſelfe greater than they, bicauſe fortune ſmiled on him, and for that he had ſo good ſucceſſe in all his affayres. Whereas *Alexander* did neuer take away the title and name of king, from any other kings: nether did euer call him ſelfe king of kings, although he had giuen vnto diuers of them the name and power of a king. And in contrary manner alſo, *Demetrius* laughed them to ſcorne which called any other Princes, kings, but his

gaid the name of the citie of Sicyone, and called it Demetriade.

Demetrius choſen generall of all Græce.

B father and him ſelfe. Moreouer he tooke great pleaſure to heare his flatterers, who being at banketts called for wine to drinke to king *Demetrius*, and then to *Seleucus* maiſter of the Elephants, to *Ptolomy* Admiral, to *Lyſimachus* keeper of the treaſure, and to *Agathocles* SICILIAN, gouernor of the Iles. All the kings, but *Lyſimachus*, laughed at theſe toyes when they were reported to them: but *Lyſimachus* was very angry, & thought great skorne that *Demetrius* ſhould reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old cuſtom commõly to giue an Euenuke the charge of keeping the treaſure. So *Lyſimachus* of all other Princes did beare him moſt malice, and bicauſe he would finely tawnt him for that he euer kept *Lamia* his Curtiſan with him: vntil this preſent time, ſaid he, I neuer ſaw harlot play in a tragedy before. *Demetrius* aunſwered him againe, that his harlot was chaſter, then *Penelope* his wife. So *Demetrius* departing for that

Demetrius pride.

C time out of PELOPONNESVS, tooke his iorney towards ATHENS, and wrote before to the ATHENIANS, that when he came thither he would be receiued into the fraternitie of the holy myſteries, and that he ment they ſhould ſhew him at one ſelfe time, all that was to be ſeene, euen from the leaſt to the higheſt ſecrets of their ceremonies, called Epoptices, bicauſe they made the brethren of the fraternitie ſee them long time after that they had bene firſt receiued into the leſſer ceremonies: the which was not lawfull then, neither was euer heard of before. For theſe ſmaller miſteries in olde time were celebrated in the month of Nouember, and the greater in the month of Auguſt: & beſide it was not lawfull to celebrate or vſe theſe ceremonies within the ſpace of a yeare one of thother. When theſe letters were openly red, no man durſt ſpeake againſt them, but *Pythodorus* the Prieſt, who caried the torche lighted when they

D ſhewed theſe miſteries. Howbeit his words preuailed not, for by the deuiſe of *Stratocles* it was enacted at an aſſembly of the citie, that the month of March in the which they were at that time, ſhould be called and reputed Nouember. And ſo, as they could beſt helpe it by their ordinaunces of the citie, they did receiue *Demetrius* into the fraternitie of the miſteries: & afterwards againe, this ſelfe month of March which they had tranſlated into Nouember, became ſodainly Auguſt: and in the ſelf ſame yeare was celebrated the other ceremonie of theſe great miſteries, whereby *Demetrius* was admitted to ſee the moſt ſtraighteſt and ſecreteſt ceremonies. Therefore *Philippides* the Poet inueying againſt the ſacriledge, and impietie of religion prophaned by *Stratocles*, made theſe verſes of him:

Philippides verſes againſt Stratocles the boaſter.

Into one mooneth his comming hither
E *Hath thruſt vp all the yeare togither.*

And afterwards bicauſe *Stratocles* was the procurer that *Demetrius* was lodged in the temple of *Minerua* within the caſtell:

Of chaſte Mineruaze holy Church he makes a filthie ſtewues,
And in that Virgins very ſight his harlots doth abuſe.

But yet of all the inſolent parts done at that time in ATHENS, (although many were committed) none of all the reſt greued the ATHENIANS more, then this did: that *Demetrius* commaunded them they ſhould preſently furniſh him with two hundred & fifty talents. The taxation of this payment was very harde vnto them, both for the ſhortnes of the time appoynted them, as alſo for the impoſſibilitie of abating any part of it. When he had ſeene all this maſſe

Demetrius prodigall gift of 250. talents to his Curtiſans to buy them ſope.

F of money laid on a heape before him, he commaunded it ſhould be giuen to *Lamia*, & among his other Curtiſans, to buy them ſope. The ſhame the ATHENIANS receiued by this gift, greued them more, than the loſſe of their money: & the words he ſpake to the great contempt of

them and their citie, did more trouble them, then the payment they made. Some say notwithstanding, that *Demetrius* did not alone vse the ATHENIANS thus shamefully, but the THESSALIANS also in the same manner. But passing this ouer: *Lamia* of her selfe, & through her owne countenance, did get a great summe of money together of diuers persons for one supper she made vnto *Demetrius*, the preparation whereof was of such exceeding charge, that *Lyceus* borne in the Ile of SAMOS, did set downe the order thereof in writing. And therefore a certain Poet no lesse pleasantly, then truely, called this *Lamia*, Elepolis: to wete, an engine to take cities. And *Democharcs* also borne in the citie of SOLI, called *Demetrius* a fable, bicause he had *Lamia* euer with him: as in the fables which olde women tell litle children, there is euer lightly a *Lamia*, as much to say, as a witche, or sorceresse. So that the great credit & authoritie this *Lamia* had, and the loue which *Demetrius* bare her: did not onely cause his wiues suspect and enuy him, but made him hated also of all his friends & familliers. And therfore certen gentlemē whom *Demetrius* sent in ambassade vnto king *Lysimachus*, he talking familliarly with them, & passing the time away, shewed them great wounds of the clawes of a lyon vpon his armes and legges, telling them also how he was forced to fight with the lyon, when through king *Alexanders* fury he was shut vp in his denne with him: they smiling to heare him, told him that the king their maister had also certeine markes and bytings on his necke, of a vile beast called *Lamia*. And to say truely, it was a wonderfull thing, that marrying (as he did) his wife *Phila* so much against his will, bicause she was too olde for him: how he was so rauished with *Lamia*, and did so constantly loue her so long together, considering that she was also very old, & past the best. Therefore *Demo*, surnamed *Mania*, (as much to say, the mad woman) pleasantly answered *Demetrius*, asking her one night when *Lamia* had plaied on the flute all supper time, what she thought of *Lamia*? an old woman, O king, q. she. Another time when frute was serued in, after the bord was taken vp: doe you see said *Demetrius*, how many prety fine knackes *Lamia* sendeth me? My mother, aunswered *Demo* againe, will send you moe then these, if you please to lye with her. It is reported of this *Lamia*, that she ouerthrew *Bocchoris* iudgement in a matter. In ÆGYPT there was a young man that had a maruelous fancie vnto a famous Curtisan, called *Thonis*: who did aske him suche a great summe of money to lye with her, that it was vnpossible for him to giue it her. At length, this amorous youth beeing so deepe in loue with her, dreamed one night he laye with her, and enioyed her: so that for the pleasure he tooke by his conceyt and imagination, when he awaked, his earnest loue was satisfied. This Curtisan whome he had cast fancie to, hearing of his dreame, did put him in sute before the Iudges, to be payed her hyer for the pleasure the younge man had taken of her by imagination. *Bocchoris* hearing the summe of her complaynt, commaunded the younge man to bringe before him in some vessell, at a daye appoynted, as muche money as she did aske him to lye with her. Then he badde him tosse it too and froe in his hande before the Curtisan, that she shoulde but onely haue the shadowe and sight of it: for, q. he, imagination and opinion, is but a shadowe of truth. *Lamia* sayde this was no equall iudgement: for, sayth she, the shadowe onely, or the sight of the money, did not satisfie the couetousnes of the Curtisan, as the younge mans lust was quenched by his dreame. Thus enough spoken of *Lamia*. But now, the misfortunes and ieasts of him we presently write of: they do transport our historie, as from a comycall into a tragicall theater, that is to saye, from pleasaunt and light matter, into lamentable and bytter teares. For all the Princes and Kinges conspyred generally agaynst *Antigonus*, and ioyned all their force and armies together. Therefore *Demetrius* departed forthwith out of GRÆCE, and came to ioyne with his father, whose courage he founde more liuely and better giuen to this warre, then his yeares required: besides that *Demetrius* comming made him the bolder, and did lifte vppe his harte the more. And yet it seemes to me, that if *Antigonus* woulde but haue yeelded vppe a fewe trifling thinges, and that he coulde or woulde haue brydeled his ouer immoderate couetous desire to raigne: he had bothe kept for him selfe all the tyme of his life, and also lefte after his deathe vnto his sonne, the supreameſt dignitie and power, aboue all the other Kinges and succeſſors of *Alexander*. But he was so cruell, and rashe of nature, and as insolent and braue in his doinges, as in his wordes: that thereby he stirred vppe, and brought vppon him as his enemies,

Lamia made Demetrius a supper of her owne cost.

Lamia Elepolis.

The saying of Demo a Curtisan, touching Lamia, & Demetrius

A prety sute commenced vpon a louers dreame, and the iudgement reuersed by Lamia the Cursisan.

The sutteltye of Lamia, reuersing Bocchoris sentēce.

The conspiracy of the kings against Antigonus.

A enemies, many great and mighty Princes. For euen at that preſent time he ſaid, that he would as eaſely diſperſe and ſcatter a ſunder that conſpiracie againſt him, as chowghes or other litle birdes comming to pecke vp the corne newly ſowen, are eaſely ſcared awaye with a ſtone, or making any litle noyſe. So he caried to the field with him, aboue three ſcore and tenne thow- *Antigonus & his enemies armie.*
ſand footemen, tenne thowſand horſemen, and three ſcore and fifteene Elephantes. His ene-
mies had three ſcore and foure thowſande footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen more then
he, with foure hundred Elephants, and ſix ſcore cartes of warre. When the two armies were
one neere vnto the other, me thinkes he had ſome imaginacion in his head that chaunged his
hope, but not his corage. For in all other battells and conflictes, hauing commonly vſed to
looke bigge of the matter, to haue a lowde high voyce, and to vſe braue wordes, and ſome-
B time alſo euen in the chiefeſt of all the battell to geue ſome pleaſant mocke or other, ſhewing
a certaine truſt he had in him ſelfe, and a contempt of his enemie: then they ſawe him often-
times alone, and verie penſiue, without euer a word to any man. One day he called all his ar-
mie together, and preſented his ſonne vnto the ſouldiers, recommending him vnto them, as
his heire and ſucceſſor, and talked with him alone in his tent. Whereat men maruelled the
more, bicauſe that he neuer vſed before to imparte to any man the ſecrets of his counſell and
determination, no not to his owne ſonne, but did all things of him ſelfe: and then commaun-
ded that thing openly to be done, which he had ſecretly purpoſed. For proofe hereof it is
ſaid, *Demetrius* being but a young man, asked him on a time when the campe ſhould remoue:
and that *Antigonus* in anger aunſwered him, art thou affrayed thou ſhalt not heare the ſownd
C of the trompet? Furthermore, there fell out many ill ſignes and tokens that killed their harts. *Demetrius dreame and ſignes.*
For *Demetrius* dreamed that *Alexander* the great appeared armed vnto him at all peeces, and
that he asked him what word or ſignall of battell they were determined to geue at the day of
the battell. He aunſwered, that they were determined to geue, *Iupiter*, and *Victorie*. Then ſaid
Alexander, I will goe to thine enemies that ſhall receiue me. And afterwardes, at the very day
of the ouerthrow, when all their armie were ſet in battell ray: *Antigonus* comming out of his
tent, had ſuch a great fall, that he fell flat on his face on the ground, and hurte him ſelfe verie
ſorely. So when he was taken vp, then lifting vp his handes to heauen, he made his prayers
vnto the goddes, that it would pleaſe them to graunt him victorie, or ſodaine death without
great paine, before he ſhoulde ſee him ſelfe vanquiſhed, and his armie ouerthrowen. When
D both battells came to ioyne, and that they fought hand to hand: *Demetrius* that had the moſt *Demetrius vpon the firſt onſet, made Antiochus the ſonne of Seleucus, flie. Ouerraſhly chaſing the enemies, he loſt his victorie, and was ouercome.*
parte of the horſemen with him, went and gaue charge vpon *Antiochus* the ſonne of *Seleucus*,
and fought it out ſo valliantly on his ſide, that he ouerthrewe his enemies, and put them to
flight. But too fondly following the chaſe of them that fledde, and out of time: he marred all,
and was the occaſion of the loſſe of his victorie. For when he returned from the chaſe, he
could not ioyne againe with their footemen, bicauſe the Elephants were betwene both. Then
Seleucus perceiuing *Antigonus* battell was naked of horſemen, he did not preſently ſet vpon
them, but turned at one ſide as though he woulde enuiron them behinde, and made them af-
frayed: yet making head as he would charge them, only to geue them leaſure to come on their
ſide, as they did. For the moſt parte of *Antigonus* hoaſt did forſake him, and yeelded vnto his
E enemies: & the reſt of them fled euery man. And when a great trowpe of men together went
with great furie to geue charge on that ſide where *Antigonus* was: one of them that were a-
bout him, ſayd vnto him: your grace had neede take heede, for theſe men come to charge vs.
He aunſwered againe: but how ſhould they know me? And if they did, my ſonne *Demetrius*
will come and helpe me. This was his laſt hope, and ſtill he looked euerie way if he could ſee
his ſonne comming towards him: vntill at length he was ſlaine with arrowes, darts, & pikes. *The death of king Antigonus.*
For of all his frendes and ſouldiers there taried not one man by his bodie, but *Thorax* of the
citie of LARISSA in THESSALIE. Now the battell hauing ſuche ſucceſſe as you haue heard,
the Kings and Princes that had won ſo glorious a victorie, as if they had cut a great bodie in-
to ſundrie peeces: they deuided *Antigonus* kingdome among them, and euerie man had his
F part of all the prouinces and contries which *Antigonus* kept, adding that vnto their other do-
minions which they poſſeſſed affore. Nowe *Demetrius* flying with all poſſible ſpeede that *Demetrius flieth.*
might be, with fiue thowſand footemen and foure thowſand horſemen, he got to the citie of

Ephesvs: where euerie man mistrusted, that being needie of money as he was, he would not spare the temple of *Diana* in Ephesvs, but would rifle all the gold and siluer in it. And in contrarie maner also, *Demetrius* being affrayed of his souldiers, least they would spoyle it against his will: he sodainly departed thence, and sayled towardes Græce, putting his greatest confidence & affiance in the Athenians, bicause he had left his wife *Deidamia* at Athens, with shippes and some money, supposing he could goe no whether with better safety in his aduersitie, then to Athens, of whose good wills he thought him selfe assured. Wherefore when Ambassadors of the Athenians came vnto him, and found him not farre from the Iles Cyclades, as he sailed with great speede towardes Attica, and that they had declared vnto him, he should forbeare to come vnto their citie, bicause the people had made an ordinance to suffer no moe kings to come into Athens, and that they had sent *Deidamia* his wife honorablie accompanied vnto the citie of Megara: then was *Demetrius* for verie anger & passion of minde, cleane out of countenaunce, although vntill that time he had paciently borne his aduersitie, and his hart had neuer failed him. But this nipped him to the harte, when he sawe (that contrarie to exspectacion) the Athenians had deceiued and failed him in his greatest neede, and that in his aduersitie he found their former frendshippe counterfeate, and altogether dissembled. Whereby most plainly appeareth, that the most vncerteine and deceiueable prose of peoples good wills and cities towardes Kings and Princes, are the immesurable and extreame honors they doe vnto them. For sith it is so, that the trueth and certainty of honor proceedeth from the good will of those that giue it: the feare which the common people commonly stand in of the power of kings, is sufficient cause for them to mistrust that the people doe it not with good will and from their harts, considering that for feare they doe the selfe same things, which they will also doe for loue. Therefore graue and wise Princes should not passe so much for the images and statues they set vp for them, or the tables or diuine honors they doe decree vnto them: as to regard their owne workes & deedes, and weying them truely, so to beleue and receiue their honors for true, or otherwise to reiect and mistrust them, as things done by compulsion. For commonly it is that which maketh the people to hate kings the more, when they doe accept these immesurable and extreame honors done vnto them, but those sortes chiefly hate them most, that against their wills are forced to doe them those honors. *Demetrius* seeing then how iniuriously the Athenians had vsed him, & at that time not knowing how to be reuenged of them: he modestly sent vnto them only to make his complaints, and to demaund his shippes, among the which was that galley of sixteene banckes of owers. The which when he had receiued, he hoysed saile immediatly towards the straight of Peloponnesvs, and there found all things to goe against him. For in euery place where he had left any garrison, the Captaines that had the charge of them, either yeelded them vp, or else reuolted, & kept them against him. Therfore leauing *Pyrrhus* his Lieutenaunt in Græce, he tooke sea againe, & sailed towards Cherronesvs, & there with the mischieues he did, & with the spoiles he got in king *Lysimachus* land, he payed his men, and enriched his army, the which began againe to increase, & to be dreadfull to his enemies. But now for *Lysimachus*, the other kings made no great accompt of him, neither did they sturre to geue him aide, bicause he was nothing inferior vnto *Demetrius*: and for that he was of greater power and possessions then them selues, they therefore were the more affrayed of him. Shortly after, *Seleucus* sent vnto *Demetrius*, to require his daughter *Stratonice* in mariage, notwithstanding that he had a sonne alreadie called *Antiochus*, by his wife *Apama* a Persian. Howbeit he thought that his affaires and greatnes of his estate and kingdom, was able enough to maintaine many successors after him. And furthermore, he considered with him selfe that he should haue neede of *Demetrius* allyance, bicause he saw *Lysimachus* him selfe matche with one of *Ptolomyes* daughters, & his sonne *Agathocles* with his other daughter. *Demetrius* seeing this good fortune offered him beyond all hope, presently tooke his daughter with him, & sailed with all his shippes directly towards Syria. In the which voyage he was constrained of necessitie to lande sometimes, and specially in Cilicia, the which *Pliſtarchus* the brother of *Cassander* kept at that time, being geuen him by the other kings for his parte and porcion of the spoyle of *Antigonus*, after he was ouerthrowen. This *Pliſtarchus* thinking that *Demetrius* landed not to refresh him

The vnfaithfulnes of the Athenians towards Demetrius.

Ouergreat honors are signes of vnconstant frendship.

Seleucus requireth Stratonicè (Demetrius daughter) in mariage.

Pliſtarchus, the brother of Cassander, at that time Gouernor of Cilicia.

A himselfe, but to forrage and spoyle bicause he woulde complaine of *Seleucus* for the allyance he made with their common enemie, without the consent and priuitie of all the other Kings and Princes confederats, he went purposely vnto his brother *Cassander*. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence thereof, sodainly inuaded the land, and spoyled as farre as the citie of CYNDE, and caried away (which he had leauied) twelue hundred talentes, which he found yet left of his fathers treasure: and then with all the speede he could possible he returned to his shippes, and hoysed sayle. Shortly after, his wife *Phila* also came vnto him. So *Seleucus* receiued them all neere vnto the citie of ORONTVS, and there their meeting was Princely, without sorow or suspition one of the other. First of all *Seleucus* did feast *Demetrius* in his tent, in the middest of his campe: & afterwards *Demetrius* feasted him againe in his galley, with thirteene bankes of

Demetrius inuadeth Cilicia.

B owers. Thus they passed many dayes together, feasting and reioycing eche with other, being vnarmed, and hauing no souldiers to waite vpon them: vntill at length *Seleucus* with his wife *Stratonice* departed, and tooke his way with great pompe towardes the citie of ANTIOCHE. Nowe for *Demetrius*, he kept the prouince of CILICIA, and sent his wife *Phila* vnto her brother *Cassander*, to aunswere the complaints and accusacions of *Plistarchus* against him. In the meane time *Deidamia* his wife departed out of GRACE to come vnto him: who after she had remained with him a few dayes, dyed of a sickenesse. Afterwardes *Demetrius* comming againe in fauor with *Ptolomy*, by *Seleucus* his sonne in lawes meanes, he maried his daughter *Ptolemaide*. Hitherunto *Seleucus* vsed *Demetrius* verie curteously: but afterwards he prayed him to deliuer him CILICIA againe, for a summe of money that he offered him: but *Demetrius* plainly

Seleucus marieth Stratonice, Demetrius daughter.

The death of Deidamia Demetrius wife.

Demetrius marieth Ptolemaide, Ptolomies daughter.

C denyed him. Then did *Seleucus* shew a cruell and tyrannicall couetousnesse: for in anger, and with fierce threats and countenaunce he asked him the cities of TYR, and SIDON. But therein me thinkes he lacked honestie and ciuility: as though he that had vnder his obedience and subiection all that which lay betwext the INDIANS, and the sea of SYRIA, was in suche neede and pouertie: that for two cities onely, he shoulde driue his father in law from him, who had fostered so hard & bitter chaunge. But thereby he rightly confirmed *Platoes* saying: that he that will be riche in deede, must endeuor him selfe not to increase his riches, but rather to diminish his couetousnes. For he shall neuer be but a begger, and needie, whose couetous desire hath no ende. This notwithstanding, *Demetrius* yeelded not for feare, but prouided to replenish the cities with good garisons to keepe them against him: saying, that though he had

Diffention betwext Demetrius and Seleucus.

Platoes saying of riches.

D bene ouercome ten thowsande times more in battell, yet it should neuer sincke into his head that he shoulde be contented, and thinke him selfe happie to buy *Seleucus* allyance so deere. On thother side, being aduertised that one *Lachares* hauing spied oportunitie when the ATHENIANS were in ciuill warres one against the other, and that he had ouercomen them, and did tyrannically vsurpe the gouernment: he then perswaded him selfe that he might easely winne it againe, if he came thither vpon the sodaine. Thereuppon he crossed the seas with a

Demetrius iorney against the Athenids.

great fleete of shippes, without any daunger: but he had such a great storme & tempest vpon the coast of ATTICA, that he lost the most parte of his shippes, and a great number of his men besides. But for him selfe he scaped, and began to make a litle warre with the ATHENIANS. Yet perceiuing that he did no good there, but lost his time: he sent some of his men to

E gather a number of shippes againe together, and he him selfe in the meane time went into PELOPONNESVS, to laye siege to the citie of MESSENA, where his person was in greate daunger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had such a blowe with a dart, that it hit him full in the mouth, and ranne through his cheeke. Notwithstanding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his subiection againe, certaine townes that had rebelled against him. After that, he returned againe into ATTICA, and tooke the cities of ELEVSIN, and of RHAMNVS: and then spoyled all the contrie, & tooke a shippe fraight with corne, and hong vp the marchaunt that ought it, and the maister of the shippe that brought it. Thereby to terrifie all other marchauntes, that they shoulde be affrayed to bring any more corne thither, and so to famish the citie, by keeping them from all thinges necessarie for their sustenaunce: and so it

F happened. For a bushell of salt was sold at ATHENS for fortie siluer Drachmas, and the bushell of wheate for three hundred Drachmas. In this extreame necessitie, the ATHENIANS had but a short ioy for the hundred and fiftie gallies they saw neere vnto ÆGINA, the which

Ptolomy sent to aide them. For when the souldiers that were in them sawe that they brought vnto *Demetrius* a great number of shippes out of PELOPONNESVS, out of CYPRVS, & diuers other partes, which amounted in the whole to the number of three hundred saile: they weyed their anckers, and fled presently. Then *Lachares* forsooke the city, and secretly saued him selfe. Nowe the ATHENIANS, who before had commaunded vppon paine of death, that no man should make any motion to the counsell, to treate of any peace with *Demetrius*: they did then vpon *Lachares* flying, presently open the gates next vnto *Demetrius* campe, and sent Ambassadours vnto him, not looking for any grace or peace, but bicause necessitie draue them to it. During this so hard and straight siege, there fell out many wonderfull and straunge things: but among others, this one is of speciall note. It is reported that the father and the sonne sitting in their house, voide of all hope of life: there fell a dead ratte before them from the toppe of the house, and that the father and sonne fought who should haue it to eate. Moreouer, that at the selfe same siege the Philosopher *Epicurus* maintained him selfe and his schollers, by geuing them a proporcion of beanes euerie day, by the which they liued. Thus the citie of ATHENS being brought vnto this extremitie, *Demetrius* made his entrie into it, and gaue commandement to all the citizens, that they shoulde assemble euerie man within the Theater: where he made them to be compassed in with armed souldiers, and then placed all his gard armed about the stage. Afterwards he came downe him selfe into the Theater, through high galleries and entries by the which the common players vsed to come to play their partes in tragedies, insomuche as the ATHENIANS were then worse affrayed then before: howbeit *Demetrius* presently pacified their feare, as soone as he beganne to speake vnto them. For he did not facion his Oration with a hastie angrie voyce, neither did he vse any sharpe or bitter wordes: but onely after he had curteously told them their faults and discurtesie towards him, he sayd he forgaue them, and that he would be their frende againe: and furthermore, he caused tenne millions of bushells of wheate to be geuen vnto them, and stablished such Gouernors there, as the people misliked not of. Then *Demoeles* the Orator, seeing that the people gaue out great showtes of ioy in the praise of *Demetrius*, and that the Orators dayly contended in the pulpit for Orations, who should exceede other in preferring newe honors for *Demetrius*: he caused an order to be made, that the hauens of PIRÆVS and MVNYCHIA should be put into *Demetrius* handes, to vse at his pleasure. This being stablished by voyces of the people, *Demetrius* of his owne priuate authoritie did place a greate garrison within the forte called MVSÆVM, bicause the people should rebell no more against him, nor diuert him from his other enterprises. Thus when he had taken ATHENS, he went to set vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Archidamus* king of LACEDÆMON, came against him with a puisant armie, whom he discomfited in battell, and put to flight, by the citie of MANTINEA. After that he inuaded LACONIA with all his armie, and made an inrode to the citie of SPARTA, where he once againe ouerthrew the LACEDÆMONIANS in set battell, tooke fiue hundred of them prisoners, and slue two hundred: insomuch that euery man thought he might euen then goe to SPARTA without any daunger to take it, the which had neuer yet bene taken affore by any. But there was neuer king that had so often and sodaine chaunges of fortune as *Demetrius*, nor that in other affaires was euer so often litle, and then great: so sodainly downe, and vp againe: so weake, & straight so strong. And therefore it is reported, that in his great aduersities when fortune turned so contrarie against him, he was wont to crie out vppon fortune, that which *AEschylus* speaketh in a place:

Thou seemst to haue begotten me, of purpose for to showe
Thy force in lifting of me vp, me downe againe to throwe.

Nowe againe when his affaires prospered so well, and that he was likely to recouer a great force and kingdome: newes were brought him, first that *Lysimachus* had taken all his townes from him, which he helde in ASIA: and on the other side, that *Ptolomy* had won from him all the realme of CYPRVS, the citie of SALAMINA onely excepted, in the which he kept his mother and children very straightly besieged. This notwithstanding, fortune played with him, as the wicked woman *Archilochus* speaketh of, who,

Did in the one hand vvater showe,

And

The Athenians doe yeelde vnto Demetrius.

A rare deuise of Epicurus, at the straight siege of Athens, to kepe his scholliers aline with beanes.

Demetrius clemency vnto the Athenians.

Demetrius iorney against the Lacedæmonians.

Demetrius variable fortune.

Demetrius misfortunes.

And in the other fire beſtowed.

For taking him away, and (as it were) the citie of SPARTA alſo out of his handes by theſe dreadfull newes, euen when he was certaine to haue won it: ſhe preſently offered him hopes of other great and new thinges, by this occaſion following. After the death of *Caſſander*, *Philip* who was the eldeſt of all his other ſonnes, and left his heire and ſucceſſor in the kingdome of MACEDON: he reigned no long time ouer the MACEDONIANS, but deceaſed ſoone after his father was dead. The two other brethren alſo fell at great variance, and warres together: ſo that the one called *Antipater*, ſlue his owne mother *Theſſalonica*: and the other being *Alexander*, called in to aide him *Demetrius*, and *Pyrrhus*, the one out of the realme of EPIRVS, and the other out of PELOPONNESVS. *Pyrrhus* came firſt before *Demetrius*, and kept a great parte of MACEDON for recompence of his paines, comming to aide him at his deſire: ſo that he became a dreadful neighbour vnto *Alexander* him ſelfe, that had ſent for him into his contrie. Furthermore, when he was aduertiſed that *Demetrius* did preſently vpon the receite of his letters, ſet forward with all his armie to come to aide him: the young Prince *Alexander*, was twiſe as muche more amazed and affrayed, for the great eſtate and eſtimacion of *Demetrius*. So he went to him notwithſtanding, and receiued him at a place called *Deion*, and there imbraced and welcomed him. But immediatly after, he told him that his affaires were nowe in ſo good ſtate, that praiſed be the goddes he ſhould not now neede his preſence to aide him. After theſe words the one began to miſtruſt the other. So it chaunced one day, that as *Demetrius* went to *Alexanders* lodging where the feaſt was prepared: there came one to him to tell him of an ambuſh that was layed for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he ſhould thinke to be merie at the banket. But *Demetrius* was nothing abaſhed at the newes, and only went a litle ſoftlier, not making ſuch haſt as he did before, and in the meane time ſent to commaunde his Captaines to arme their men, and to haue them in readines: and willed his gentlemen and all the reſt of his officers that were about him, (which were a greater number by many than thoſe of *Alexanders* ſide) euery man of them to go in with him into the hall, and to tarie there till he roſe from the table. By this meanes the men whome *Alexander* had appointed to aſſault him, they durſt not, being affrayed of the great traine he had brought with him. Furthermore, *Demetrius* faining that he was not well at eaſe at that time to make merie, he went immediatly out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him beleue that he had certaine newes brought him of great importaunce: and prayed *Alexander* to pardon him, that he could no lenger keepe him companie, for that he was driuen of neceſſitie to depart from him, and that an other time they woulde meete together, with better leaſure and libertie. *Alexander* was verie glad to ſee that *Demetrius* went his way out of MACEDON not offended, but of his owne good will: whereuppon he brought him into THESSALY, and when they were come to the citie of LARISSA, they began againe to feaſt one an other, to intrappe eche other: the which offered *Demetrius* occaſion to haue *Alexander* in his hand, as he would wiſh him ſelfe. For *Alexander* of purpoſe would not haue his gard about him, fearing leaſt thereby he ſhould teach *Demetrius* alſo to ſtand vpon his gard. Thus *Alexander* turned his practiſe for an other, vpon him ſelfe: for he was determined not to ſuffer *Demetrius* to ſcape his handes, if he once againe came within daunger. So *Alexander* being bidden to ſupper to *Demetrius*, he came accordingly. *Demetrius* riſing from the borde in the middeſt of ſupper, *Alexander* roſe alſo, being affrayed of that ſtraunge manner, and followed him foote by foote to the verie dore. Then *Demetrius* ſayd but to his warders at the gate, kill him that followeth me. With thoſe wordes he went out of the dores, and *Alexander* that followed him was ſlaine in the place, and certaine of his gentlemen with him which came to reſcue him: of the which, one of them as they killed him ſayd, that *Demetrius* had preuented them but one day. All that night, (as it is no other likely) was full of vprore and tumult. Howbeit, the next morning the MACEDONIANS being maruelouſly troubled & affrayed of *Demetrius* great power, when they ſaw that no man came to aſſaile them, but that *Demetrius* in contrarie maner ſent vnto them to tell them that he would ſpeake with them, and deliuer them reaſon for that he had done: then they all began to be bolde againe, and willingly gaue him audience. Nowe *Demetrius* needed not to vſe many wordes, nor to make any long Orations, to win them vnto

Great diſſention and ſtrife for the realme of Macedon, after the death of Caſſander.

Antipater & Alexander, the ſonnes of Caſſander.

Demetrius inuadeth Macedon.

VVyles betwext Alexander and Demetrius.

Demetrius killeth Alexander the ſonne of Caſſander.

him: for, bicause they hated *Antipater* as a horrible manqueller and murderer of his mother, and bicause they had no better man to preferre, they easely chose *Demetrius* king of MACEDON, and thereuppon brought him backe into MACEDON, to take possession of the kingdom. This chaunge was not misliked of the other MACEDONIANS that remained at home in their contrie, for that they yet remembred the traiterous and wicked fact of *Cassander*, against *Alexander* the great: for which cause they vtterly hated & detested all his issue & posteritie. And furthermore, if there were any sparke of remembrance in their harts, of the bounty & goodnes of their grandfather *Antipater*: *Demetrius* receiued the frute and benefit, for his wife *Phylaes* sake, by whom he had a sonne that should succeede him in the kingdom, and was a proper youth, in campe with his father. *Demetrius* hauing this great good happe and fortune comen vnto him, he receiued newes also that *Ptolomy* had not onely raised his siege from the citie of SALAMINA, where he kept his mother and children straightly besieged: but further, that he had done them great honor, and bestowed great giftes vpon them. On the other side also he was aduertised, that his daughter *Stratonice*, who had before bene maried vnto *Seleucus*, was now maried againe vnto *Antiochus*, the sonne of the sayd *Seleucus*, and how that she was crowned Queene of all the barbarous nations inhabiting in the high prouinces of ASIA: and that came to passe in this maner. It chaunced that this young Prince *Antiochus* (as loue ouercommeth all men) became in loue with his mother in law *Stratonice*, who alreadie had a sonne by *Seleucus* his father. She being young, & passing fayer, he was so rauished with her, that though he proued all the wayes possible to maister his furie and passion that way: yet he was still the weaker. So that in the end, condemning him selfe to death bicause he found his desire abhominable, his passion incurable, & his reason vtterly ouercome: he resolued to kill him selfe by litle and litle, with abstinence from meate and drinke, and made no other reckoning to remedie his griefe, faining to haue some secret inward disease in his body. Yet could he not so finely cloke it, but that *Erasistratus* the Phisitian easely found his griefe, that loue, not sicknes, was his infirmitie: howbeit it was hard for him to imagine with whom he was in loue. *Erasistratus* being earnestly bent to finde out the partie he loued, he sate by this young Prince all day long in his chamber, and when any fayer young boy or wife came to see him, he earnestly looked *Antiochus* in the face, & carefully obserued all the partes of the bodie, and outward mouings, which do commonly bewray the secret passions & affections of the mind. So hauing marked him diuers times, that when others came to see him, whatsoeuer they were, he still remeined in one selfe state, and that when *Stratonice* his mother in lawe came alone or in companie of her husband *Seleucus* to visite him, he commonly perceiued those signes in him, which *Sappho* wryteth to be in louers (to wit, that his words and speech did faile him, his colour became red, his eyes still rowled to and fro, and then a sodaine swet would take him, his pulse would beate fast and rise high, and in the end, that after the force and power of his hart had failed him, and shewed all these signes, he became like a man in an extasie & traunse, & white as a kearcher) he then gathering a true coniecture by these so manifest signes and declaracions, that it was only *Stratonice* whom this young Prince fansied, and the which he forced him selfe to keepe secret to the death: thought that to bewray it to the king it would offend him muche, but yet trusting to his great affection and fatherly loue he bare to his sonne, he ventred one day to tell him, that his sonnes sickneſſe was no other but loue, and withall, that his loue was impossible to be enioyed, and therefore that he must of necessitie dye, for it was incurable. *Seleucus* was cold at the harte to heare these newes: so he asked him, what, is he incurable? Yea, Sir, aunswered the Phisitian, bicause he is in loue with my wife. Then replied *Seleucus* againe, alas *Erasistratus*, I haue alwayes loued thee as one of my deareſt frendes, and wouldest thou not now doe me this pleasure, to lette my sonne marry thy wife, sith thou knoweſt it well that I haue no moe sonnes but he, and that I see he is but cast away, if thou helpe me not? But your grace would not doe it your selfe, sayd *Erasistratus*: if he were in loue with *Stratonice*. O, sayd *Seleucus* to him againe, that it were the wil of the gods, some god or man could turne his loue that way: for mine owne parte, I would not only leaue him the thing he loued, but I would geue my kingdom also to saue his life. Thē *Erasistratus* seeing that the king spake these words from his hart, and with abundance of teares: he tooke him by the right hand, and told him plainly,

Demetrius proclaimed king of Macedon.

Antiochus, the sonne of Seleucus maried his mother in law Stratonice, with his fathers good will.

Erasistratus Phisitian to Seleucus.

Erasistratus the Phisitians care, to finde out the young Prince Antiochus loue. Sappho describeth the signes and tokens of a passioned louer.

your

your grace needeth not *Eraſiſtratus* helpe in this. For being father, husbande, and king, your ſelfe alſo may onely be the Phiſitian, to cure your ſonnes diſeaſe. When *Seleucus* heard that, he called an aſſemblie of the people, and declared before them all that he was determined to crown his ſonne *Antiochus* king of the high prouinces of Asia, & *Stratonice* Queene, to marry them together: and that he was perſwaded that his ſonne, (who had alwayes ſhewed him ſelfe obedient to his fathers will) would not diſobey him in this mariage. And as for *Stratonice*, if ſhe miſliked this mariage, and would not conſent vnto it bicauſe it was no common matter: then he prayed that his frendes would perſwade her ſhe ſhould thinke all good & comely that ſhould pleaſe the king, and withall that concerned the general benefit of the realme and common wealth. Hereuppon *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were married together. But now to returne againe to the hiſtory of *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* came by the kingdom of Macedon and Theſſalie, by this meanes as you haue heard, and did moreouer poſſeſſe the beſt parte of Peloponnesvs, and on this ſide the ſtraight, the cities of Megara, and Athens. Furthermore he led his armie againſt the Boeotians, who were at the firſt willing to make peace with him. But after that *Cleonymus* king of Sparta was come into the city of Thebes with his army, the Boeotians encouraged by the faire wordes and allurement of one *Piſis*, borne in the citie of Thespis, who at that time bare all the ſway & chiefe authoritie amongſt them: they gaue vp their treaty of peace they had begon with *Demetrius* & determined to make warre. Therupon *Demetrius* wēt to beſiege the citie of Thebes, & layed his engines of battery vnto it: inſomuch as *Cleonymus* for feare, ſtale ſecretly out of the citie. Thereuppon the Thebans being alſo affrayed, yeelded them ſelues vnto *Demetrius* mercie: who putting great garriſons into the cities, & hauing leauied a great ſumme of money of the prouince, left them *Hieronymus* the hiſtoriographer, his Lieutenant & Gouernor there. So it appeared that he vſed them very curteouſly, & did them many pleaſures, and ſpecially vnto *Piſis*. For when he had taken him priſoner, he did him no hurt, but receiued him very curteouſly, and vſed him well: and furthermore, he made him Polemarchus, (to wit, campe maiſter) in the city of Thespis. Shortly after theſe things were thus brought to paſſe, king *Lyſimachus* by chaunce was taken by an other barbarous Prince called *Dromichetes*. Thereupon, *Demetrius*, to take ſuch a noble occaſion offred him, went with a great army to inuade the contry of Thracia, ſuppoſing he ſhould find no man to withſtande him, but that he might conquer it at his pleaſure. Howbeit, ſo ſoone as *Demetrius* backe was turned, the Boeotians reuolted againe from him, & therwithall newes was brought him, that *Lyſimachus* was deliuered out of priſon. Then he returned backe with all ſpeede, maruelouſly offended with the Boeotians, whom he found already diſcomfited in battell, by his ſonne *Antigonus*, & went againe to lay ſiege to the citie of Thebes, being the chiefe city of al that prouince of Boeotia. But at that preſent time, *Pyrrhus* came & forraged all Theſſaly, and entred euen to the ſtraight of Thermopyles. Therefore *Demetrius* was conſtrained to leaue his ſonne to continewe the ſiege at Thebes, whileſt he him ſelfe went againſt *Pyrrhus*, who ſodainly returned againe into his realme. So *Demetrius* left ten thowſand footemen, and a thowſand horſemen in Theſſaly to defend the contry, & returned with the reſt of his army to win Thebes. Thereupon he brought his great engine of batterie called Elepolis, againſt the wall, as you haue heard before, the which was thruſt forward by litle & litle, with great labor, by reaſon of the weight and heauines of it: ſo that it could ſcant be driuen forward two furlongs in two months. But the Boeotians & the Thebans did valliantly defend them ſelues: and *Demetrius* of a malicious minde & deſire of reuenge, (more ofter then needefull, or to any purpoſe) compelled his men to go to the aſſault, & to hazard them ſelues: ſo that there were daily a great number of them ſlaine. *Antigonus* his ſonne perceiuing it: alas, ſaid he, why doe we thus ſuffer our men to be ſlaine and caſt away to no purpoſe? Wherefore *Demetrius* angrily aunſwered him againe: what needeſt thou to care? Is there any* corne to be diſtributed to thoſe that are dead? But notwithſtanding, bicauſe men ſhould not thinke he ſtill ment to put others in daunger, and durſt not venter him ſelfe: he fought with them, till at length he was ſhot through the necke with a ſharpe arrow head, that was ſhot at him from the wall. Wherewithall he fell very ſicke, but yet raiſed not his ſiege, nor remoued his campe, but tooke the citie of Thebes againe by aſſault: the which being not long before againe repleni-

Seleucus loue vnto his ſonne Antiochus.

The citie of Thebes yeelded vnto Demetrius.

Hieronymus the hiſtoriographer, Demetrius Lieutenaunt.

* *Corne monethly diſtributed to the ſouldiers, as their wages.*

shed with people, was in ten yeares space twise won and taken. Now he put the THEBANS in a maruelous feare, by his cruell threats he gaue them at his cõming into THEBES: so that they looked to haue receiued the extreamest punishment the vanquished could haue, through the iust wrath and anger of the conqueror. Howbeit after *Demetrius* had put thirtene of them to death, and banished some: he pardoned all the rest. About that time fell out the celebration of the feast called Pythia, in the honour of *Apollo*: and bicause the ÆTOLIANS kept all the high wayes to bring them vnto the city of DELPHES in the which of olde time they did vse to celebrate those sports aforesaid: he caused them to be kept & solemnised at ATHENS as in a place where this god in reason should be best honored & reuerenced, bicause he was patrone of the citie, and for that the ATHENIANS maintained that he was their progenitor. From thence he returned into MACEDON, & knowing that it was against his naure to liue idelly, & in peace, & seing on the other side also that the MACEDONIANS did him more seruice, & were more obedient to him in warres, & that in time of peace they grew seditious, full of vanity & quarrell: he went to make warre with the ÆTOLIANS, and after he had spoiled and destroyed their contry, he left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenant there, with a great part of his army. *Demetrius* him selfe went in the meane time with the rest of his army against *Pyrrhus*: and *Pyrrhus* also against him, but they missed of meeting ech with other. Whereupon *Demetrius* passed further vnto the realme of EPIRVS, the which he spoiled & forraged. *Pyrrhus* on the other side went on so farre that he met with *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* Lieutenant, with whom he fought a battell, and came to the sword with him: so that he did both hurt him, and was also hurt by him. But in the end *Pyrrhus* had the vpper hand, he put *Pantauchus* to flight, & slue a great number of his men, & tooke fiue thowsand prisoners: the which was the chief ouerthrow of *Demetrius*. For *Pyrrhus* wan not the MACEDONIANS ill will so much for the mischieues & hurts he had done vnto them, as he got him selfe great fame & renowne with them, bicause him selfe alone had with his owne hands done all the noble exployts of warre in that iorney: for the which, he was afterwardes had in great estimacion among the MACEDONIANS. Nowe many of them began to say, that he was the only king of all others, in whom the liuely image of the hardines & valliantnes of *Alexander* the great was to be seene: & that all the rest, (but specially *Demetrius*) did but counterfeate his grauetie & Princely countenaunce, like players vpon a stage that would counterfeate his countenaunce & gesture. And to say truly, there was much finenes and curiosity about *Demetrius*, to make him a playing stocke in cõmon playes. For some say, that he did not only weare a great hat with his diadeame vpon his head, & was apparelled in purple gownes imbrodered with gold: but also that he did vse to weare certaine wollen shooes on his feete died in purple colour, not wouen, but facioned together like a felt, and gilt vpon it. And furthermore, he had long before caused a cloke to be made of a maruelous rich & sumptuous peece of worke. For vpon it was drawen the figure of the world, with starres and circles of heauen, the which was not throughly finished by the chaunge of his fortune. So, there was neuer king of MACEDON after him that durst weare it: albeit there were many prowde & arrogant kings that succeded him. Now the MACEDONIANS were not onely sory, and offended to see suche things, as they were not wont to be acquainted withall: but they much more misliked this curious maner of life, & specially bicause he was ill to come to, and worse to be spoken with. For he gaue no audience, or if he did, he was very rough, & would sharply take them vp that had to do with him. As, he kept the Ambassadors of the ATHENIANS two yeres, & would geue them no answere: & yet made as though he loued them better, then any other people of GRÆCE. Another time also he was offended, bicause the LACEDÆMONIANS had sent but one man only Ambassador vnto him, taking it that they had done it in despite of him. And so did the Ambassador of the LACEDÆMONIANS answere him very gallantly, after the LACONIAN maner. For when *Demetrius* asked him, how chaũceth it that the LACEDÆMONIANS do send but one man vnto me? No more but one, said he, O king, vnto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly & popularlike, then he was wont to do: whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the easelier speake with him, and that he would more curteously heare their complaints. Thereupon many came, and put vp their humble supplicacions and bills of peticion vnto him. He receiued them, & put them vp in the lappe of his cloke. The poore suters were glad of that, and waited

Demetrius iorney against Pyrrhus.

Demetrius insolencie.

Demetrius cloke drawen with the figure of the world, and starres.

The plaine answere of the Ambassador of Sparta, vnto Demetrius.

A waited vpon him at his heeles, hoping they ſhould quickely be diſpatched: but when he was vpon the bridge of the riuer of Axius, he opened his cloke, & caſt them all into the riuer. This went to the harts of the MACEDONIANS, who then thought they were no more gouerned by a king, but oppreſſed by a tyran: & it grieued thē ſo much more, bicauſe they did yet remember (either for that they had ſeene them ſelues, or otherwiſe heard their forefathers ſay) howe curteous king *Philip* was in all ſuch matters, and howe that one day as he paſſed through the ſtreete, a poore old woman pluckt him by the gowne, and eftſoones humbly beſought him to heare her, but he aunſwered her he was not then at leaſure. Whereuppon the poore woman plainly cried out to him, leaue then to be king. This word ſo nettled him, and he tooke ſuch a cōceit of it, that he returned preſently to his pallace, & ſetting all other matters a part, did no-

B thing elſe many dayes but gaue him ſelfe to heare all ſutes, & began with this poore olde woman. For truly nothing becommeth a Prince better, thē to miniſter iuſtice: for *Mars* (as *Timotheus* ſaith) ſignifieth force, & is a tyran: but iuſtice & law, according to *Pindarus*, is Queene of all the world. Moreouer, the wiſe Poet *Homer* ſaith not that Princes & Kings haue receiued the cuſtody of engines, & of munition, neither alſo ſtrong & mighty ſhips of *Iupiter*, to kepe them to deſtroy townes withall: but with them to maintaine law & iuſtice. And therefore he calleth not the cruell & bloody king, but the iuſt & merciful Prince, *Iupiters* frend & ſcholler. And *Demetrius* boaſted that he had a name and title contrarie vnto *Iupiter*, whom they called *Polieus*, or *Poliouchos*, ſignifying protector and preſeruer of cities: and that he was called *Poliorcetes*, a Fortgainer. Thus the ill was taken for the good, & vice preferred for vertue: bicauſe he could

C not diſcerne the truth from falſehod, which turned his iniuſtice to glory, & iniquity to honor. But now to returne where we left: *Demetrius* fell into a great & daungerous ſickenes in the citie of PELLA, during which time he almoſt loſt all MACEDON, by a ſodaine inuaſion *Pyrrhus* made, who in maner rode it all ouer, & came as farre as the city of EDESSA. Howbeit ſo ſone as he recouered health again, he eaſely draue him out, & afterwards made peace with him, bicauſe he would not fighting with him (whom he ſhould haue daily at his dores ſtil skirmiſhing ſomtime here, ſomtime there) loſe the oportunity, and weaken him ſelfe to bring that to paſſe which he had determined. For he had no ſmall matters in his head, but thought to recouer all the realmes his father had: & beſides, the preparacion he made was no leſſe ſufficiēt, then the purpoſe of ſuch an imagination required. For he had leauied & aſſembled an army of a hūdred

D thowſand footemen, lacking but two thowſand: and vnto them he had alſo well neere twelue thowſand horſemen, & had beſides gotten aboue fiue hundred ſhippes together, which were built part in the hauen of PRÆVS, part at CORINTH, part in the city of CHALCIS, and part about PELLA. He him ſelfe in perſon went through their workehouſes, & ſhewed the artificers how they ſhould make them, & did help to deuiſe them: ſo that euery man wondred not onely at his infinite preparacion, but at the greatnes & ſumptuouſnes of his works. For at that time there was no man liuing that euer ſaw a gally of fifteene or ſixteene banks of owers. But this is true, that afterwardes *Ptolomy*, ſurnamed *Philopator*, built a gally of forty bankes of owers, the

E which was two hundred foure ſcore cubits long, & from the keele in height to the top of the poope, eight & forty cubits: & to looke to the tackle & guide her, required foure hundred mariners, & foure thowſand water mē to row her, & beſides all that ſhe could yet cary aboue the hatches, wel nere three thowſand fighting men. Howbeit this gally neuer ſerued to other purpoſe but for ſhow, & was like to a houſe that neuer ſturred: & it was neuer remoued out of the place where it was built but with maruelous a do, & great daūger, more to make men wonder at it, then for any ſeruice or commodity it could be imployed vnto. But now, the beawty of *Demetrius* ſhippes did nothing hinder their ſwiftnes & goodnes for fight, neither did the hugenes of their building take away the vſe of them, but their ſwiftneſſe and nimblenes deſerued more commendacion, then their ſumptuouſnes & ſtatelines. Thus as this great power & preparacion was in hand, being ſuch as neuer king before (ſince the time of *Alexander* the great) had

F aſſembled a greater to inuade ASIA: theſe three kings, *Ptolomy*, *Seleucus*, and *Lyſimachus*, did all ioyne together againſt him. And afterwardes alſo, they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Pyrrhus* in the name of them all, to draw him to their ſide, alluring him to come into MACEDON, perſwading him not to repoſe any truſt in the peace *Demetrius* had made with him, to make accompt of it

Axius fl.

The praiſe of king Philips curteſie.

The bolde ſpeache of a poore woman to king Philip.

The chiefeſt office of a king.

Demetrius called a Fortgainer.

Demetrius armie & preparacion for the recouering of his realme againe.

Ptolomyes wonderfull galley of forty bankes of owers.

Three kings Seleucus, Ptolomy, and Lyſimachus conſpired againſt Demetrius.

as a good & ſure place: for, they ſaid that *Demetrius* did not giue him pledge that he would neuer make warre with him, but rather firſt tooke oportunity him ſelf to make warre with whom he thought good. *Pyrrhus* conſidering ſo much, & finding their words true: there roſe a ſharpe & cruell warre on euery ſide againſt *Demetrius*, who tracted time, & ſtayed yet to begin. For at one ſelfe time, *Ptolomy* with a great fleete of ſhippes came downe into GRÆCE, and made all GRÆCE reuolt from him: & *Lyſimachus* alſo on THRACIAES ſide, & *Pyrrhus* vpon the borders of EPIRVS, confining with the realme of MACEDON, they entred with a great army, & ſpoiled and ſacked all as they went. Thereupon *Demetrius* leauing his ſonne *Antigonus* in GRÆCE, he returned with all poſſible ſpeede into MACEDON, to goe firſt againſt *Lyſimachus*. But as he was preparing to go againſt him, newes were brought him that *Pyrrhus* had already taken the citie of BERRHOEA. This newes being blowen abroad amongeſt the MACEDONIANS, all *Demetrius* doings were turned topſie turuey. For all his campe was ſtraight full of teares & complaints, & his men began openly to ſhew their anger againſt him, ſpeaking all the ill they could of him: ſo that they would tary no lenger, but euery one prayed leaue to depart, pretēding to looke to their buſines at home, but in truth to go & yeeld them ſelues vnto *Lyſimachus*. Wherefore *Demetrius* thought it beſt for him to get him as farre from *Lyſimachus* as he could, and to bend all his army againſt *Pyrrhus*: bicauſe the other was their contry man, & familiarly knowen among the moſt of them, for that they had ſerued together vnder *Alexander* the great, and that as he thought, the MACEDONIANS would not preferre *Pyrrhus* a ſtraūger, before him. But there his iudgement failed him. For as ſoone as *Pyrrhus* had pitched his campe hard by him, the MACEDONIANS that had euer loued valliantnes, & had of ancient time eſteemed him worthier to be king, that was the beſt ſouldier & vallianteſt in the field, and furthermore had heard the report of his great clemency & curteſy he had ſhewed to the priſoners he had taken: they hauing had good will of long time ſought but good occaſion to forſake *Demetrius*, & to yeeld them ſelues vnto *Pyrrhus*, or to any other prince whatſoeuer he were. Then they ſecretly began to ſteale away one after an other, by ſmal companies at the firſt: but afterwards there roſe ſuch a general tumult againſt him throughout all the campe, that ſome of thē were ſo deſperat to go into his tent to bid him flie, & ſaue himſelfe, bicauſe the MACEDONIANS were too weary with fighting for his curioſity. And yet *Demetrius* foūd theſe words more gentle, & modeſt, in reſpect of the vile & cruel words which others gaue him. So he went into his tent, & caſt a black cloke about his face, in ſtead of his rich & ſtately cloke he was wont to weare: not like vnto a king, but like a cōmon player when the play is done, & then ſecretly ſtale away. When this was knowē in the campe, many of his ſouldiers ran to his tent to rifle it, and euery man tooke ſuch hold of it to haue his part, that they tare it in peces, & drew their ſwords to fight for it. But *Pyrrhus* cōming in the middeſt of the tumult, pacified this ſturre, & preſently without blow giuen, wan al *Demetrius* campe: & afterwards he deuided the realme of MACEDON with *Lyſimachus*, in the which *Demetrius* had quietly raigned the ſpace of ſeuen yeres. Now *Demetrius* being thus miſerably ouerthrowen, & turned out of all his realme: he fled vnto the city of CASSANDRIA. There he found his wife *Phila*, who tooke it maruelous heauily, and could not abide to ſee him againe a priuate man, driuen out of his kingdom, & the moſt miſerable king that euer was of all other. Wherefore intending no more to follow vaine hope, & deteſting the fortune of her husband: ſhe being more conſtant in calamity then in proſperity, killed her ſelfe with poiſon ſhe tooke. *Demetrius* went from thence into GRÆCE, purpoſing to gather together the reſt of his ſhipwracks: and there aſſembled all his Captaines and frends that he had. So it ſeemeth to me, the cōpariſon *Menelaus* maketh of his fortune, in one of the tragedies of *Sophocles*, in theſe verſes:

Demetrius armie forſaketh him, and goeth to Pyrrhus.

Phila, Demetrius wife poyſoneth her ſelfe.

Demetrius ſtraunge fortune.

My ſtate doth turne continually about on fortunes vvheele,
VVhoſe double dealing diuers times inforſt I am to feele:
Reſembling right the moone vvhoſe face abideth at no ſtay
Tvvo nights together, but doth chaunge in shape from day to day:
At firſt she riſeth ſmall vvith hornes. And as in age she grovves,
VVith fuller cheekes and brighter light a greater face she shovves.
And vvhen she commeth to the full, and shineth faire and bright,
Among the goodly gliſtring ſtarres the goodlyeſt in the night:

She

She fades and falles away againe, and runnes a counterpace,
Vntill she haue forgone the light and figure of her face.

This comparison might I say much better be applied vnto *Demetrius* fortune, to his rising and falling, and to his ouerthrowe and reliefe againe. For when euery man thought his force and power vtterly ouerthrowen, then began he to rise againe by repaire of souldiers, which by litle and litle came vnto him, and straight reuiued him with good hope. This was the first time that he was euer seene meanely apparelled, like a priuate man vp and downe the country, without some shewe or tokens of a king. And there was one that seeing him in this estate at THEBES, pleasauntly applied these verses of *Euripides* vnto him:

Demetrius miserie from Princely happines.

Of god immortall, nowy becomme a mortall wyght:
Ismenus bankes and Dirces streames he haunteth in our sight.

Nowe when he beganne to haue some hope againe, and was (as it were) entred into the great high way of kinges, and had gotten souldiers about him, which made a bodie and shewe of royall power: he restored the THEBANS their libertie and gouernment againe. But the ATHENIANS once more reuolted from him, and did reuoke the dignitie and Priesthoode of *Diphilus*, who had bene that yeare created Priest of the sauiours, in steade of the Gouernour, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we haue told you before: and made a lawe, that from thencefoorth the auncient and common Gouernors of their citie should be restored againe to their auncient manner: and they sent also into MACEDON vnto king *Pyrrhus*, rather to terrifie *Demetrius* (whome they sawe beginne to rise againe) then for any hope they had he woulde come and helpe them. Howebeit *Demetrius* came against them with great furie, and did straightly besiege the citie of ATHENS. Then the ATHENIANS sent *Crates* the Philosopher to him, a man of great estimacion and authoritie, who so handled him, partely by intreatie, and partely also through his wise persuasions and counsells he gaue him for his profit: that *Demetrius* presently raised his siege. Wherfore, after he had gathered together so many shippes as were left him, and had imbarked twelue thousande footemen, and a small number of horsemen: he presently tooke sea, and sailed towards ASIA, meaning to take the prouinces of CARIA and LYDIA from *Lysimachus*, and to make them torebell against him. There *Eurydice*, sister to his wife *Phila*, receiued him by the citie of MILETVM, hauing with her one of *Ptolomyes* daughters & hers, called *Ptolemaide*, the which had bene affore affianced to him by *Seleucus* meanes. So he maried *Ptolemaide* there, with the good will and consent of her mother *Eurydice*. After his mariage he presently went into the field againe, and did set forwardes to winne some cities, whereof many willingly receiued him, and others he tooke by force. Amongst them he tooke the city of SARDIS, whether came diuers Captaines vnto him of king *Lysimachus*, who yeelded them selues, and brought him a greate number of men, and muche money besides. But *Demetrius* receiuing aduertisement that *Agathocles*, *Lysimachus* sonne, followed him with a great armie: he went thence into PHRYGIA, making account, and also hoping, that if he coulde winne ARMENIA, he might easely make MEDIA rebell, and then that he woulde see if he coulde conquer the high prouinces of ASIA, where he might haue many places of refuge, if fortune turned against him. *Agathocles* followed him very neere, and yet skirmishing diuers times with him, *Demetrius* alway had the better: howebeit *Agathocles* did cut of his vittells from him euerie waye and kept him at suche a straight, that his men durst no more stray from the campe to forrage: wherefore, they susteyned greate want of vittells, and then beganne his men to be affrayed, and to mistrust that he would make them followe him into ARMENIA and MEDIA. The famine dayly increased more and more in his armie, and it chaunced besides, that missing his waye, and failing to gage the forde well as he passed ouer the riuer of Lycus, the furie and force of the riuer caried his men downe the streame, and drowned a greate number of them: and yet notwithstandinge these greate troubles, they mocked him besides. For one wrote at the entrie and comming in to his tent, the first verse of the tragedie of *Oedipus* COLONIAN, wrytten by *Sophocles*, chaunging onely some word.

Crates the Philosopher deliuereth Athens from Demetrius siege.

Demetrius marieth Ptolemaide.

Demetrius troubles in Asia.

Thou impe of old and blind Antigonus,
To vvhat a point hast thou nowy caried vs?

Plague, by ill meate.

But in the end, the plague began also in the middest of this famine, (a common thing, and almost a matter of necessitie, it should so be) bicause that men being driuen to neede and necessitie, doe frame them selues to eate all that comes to hande: whereupon he was driuen to bring backe those few men that remained, hauing lost of all sortes (good and bad) not so fewe as eight thowsand fully told. When he came into the prouince of TARSVS, he commaunded his men in no case to meddle with any thing, bicause the contrie was subiect vnto king *Seleucus*, whom he would in no wise displease. But when he sawe it was impossible to stay his men being now brought to such extremitie and neede, & that *Agathocles* had bard vp the straights and passages of mount Taurus against him: he wrote a letter vnto *Seleucus*, first declaring his miserable state and hard fortune, and then presenting his humble petition and request vnto him, praying him to take pitie vpon his frend, whom spitefull fortune had throwen into such misserie and calamitie, that coulde not but moue his greateste enemies to haue compassion of him. These letters somewhat softened *Seleucus* hart, insomuche that he wrote to his Gouernors and Lieutenauntes of those partes, to furnish *Demetrius* person with all thinges needefull for a Princes house, and vittells sufficient to maintaine his men. But one *Patrocles*, a graue wise man accounted, and *Seleucus* faithfull frend also, came to tell him, that the charge to entertaine *Demetrius* souldiers, was not the greateste fault he made therin, & most to be accõpted of: but that he did not wisely looke into his affaires, to suffer *Demetrius* to remaine in his cõtry, considering that he had alway bene a more fierce and venturous Prince then any other, to enterprise any matters of great importaunce, and nowe he was brought to such dispaire and extremitie, that he had framed his men which were but ranke cowardes (contrarie to their nature) to be most desperat & hardie in greateste daungers. *Seleucus* being moued with these perswasions, presently tooke his iorney into CILICIA with a great armie. *Demetrius* being astonied with this sodaine chaunge, and dreading so great an armie, got him to the strongest places of mount Taurus. Then he sent vnto *Seleucus*, first of all to pray him to suffer him to conquer certaine barbarous people thereaboutes, who liued according to their owne lawes, and neuer had king: to thend that he might yet there with safetie end the rest of his life and exile, staying at length in some place where he might be safe. Secondly if that liked him not, then that it woulde yet please him to vittell his men for the winter time onely, in the same place where they were, and not to be so hard harted vnto him as to driue him thence, lacking all needefull thinges, and so to put him into the mouth of his most cruell and mortall enemies. But *Seleucus* mistrusting his demaundes, sent vnto him that he shoulde winter if he thought good, two monethes, but no more, in the contrie of CATAONIA, so he gaue him the chiefest of his frendes for ostages: howbeit in the meane time he stopped vp all the wayes & passages going from thence into SYRIA. *Demetrius* nowe seeing him selfe kept in of all sides, like a beast to be taken in the toyle: he was driuen to trust to his owne strength. Thereuppon he ouerranne the contry thereaboutes, and as often as it was his chaunce to haue any skirmish or conflict with *Seleucus*, he had euer the better of him: and sometime also when they draue the armed cartes with sithes against him, he ouercame them, and put the rest to flight. Then he draue them away that kept the toppe of the mountaines, and had barred the passages to kepe him that he should not goe into SYRIA, and so kept them him selfe. In fine, finding his mens hartes lift vp againe, and pretily encoraged: his hart also grewe so bigge, that he determined to fight a battell with *Seleucus*, and to set all at sixe and seuen. So that *Seleucus* was at a straight with him selfe, and wist not what to doe. For he had returned backe the ayde which *Lysimachus* sent vnto him, bicause he was affrayed of him, and mistrusted him. On thother side also he durst not fight with *Demetrius* alone, being affrayed to venter him selfe with a desperate man: and also mistrusting muche his vnconstant fortune, the which hauing brought him to great extremitie, raised him vp againe to great prosperitie. But in the meane space *Demetrius* fell into a great sickenesse, the which brought his bodie very weake and low, and had almost vtterly ouerthrowen his affaires. For his souldiers, some of them yeelded them selues to his enemies, and others stale away without leaue, and went where they listed. Afterwardes when he had hardly recouered his health, and within forty dayes space was pretily growen to strength againe: with those few souldiers that remained with him, he seemed to his enemies, that

Demetrius famine.

Patrocles stirreth vp Seleucus against Demetrius.

Desperate men are not so be fought with.

A that he would goe and inuade CILICIA. But then ſodainly in the night without ſownding any trumpet, he remoued his campe, and went another way: and hauing paſſed ouer mount Amanus, he ſpoyled all the contry vnder it, as farre as the region of CYRRESTICA. But *Seleucus* followed him, and camped hard by him. Thereuppon *Demetrius* ſodainly armed his men, and went out by night to aſſault *Seleucus*, and to take him ſleping when he miſtruſted nothing. So that *Seleucus* knew nothing of his ſtealing on him but late enough, vntil that certaine traitors of *Demetrius* campe that fled before, went quickly to aduertiſe him finding him aſleepe, and brought him newes of the daunger he was in. Then *Seleucus* in a maſe and feare withall, got vp, and ſownded the alarom: and as he was putting on his hoſe and making him ready he cryed out, (ſpeaking to his friends and familliers about him) we haue now a cruell and daun-
B gerous beaſt to deale with. *Demetrius* on the other ſide perceiuing by the great ſturre & noyſe he heard in the enemies campe, that his enterpriſe was diſcouered: he retyred againe with ſpeede, and the next morning by breake of day, *Seleucus* went and offred him battell. *Demetrius* prepared him ſelfe to ioyne with him, and hauing giuen one of his faithfull friendes the leading of one of the wings of his armie, him ſelfe led the other, and ouerthrew ſome of his enemies on his ſide. But *Seleucus* in the middeſt of the battell lighted from his horſe, and taking his helmet from his head, he tooke a target on his arme, and went to the firſt rankes of his armie, to make him ſelfe knowen vnto *Demetrius* men: perſwading them to yeeld them ſelues vnto him, and to acknowledge in the end, that he had ſo long time deferred to giue them battell, rather to ſaue them, then to ſpare *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* ſouldiers hearing him ſay ſo, they
C did him humble reuerence, and acknowledging him for their king, they all yeelded vnto him. *Demetrius* hauing ſundry times before proued ſo many chaunges & ouerthrowes of fortune, thinking yet to ſcape this laſt alſo, & to paſſe it ouer: he fled vnto the gates Amanides, which are certaine ſtraights of the mount Amanus. There he founde certaine litle thicke groues, where he determined to ſtay all night with certaine gentlemen of his houſe, and a fewe other of his houſhold ſeruaunts & officers which had followed him: meaning, if he could poſſible, to take his way towards the citie of CAVNVS, to goe to that ſea coaſt, hoping to heare of his ſhippes there. But when it was tolde him he had no vittells nor prouiſion left onely to ſerue him that day: he began then to deuiſe ſome other way. At length, one of his familliar friends *Soſigenes* came vnto him, that had foure hundred peeces of golde about him in his girdell. So
D hoping that with the ſame money he might flie to the ſea, they tooke their way by night directly, to the toppe of the mountaine. But when they perceiued that the enemies kept watch there, and that there were great ſtore of fires hard by them: they then diſpaired to paſſe any further, leaſt they ſhould be ſeene. So they returned to the ſelfe ſame place from whence they came, not all of them, for ſome of them fled: neither had they that remayned alſo any life in them as before. So, one among the reſt tooke vpon him, to ſay, that there was no other way to ſcape, but to put *Demetrius* into *Seleucus* hands. *Demetrius* therewithall drew out his ſword, and would haue ſlaine him ſelfe: but his friends about him would not ſuffer him, but perſwaded him to yeld him ſelfe vnto *Seleucus*. Thereuppon he ſent vnto *Seleucus*, to tell him that he yelded him ſelfe vnto him. *Seleucus* was ſo ioyfull of the newes, that he ſayd it was not *Deme-*
E *trius* good fortune that ſaued him, but his owne: who beſides many other happy good turnes ſhe had done him, gaue him yet ſo honorable occaſion and good happe, as to make the world to knowe his clemencie & curteſie. Thereuppon immediatly he called for his officers of houſhold, and commaunded them to ſet vp his richeſt pauilion, and to prepare all thinges meete to receiue him honorably. There was one *Appolonides* a gentleman in *Seleucus* Court, who ſometime had bene very familliar with *Demetrius*: Him *Seleucus* ſent immediatly vnto *Demetrius*, to will him to be of good chere, and not to be affrayd to come to the king his Maiſter, for he ſhould find him his very good friend. So ſoone as the kings pleaſure was knowen, a few of his Courtiers went at the firſt to meete him: but afterwards, euery man ſtriued who ſhould goe meete him firſt, bicauſe they were all in hope that he ſhould preſently be much made of,
F and growe in credit with *Seleucus*. But hereby they turned *Seleucus* pitie into enuie, and gaue occaſion alſo to *Demetrius* enemies and ſpitefull men, to turne the kings bountifull good nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts and daungers, ſaying, that certainly ſo

Amanus vaded.

Demetrius diſpairing of his good ſucceſſe attempteth to aſſault Seleucus by night.

Demetrius army forſooke him, and yelded them ſelues to Seleucus.

Demetrius flyeth from Seleucus.

Demetrius yeldeth him ſelfe vnto Seleucus.

soone as the souldiers sawe him, there would grow great sturre and chaunge in their campe. A
And therefore, shortly after that *Apollonides* was come vnto *Demetrius*, being glad to bringe him these good newes, and as others also followed him one after another, bringing him some good words from *Seleucus*, and that *Demetrius* him self after so great an ouerthrow (although that before he thought it a shamefull part of him to haue yeelded his body into his enemies hands) chaunged his mind at that time, and began then to grow bold, & to haue good hope to recouer his state againe: behold, there came one of *Seleucus* Captaines called *Pausanias*, accompanied with a thowsand footemen & horsemen in all, who compassed in *Demetrius* with them, and made the rest depart that were come vnto him before, hauing charge giuen him not to bring him to the Court, but to conuey him into CHERRONESVS of SYRIA, whether he was brought, and euer after had a strong garrison about him to keepe him. But otherwise, *Seleucus* sent him Officers, money, and all things els meete for a Princes house: and his ordinary fare was so delicate, that he could wishe for no more then he had. And furthermore, he had places of libertie and pleasure appointed him, both to ride his horse in, and also pleasant walkes, and goodly arbors to walke or sit in, & fine parkes full of beasts where he might hunt. moreouer, the king suffered his owne household seruaunts that followed him when he fled, to remaine with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came some one or other vnto him from *Seleucus*, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that so soone as *Antiochus* & *Stratonice* were come, they would make some good agreement and peace betwene them. *Demetrius* remaining in this estate, wrote vnto his sonne *Antigonus*, and to his friends and Lieuetenants which he had at CORINTHE, & ATHENS, that they should giue no credit to any letters C
written in his name, though his seale were to them: but that they should keepe the townes they had in charge for his sonne *Antigonus*, and all the rest of his forces, as if he him selfe were dead. When *Antigonus* heard the pitifull captiuitie of his father, he maruelous greeuously tooke his hard fortune, wearing blackes for sorrow, and wrote vnto all the other kings, but vnto *Seleucus* specially, beseeching him to take him as a pledge for his father, & that he was ready to yeld vp al that he kept, to haue his fathers libertie. The like request did many cities make vnto him, and in manner all Princes, but *Lysimachus*: who promised *Seleucus* a great summe of money to put *Demetrius* to death. But *Seleucus*, who of long time had no great fancie to *Lysimachus*, but rather vtterly despised him: did then thinke him the more cruell and barbarous, for this vile and wicked request he made vnto him. Wherefore he still delayed time, bicause D
he would haue *Demetrius* deliuered by his sonne *Antiochus* and *Stratonices* meanes, for that *Demetrius* should be bownd to them for his deliuerie, and for euer should acknowledge it to them. Now for *Demetrius*, as he from the beginning paciently tooke his hard fortune, so did he daily more and more forget the miserie he was in. For first of al, he gaue him selfe to riding and hunting, as farre as the place gaue him libertie. Then by litle and litle he grew to be very grosse, and to giue ouer such pastimes, and therewithall he fell into dronkennes and dycing: so that in that sort he passed away the most part of his time, as it should seeme, either to auoid the greuous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was sober: or els vnder culler of dronkennes and eating, to shadow the thoughts he had: or els finding in him selfe that it was that manner of life he had long desired, and that through his vaine am- E
bition and follie till that time he could neuer attayne vnto, greatly turmoyling and troubling him selfe and others, supposing to find in warres, by sea & land, the felicitie and delight which he had found in ease and idlenes, when he nether thought of it, nor loked for it. For what better ende can euill and vnaduised kings and Princes looke for, of all their troubles, daungers, and warres? who in deede deceiue them selues greatly, not onely for that they followe their pleasure and delights as their chiefest felicitie, in steede of vertue and honest life: but also, bicause that in truth they can not be mery, and take their pleasure as they would. So, *Demetrius* after he had bene shut vp in CHERRONESVS three yeares together, by ease, grossenes, & dronkennes, fell sicke of a disease whereof he dyed, when he was foure and fiftye yeare old. Therefore was *Seleucus* greatly blamed, and he him selfe also did much repent him that he so suspected him as he did, and that he followed not *Dromichetes* curtesie, a barbarous man borne in THRACIA, who had so royally and curteously intreated *Lysimachus*, whom he had taken prisoner F

Demetrius kept as prisoner in Syria, by Seleucus.

The naturall loue of Antigonus, to his father Demetrius.

Demetrius turned his captiuitie into pleasure.

The death of Demetrius in Cherronesus.

A ner in the warres. But yet there was some tragicall pompe in the order of his funerall. For his sonne *Antigonus* vnderstãding that they brought him the ashes of his bodie, he tooke sea with all his shippes, and went to meete them, to receiue them in the Iles: and when he had receiued them, he set vp the funerall pot of golde (in the which were his embers) vppon the poope of his Admirall galley. So, all the cities and townes whereby they passed, or harbered, some of them did put garlands of flowers about the pot, others also sent a number of men thether in mourning apparell, to accompany and honor the conuoye, to the very solemnitie of his funeralls. In this sort sayled all the whole fleete towards the citie of CORINTHE, the pot being plainely seene farre of, standing on the toppe of the Admirall galley: all the place about it being hanged about with purple, and ouer it, the diademe or royall band, and about it also were B goodly younge men armed, which were as Pensioners to *Demetrius*. Furthermore, *Xenophantus* the famousest Musition in that time, being set hard by it, played a sweete and lamentable songe on the flute, wherewithall the ores keeping stroke and measure, the sownd did meete with a gallant grace, as in a conuoye where the mourners doe knocke their breastes, at the foote of euery verse. But that which most made the people of CORINTHE to weepe and lament, which ranne to the peere, and all alongest the shore side to see it: was *Antigonus*, whom they sawe all beblubbored with teares, apparrelled as a mourner in blackes. Nowe, after they had brought a wonderfull number of garlands and nosegayes, and cast them vppon the funerall pot, and had solemnized all the honors possible for the funeralls at CORINTHE: *Antigonus* caried away the pot to burye it in the citie of DEMETRIADE, the which bare the name of *Demetrius* that was deade, and was a newe citie, that had bene replenished with people, and C built of litle townes which are about IOLCOS. *Demetrius* left two children by his first wife *Phila*, to wete, *Antigonus*, and *Stratonice*: and two other sonnes, both of them named *Demetrius*, the one surnamed the leane, of a woman of ILLYRIA, and the other king of the CYRENIANS, of his wife *Ptolemaide*: and another by *Deidamia* called *Alexander*, who liued in ÆGYPT. And it is reported also, that he had another sonne called *Corrhæbus*, by his wife *Eurydice*, and that his posteritie raigned by succession from the father to the sonne, vntil the time of *Perseus*: who was the last king of MACEDON, whome the ROMANES ouercame by D *Paulus AEmylius*, & wanne all the Realme of MACEDON vnto the Empire of ROME. Now that the MACEDONIAN hath played his part, giue the ROMANE also leaue to come vppon the stage.

The funeralls of Demetrius

Xenophantus a famous musition.

Demetrius posteritie.

Perseus king of Macedon, (the last king of Macedon) came of the posteritie of Demetrius.

THE LIFE OF *Marcus Antonius.*

Antonius parentage.

ANTONIVS grandfather was that famous Orator whome *Marius* A
ſlue, bicauſe he tooke *Syllaes* parte. His father was an other *Antonius* ſurnamed **Cretan*, who was not ſo famous, nor bare any great ſway in the common wealth: howbeit otherwiſe he was an honeſt man, and of a very good nature, and ſpecially very liberall in giuing, as appeareth by an acte he did. He was not very wealthie, and therefore his wife would not let him vſe his liberalitie and francke nature. One day a friend of his comming to him to praye him to helpe him to ſome money, hauing great neede: *Antonius* by chaunce had no money to giue him, but he commaunded one of his men to bringe him ſome water in a ſiluer baſen, & after he had brought it him, he waſhed his beard as though he ment to haue ſhauen it, and B
then found an arrant for his man to ſend him out, and gaue his friend the ſiluer baſen, and bad him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great ſturre in the houſe among the ſeruaunts, ſeeking out this ſiluer baſen. Inſomuch as *Antonius* ſeeing his wife maruelouſly offended for it, & that ſhe would examine all her ſeruaunts, one after another about it, to know what was become of it: at length he confeſſed he had giuen it away, & prayed her to be contented. His wife was *Iulia*, of the noble houſe and familie of *Iulius Ceſar*: who for her vertue & chaſtitie, was to be compared with the nobleſt Lady of her time. *M. Antonius* was brought vp vnder her, being married after her firſt husbands death, vnto *Cornelius Lentulus*, whom *Cicero* put to death with *Cethegus*, and others, for that he was of *Catilines* conſpiracie againſt the common wealth. And this ſeemeth to be the originall cauſe and beginning of the cruell and C
mortall hate *Antonius* bare vnto *Cicero*. For *Antonius* ſelfe ſayth, that he would neuer giue him the body of his father in law to bury him, before his mother went firſt to intreat *Cteeroes* wife: the which vndoubtedly was a flat lye. For *Cicero* denied buriall to none of them, whom he executed by law. Now *Antonius* being a fayer younge man, and in the pryme of his youth: he fell acquainted with *Curio*, whoſe friendſhip and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague vnto him. For he was a diſſolute man, giuen ouer to all luſt and inſolencie, who to haue *Antonius* the better at his commaundement, trayned him on into great follies, and vaine expences

** Bicauſe that by his death he ended the warre which he vnfortunately made againſt thoſe of Creta.*

The liberalitie of Antonius father.

Iulia the mother of M. Antonius.

Antonius corrupted by Curio.

vpon

A vpon women, in rioting & banketing. So that in short time, he brought *Antonius* into a marueious great det, & too great for one of his yeres, to wete: of two hundred & fifty talents, for all which summe *Curio* was his suertie. His father hearing of it, did put his sonne from him, and forbad him his house. Then he fell in with *Clodius*, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in ROME. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great sturre and mischiefe in ROME: but at length he forsooke him, being weary of his rashnes and folly, or els for that he was affraid of them that were bent against *Clodius*. Thereupon he left ITALY, and went into GRECE, and there bestowed the most parte of his tyme, sometime in warres, and otherwhile in the studie of eloquence. He vsed a manner of phrase in his speeche, called Asiatik, which caried the best grace and estimation at that time, and B was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, foolishe brauerie, and vaine ambition. After he had remayned there some tyme, *Gabinius* Proconsul going into SYRIA, perswaded him to goe with him. *Antonius* tolde him he would not goe as a priuate man: Wherefore *Gabinius* gaue him charge of his horsemen, and so tooke him with him. So first of all he sent him against *Aristobulus*, who had made the IEWES to rebell, & was the first man him selfe that got vp to the wall of a castell of his, and so draue *Aristobulus* out of all his holds: and with those few men he had with him, he ouercame al the IEWES in set battel, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and furthermore, tooke *Aristobulus* him selfe prisoner with his sonne. Afterwards *Ptolomy* king of ÆGYPT, that had bene driuen out of his contry, went vnto *Gabinius* to intreate him to goe with his armie with him into C ÆGYPT, to put him againe into his kingdom: and promised him if he would goe with him, tenne thowsand talents. The most part of the Captaines thought it not best to goe thither, & *Gabinius* him selfe made it daintie to enter into this warre: although the couetousnes of these tenne thowsand talents stucke sorely with him. But *Antonius* that sought but for oportunitie and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratifie *Ptolomyes* request: he went about to perswade *Gabinius* to goe this voyage. Now they were more affrayd of the way they should goe, to come to the cite of PELVSIVM, then they feared any daunger of the warre besides: bicause they were to passe through deepe sandes & desert places, where was no freshe water to be had all the marisses thorough, which are called the marisses Serbonides, which the ÆGYPTIANS call the exhalations or fume, by the which the Gyant *Typhon* D breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the ouerflowing of the red sea, which breaketh out vnder the ground in that place, where it is deuided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So *Antonius* was sent before into ÆGYPT with his horsemen, who did not onely winne that passage, but also tooke the citie of PELVSIVM, (which is a great citie) with all the souldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the armie, and the hope of the victorie also certaine for his Captaine. Nowe did the enemies them selues feele the frutes of *Antonius* curtesie, and the desire he had to winne honor. For when *Ptolomy* (after he had entred into the citie of PELVSIVM) for the malice he bare vnto the citie, would haue put all the ÆGYPTIANS in it to the sword: *Antonius* withstoode him, & by no meanes would suffer him to doe it. And in all other great battells and skirmishes which they fought, and E were many in number, *Antonius* did many noble actes of a valliant and wise Captaine: but specially in one battell, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giuing them the victorie that fought against them, whereby he afterwards had such honorable reward, as his valliantnes deserued. So was his great curtesie also much commended of all, the which he shewed vnto *Archelaus*. For hauing bene his very friend, he made warre with him against his will while he liued: but after his death he sought for his bodye, and gaue it honorable buriall. For those respects he wanne him selfe great fame of them of ALEXANDRIA, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the souldiers in the ROMANES campe. But besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenaunce of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thicke heard, a broad forehead, crooke nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenaunce, F as is commonly seene in *Hercules* pictures, stamped or grauen in metuell. Now it had bene a speeche of old time, that the familie of the *Antonij* were discended from one *Anton*, the sonne of *Hercules*, whereof the familie tooke name. This opinion did *Antonius* seeke to confirme in

Antonius vsed in his pleading the Asiatik phrase

Antonius had charge of horsemen, vnder Gabinius Proconsul, going into Syria.

Antonius acts against Aristobulus.

Antonius tooke Aristobulus prisoner

Antonius acts in AEgypt vnder Gabinius.

Antonius curtesie vnto Archelaus being dead.

Antonius shape & presence.

The house of the Antonij discended from Hercules

all his doings: not onely resembling him in the likenes of his bodye, as we haue sayd before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shewe him selfe abroad before many people, he would alwayes weare his cassocke gyrt downe lowe vpon his hippes, with a great sword hanging by his side, and vpon that, some ill fauored cloke. Furthermore, things that seeme intollerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to ieast with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with euery body, to sit with the souldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them souldierlike: it is incredible what wonderfull loue it wanne him amongest them. And furthermore, being giuen to loue: that made him the more desired, and by that meanes he brought many to loue him. For he would further euery mans loue, and also would not be angry that men should merily tell him of those he loued. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and aduauncement, was his liberalitie, who gaue all to the souldiers, and kept nothing for him selfe: and when he was growen to great credit, then was his authoritie and power also very great, the which notwithstanding him selfe did ouerthrowe, by a thowsand other faults he had. In this place I will shewe you one example onely of his wonderful liberalitie. He commaunded one day his coferer that kept his money, to giue a friend of his 25. Myriades: which the Romanes call in their tongue, Decies. His coferer marueling at it, and being angry withall in his minde, brought him all this money in a heape together, to shewe him what a maruelous masse of money it was. *Antonius* seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: his coferer aunswered him, it was the money he willed him to giue vnto his friend. Then *Antonius* perceiuing the spight of his man, I thought, sayd he, that Decies had bene a greater summe of money then it is, for this is but a trifle: and therefore he gaue his friend as much more another tyme, but that was afterwardes. Nowe the Romanes mainteyning two factions at Rome at that tyme, one against the other, of the which, they that tooke part with the Senate, did ioyne with *Pompey* being then in Rome: and the contrary side taking part with the people, sent for *Cæsar* to ayde them, who made warres in Gavle. Then *Curio Antonius* friend, that had chaunged his garments, and at that tyme tooke parte with *Cæsar*, whose enemie he had bene before: he wanne *Antonius*, and so handled the matter, partly through the great credit and swaye he bare amongest the people, by reason of his eloquent tongue: and partly also by his exceeding expence of money he made which *Cæsar* gaue him: that *Antonius* was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this was a great helpe and furtheraunce to *Cæsars* practises. For so soone as *Antonius* became Tribune he did oppose him selfe against those thinges which the Consul *Marcellus* preferred: (who ordeyned that certaine legions which had bene already leauied and billed, should be giuen vnto *Cneus Pompey*, with further commission and authoritie to leauye others vnto them) and set downe an order, that the souldiers which were already leauied and assembled, should be sent into Syria, for a newe supplie vnto *Marcus Bibulus*, who made warre at that tyme against the Parthians. And furthermore, prohibition that *Pompey* should leauy no more men, and also that the souldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where *Pompeys* friends and followers would not suffer *Cæsars* letters to be receiued, and openly red in the Senate: *Antonius* hauing power and warrant by his person, through the holines of his tribuneship, did read them openly, and made diuers men chaunge their mindes: for it appeared to them that *Cæsar* by his letters required no vnreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of consideracion vnto the Senate, whether they thought good that *Pompey*, or *Cæsar*, should leaue their armie: there were few of the Senators that thought it meete *Pompey* should leaue his armie, but they all in manner commaunded *Cæsar* to doe it. Then *Antonius* rising vp, asked whether they thought it good that *Pompey* and *Cæsar* both, should leaue their armies. Thereunto all the Senators ioyntly together gaue their whole consent, and with a great crye commending *Antonius*, they prayed him to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. But the Consuls would not allowe of that. Therefore *Cæsars* friendes preferred other reasonable demaunds and requests againe, but *Cato* spake against them: and *Lentulus*, one of the Consuls draue *Antonius* by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made greuous curses against him. After that, he tooke a slaues gowne, and speedily fled to *Cæsar*, with *Quintus Cassius*, in a hyered coch. When they came to *Cæsar*, they cryed out with open mouth, that all went hand ouer

Antonius liberalitie.

Antonius Tribune of the people, and Augure.

Antonius acts for Cæsar.

Antonius flyeth from Rome vnto Cæsar.

A ouer head at ROME: for the Tribunes of the people might not speake their mindes, and were driuen away in great daunger of their liues, as many as stoode with lawe and iustice. Hereupon *Cæsar* incontinently went into ITALY with his army, which made *Cicero* say in his Philippides: that as *Hellen* was cause of the warre of TROY, so was *Antonius* the author of the ciuill warres, which in deede was a starke lye. For *Cæsar* was not so fickle headed, nor so easily caried away with anger, that he would so sodainly haue gone and made warre with his contry, vpon the sight onely of *Antonius* and *Cassius*, being fled vnto him in miserable apparell, and in a hyered coche: had he not long before determined it with him selfe. But sith in deed *Cæsar* looked of long time but for some culler, this came as he wished, and gaue him iust occasion of warre. But to say truely, nothing els moued him to make warre with all the world as he did, but one

Cicero reproued for lying.

B selfe cause, which first procured *Alexander* and *Cyrus* also before him: to wit, an insatiable desire to raigne, with a senseles couetousnes to be the best man in the world, the which he could not come vnto, before he had first put downe *Pompey*, and vtterly ouerthrowen him. Now, after that *Cæsar* had gotten ROME at his commaundement, & had driuen *Pompey* out of ITALY, he purposed first to goe into SPAYNE, against the legions *Pompey* had there: and in the meane time to make prouision for shippes and marine preparacion, to follow *Pompey*. In his absence, he left *Lepidus* that was Prætor, gouernor of ROME: and *Antonius* that was Tribune, he gaue him charge of all the souldiers, and of ITALY. Then was *Antonius* straight marueilously commended and beloued of the souldiers, bicause he commonly exercised him self among them, and would oftentimes eate and drinke with them, and also be liberall vnto them, according to

Alexander, Cyrus, & Cæsar all contended to raigne.

Cæsars ambition the onely cause of the ciuill warre.

Cæsar gaue the charge of Italy vnto Antonius.

C his abilitie. But then in contrary manner, he purchased diuers other mens euill willes, bicause that through negligence he would not doe them iustice that were iniuried, & dealt very churlishly with them that had any sute vnto him: and besides all this, he had an ill name to intise mens wiues. To conclude, *Cæsars* friends that gouerned vnder him, were cause why they hated *Cæsars* gouernment (which in deede in respect of him selfe was no lesse then a tyrannie) by reason of the great insolencies & outragious parts that were committed: amongst whom *Antonius*, that was of greatest power, and that also committed greatest faultes, deserued most blame. But *Cæsar* notwithstanding, when he returned from the warres of SPAYNE, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put vp against him: but contrarily, bicause he found him a hardy man, & a valliant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefest affayres, and was no

Antonius the cet.

D whit deceiued in his opinion of him. So he passed ouer the IONIAN sea vnto BRVNDVSIVM, being but slenderly accompanied: & sent vnto *Antonius*, & *Gabinius*, that they should vnbarke their men as soone as they could, and passe them ouer into MACEDON. *Gabinius* was affrayd to take the sea, bicause it was very roughe, and in the winter time: & therefore fetched a great compasse about by land. But *Antonius* fearing some daunger might come vnto *Cæsar*, bicause he was compassed in with a great number of enemies: first of all he draue away *Libo*, who roade at ancker with a great armie, before the hauen of BRVNDVSIVM. For he manned out such a number of pynnasies, barks, and other small boates about euery one of his gallies, that he draue him thence. After that, he imbarked into shippes twenty thowsand footemen, and eyght hundred horsemen, and with this armie he hoysed sayle. When the enemies sawe him,

E they made out to followe him: but the sea rose so highe, that the billowes put backe their gallies that they could not come neare him, and so he scaped that daunger. But withall he fell vppon the rockes with his whole fleete, where the sea wrought very highe: so that he was out of all hope to saue him selfe. Yet by good fortune, sodainely the winde turned South-west, and blewe from the gulffe, driuing the waues of the riuer into the mayne sea. Thus *Antonius* loosing from the lande, and sayling with safetie at his pleasure, soone after he sawe all the coastes full of shippewracks. For the force and boysterousnes of the winde, did cast away the gallies that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted, and diuers also cast away, and *Antonius* tooke a great number of them prisoners, with a great summe of money also. Besides all these, he tooke the citie of LYSSVS, and brought *Cæsar* a great

Antonius taketh sea with his army at Brundusium, and goeth vnto Cæsar.

F supplie of men, and made him coragious, comming at a pynche with so great a power to him. Now there were diuers horte skyrmishes and encownters, in the which *Antonius* fought so valliantly, that he caried the prayse from them all: but specially at two seuerall tymes,

Antonius man hoid in warre

when *Cæsars* men turned their backes, and fled for life. For he ſtepped before them, and A
compelled them to returne againe to fight: ſo that the victorie fell on *Cæsars* ſide. For this
cauſe he had the ſeconde place in the campe amonge the ſouldiers, and they ſpake of no o-
ther man vnto *Cæsar*, but of him: who ſhewed playnely what opinion he had of him, when
at the laſt battell of PHARSALIA (which in deede was the laſt tryall of all, to giue the Con-
queror the whole Empire of the worlde) he him ſelfe did leade the right wing of his armie,
Antonius led the left wing of Cæsars battell at Pharſalia where Pompey loſt the field. and gaue *Antonius* the leading of the left wing, as the vallianteſt man, and skilfulleſt ſoul-
dier of all thoſe he had about him. After *Cæsar* had wonne the victorie, and that he was cre-
ated Dictator, he followed *Pompey* ſteppe by ſteppe: howbeit before, he named *Antonius* ge-
nerall of the horſemen, and ſent him to ROME. The generall of the horſemen is the ſecond
office of dignitie, when the Dictator is in the citie: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefeſt B
The dignitie of the generall of the horſemen. man, and almoſt the onely man that remayneth, and all the other officers and Magiſtrates are
put downe, after there is a Dictator choſen. Notwithſtanding, *Dolabella* being at that tyme
Tribune, and a younge man deſirous of chaunge and innouation: he preferred a law which
the ROMANES call Nouas tabulas (as much to ſaye, as a cutting of and cancelling of all obli-
gacions and ſpecialties, & were called the newe tables, becauſe they were driuen then to make
bookes of daily receit and expenſe) and perſwaded *Antonius* his friend (who alſo gaped for a
good occaſion to pleaſe and gratifie the common people) to aide him to paſſe this lawe. But
Trebellius & *Aſinius* diſſwaded from it al they could poſſible. So by good hap it chaunced that
Diſſention betwixt Antonius and Dolabella. *Antonius* miſtruſted *Dolabella* for keeping of his wife, and tooke ſuche a conceite of it, that he C
thruſt his wife out of his houſe being his Coſin Germane, & the daughter of *C. Antonius*, who
was Conſul with *Cicero*: & ioyning with *Aſinius*, he reſiſted *Dolabella*, & fought with him. *Dola-
bella* had gotten the market place where the people doe aſſemble in counſel, & had filled it ful
of armed men, intending to haue this law of the newe tables to paſſe by force. *Antonius* by cō-
maundement of the Senate, who had giuen him authoritie to leauy men, to vſe force againſt
Dolabella: he went againſt him, & fought ſo valliantly, that men were ſlaine on both ſides. But
by this meanes, he got the il will of the cōmon people, & on the other ſide, the noble men (as
Cicero ſaith) did not only miſlike him, but alſo hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor
his banckets & dronkē feaſts he made at vnſeaſonable times, & his extreme waſtful expences
vpon vaine light huſwiues, & then in the day time he would ſleepe or walke out his dronken-
nes, thinking to weare away the fume of the aboundaunce of wine which he had taken ouer D
Antonius abominable life. night. In his houſe they did nothing but feaſt, daunce, & maske: and him ſelfe paſſed away the
time in hearing of fooliſh playes, or in marrying theſe plaiers, tomblers, ieaſters, & ſuch ſort of
people. As for proſe hereof it is reported, that at *Hippias* mariage, one of his ieaſters, he drank
wine ſo luſtely all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people aſ-
ſembled in counſel, who had ſent for him: he being queſie ſtomaked with his ſurfet he had ta-
Antonius laid vp his ſtomack before the whole aſſembly. kē, was compelled to lay all before them, & one of his friends held him his gowne in ſtead of a
baſen. He had another pleaſaunt player called *Sergius*, that was one of the chiefeſt men about
him, & a woman alſo called *Cytheride*, of the ſame profeſſion, whom he loued derely: he caried
her vp & downe in a litter vnto all the townes he went, & had as many men waiting apon her
Antonius inſolency. litter, ſhe being but a player, as were attending vpon his owne mother. It greued honeſt men E
alſo very much, to ſee that when he went into the contry, he caried with him a great number
of cubbords ful of ſiluer & gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had ben the pompe
or ſhewe of ſome triumphe: & that eftſoones in the middeſt of his iorney he would ſet vp his
hales and tents hard by ſome greene groue or pleaſaunt riuer, and there his Cookes ſhould
prepare him a ſumptuous dinner. And furthermore, Lyons were harneſed in traſes to drawe
his carts: and beſides alſo, in honeſt mens houſes in the cities where he came, he would haue
common harlots, cuttiſans, & theſe tumbling gillots lodged. Now it greued men much, to ſee
that *Cæsar* ſhould be out of ITALY following of his enemies, to end this great warre, with ſuch
great perill and daunger: and that others in the meane time abuſing his name and authoritie, F
ſhould commit ſuch inſolent and outragious parts vnto their Citizens. This me thinkes was
the cauſe that made the conſpiracie againſt *Cæsar* increaſe more and more, and layed the
reynes of the brydle vppon the ſouldiers neckes, whereby they durſt boldlier commit many
extorſions,

A extorsions, cruelties and robberies. And therefore *Cæsar* after his returne pardoned *Dolabella*, & being created Consul the third time, he tooke not *Antonius*, but chose *Lepidus*, his colleague and fellow Consul. Afterwards when *Pompeys* house was put to open sale, *Antonius* bought it but when they asked him money for it, he made it very straung, and was offended with them, and writeth him selfe that he would not goe with *Cæsar* into the warres of Africk, bicause he was not well recompenced for the seruice he had done him before. Yet *Cæsar* did somewhat bridle his madnes and insolencie, not suffering him to passe his faulte so lightly away, making as though he sawe them not. And therefore he left his dissolute manner of life, and married *Fuluia* that was *Clodius* widowe, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and housewiuery, and was not contented to master her husband at home, but would B also rule him in his office abroad, and commaund him, that commaunded legions and great armies: so that *Cleopatra* was to giue *Fuluia* thankes for that she had taught *Antonius* this obedience to women, that learned so well to be at their commaundement. Nowe, bicause *Fuluia* was somewhat sower, and crooked of condition, *Antonius* deuised to make her pleasaunter, & somewhat better disposed: and therefore he would playe her many prety youthfull partes to make her mery. As he did once, when *Cæsar* returned the last time of all Conqueror out of Spayne, euery man went out to meete him: and so did *Antonius* with the rest. But on the sodeine there ranne a rumor through Italy, that *Cæsar* was dead, and that his enemies came againe with a great armie. Thereuppon he returned with speede to Rome, and tooke one of his mens gownes, and so apparelled came home to his house in a darke night, saying that he C had brought *Fuluia* letters from *Antonius*. So he was let in, and brought to her mustled as he was, for being knowen: but she taking the matter heauily, asked him if *Antonius* were well. *Antonius* gaue her the letters, and sayd neuer a word. So when she had opened the letters, and beganne to read them: *Antonius* ramped of her necke, and kissed her. We haue told you this tale for examples sake onely, and so could we also tell you of many such like as these. Nowe when *Cæsar* was returned from his last warre in Spayne, all the chiefest nobilitie of the citie road many dayes iorney from Rome to meete him, where *Cæsar* made maruelous much of *Antonius*, aboue all the men that came vnto him. For he alwayes tooke him into his coche with him, through out all Italy: and behind him, *Brutus Albinus*, and *Octauius*, the sonne of his Nece, who afterwards was called *Cæsar*, and became Emperor of Rome long time after. D So *Cæsar* being afterwards chosen Consul the fift time, he immediatly chose *Antonius* his colleague and companion: and desired by deposing him selfe of his Consulship, to make *Dolabella* Consul in his roome, and had already moued it to the Senate. But *Antonius* did stowtly withstand it, and openly reuiled *Dolabella* in the Senate: and *Dolabella* also spared him as litle. Thereuppon *Cæsar* being ashamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time also when *Cæsar* attempted againe to substitute *Dolabella* Consul in his place, *Antonius* cryed out, that the signes of the birdes were against it: so that at length *Cæsar* was compelled to giue him place, and to let *Dolabella* alone, who was maruelously offended with him. Now in truth, *Cæsar* made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that *Cæsar* aunswered one that did accuse *Antonius* and *Dolabella* vnto him for some matter of conspiracie: tushe said he, they E be not those fat fellowes and fine comed men that I feare, but I mistrust rather these pale and leane men, meaning by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who afterwards conspired his death, and slue him. *Antonius* vnwares afterwards, gaue *Cæsars* enemies iust occasion and culler to doe as they did: as you shall heare. The Romanes by chaunce celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, & *Cæsar* being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was set in the Tribune where they vse to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The manner of this running was this. On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specially that be chiefe Officers for that yeare: who running naked vp & downe the citie annointed with the oyle of olyue, for pleasure do strike them they meete in their way, with white leather thongs they haue in their hands. *Antonius* being one amonge the rest that was to ronne, F leauing the auncient ceremonies & old customes of that solemnitie: he ranne to the Tribune where *Cæsar* was set, and caried a laurell crowne in his hand, hauing a royall band or diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the auncient marke and token of a king. When he

Cæsar & Lepidus Consuls. Antonius byeth Pompeys house.

Antonius married Fuluia. Clodius widow. Fuluia ruled Antonius at home and abroad.

Cæsar & Antonius Consuls.

Antonius vnwittingly gaue Cæsars enemies occasion to conspire against him.

Antonius Lupercian putteth the diademe vpon Cæsars head.

was come to *Cæsar*, he made his fellow ronners with him lift him vp, & ſo he did put this laurell crowne vpon his head, ſignifying thereby that he had deſerued to be king. But *Cæsar* making as though he refuſed it, turned away his heade. The people were ſo reioyced at it, that they all clapped their hands for ioy. *Antonius* againe did put it on his head: *Cæsar* againe refuſed it, and thus they were ſtriuing of and on a great while together. As oft as *Antonius* did put this laurell crowne vnto him, a fewe of his followers reioyced at it: & as oft alſo as *Cæsar* refuſed it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderfull thing, that they ſuffered all things ſubiects ſhould doe by commaundement of their kings: & yet they could not abide the name of a king, deteſting it as the vtter deſtructiō of their liberty. *Cæsar* in a rage roſe out of his ſeate, and plucking downe the choller of his gowne from his necke, he ſhewed it naked, bidding any man ſtrike of his head that would. This laurel crowne was afterwards put vpō the head of one of *Cæsars* ſtatues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt of. The people liked his doing therein ſo well, that they wayted on him home to his houſe, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit *Cæsar* did turne thē out of their offices for it. This was a good incoragemēt for *Brutus* & *Caſſius* to conſpire his death, who fel into a cōſort with their truſtieſt friends, to execute their enterpriſe: but yet ſtood doubtful whether they ſhould make *Antonius* priuy to it or not. Al the reſt liked of it, ſauing *Trebonius* only. He told them, that when they rode to meete *Cæsar* at his returne out of SPAYNE, *Antonius* & he alwaies keping company, & lying together by the way, he felt his mind a farre of: but *Antonius* finding his meaning, would harken no more vnto it, & yet notwithſtanding neuer made *Cæsar* acquainted with this talke, but had faithfully kept it to him ſelf. After that they cōſulted whether they ſhould kil *Antonius* with *Cæsar*. But *Brutus* would in no wiſe conſent to it, ſaying: that ventring on ſuch an enterpriſe as that, for the maintenāce of law & iuſtice, it ought to be elere from all villanie. Yet they fearing *Antonius* power, & the authoritie of his office, appointed certain of the cōſpiracy, that when *Cæsar* were gone into the Senate, and while others ſhould execute their enterpriſe, they ſhould keepe *Antonius* in a talke out of the Senate houſe. Euen as they had deuiſed theſe matters, ſo were they executed: and *Cæsar* was ſlaine in the middeſt of the Senate. *Antonius* being put in a feare withall, caſt a ſlaues gowne vpon him, and hid him ſelfe. But afterwards when it was told him that the murtherers ſlue no man els, and that they went onely into the Capitoll: he ſent his ſonne vnto them for a pledge, & bad them boldly come downe vpon his word. The ſelfe ſame day he did bid *Caſſius* to ſupper, and *Lepidus* alſo bad *Brutus*. The next morning the Senate was aſſembled, & *Antonius* him ſelfe preferred a lawe that all things paſt ſhould be forgotten, and that they ſhould appoint prouinces, vnto *Caſſius* and *Brutus*: the which the Senate confirmed, and further ordeyned, that they ſhould cancell none of *Cæsars* lawes. Thus went *Antonius* out of the Senate more prayſed, and better eſteemed, then euer man was: bicauſe it ſeemed to euery man that he had cut of all occaſion of ciuill warres, and that he had ſhewed him ſelfe a maruelous wiſe gouernor of the common wealth, for the appeaſing of theſe matters of ſo great waight & importance. But nowe, the opinion he conceiued of him ſelfe after he had a litle felt the good will of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make him ſelfe the chiefeſt man if he might ouercome *Brutus*: did eaſily make him alter his firſt mind. And therefore when *Cæsars* body was brought to the place where it ſhould be buried, he made a funeral oration in cōmendacion of *Cæsar*, according to the auncient cuſtom of praiſing noble men at their funerals. When he ſaw that the people were very glad and deſirous alſo to heare *Cæsar* ſpoken of, & his praiſes vttered: he mingled his oration with lamentable wordes, and by amplifying of matters did greatly moue their harts and affections vnto pitie & compaſſion. In fine to conclude his oration, he vnfolded before the whole aſſembly the bloudy garments of the dead, thruſt through in many places with their ſwords, & called the malefactors, cruell & curſed murtherers. With theſe words he put the people into ſuch a fury, that they preſently toke *Cæsars* body, & burnt it in the market place, with ſuch tables & fourmes as they could get together. Then whē the fire was kindled, they toke firebrands, & ran to the murtherers houſes to ſet thē afire, & to make thē come out to fight. *Brutus* therfore & his accomplices, for ſafety of their perſons were driuē to fly the city. Then came all *Cæsars* friends vnto *Antonius*, & ſpecially his wife *Calpurnia* putting her truſt in him, ſhe brought the moſte part of her money into his

Brutus & Caſſius conſpire Cæsars death.

Conſultation about the murther of Antonius with Cæsar.

Antonius maketh vprore among the people, for the mother of Cæsar.

Calpurnia, Cæsars wife.

A his houſe, which amounted to the ſumme of foure thowſand talents, & furthermore brought him al *Cæſars* bokes & writings, in the which were his memorials of al that he had done & ordeyned. *Antonius* did daily mingle with them ſuch as he thought good, and by that meanes he created newe officers, made newe Senators, called home ſome that were baniſhed, and deliuered thoſe that were priſoners: and then he ſayde that all thoſe thinges were ſo appoynted and ordeyned by *Cæſar*. Therefore the ROMANES mocking them that were ſo moued, they called them CHARONITES: bicauſe that when they were ouercome, they had no other helpe but to ſaye, that thus they were found in *Cæſars* memorialls, who had ſayled in *Charons* boate, and was departed. Thus *Antonius* ruled abſolutely alſo in all other matters, bicauſe he was Conſul, and *Caius* one of his brethren Prætor, and *Lucius* the other, Tribune. Now thinges re-

Charonites, why ſo called.

M. Antonius Conſul. Caius Antonius Prætor. Lucius Antonius Tribune, all three brethren.

B mayning in this ſtate at ROME, *Octauius Cæſar* the younger came to ROME, who was the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſars* Nece, as you haue heard before, and was left his lawefull heire by will, remayning at the tyme of the death of his great Vncle that was ſlayne, in the citie of APOLLONIA. This young man at his firſt arriuall went to ſalute *Antonius*, as one of his late dead father *Cæſars* friendes, who by his laſt will and teſtament had made him his heire: and withall, he was preſently in hande with him for money and other thinges which were left of truſt in his handes, bicauſe *Cæſar* had by will bequeathed vnto the people of ROME, three ſcore and fifteene ſiluer Drachmas to be giuen to euery man, the which he as heire ſtoode charged withall. *Antonius* at the firſt made no reckoning of him, bicauſe he was very younge: and ſayde he lacked witte, and good friendes to aduiſe him, if he looked to take ſuch a charge in

Octauius Cæſar, heire vnto Iulius Cæſar.

C hande, as to vndertake to be *Cæſars* heire. But when *Antonius* ſaw that he could not ſhake him of with thoſe wordes, and that he was ſtill in hande with him for his fathers goods, but ſpecially for the ready money: then he ſpake and did what he could againſt him. And firſt of all, it was he that did keepe him from being Tribune of the people: and alſo when *Octauius Cæſar* beganne to meddle with the dedicating of the chayer of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honor *Cæſar* with: he threatned to ſend him to priſon, and moreouer deſiſted not to put the people in an vprore. This young *Cæſar* ſeeing his doings, went vnto *Cicero* and others, which were *Antonius* enemies, and by them crept into fauor with the Senate: and he him ſelf ſought the peoples good will euery manner of way, gathering together the olde ſouldiers of

Variance betwixt Antonius and Octauius Cæſar.

Octauius Cæſar ioyned in friendſhip with Cicero.

Antonius and Octauius became friends.

D the late deceaſed *Cæſar*, which were diſperſed in diuers cities and colonyes. *Antonius* being afrayd of it, talked with *Octauius* in the capitoll, and became his friend. But the very ſame night *Antonius* had a ſtraunge dreame, who thought that lightning fell vpon him, & burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that *Cæſar* lay in waite to kil him. *Cæſar* cleered him ſelfe vnto him, and told him there was no ſuch matter: but he could not make *Antonius* beleue the contrary. Whereuppon they became further enemies then euer they were: inſomuch that both of them made friends of either ſide to gather together all the old ſouldiers through ITALY, that were diſperſed in diuers townes: & made them large promiſes, & ſought alſo to winne the legions of their ſide, which were already in armes. *Cicero* on the other ſide being at that time the chiefeſt man of authoritie & eſtimation in the citie, he ſtirred vp al mē againſt *Antonius*: ſo that in the end he made the Senate pronoūce him an enemy to his contry, & appoin-

Antonius dreame.

Antonius iudged an enemy by the Senate

E ted young *Cæſar* Sergeaunts to cary axes before him, & ſuch other ſignes as were incident to the dignitie of a Conſul or Prætor: & moreouer ſent *Hircius* and *Panſa*, then Conſuls, to driue *Antonius* out of ITALY. Theſe two Conſuls together with *Cæſar*, who alſo had an armye, went againſt *Antonius* that beſeeged the citie of MODENA, and there ouerthrew him in battell: but both the Conſuls were ſlaine there. *Antonius* flying vpon this ouerthrowe, fell into great miſerie all atonce: but the chiefeſt want of all other, & that pinched him moſt, was famine. Howbeit he was of ſuch a ſtrong nature, that by pacience he would ouercome any aduerſitie, and the heauier fortune lay vpon him, the more conſtant ſhewed he him ſelfe. Euery man that feleth want or aduerſitie, knoweth by vertue and diſcretion what he ſhould doe: but when in deede they are ouerlayed with extremitie, and be ſore oppreſſed, few haue the harts to follow

Hircius and Panſa Conſuls.

Antonius ouerthrowen in battell by the citie of Modena.

Antonius patient in aduerſitie.

F that which they praiſe and commend, and much leſſe to auoid that they reproue and miſlike. But rather to the contrary, they yeld to their accuſtomed eaſie life: and through ſaynt hart, & lacke of corage, doe chaunge their firſt mind and purpoſe. And therefore it was a wonderfull

Antonius hardnes in aduersitie, notwithstanding his fine bringing vp.

example to the ſouldiers, to ſee *Antonius* that was brought vp in all fineues and ſuperfluitie, ſo eaſily to drinke puddle water, and to eate wild frutes and rootes: and moreouer it is reported, that euen as they paſſed the Alpes, they did eate the barcks of trees, and ſuch beaſts, as neuer man taſted of their fleſh before. Now their intent was to ioyne with the legions that were on the other ſide of the Mountaines, vnder *Lepidus* charge: whō *Antonius* tooke to be his friend, bicauſe he had holpen him to many things at *Cæſars* hand, through his meanes. When he was come to the place where *Lepidus* was, he camped hard by him: and when he ſaw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter him ſelfe, and to goe vnto *Lepidus*. Since the ouerthrow he had at MODENA, he ſuffred his beard to grow at length and neuer clypt it, that it was maruelous long, and the heare of his heade alſo without koming: and beſides all this, he went in a mourning gowne, and after this ſort came hard to the trenches of *Lepidus* campe. Then he beganne to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers, and many of them their hartes yerned for pitie to ſee him ſo poorely arrayed, and ſome alſo through his wordes beganne to pitie him: inſomuch that *Lepidus* beganne to be affrayd, and therefore commaunded all the trompetts to ſownd together to ſtoppe the ſouldiers eares, that they ſhould not harken to *Antonius*. This notwithſtanding, the ſouldiers tooke the more pitie of him, & ſpake ſecretly with him by *Clodius* & *Lælius* meanes, whom they ſent vnto him diſguiſed in womens apparel, & gaue him counſel that he ſhould not be affraid to enter into their campe, for there were a great number of ſouldiers that would receiue him, and kill *Lepidus*, if he would ſay the word. *Antonius* would not ſuffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a ford, at a litle riuer that ranne betweene them: and him ſelfe was the foremoſt man that tooke the riuer to get ouer, ſeeing a number of *Lepidus* campe that gaue him their handes, plucked vp the ſtakes, and layed flat the bancke of their trenche to let him in to their campe. When he was come into their campe, and that he had all the army at his commaundement: he vſed *Lepidus* very curteouſly, imbraced him, and called him father: and though in deede *Antonius* did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gaue *Lepidus* the name and honor of the Captaine. *Munatius Plancus*, lying alſo in campe hard by with an armye: vnderſtanding the report of *Antonius* curteſie, he alſo came and ioined with him. Thus *Antonius* being a foote againe, and growen of great power, repaſſed ouer the Alpes, leading into ITALY with him ſeuenteene legions, and tenne thowſand horſemen, beſides ſix legions he left in garriſon amonge the GAVLES, vnder the charge of one *Varius*, a companion of his that would drinke luſtely with him, and therefore in mockery was ſurnamed *Cotylon*: to wit, a bibber. So *Octauius Cæſar* would not leane to *Cicero*, when he ſaw that his whole trauail and endeuor was onely to reſtore the common wealth to her former libertie. Therefore he ſent certaine of his friends to *Antonius*, to make them friends againe: and thereuppon all three met together, (to wete, *Cæſar*, *Antonius*, & *Lepidus*) in an Iland enuyroned round about with a litle riuer, & there remayned three dayes together. Now as touching all other matters, they were eaſily agreed, & did deuide all the Empire of ROME betwene them, as if it had bene their owne inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for euery one of them would kill their enemies, and ſaue their kinſmen and friends. Yet at length, giuing place to their gredy deſire to be reuenged of their enemies, they ſpurned all reuerence of bloud, and holines of friendſhip at their feete. For *Cæſar* left *Cicero* to *Antonius* will, *Antonius* alſo forſooke *Lucius Cæſar*, who was his Vncle by his mother: and both of them together ſuffred *Lepidus* to kill his owne brother *Paulus*. Yet ſome writers affirme, that *Cæſar* & *Antonius* requeſted *Paulus* might be ſlain, & that *Lepidus* was contēted with it. In my opinion there was neuer a more horrible, vnnatural, & crueller chaunge then this was. For thus chaunging murther for murther, they did aſwel kill thoſe whom they did forſake & leaue vnto others, as thoſe alſo which others left vnto them to kil: but ſo much more was their wickednes & cruelty great vnto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, & hauing no cauſe to hate them. After this plat was agreed vpon betwene thē: the ſouldiers that were thereabouts, would haue this friendſhip & league betwixt them cōfirmed by mariage, & that *Cæſar* ſhould mary *Claudia*, the daughter of *Fuluia*, & *Antonius* wife. This mariage alſo being agreed vpon, they condēned three hūdred of the chiefeſt citizens of ROME, to be put to death by proſcriptiō. And *Antonius* alſo cōmaū-

Antonius wan all Lepidus army from him.

Varius ſurnamed Cotylon.

The conſpiracie and meeting of Cæſar, Antonius, & Lepidus.

The proſcription of the Triumuiri.

ded

A ded thē to whō he had geuen cōmiſſion to kil *Cicero*, that they ſhould ſtrik of his head & right hand, with the which he had written the inuectiue Orations (called Philippides) againſt *Antonius*. So whē the murtherers brought him *Ciceroes* head & hand cut of, he beheld them a long time with great ioy, & laughed hartily, & that oftentimes for the great ioy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleaſure of the ſight of them, he cauſed them to be ſet vp in an open place, ouer the pulpit for Orations (where when he was aliue, he had often ſpoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not bleamiſhed his owne fortune, ſhewing him ſelfe (to his great ſhame and infamie) a cruell man, and vnworthie the office and authoritie he bare. His vncle *Lucius Cæſar* alſo, as they ſought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fledde vnto his ſiſter. The murtherers comming thither, forcing to breake into her chamber, ſhe B ſtoode at her chamber dore with her armes abroade, crying out ſtill: you ſhall not kill *Lucius Cæſar*, before you firſt kill me, that bare your Captaine in my wombe. By this meanes ſhe ſaued her brothers life. Now the gouernment of theſe Triumuiri grewe odious and hatefull to the ROMANES, for diuers reſpects: but they moſt blamed *Antonius*, bicauſe he being elder then *Cæſar*, and of more power and force then *Lepidus*, gaue him ſelfe againe to his former riot and exceſſe, when he left to deale in the affaires of the common wealth. But ſetting aſide the ill name he had for his inſolencie, he was yet much more hated in reſpect of the houſe he dwelt in, the which was the houſe of *Pompey* the great: a man as famous for his temperaunce, modeſtie, and ciuill life, as for his three triumphes. For it grieued them to ſee the gates commonly ſhut againſt the Captaines, Magiſtrates of the citie, and alſo Ambaſſadors of ſtraunge na- C tions, which were ſometimes thruſt from the gate with violence: and that the houſe within was full of tomblers, anticke dauncers, iuglers, players, ieaſters, and dronkards, quaffing and goſeling, and that on them he ſpent and beſtowed the moſt parte of his money he got by all kind of poſſible extorcions, briberie and policie. For they did not onely ſell by the crier, the goods of thoſe whom they had outlawed, and appointed to murther, ſlaunderouſly deceiued the poore widowes and young orphanes, & alſo raiſed all kind of impoſts, ſubſidies, and taxes: but vnderſtanding alſo that the holy veſtall Nunnes had certaine goods & money put in their cuſtodie to keepe, both of mens in the citie, and thoſe alſo that were abroade: they went thither, and tooke them away by force. *Octauius Cæſar* perceiuing that no money woulde ſerue *Antonius* turne, he prayed that they might deuide the money betwene them, and ſo did they D alſo deuide the armie, for them both to goe into MACEDON to make warre againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*: and in the meane time they left the gouernment of the citie of ROME vnto *Lepidus*. When they had paſſed ouer the ſeas, and that they beganne to make warre, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, *Antonius* againſt *Caſſius*, and *Cæſar* againſt *Brutus*: *Cæſar* did no great matter, but *Antonius* had alway the vpper hand, and did all. For at the firſt battell *Cæſar* was ouerthrowen by *Brutus*, and loſt his campe, and verie hardly ſaued him ſelfe by flying from them that followed him. Howebeit he writeth him ſelfe in his Commentaries, that he fled before the charge was geuen, bicauſe of a dreame one of his frends had. *Antonius* on the other ſide ouerthrewe *Caſſius* in battell, though ſome write that he was not there him ſelfe at the battell, but that he came after the ouerthrowe, whileſt his men had the enemies in chaſe. E So *Caſſius* at his earneſt requeſt was ſlaine by a faithfull ſeruaunt of his owne called *Pindarus*, whom he had infranchiſed: bicauſe he knewe not in time that *Brutus* had ouercomen *Cæſar*. Shortly after they fought an other battell againe, in the which *Brutus* was ouerthrowen, who afterwardes alſo ſlue him ſelfe. Thus *Antonius* had the chiefeſt glorie of all this victorie, ſpecially bicauſe *Cæſar* was ſicke at that time. *Antonius* hauing found *Brutus* body after this battel, blaming him muche for the murther of his brother *Caius*, whom he had put to death in MACEDON for reuenge of *Ciceroes* cruell death, and yet laying the fault more in *Hortenſius* then in him: he made *Hortenſius* to be ſlaine on his brothers tumbe. Furthermore, he caſt his coate armor (which was wonderfull rich and ſumptuous) vpon *Brutus* bodie, and gaue commaundement to one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, to defray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards, F *Antonius* hearing that his infranchiſed bondman had not burnt his coate armor with his bodie, bicauſe it was verie riche, and worth a great ſumme of money, and that he had alſo kept backe much of the ready money appointed for his funerall & tombe: he alſo put him to death.

Antonius cruelly vnto Cicero.

Lucius Cæſars life ſaued, by his ſiſter.

Antonius riot in his Triumuirate.

The praiſe of Pompey the great.

The valiantnes of Antonius againſt Brutus.

The death of Caſſius.

Brutus ſlue him ſelfe.

Antonius gaue honorable buriall vnto Brutus.

After that *Cæſar* was conueied to Rome, and it was thought he would not liue long, nor ſcape the ſickenes he had. *Antonius* on thother ſide went towardes the Eaſt prouinces and regions, to leauie money: and firſt of all he went into Græce, and caried an infinite number of ſouldiers with him. Now, bicauſe euerie ſouldier was promiſed fiue thowſande ſiluer Drachmas, he was driuen of neceſſitie to impoſe extreame tallages and taxacions. At his firſt comming into Græce, he was not hard nor bitter vnto the Græcians, but gaue him ſelfe onely to heare wiſe men diſpute, to ſee playes, and alſo to note the ceremonies & ſacrifices of Græce, miniſtring iuſtice to euerie man, and it pleaſed him maruelouſly to heare them call him *Philellen*, (as much to ſay, a louer of the Græcians) and ſpecially the Athenians, to whom he did many great pleaſures. Wherefore the Megarians, to excede the Athenians, thinking to ſhew *Antonius* a goodly ſight: they prayed him to come & ſee their Senate houſe, & counſell hall. *Antonius* went thither to ſee it: ſo when he had ſeene it at his pleaſure, they asked him, my Lord, how like you our hall? Me thinkes (q. he) it is litle, old, and ready to fall downe. Furthermore, he tooke meaſure of the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, and promiſed the Senate to finiſh it. But when he was once come into Asia, hauing left *Lucius Cenſorinus* Gouernor in Græce, and that he had felt the riches and pleaſures of the Eaſt partes, and that Princes, great Lordes and Kinges, came to waite at his gate for his comming out, and that Queenes and Princeſſes to excell one an other, gaue him verie riche preſentes, and came to ſee him, curiouſly ſetting forth them ſelues, and vſing all art that might be to ſhewe their beawtie, to win his fauor the more: (*Cæſar* in the meane ſpace turmoyling his wits and bodie in ciuill warres at home, *Antonius* liuing merily & quietly abroad) he eaſely fell againe to his old licētious life. For ſtraight one *Anaxenor* a player of the citherne, *Xoutus* a player of the flutes, *Metrodorus* a tombler, and ſuch a rabble of minſtrells & fit miniſters for the pleaſures of Asia, (who in finenes & flattery paſſed all the other plagues he brought with him out of Italie) all theſe flocked in his court, & bare the whole ſway: & after that, all went awry. For euery one gaue them ſelues to riot and exceſſe, when they ſaw he delighted in it: and all Asia was like to the citie *Sophocles* ſpeaketh of in one of his tragedies:

Antonius great curteſie in Græce.

The plagues of Italie, in riot.

VVas full of ſvveete perfumes, and pleaſant ſongs,
VVith vvoefull vveping mingled thereamongs.

For in the citie of Ephesvs, women attyred as they goe in the feaſtes and ſacrifice of *Bacchus*, came out to meete him with ſuch ſolemnities & ceremonies, as are then vſed: with men and children diſguiſed like Fawnes and Satyres. Moreouer, the citie was full of Iuey, & darts wreathed about with Iuey, pſalterions, flutes and howboyes, and in their ſonges they called him *Bacchus*, father of mirth, curteous, and gentle: and ſo was he vnto ſome, but to the moſt parte of men, cruell, and extreame. For he robbed noble men and gentle men of their goods, to geue it vnto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged mens goods liuing, as though they had bene dead, and would enter their houſes by force. As he gaue a citizens houſe of Magnesia vnto a cooke, bicauſe (as it is reported) he dreſſed him a fine ſupper. In the ende he doubled the taxacion, and impoſed a ſeconde vpon Asia. But then *Hybræas* the Orator ſent from the eſtates of Asia, to tell him the ſtate of their contrie, boldly ſayd vnto him: if thou wilt haue power to lay two tributes in one yere vpon vs, thou ſhouldeſt alſo haue power to geue vs two ſommers, two autumnes, and two harueſts. This was gallantly and pleaſauntly ſpoken vnto *Antonius* by the Orator, and it pleaſed him well to heare it: but afterwardes amplifying his ſpeache, he ſpake more boldly, and to better purpoſe. Asia hath payed the two hundred thowſand talents. If all this money be not come to thy cofers, then aske accompt of them that leauied it: but if thou haue receiued it, and nothing be left of it, then are we vtterly vndone. *Hybræas* words nettled *Antonius* roundly. For he vnderſtoode not many of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treaſure and affaires: not ſo muche bicauſe he was careleſſe, as for that he ouerſimply truſted his men in all things. For he was a plaine man, without ſuttletie, and therefore ouerlate founde out the fowle faultes they committed againſt him: but when he heard of them, he was muche offended, and would plainly confeſſe it vnto them whome his officers had done iniurie vnto, by countenaunce of his authoritie. He had a noble minde, as well to puniſh offendors, as to reward well doers: and yet

Antonius cruelſie in Aſia.

Hybræas wordes vnto Antonius, touching their great payments of money vnto him.

Antonius ſimplicity.

he

A he did exceede more in geuing, then in puniſhing. Now for his outragious manner of railing he commonly vſed, mocking and flouting of euerie man: that was remedied by it ſelfe. For a man might as boldly exchaunge a mocke with him, & he was as well cõtented to be mocked, as to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that thoſe which told him ſo plainly, & truly in mirth: would neuer flatter him in good earneſt, in any matter of weight. But thus he was eaſely abuſed by the praiſes they gaue him, not finding howe theſe flatterers mingled their flatterie, vnder this familiar and plaine manner of ſpeach vnto him, as a fine deuiſe to make difference of meates with ſharpe and tart ſauce, & alſo to kepe him by this franke ieaſting & bourding with him at the table, that their common flatterie ſhould not be troubleſome vnto him, as men do eaſely miſlike to haue too muche of one thing: and that they han-
B dled him finely thereby, when they would geue him place in any matter of waight, and follow his counſell, that it might not appeare to him they did it ſo muche to pleaſe him, but bicauſe they were ignoraunt, and vnderſtoode not ſo muche as he did. *Antonius* being thus inclined, the laſt and extreameſt miſchiefe of all other (to wit, the loue of *Cleopatra*) lighted on him, who did waken and ſtirre vp many vices yet hidden in him, and were neuer ſeene to any: and if any ſparke of goodneſſe or hope of riſing were left him, *Cleopatra* quenched it ſtraight, and made it worſe then before. The manner how he fell in loue with her was this. *Antonius* going to make warre with the PARTHIANS, ſent to commaunde *Cleopatra* to appeare perſonally be-
C fore him, when he came into CILICIA, to aunſwere vnto ſuche accuſacions as were layed againſt her, being this: that ſhe had aided *Caſſius* and *Brutus* in their warre againſt him. The meſſenger ſent vnto *Cleopatra* to make this ſummons vnto her, was called *Dellius*: who when he had throughly conſidered her beawtie, the excellent grace and ſweeteneſſe of her tongue, he nothing miſtruſted that *Antonius* would doe any hurte to ſo noble a Ladie, but rather aſſured him ſelfe, that within few dayes ſhe ſhould be in great fauor with him. Thereupon he did her great honor, and perſwaded her to come into CILICIA, as honorably furniſhed as ſhe could poſſible, and bad her not to be affrayed at all of *Antonius*, for he was a more curteous Lord, then any that ſhe had euer ſeene. *Cleopatra* on thother ſide beleuing *Dellius* wordes, and geſſing by the former acceſſe and credit ſhe had with *Iulius Cæſar*, and *Cneus Pompey* (the ſonne of *Pompey* the great) only for her beawtie: ſhe began to haue good hope that ſhe might more eaſely win *Antonius*. For *Cæſar* and *Pompey* knew her when ſhe was but a young thing, & knew
D not then what the worlde ment: but nowe ſhe went to *Antonius* at the age when a womans beawtie is at the prime, and ſhe alſo of beſt iudgement. So, ſhe furniſhed her ſelfe with a world of gifts, ſtore of gold and ſiluer, and of riches and other ſumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough ſhe might bring from ſo great a houſe, and from ſo wealthie and rich a realme as ÆGYPT was. But yet ſhe caried nothing with her wherein ſhe truſted more then in her ſelfe, and in the charmes and inchauntment of her paſſing beawtie and grace. Therefore when ſhe was ſent vnto by diuers letters, both from *Antonius* him ſelfe, and alſo from his frendes, ſhe made ſo light of it, and mocked *Antonius* ſo much, that ſhe diſdained to ſet forward otherwiſe, but
E to take her barge in the riuer of Cydnus, the poope whereof was of gold, the ſailes of purple, and the owers of ſiluer, which kept ſtroke in rowing after the ſounde of the muſicke of flutes, howboyes, citherns, violls, and ſuch other inſtrumeuts as they played vpon in the barge. And now for the perſon of her ſelfe: ſhe was layed vnder a pauillion of cloth of gold of tiſſue, apparelled and attired like the goddeſſe *Venus*, commonly drawen in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes apparelled as painters doe ſet forth god *Cupide*, with litle fannes in their hands, with the which they fanned wind vpon her. Her Ladies and gentlewomen alſo, the faireſt of them were apparelled like the nymphes *Nereides* (which are the mermaides of the waters) and like the *Graces*, ſome ſtearing the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull paſſing ſweete fauor of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes ſide, peſtered with innumerable multitudes of peo-
F ple. Some of them followed the barge all alongeſt the riuers ſide: others alſo ranne out of the citie to ſee her comming in. So that in thend, there ranne ſuch multitudes of people one after an other to ſee her, that *Antonius* was left poſt alone in the market place, in his Imperiall ſeate to geue audience: and there went a rumor in the peoples mouthes, that the goddeſſe *Venus*

Antonius manere.

Antonius loue to Cleopatra whom he ſent for into Cillcia.

The wonderfull ſumptuouſnes of Cleopatra, Queene of AEgypt, going vnto Antonius. Cydnus fl.

was come to play with the god *Bacchus*, for the generall good of all Asia. When *Cleopatra* landed, *Antonius* sent to inuite her to supper to him. But she sent him word againe, he should doe better rather to come and suppe with her. *Antonius* therefore to shew him selfe curteous vnto her at her arriuall, was contented to obey her, & went to supper to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can expresse it. But amongest all other thinges, he most wondered at the infinite number of lightes and torches hanged on the toppe of the house, geuing light in euerie place, so artificially set and ordered by deuises, some round, some square: that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discerne, or that euer bookes could mencion. The next night, *Antonius* feasting her, contended to passe her in magnificence and finenes: but she ouercame him in both. So that he him selfe began to skorne the grosse seruice of his house, in respect of *Cleopatraes* sumptuousnes and fineneſſe. And when *Cleopatra* found *Antonius* ieasts and slents to be but grosse, and souldier like, in plaine manner: she gaue it him finely, and without feare taunted him throughly. Now her beawtie (as it is reported) was not so passing, as vnmatchable of other women, nor yet suche, as vpon present viewe did enamor men with her: but so sweete was her companie and conuersacion, that a man could not possiblie but be taken. And besides her beawtie, the good grace she had to talke and discourse, her curteous nature that tempered her words & dedes, was a spurre that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voyce and words were maruelous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of musicke to diuers sports and pastimes, the which she easely turned to any language that pleased her. She spake vnto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them aunswere her selfe, or at the least the most parte of them: as the Æthiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrues, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas diuers of her progenitors, the kings of Ægypt, could scarce learne the Ægyptian tongue only, and many of them forgot to speake the Macedonian. Nowe, *Antonius* was so rauished with the loue of *Cleopatra*, that though his wife *Fuluia* had great warres, and much a doe with *Cæsar* for his affaires, and that the armie of the Parthians, (the which the kings Lieutenauntes had geuen to the onely leading of *Labienus*) was now assembled in Mesopotamia readie to inuade Syria: yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yeelded him selfe to goe with *Cleopatra* into Alexandria, where he spent and lost in childish sports, (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most pretious thing a man can spende, as *Antiphon* sayth: and that is, time. For they made an order betwene them, which they called Amimetobion (as much to say, no life comparable and matcheable with it) one feasting ech other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason. And for proofe hereof, I haue heard my grandfather *Lampryas* report, that one *Philotas* a Phisition, borne in the citie of Amphissa, told him that he was at that present time in Alexandria, and studied Phisicke: and that hauing acquaintance with one of *Antonius* cookes, he tooke him with him to *Antonius* house, (being a young man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchin, and saw a world of diuersities of meates, and amongst others, eight wilde boares rosted whole: he began to wonder at it, and sayd, sure you haue a great number of ghests to supper. The cooke fell a laughing, and answered him, no (quoth he) not many ghestes, nor aboue twelue in all: but yet all that is boyled or roasted must be serued in whole, or else it would be marred straight. For *Antonius* peraduenture will suppe presently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath dronke well to day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we doe not dresse one supper only, but many suppers, bicause we are vncerteine of the houre he will suppe in. *Philotas* the Phisition tolde my grandfather this tale, and sayd moreouer, that it was his chaunce shortly after to serue the eldest sonne of the sayd *Antonius*, whome he had by his wife *Fuluia*: and that he sate commonly at his table with his other frendes, when he did not dine nor suppe with his father. It chaunced one day there came a Phisition that was so full of words, that he made euery man wearie of him at the bord: but *Philotas* to stoppe his mouth, put out a suttle proposition to him. It is good in some sorte to let a man drinke colde water that hath an agew: euerie man that hath an agew hath it in some sorte, ergo it is good for a man

The sumptuous preparations of the suppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Cleopatraes beawtie.

An order set vp by Antonius & Cleopatra.

The excessiue expences of Antonius and Cleopatra in Ægypt.

Eight wilde boares rosted whole.

Philotas a Phisition, borne in Amphissa, reporter of this feast.

Philotas, Phisition to the younger Antonius.

Philotas subtil proposition.

A man that hath an agew to drinke cold water. The Phisition was so grauelled and amated withall, that he had not a word more to say. Young *Antonius* burst out in such a laughing at him, and was so glad of it, that he sayd vnto him: *Philotas*, take all that, I geue it thee: shewing him his cubbord full of plate, with great pots of gold and siluer. *Philotas* thanked him, and told him he thought himselfe greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would neuer haue thought that he had had power to haue geuen so many things, and of so great value. But muche more he maruelled, when shortly after one of young *Antonius* men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him set his marke and stampe vpon them, and to locke them vp. *Philotas* returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reproued if he tooke them. Then the young gentleman *Antonius* sayd vnto him: alas poore man, why doest thou make it nise to take them? B Knowest thou not that it is the sonne of *Antonius* that geues them thee, and is able to do it? If thou wilt not beleue me, take rather the readie money they come to: bicause my father peraduenture may aske for some of the plate, for the antike & excellent workemanship of them. This I haue heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now againe to *Cleopatra*. *Plato* wryteth that there are foure kinds of flatterie: but *Cleopatra* deuided it into many kinds. For she, were it in sport, or in matter of earnest, still deuised sundrie new delights to haue *Antonius* at commaundement, neuer leauing him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For she would play at dyce with him, drinke with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or actiuity of body. And somtime also, when he would goe vp and downe the citie disguised like a slaue in the night, & would peere into poore mens C windowes & their shops, and scold & brawle with them within the house: *Cleopatra* would be also in a chamber maides array, & amble vp & downe the streets with him, so that oftentimes *Antonius* bare away both mockes & blowes. Now, though most men misliked this maner, yet the Alexandrians were commonly glad of this iolity, & liked it well, saying verie gallantly, and wisely: that *Antonius* shewed them a commicall face, to wit, a merie countenaunce: and the Romanes a tragicall face, to say, a grimme looke. But to reckon vp all the foolishe sportes they made, reuelling in this sorte: it were too fond a parte of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angrie as could be, bicause *Cleopatra* stoode by. Wherefore he secretly commaunded the fisher men, that when he cast in his line, they should straight diue vnder the wa- D ter, and put a fishe on his hooke which they had taken before: and so snatched vp his angling rodde, and brought vp fish twise or thrise. *Cleopatra* found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondred at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by her selfe among her owne people, she told them howe it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the hauen, and got into the fisher boates to see this fishing. *Antonius* then threw in his line and *Cleopatra* straight commaunded one of her men to diue vnder water before *Antonius* men, and to put some old salte fish vpon his baite, like vnto those that are brought out of the contrie of Pont. When he had hong the fish on his hooke, *Antonius* thinking he had taken a fishe in deede, snatched vp his line presently. Then they all fell a laughing. *Cleopatra* laughing also, said vnto him: leaue vs (my Lord) Egyptians (which E dwell in the contry of Pharus and Canobus) your angling rodde: this is not thy profession: thou must hunt after conquering of realmes and contries. Nowe *Antonius* delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, verie ill newes were brought him from two places. The first from Rome, that his brother *Lucius*, and *Fuluia* his wife, fell out first betwene themselues, and afterwards fell to open warre with *Cesar*, & had brought all to nought, that they were both driuen to flie out of Italie. The seconde newes, as bad as the first: that *Labienus* conquered all Asia with the armie of the Parthians, from the riuer of Euphrates, and from Syria, vnto the contries of Lydia and Ionia. Then began *Antonius* with much a doe, a litle to rouse him selfe as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe sleepe, and as a man may say, comming out of a great dronkennes. So, first of all he bent him selfe against the Parthians, and went as farre F as the contrie of Phoenicia: but there he receiued lamentable letters from his wife *Fuluia*. Whereuppon he straight returned towards Italie, with two hundred saile: and as he went, tooke vp his frendes by the way that fled out of Italie, to come to him. By them he was in-

Plato writeth of foure kinds of flatterie.

Cleopatra Queene of all flatterers.

Antonius fishing in Alexandria.

The warres of Lucius Antonius and Fuluia, against Octauius Cesar.

formed, that his wife *Fuluia* was the only cause of this warre: who being of a peeuish, crooked and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this vprore in ITALIE, in hope thereby to withdraw him from *Cleopatra*. But by good fortune, his wife *Fuluia* going to meete with *Antonius*, sickened by the way, and dyed in the citie of SICYONE: and therefore *Octauius Cæsar*, and he were the easelier made frendes together. For when *Antonius* landed in ITALIE, and that men saw *Cæsar* asked nothing of him, and that *Antonius* on the other side layed all the fault & burden on his wife *Fuluia*: the frendes of both parties would not suffer them to vnrippe any olde matters, and to proue or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this warre, fearing to make matters worse betweene them: but they made them frendes together, and deuided the Empire of ROME betweene them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their diuision. For they gaue all the prouinces Eastward, vnto *Antonius*: and the countries Westward, vnto *Cæsar*: and left AFRICKE vnto *Lepidus*: and made a law, that they three one after an other should make their frendes Consuls, when they would not be them selues. This seemed to be a sound counsell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bonde, which fortune offered thus. There was *Octauia* the eldest sister of *Cæsar*, not by one mother, for she came of *Ancharia*, & *Cæsar* him self afterwards of *Accia*. It is reported, that he dearly loued his sister *Octauia*, for in deede she was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband *Caius Marcellus*, who dyed not long before: and it seemed also that *Antonius* had bene widower euer since the death of his wife *Fuluia*. For he denied not that he kept *Cleopatra*, but so did he not confesse that he had her as his wife: & so with reason he did defend the loue he bare vnto this ÆGYPTIAN *Cleopatra*. Thereuppon euerie man did set forward this mariage, hoping thereby that this Ladie *Octauia*, hauing an excellent grace, wisedom, & honestie, ioyned vnto so rare a beawtie, that when she were with *Antonius* (he louing her as so worthy a Ladie deserueth) she should be a good meane to keepe good loue & amitie betwext her brother and him. So when *Cæsar* & he had made the matche betwene them, they both went to ROME about this mariage, although it was against the law, that a widow should be maried within tenne monethes after her husbandes death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the mariage proceeded accordingly. *Sextus Pompeius* at that time kept in SICILIA, and so made many an inrode into ITALIE with a great number of pynnasies and other pirates shippes, of the which were Captaines two notable pirats, *Menas*, and *Menecrates*, who so scoored all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peepe out with a sayle. Furthermore, *Sextus Pompeius* had delt verie frendly with *Antonius*, for he had curteously receiued his mother, when she fled out of ITALIE with *Fuluia*: and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misena, vpon a hill that runneth farre into the sea: *Pompey* hauing his shippes ryding hard by at ancker, and *Antonius* and *Cæsar* their armies vpon the shoare side, directly ouer against him. Now, after they had agreed that *Sextus Pompeius* should haue SICILE and SARDINIA, with this condicion, that he should ridde the sea of all theeues and pirats, and make it safe for passengers, and withall that he should send a certaine of wheate to ROME: one of them did feast an other, and drew cuts who should beginne. It was *Pompeius* chaunce to inuite them first. Whereupon *Antonius* asked him: & where shall we supper? There, said *Pompey*, and shewed him his admirall galley which had six bankes of owers: that (sayd he) is my fathers house they haue left me. He spake it to taunt *Antonius*, bicause he had his fathers house, that was *Pompey* the great. So he cast ankers enowe into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then builte a bridge of wodde to conuey them to his galley, from the heade of mount Misena: and there he welcomed them, and made them great cheere. Now in the middest of the feast, when they fell to be merie with *Antonius* loue vnto *Cleopatra*: *Menas* the pirate came to *Pompey*, and whispering in his care, said vnto him: shall I cut the gables of the ankers, and make thee Lord not only of SICILE and SARDINIA, but of the whole Empire of ROME besides? *Pompey* hauing pawsed a while vpon it, at length aunswered him: thou shouldest haue done it, and neuer haue told it me, but now we must content vs with that we haue. As for my selfe, I was neuer taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two also did likewise feast him in their campe, and then he returned into SICILE. *Antonius* after this agreement made, sent *Ventidius* before into ASIA to stay the PARTHIANS, and to keepe them they should

The death of Fuluia Antonius wife.

All the Empire of Rome deuided betwene the Triumuiri.

Octauia, the halfe sister of Octauius Cæsar, & daughter of Ancharia which was not Cæsars mother.

A law at Rome for maryng of widowes.

Antonius maried Octauia, Octauius Cæsars halfe sister.

Antonius and Octauius Cæsar, doe make peace with Sextus Pompeius.

Sextus Pompeius taunts to Antonius.

Sextus Pompeius being offered wonderfull great fortune: for his honestie and faithes sake, refused it.

no

no further: and he him ſelfe in the meane time, to gratifie *Cæſar*, was contented to be choſen *Iulius Cæſars* prieſt and ſacrificer, & ſo they ioyntly together diſpatched all great matters, concerning the ſtate of the Empire. But in all other maner of ſportes and exercyſes, wherein they paſſed the time away the one with the other: *Antonius* was euer inferior vnto *Cæſar*, and alway loſt, which grieued him much. With *Antonius* there was a ſoothſayer or aſtronomer of Ægypt, that coulde caſt a figure, and iudge of mens natiuities, to tell them what ſhould happen to them. He, either to pleaſe *Cleopatra*, or elſe for that he founde it ſo by his art, told *Antonius* plainly, that his fortune (which of it ſelfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether bleamiſhed, and obſcured by *Cæſars* fortune: and therefore he counſelled him vtterly to leaue his company, and to get him as farre from him as he could. For thy *Demon* ſaid he, (that is to ſay, the good angell and ſpirit that kepeth thee) is affraied of his: and being coragious & high when he is alone, becometh feareſull and timerous when he commeth neere vnto the other. Howſoeuer it was, the euents enſuing proued the Ægyptians words true. For, it is ſaid, that as often as they two drew cuts for paſtime, who ſhould haue any thing, or whether they plaied at dice, *Antonius* alway loſt. Oftentimes when they were diſpoſed to ſee cockefight, or quailes that were taught to fight one with an other: *Cæſars* cockes or quailes did euer ouercome. The which ſpighted *Antonius* in his mind, although he made no outward ſhew of it: and therefore he beleeued the Ægyptian the better. In fine, he recommended the affaires of his houſe vnto *Cæſar*, & went out of Italie with *Octauia* his wife, whom he caried into Græce, after he had had a daughter by her. So *Antonius* lying all the winter at Athens, newes came vnto him of the victories of *Ventidius*, who had ouercome the Parthians in battel, in the which alſo were ſlaine, *Labienus*, and *Pharnabates*, the chiefeſt Captaine king *Orodes* had. For theſe good newes he feaſted all Athens, and kept open houſe for all the Græcians, and many games of price were plaied at Athens, of the which he him ſelfe would be iudge. Wherfore leauing his gard, his axes, and tokens of his Empire at his houſe, he came into the ſhow place (or liſtes) where theſe games were played, in a long gowne and ſlippers after the Græcian facion, and they caried tippeſtaues before him, as marſhalls men do cary before the Iudges to make place: and he himſelfe in perſon was a ſtickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to the warres, he made him a garland of the holy Oliue, and caried a veſſell with him of the water of the fountaine Clepſydra, bicauſe of an Oracle he had receiued that ſo commaunded him. In the meane time, *Ventidius* once againe ouercame *Pacorus*, (*Orodes* ſonne king of Parthia) in a battell fought in the contrie of Cyrreſtica, he being come againe with a great armie to inuade Syria: at which battell was ſlaine a great number of the Parthians, & among them *Pacorus*, the kings owne ſonne ſlaine. This noble exployt as famous as euer any was, was a full reuenge to the Romanes, of the ſhame and loſſe they had receiued before by the death of *Marcus Craſſus*: and he made the Parthians flie, and glad to kepe them ſelues within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia, and Media, after they had thriſe together bene ouercome in ſeuerall battells. Howbeit *Ventidius* durſt not vndertake to follow them any further, fearing leaſt he ſhould haue gotten *Antonius* diſpleaſure by it. Notwithſtanding, he led his armie againſt them that had rebelled, and conquered them againe: amongeſt whome he beſieged *Antiochus*, king of Commagena, who offered him to giue a thowſand talentes to be pardoned his rebellion, and promiſed euer after to be at *Antonius* commaundement. But *Ventidius* made him aunſwere, that he ſhould ſend vnto *Antonius*, who was not farre of, and would not ſuffer *Ventidius* to make any peace with *Antiochus*, to the end that yet this litle exployt ſhould paſſe in his name, and that they ſhould not thinke he did any thing but by his Lieutenaunt *Ventidius*. The ſiege grew verie long, bicauſe they that were in the towne, ſeeing they coulde not be receiued vpon no reaſonable compoſition: determined valliantly to defende them ſelues to the laſt man. Thus *Antonius* did nothing, and yet receiued great ſhame, repenting him much that he tooke not their firſt offer. And yet at laſt he was glad to make truce with *Antiochus*, and to take three hundred talentes for compoſition. Thus after he had ſet order for the ſtate & affaires of Syria, he returned againe to Athens: and hauing giuen *Ventidius* ſuche honors as he deſerued, he ſent him to Rome, to triumphe for the Parthians. *Ventidius* was the only man that euer triumphed of the Parthians vn-

Antonius told by a Soothſayer, that his fortune was inferior vnto Octauius Cæſar.

Antonius vnfortunate in ſport and earneſt, againſt Octauius Cæſar.

Orodes king of Parthia.

Ventidius notable victorie of the Parthians.

The death of Pacorus, the king of Parthians ſonne.

Ventidius the only man of the Romanes, that triumphed for the Parthians.

till this present day, a meane man borne, and of no noble house nor family: who only came to that he attained vnto, through *Antonius* frendshippe, the which deliuered him happie occasion to achieue to great matters. And yet to say truely, he did so well quit him selfe in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of *Antonius* and *Cæsar*: to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by them selues. For *Sossius*, one of *Antonius* Lieutenauntes in Syria, did notable good seruice: and *Canidius*, whom he had also left his Lieutenaunt in the borders of Armenia, did conquer it all. So did he also ouercome the kinges of the Iberians and Albanians, and went on with his conquests vnto mount Caucasus. By these conquests, the fame of *Antonius* power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull vnto all the barbarous nations. But *Antonius* notwithstanding, grewe to be maruelously offended with *Cæsar*, vpon certaine reportes that had bene brought vnto him: and so tooke sea to go towards Italie with three hundred saile. And bicause those of Brundusium would not receiue his armie into their hauen, he went further vnto Tarentum. There his wife *Octauia* that came out of Græce with him, besought him to send her vnto her bother: the which he did. *Octauia* at that time was great with child, and moreouer had a second daughter by him, and yet she put her selfe in iorney, and met with her brother *Octauius Cæsar* by the way, who brought his two chiefe frendes, *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa* with him. She tooke them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not suffer her that was the happiest woman of the world, to become nowe the most wretched and vnfortunatest creature of all other. For now, said she, euerie mans eyes doe gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the Emperours and wife of the other. And if the worst councell take place, (which the goddes forbidde) and that they growe to warres: for your selues, it is vncertaine to which of them two the goddes haue assigned the victorie, or ouerthrowe. But for me, on which side soeuer victorie fall, my state can be but most miserable still. These words of *Octauia* so softned *Cæsars* harte, that he went quickely vnto Tarentum. But it was a noble sight for them that were present, to see so great an armie by lande not to sturre, and so many shippes aflote in the roade, quietly and safe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindenesse of frendes, louinglie imbracing one an other. First, *Antonius* feasted *Cæsar*, which he graunted vnto for his sisters sake. Afterwardes they agreed together, that *Cæsar* should geue *Antonius* two legions to go against the Parthians: and that *Antonius* should let *Cæsar* haue a hundred gallies armed with brasen spurres at the prooes. Besides all this, *Octauia* obteyned of her husbande, twentie brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her husbande, a thowsande armed men. After they had taken leaue of eache other, *Cæsar* went immediatly to make warre with *Sextus Pompeius*, to gette Sicilia into his handes. *Antonius* also leauing his wife *Octauia* and litle children begotten of her, with *Cæsar*, and his other children which he had by *Fuluia*: he went directlie into Asia. Then beganne this pestilent plague and mischiefe of *Cleopatraes* loue (which had slept a longe tyme, and seemed to haue bene vtterlie forgotten, and that *Antonius* had geuen place to better counsell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, so soone as *Antonius* came neere vnto Syria. And in the ende, the horse of the minde as *Plato* termeth it, that is so hard of rayne (I meane the vnreyned lust of concupiscence) did put out of *Antonius* heade, all honest and commendable thoughtes: for he sent *Fonteius Capito* to bring *Cleopatra* into Syria. Vnto whome, to welcome her, he gaue no trifling things: but vnto that she had already, he added the prouinces of Phœnicia, those of the nethermost Syria, the Ile of Cyprus, and a great parte of Cilicia, and that contry of Iurie where the true balme is, and that parte of Arabia where the Nabatheians doe dwell, which stretcheth out towardes the Ocean. These great giftes muche misliked the Romanes. But now, though *Antonius* did easely geue away great seigniories, realmes, & mighty nations vnto some priuate men, and that also he tooke from other kings their lawfull realmes: (as from *Antigonus* king of the Iewes, whom he openly beheaded, where neuer king before had suffred like death) yet all this did not so much offend the Romanes, as the vnmeasurable honors which he did vnto *Cleopatra*. But yet he did much more aggrauate their malice & ill wil towards him, bicause that *Cleopatra* hauing brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter, he named his sonne *Alexander*, & his daughter *Cleopatra*, and gaue them to their surnames, the

Canidius conquests.

Newe displeasures betwext Antonius and Octauius Cæsar.

The wordes of Octauia vnto Mæcenas and Agrippa.

Octauia pacifieth the quarrell betwixt Antonius, and her brother Octauius Cæsar.

Plato calleth cõcupiscence: the horse of the minde.

Antonius sent for Cleopatra into Syria.

Antonius gaue great prouinces vnto Cleopatra.

Antigonus king of Iurie, the first king beheaded by Antonius.

Antonius twinnes by Cleopatra, & their names.

Sunne

A Sunne to the one, & the moone to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloke his shamefull deedes with fine words, said that the greatnes & magnificence of the Empire of Rome appeared most, not where the Romanes tooke, but where they gaue much: & nobility was multiplied amongest men, by the posterity of kings, when they left of their seede in diuers places: and that by this meanes his first auncester was begotten of *Hercules*, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity, in the wombe of one only woman, fearing *Solons* lawes, or regarding the ordinaunces of men touching the procreacion of children: but that he gaue it vnto nature, and estublished the fundacion of many noble races and families in diuers places. Nowe when *Phraortes* had slaine his father *Orodes*, and possessed the kingdome many gentlemen of Parthia forsooke him, and fled from him. Amongst them was *Monæses*, *Phraortes slue his father Orodes king of Persia.*

B a noble man, and of great authority among his contry men, who came vnto *Antonius*, that receiued him, & compared his fortune vnto *Themistocles*, and his owne riches & magnificence, vnto the kings of Persia. For he gaue *Monæses* three cities, Larissa, Arethvsa, & Hiera-polis, which was called before Bombyce. Howbeit the king of Parthia shortly after called him home againe, vpon his faith & word. *Antonius* was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steale vpon *Phraortes* vnprouided. For he sent vnto him, & told him that they would remaine good frends, & haue peace together, so he would but only redeliuer the standerds & enfignes of the Romanes, which the Parthians had wonne in the battell where *Marcus Crassus* was slaine, & the men also that remained yet prisoners of this ouerthrow. In the meane time he sent *Cleopatra* backe into Ægypt, & tooke his way towards Arabia & Armenia, & there tooke

C a general muster of all his army he had together, & of the kings his cõfederats that were come by his cõmaundement to aide him, being a maruelous number: of the which, the chiefest was *Artauasdes*, king of Armenia, who did furnish him with six thowsande horsemen, and seuen thowsand footemen. There were also of the Romanes about three score thowsand footmen, & of horsemen (Spaniards & Gavles reckoned for Romanes) to the number of ten thowsand, & of other nations thirty thowsand men, reckoning together the horsemen and light armed footemen. This so great & puisant army which made the Indians quake for feare, dwelling about the contry of the Bactrians, and all Asia also to tremble: serued him to no purpose, & all for the loue he bare to *Cleopatra*. For the earnest great desire he had to lye all winter with her, made him begin his warre out of due time, and for hast, to put all in hazard, being so

D rauished & enchaunted with the sweete poyson of her loue, that he had no other thought but of her, & how he might quickly returne againe: more then how he might ouercome his enemies. For first of all, where he should haue wintered in Armenia to refresh his men, wearied with the long iorney they had made, hauing comen eight thowsand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the spring to go and inuade Media, before the Parthians should stirre out of their houses & garrisons: he could tary no lenger, but led them forthwith vnto the prouince of Atropatene, leauing Armenia on the left hand, & forraged al the contry. Furthermore, making all the hast he coulde, he left behinde him engines of battery which were caried with him in three hũdred carts, (among the which also there was a ramme foure score foote long) being things most necessary for him, and the which he could not get againe for money if they

E were once lost or marred. For the hie prouinces of Asia haue no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough to make such like engines of battery. This notwithstanding, he left them all behind him, as a hinderance to bring his matters & intent speedily to passe: and left a certaine number of men to keepe them, and gaue them in charge vnto one *Tatianus*. Then he went to besiege the citie of Phraata, being the chiefest and greatest citie the king of Media had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight founde his owne fault, and the want of his artillerie he left behinde him, by the worke he had in hande: for he was fayne for lacke of a breache (where his men might come to the sworde with their enemies that defended the walle) to force a mount of earth hard to the walles of the citie, the which by litle and litle with greate labour, rose to some height. In the meane time

F king *Phraortes* came downe with a great armie: who vnderstanding that *Antonius* had left his engines of batterie behind him, he sent a great number of horsemen before, which enuironed *Tatianus* with all his cariage, and slue him, and ten thowsand men he had with him. After this,

Antonius great & puissant army.

Antonius dronke with the loue of Cleopatra.

Antonius besiegeth the citty of Phraata in Media.

The Parthiãs tooke Antonius engines of battery.

the barbarous people tooke these engines of battery and burnt them, and got many prisoners, amongst whom they tooke also king *Polemon*. This discomfiture maruelously troubled all *Antonius* army, to receiue so great an ouerthrow (beyond their expectacion) at the beginning of their iorney: insomuche that *Artabazus*, king of the Armenians, dispairing of the good successe of the Romanes: departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was himselfe the first procurer of this warre and iorney. On the other side, the Parthians came coragiously vnto *Antonius* campe, who lay at the siege of their chiefest citie, and cruelly reuiled and threatned him. *Antonius* therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his mens harts would faile them: he tooke ten legions, with three cohorts or enfignes of the Prætors, (which are companies appointed for the gard of the Generall) and all his horsemen, and caried them out to forrage, hoping therby he should easely allure the Parthians to fight a battell. But when he had marched about a dayes iorney from his campe, he saw the Parthians wheeling round about him to geue him the onset, & to skirmish with him, when he would thinke to march his way. Therefore he set out his signall of battell, & yet caused his tents and fardells to be trussed vp, as though he ment not to fight, but only to lead his men back againe. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was marshald like a cressant or halfe moone: and commaunded his horsemen, that as soone as they thought the legions were nere enough vnto their enemies to set vpon the voward, that then they should set spurres to their horses, & begin the charge. The Parthians standing in battell ray, beholding the countenaunce of the Romanes as they marched: they appeared to be souldiers in deede, to see them marche in so good array as was possible. For in their march, they kept the rankes a like space one from an other, not straggling out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking neuer a word. But so soone as the allarom was giuen, the horsemen sodainly turned head vpon the Parthians, and with great cries gaue charge on them: who at the first receiued their charge coragiously, for they were ioined nere thẽ within an arrowes shoote. But when the legions also came to ioine with them, showting out alowde, & ratling of their armors: the Parthians horses and them selues were so affrayed and amazed withall, that they all turned taile and fled, before the Romanes could come to the sword with them. Then *Antonius* followed thẽ hard in chase, being in great good hope by this conflict to haue brought to end all, or the most part of this warre. But after that his footemen had chased them fiftie furlonges of, and the horsemen also thrise as farre: they found in all but thirty prisoners taken, and about foure score men only slaine. But this did much discorage them, when they cõsidered with them selues, that obtaining the victory, they had slaine so few of their enemies: and where they were ouercome, they lost as many of their men, as they had done at the ouerthrow when the cariage was taken. The next morning, *Antonius* army trussed vp their cariage, and marched backe towards their campe: and by the way in their returne they met at the first a fewe of the Parthians: then going further, they met a few moe. So at length when they all came together, they reuiled them, & troubled them on euery side, as freshly & coragiously, as if they had not bene ouerthrowen: so that the Romanes very hardly got to their campe with safety. The Medes on the other side, that were besieged in their chiefe city of Phraata, made a saly out vpon them that kept the mount, which they had forced and cast against the wall of the city, and draue them for feare, from the mount they kept. *Antonius* was so offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he deuided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and to the other nine, he caused them to haue barley giuen them in stead of wheate. Thus this warre fell out troublesome vnto both parties, and the ende thereof muche more fearefull. For *Antonius* could looke for no other of his side, but famine: bicause he could forrage no more, nor fetche in any vittells, without great losse of his men. *Phraortes* on the other side, he knew well enough that he could bring the Parthians to any thing els, but to lye in campe abroad in the winter. Therefore he was affrayed, that if the Romanes continued their siege all winter long, & made warre with him still: that his mẽ would forsake him, & specially bicause the time of the yere went away apace, & the ayer waxed clowdy, & cold, in the equinoctiall autumne. Therupon he called to mind this deuise. He gaue the chiefest of his gentlemẽ of the Parthians charge, that when they met the Romanes out of their campe, going to forrage, or to water their

Battell betwext the Parthians & Antonius.

The Romanes good order in their march.

Decimacion a marshall punishment.

A their horſe, or for ſome other prouiſion: that they ſhould not diſtreſſe them too muche, but ſhould ſuffer them to carie ſomewhat away, and greatly commend their valliantnes and hardines, for the which their king did eſteeme them the more, and not without cauſe. After theſe firſt baytes and allurements, they beganne by litle and litle to come neerer vnto them, and to talke with them a horſebacke, greatly blaming *Antonius* ſelfewill that did not geue their king *Phraortes* occaſion to make a good peace, who deſired nothing more, then to ſaue the liues of ſo goodly a companie of valliant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greateſt and moſt dreadfull enemies he could haue, to wit: winter, and famine, the which they ſhould hardly away withall, though the PARTHIANS did the beſt they could to aide & accompany them. Theſe words being oftentimes brought to *Antonius*, they made him a litle pliant, *The craft of the Parthians againſt the Romanes.*

B for the good hope he had of his returne: but yet he woulde not ſende vnto the king of PARTHIA, before they had firſt asked theſe barbarous people that ſpake ſo curteouſly vnto his men, whether they ſpake it of them ſelues, or that they were their maiſters words. When they told them the king him ſelfe ſayd ſo, and did perſwade them further not to feare or miſtruſt them: then *Antonius* ſent ſome of his frends vnto the king, to make demaund for the deliuery of the enſignes and priſoners he had of the ROMANES, ſince the ouerthrow of *Craſſus*: to the ende it ſhould not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they ſhoulde thinke he were glad that he might only ſcape with ſafety out of the daunger he was in. The king of PARTHIA anſwered him: that for the enſignes & priſoners he demaunded, he ſhould not breake his head about it: notwithſtãding, that if he would preſently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable maner,

C and without daunger. Wherefore *Antonius* after he had giuen his men ſome time to truſſe vp their cariage, he raiſed his campe, & tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to enterteine his ſouldiers and men of warre, and that he could paſſingly well do it, as well, or better then any Captaine in his time: yet being aſhamed for reſpects, he would not ſpeake vnto them at his remouing, but willed *Domitius AEnobarbus* to do it. Many of them tooke this in very ill parte, & thought that he did it in diſdaine of them: but the moſt part of them preſently vnderſtoode the truth of it, and were alſo aſhamed. Therefore they thought it their dueties to carie the like reſpect vnto their Captaine, that their Captaine did vnto them: and ſo they became the more obedient vnto him. So *Antonius* was minded to returne the ſame way he came, being a plaine barren contry without wodde. But there came a *Antonius returneth from the iorney of the Parthiãs.*

D ſouldier to him, borne in the contry of the MARDIANS, who by oft frequenting the PARTHIANS of long time, knew their facions very wel, and had alſo ſhewed him ſelfe very true & faithfull to the ROMANES, in the battell where *Antonius* engines of battery and cariage were taken away. This man came vnto *Antonius*, to counſell him to beware how he went that way, and to make his army a pray, being heauily armed, vnto ſo great a number of horſemen, all archers in the open field, where they ſhould haue nothing to let them to compaſſe him round about: and that this was *Phraortes* fetch to offer him ſo frendly cõdicions & curteous words to make him raiſe his ſiege, that he might afterwards meete him as he would, in the plaines: howbeit, that he would guide him, if he thought good, an other way on the right hand, through woddes & mountaines, a farre neerer way, and where he ſhould finde great plenty of all things needefull

E for his army. *Antonius* hearing what he ſaid, called his counſel together, to conſult vpon it. For after he had made peace with the PARTHIANS, he was loth to geue them cauſe to thinke he miſtruſted them: and on thother ſide alſo he would gladly ſhorten his way, and paſſe by places wel inhabited, where he might be prouided of al things neceſſary: therfore he asked the MARDIAN what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promiſed. The MARDIAN gaue himſelf to be bound hand and foote, till he had brought his army into the contry of ARMENIA. So he guided the army thus bound, two dayes together, without any trouble or ſight of enemy. But the third day, *Antonius* thinking the PARTHIANS would no more follow him, & truſting therin, ſuffred the ſouldiers to march in diſorder as euery mã lifted. The MARDIAN perceiuing that the dammes of a riuer were newly broken vp, which they ſhould haue paſſed ouer, & that the

F riuer had ouerflowen the bankes and drowned all the way they ſhoulde haue gone: he geſſed ſtraight that the PARTHIANS had done it, and had thus broken it open, to ſtay the ROMANES for getting too farre before them. Therupon he bad *Antonius* looke to him ſelfe, and told him

that his enemies were not farre from thence. *Antonius* hauing ſet his men in order, as he was placing of his archers & ſling men to reſiſt the enemies, & to driue them backe: they diſcried the PARTHIANS that wheeled round about the army to compaſſe them in on euery ſide, & to breake their rankes, & their light armed men gaue charge apon them. So after they had hurt many of the ROMANES with their arrowes, and that they them ſelues were alſo hurt by them with their dartes and plummets of leade: they retyred a litle, and then came againe and gaue charge. Vntill that the horſemen of the GAVLES turned their horſes, & fiercely gallopped towards them, that they diſperſed them ſo, as al that day they gathered no more together. Therby *Antonius* knew what to do, and did not only ſtrengthen the rereward of his army, but both the flanks alſo, with darters and ſling men, and made his army march in a ſquare battell: commaunding the horſemen, that when the enemies ſhould come to aſſaile them, they ſhoulde driue them backe, but not follow them too farre. Thus the PARTHIANS foure daies after, ſeeing they did no more hurte to the ROMANES, then they alſo receiued of them: they were not ſo hotte vpon them as they were commaunded, but excuſing them ſelues by the winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fiſt day, *Flauius Gallus*, a valliant man of his handes, that had charge in the armie: came vnto *Antonius* to pray him to let him haue ſome moe of his light armed men then were alreadie in the rereward, and ſome of the horſemen that were in the voward, hoping thereby to doe ſome notable exploite. *Antonius* graunting them vnto him, when the enemies came according to their maner to ſet vpon the taile of the army, and to skirmiſh with them: *Flauius* coragiouſly made them retire, but not as they were wont to doe before, to retire and ioyne preſently with their army, for he ouerraſhly thruſt in among them to fight it out at the ſword. The Capteines that had the leading of the rereward, ſeeing *Flauius* ſtray too farre from the army: they ſent vnto him to will him to retire, but he would not harken to it. And it is reported alſo, that *Titius* himſelfe the Treaſorer, tooke the enſignes, & did what he could to make the enſigne bearers returne backe, reuiling *Flauius Gallus*, bicauſe that through his folly and deſperatnes he cauſed many honeſt and valliant men to be both hurt & ſlaine to no purpoſe. *Gallus* alſo fel out with him, and commaunded his men to ſtay. Wherefore *Titius* returned againe into the army, and *Gallus* ſtil ouerthrowing and driuing the enemies backe whom he met in the voward, he was not ware that he was compaſſed in. Then ſeeing him ſelfe enuironned of all ſides, he ſent vnto the army, that they ſhould come and aide him: but there the Captaines that led the legions (among the which *Canidius*, a man of great eſtimacion about *Antonius* made one) committed many faults. For where they ſhould haue made head with the whole army vpon the PARTHIANS, they ſent him aide by ſmall cõpanies: and when they were ſlaine, they ſent him others alſo. So that by their beaſtlineſſe and lacke of conſideracion, they had like to haue made all the armie flie, if *Antonius* him ſelfe had not come frõ the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the middeſt of them that fled, vntill they came to front of the enemies, & that they ſtayed them from chaſing any further. Howbeit at this laſt conflict there were ſlaine no leſſe thẽ three thowſand men, and fiue thowſande beſidẽs brought ſore hurt into the campe, and amongeſt them alſo *Flauius Gallus*, whoſe body was ſhot through in foure places, whereof he died. *Antonius* went to the tents to viſite & comfort the ſicke & wounded, and for pities ſake he could not refraine from weeping: and they alſo ſhewing him the beſt countenaunce they coulde, tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dreſſed, and not to trouble him ſelfe for them, moſt reuerently calling him their Emperour & Captaine: & that for them ſelues, they were whole & ſafe, ſo that he had his health. For in deede to ſay truly, there was not at that time any Emperour or Captaine that had ſo great & puiſant an army as his together, both for luſty youths, & corage of the ſouldiers, as alſo for their pacience to away with ſo great paines & trouble. Furthermore, the obedience & reuerẽce they ſhewed vnto their captaine, with a maruelous earneſt loue & good wil, was ſo great: & all were indifferẽtly (as wel great as ſmal, the noble men, as meane men, the Captaines and ſouldiers) ſo earneſtly bent to eſteeme *Antonius* good will & fauor, aboue their owne life & ſafety: that in this point of marſhall diſcipline, the auncient ROMANES could not haue don any more. But diuers things were cauſe therof, as we haue told you before: *Antonius* nobility & ancient houſe, his eloquence, his plaine nature, his liberality & magnificence,

The Parthiãs doe ſet vpon Antonius in his returne.

The bold act of Flauius Gallus.

Canidius fault, Antonius Captaine.

Flauius Gallus ſlaine. Antonius care of them that were wounded.

The loue and reuerence of the ſouldiers vnto Antonius.

The rare and ſingular gifts of Antonius.

A gnificence,& his familiarity to ſport & to be mery in company: but ſpecially the care he tooke at that time to help,viſite,& lament thoſe that were ſicke & woũded,ſeing euery man to haue that which was meete for him: that was of ſuch force & effect,as it made them that were ſicke & wounded to loue him better,& were more deſirous to do him ſeruice,then thoſe that were whole & ſoũd. This victory ſo encoraged the enemies,(who otherwiſe were weary to follow *Antonius* any further) that all night longe they kept the fieldes, and houered about the Romanes campe,thinking that they would preſently flie,& then that they ſhould take the ſpoile of their campe. So the next morning by breake of daye, there were gathered together a farre greater nũber of the Parthians, then they were before. For the rumor was,that there were not much fewer then forty thowſand horſe,bicauſe their king ſent thither euen the very gard
B about his perſon, as vnto a moſt certaine and aſſured victorie, that they might be partners of the ſpoyle and booty they hoped to haue had: for as touching the king him ſelfe, he was neuer in any conflict or battell. Then *Antonius* deſirous to ſpeake to his ſouldiers, called for a blacke gowne,to appeare the more pitifull to them: but his friends did diſſwade him from it. Therefore he put on his coate armor,and being ſo apparelled, made an oration to his armie: in the which he highly commended them that had ouercome and driuen backe their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backes. So that thoſe which had ouercome,prayed him to be of good chere: the other alſo to cleere them ſelues,willingly offred to take the lotts of *Decimation* if he thought good,or otherwiſe,to receiue what kind of puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe him to laye vpon them, ſo that he would forget any more to
C miſlike,or to be offended with them. *Antonius* ſeeing that,did lift vp his hands to heauen, and made his prayer to the goddes,that if in exchaunge of his former victories,they would nowe ſende him ſome bitter aduerſitie: then that all might light on him ſelfe alone, and that they would giue the victorie to the reſt of his armie. The next morning,they gaue better order on euery ſide of the armie,and ſo marched forward: ſo that when the Parthians thought to returne againe to aſſaile them,they came farre ſhort of the reckoning. For where they thought to come not to fight,but to ſpoyle and make hauock of all: when they came neare them,they were ſore hurt with their ſlings and darts,and ſuch other iauelings as the Romanes darted at them,& the Parthians found them as rough and deſperat in fight,as if they had bene freſh men they had delt withall. Whereuppon their harts beganne againe to fayle them. But yet
D when the Romanes came to goe downe any ſteepe hills or mountaines, then they would ſet on them with their arrowes,bicauſe the Romanes could goe downe but fayer and ſoftly. But then againe,the ſouldiers of the legion that caried great ſhields,returned backe,and incloſed them that were naked or light armed, in the middeſt amongeſt them, and did kneele of one knee on the ground,and ſo ſet downe their ſhields before them: and they of the ſecond ranck alſo couered them of the firſt rancke,and the third alſo couered the ſecond,and ſo from ranck to rancke all were couered. Inſomuch that this manner of couering and ſheading them ſelues with ſhields,was deuiſed after the facion of laying tiles vpon houſes,and to fight,was like the degrees of a Theater,and is a moſt ſtronge defence and bulwarke againſt all arrowes and ſhot that falleth vpon it. When the Parthians ſaw this countenaunce of the Romane ſouldiers
E of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that ſorte vpon one knee,ſuppoſing that they had bene wearied with trauell: they layed downe their bowes,& tooke their ſpeares & launces,and came to fight with them man for man. Then the Romanes ſodainely roſe vpon their feete,and with the darts that they threwe from them,they ſlue the formoſt,and put the reſt to flight,and ſo did they the next dayes that followed. But by meanes of theſe daungers and lets, *Antonius* armie could winne no way in a day,by reaſon whereof they ſuffred great famine: for they could haue but litle corne,and yet were they driuen daily to fight for it, and beſides that, they had no inſtruments to grynd it,to make bread of it. For the moſt part of them had bene left behind,bicauſe the beaſts that caried them were either dead,or els imployed to cary them that were ſore and wounded. For the famine was ſo extreame great,that the eight parte of a
F buſhell of wheate was ſold for fifty Drachmas,and they ſold barley bread by the waight of ſiluer. In the ende,they were compelled to liue of erbes and rootes,but they found few of them that men doe commonly eate of,and were inforced to taſt of them that were neuer eaten be-

The king of Parthia neuer came to fight in the field.

Antonius charitable prayer to the gods for his army.

The Romanes teſtudo, and couering againſt ſhot.

Great famine in Antonius army.

A deadly erbe incurable without wine.

fore: among the which there was one that killed them, and made them out of their witts. For he that had once eaten of it, his memorye was gone from him, and he knewe no manner of thing, but onely busied him selfe in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had bene a matter of great waight, and to be done with all possible speede. All the campe ouer, men were busily stouping to the ground, digging and carying of stones from one place to another: but at the last, they cast vp a great deale of choller, and dyed sodainly, bicause they lacked wine, which was the onely soueraine remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that *Antonius* seeing such a number of his men dye dayly, and that the PARTHIANS left them not, nether would suffer them to be at rest: he oftentymes cryed out sighing, and sayd: O, tenne thowsand. He had the valliantnes of tenne thowsand GRÆCIANS in such admiration, whome *Xenophon* brought away after the ouerthrow of CYRVS: bicause they had comen a farder iorney from BABYLON, and had also fought against much moe enemies many tymes told, then them selues, and yet came home with safetie. The PARTHIANS therfore seeing that they could not breake the good order of the armie of the ROMANES, and contrarily that they them selues were oftentymes put to flight, and welfauoredly beaten: they fell againe to their olde craftie suttelties. For when they found any of the ROMANES scattered from the armie to goe forrage, to seeke some corne, or other vittells: they would come to them as if they had bene their friends, and shewed them their bowes vnbent, saying, that them selues also did returne home to their contry as they did, and that they would follow them no further, howbeit that they should yet haue certaine MEDES that would follow them a dayes iorney or two, to keepe them that they should doe no hurt to the villages from the high wayes: and so holding them with this talke, they gently tooke their leaue of them, and bad them farewell, so that the ROMANES began againe to thinke them selues safe. *Antonius* also vnderstanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine contry, bicause also they should find no water in the mountaines, as it was reported vnto him. So as he was determined to take this course, there came into his hoast one *Mithridates*, a gentleman from the enemies campe, who was Cosen vnto *Monæzes* that fled vnto *Antonius*, and vnto whome he had giuen three cities. When he came to *Antonius* campe, he praied them to bring him one that could speake the PARTHIAN, or SYRIAN tongue. So one *Alexander* ANTIOCHIAN, a famillier of *Antonius*, was brought vnto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and sayde, that *Monæzes* had sent him to *Antonius*, to requite the honor and curtesie he had shewed vnto him. After he had vsed this ceremonious speeche, he asked *Alexander* if he sawe those highe Mountaines a farre of, which he poynted vnto him with his finger. *Alexander* aunswered he did. The PARTHIANS (sayd he) doe lye in ambushe at the foote of those Mountaines, vnder the which lyeth a goodly playne champion contry: and they thinke that you beeing deceiued with their craftie suttill wordes, will leaue the way of the Mountaines, and turne into the plaine. For the other way, it is very hard and painefull, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withall: but if *Antonius* take the lower way, let him assure him selfe to runne the same fortune that *Marcus Crassus* did. So *Mithridates* hauing sayd, he departed. *Antonius* was maruelously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, & therfore called for his friends, to heare what they would say to it. The MARDIAN also that was their guide, being asked his opinion, aunswered: that he thought as much as the gentleman *Mithridates* had sayd. For, sayd he, admit that there were no ambushe of enemies in the valley, yet is it a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountaine waye, though it be stonye and painefull, yet there is no other daunger, but a whole dayes trauelling without any water. So *Antonius* chaūging his first mind and determination, remoued that night, and tooke the Mountaine way, commaunding euery man to prouide him selfe of water. But the most part of them lacking vessells to cary water in, some were driuen to fill their salletts and murrians with water, and others also filled goates skinnes to cary water in. Nowe they marching forwarde, worde was brought vnto the PARTHIANS that they were remoued: whereuppon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the selfe same night, so that by breake of day they ouertooke the rereward of the ROMANES, who were so lame and wearied with going, and lacke of sleepe, that they were euen done. For, beyond expectacion, they had gone that night, two hundred

The valliantnes of tenne thowsand Græcians, whome Xenophon brought away after the ouerthrow of Cyrus

The Parthians very suttell and craftie people.

Mithridates a Parthian, bewrayeth vnto Antonius the conspiracie of his own contry men against him.

and

A and forty furlong, and further, to see their enemies so sodainly at their backs, that made them vterly dispaire: but moste of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, bicause they were forced to fight as they marched, to driue their enemies backe, yet creeping on still. The woward of the armie by chaunce met with a riuer that was very cleere, and colde water, but it was salt and venemous to drinke: for straight it did gnawe the gutts of those that had dronke it, and made them maruelous drye, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithstanding that the MARDIAN had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them backe that would haue kept them from drinking, and so dranke. But *Antonius* going vp and downe amongst them, prayed them to take a litle pacience for a while, for hard by there was another riuer that the water was excellent good to drinke, & that from

B thencesforth the way was so stony and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could followe them no further. So he caused the retreate to be sownded to call them backe that fought, and commaunded the tents to be set vppe, that the souldiers might yet haue shadow to refreshe them with. So when the tents were set vp, and the PARTHIANS also retyred according to their manner: the gentleman *Mithridates* before named, returned againe as before, and *Alexander* in like manner againe brought vnto him for Interpreter. Then *Mithridates* aduised him, that after the armie had reposed a litle, the ROMANES should remoue forthwith, and with all possible speede get to the riuer: bicause the PARTHIANS would goe no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. *Alexander* caried the report thereof vnto *Antonius*, who gaue him a great deale of gold plate to bestowe vpon *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* tooke as much of him as

C he could well cary away in his gowne, and so departed with speede. So *Antonius* raysed his campe being yet day light, and caused all his army to marche, & the PARTHIANS neuer troubled any of them by the way: but amongest them selues it was as ill and dreadfull a night as euer they had. For there were Villens of their owne company, who cut their fellowes throates for the money they had, and besides that, robbed the sumpters and cariage of such money as they caried: and at length, they set vpon *Antonius* slaues that drane his owne sumpters and cariage, they brake goodly tables & riche plate in peeces, and deuided it among them selues. Thereuppon all the campe was straight in tumult and vprore: For the residue of them were affraid it had bene the PARTHIANS that had giuen them this alarom, and had put all the armie out of order. Insomuch that *Antonius* called for one *Rhamnus*, one of his slaues infranchised

D that was of his gard, and made him giue him his faith that he would thrust his sword through him when he would bid him, and cut of his head: bicause he might not be taken aliue of his enemies, nor knowen when he were dead. This grieued his friends to the hart, that they burst out a weeping for sorrow. The MARDIAN also did comfort him, and assured him that the riuer he sought for was hard by, and that he did gesse it by a sweete moyst wind that breathed vpon them, and by the ayer which they found fresher then they were wont, and also, for that they fetched their wind more at libertie: and moreouer, bicause that since they did set forward, he thought they were neare their iorneys ende, not lacking much of day. On the other side also, *Antonius* was informed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile couetousnes and villany of certaine of his souldiers. Therefore *Antonius*

E to set his armie againe in order, and to pacifie this vprore, sownded the trompet that euery man should lodge. Now day began to breake, and the army to fall againe into good order, and all the hurly burly to cease, when the PARTHIANS drewe neare, and that their arrowes lighted among them of the rereward of his army. Thereuppon the signall of battell was giuen to the light armed men, and the legioners did couer them selues as they had done before with their shields, with the which they receiued & defended the force of the PARTHIANS arrowes, who neuer durst any more come to hand strokes with them: and thus they that were in the woward, went downe by litle and litle, till at length they spyed the riuer. There *Antonius* placed his armed men vpon the sands to receiue and driue backe the enemies, and first of all, got ouer his men that were sicke and hurt, and afterwards all the rest. And those also that were left

F to resist the enemies, had leysure enough to drinke safely, and at their pleasure. For when the PARTHIANS saw the riuer, they vnbent their bowes, and bad the ROMANES passe ouer without any feare, and greatly commended their valliantnes. When they had all passed ouer the

A salt riuer.

Antonius great liberalitie vnto Mithridates for the care he had of his safetie.

The tumult of Antonius souldiers through couetousnes.

Antonius doubtfull minde.

riuer at their eaſe, they tooke a litle breath, and ſo marched forward againe, not greatly miſ-
Araxes ſt. ſting the PARTHIANS. The ſixt daye after this laſt battell, they came to the riuer of Araxes, which deuideth the contry of ARMENIA from MEDIA: the which appeared vnto them very daungerous to paſſe, for the depth and ſwiftnes of the ſtreame. And furthermore, there ranne a rumor through the campe, that the PARTHIANS lay in ambuſhe thereabouts, and that they would come & ſet vpon them whileſt they were troubled in paſſing ouer the riuer. But now, after they were all comen ſafely ouer without any daunger, and that they had gotten to the other ſide, into the prouince of ARMENIA: then they worſhipped that land, as if it had bene the firſt land they had ſeene after a long and daungerous voyage by ſea, being now arriued in a ſafe and happy hauen: and the teares ranne downe their cheekes, and euery man imbraced eache other for the great ioy they had. But nowe, keeping the fields in this frutefull contry ſo plentifull of all things, after ſo great a famine and want of all thinges: they ſo cramm'd them ſelues with ſuch plenty of vittells, that many of them were caſt into flyxes and dropſies. There *Antonius* muſtring his whole army, found that he had loſt twenty thowſand footemen, and foure thowſand horſemen, which had not all bene ſlayne by their enemies: for the moſt part of them dyed of ſicknes, making ſeuen and twenty dayes iorney, comming from the citie of
18. ſeuerall battels fought with the Parthians, PHRAATA into ARMENIA, and hauing ouercome the PARTHIANS in eighteene ſeuerall bat-
The trechery of Artabazus king of Armenia, vnto Antonius. tells. But theſe victories were not throughly performed nor accompliſhed, bicauſe they followed no long chaſe: and thereby it eaſily appeared, that *Artabazus* king of ARMENIA, had reſerued *Antonius* to end this warre. For if the ſixteene thowſand horſemen which he brought with him out of MEDIA, had bene at theſe battells, conſidering that they were armed and apparelled much after the PARTHIANS manner, and acquainted alſo with their fight: When the ROMANES had put them to flight that fought a battell with them, & that theſe ARMENIANS had followed the chaſe of them that fled, they had not gathered them ſelues againe in force, neither durſt they alſo haue returned to fight with them ſo often, after they had bene ſo many times ouerthrowen. Therefore, all thoſe that were of any credit and countenaunce in the army, did perſwade and egge *Antonius* to be reuenged of this ARMENIAN king. But *Antonius* wiſely diſſembling his anger, he told him not of his trechery, nor gaue him the worſe countenaunce, nor did him leſſe honor then he did before: bicauſe he knew his armie was weake, & lacked things neceſſary. Howbeit afterwards he returned againe into ARMENIA with a great
Antonius triumphed of Artabazus king of Armenia, in AEgypt. army, and ſo with fayer wordes, and ſweete promiſes of Meſſengers, he allured *Artabazus* to come vnto him: whome he then kept priſoner, and led in triumphe in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. This greatly offended the ROMANES, and made them much to miſlike it: when they ſaw that for *Cleopatraes* ſake he depriued his contry of her due honor and glory, onely to gratifie the ÆGYPTIANS. But this was a prety while after. Howbeit then, the great haſte he made to returne vnto *Cleopatra*, cauſed him to put his men to ſo great paines, forcing them to lye in the field all winter long when it ſnew vnreaſonably, that by the way he loſt eight thowſand of his men, and ſo came downe to the ſea ſide with a ſmall companye, to a certaine place called
Antonius pined away looking for Cleopatra. BLANCBOVRG, which ſtandeth betwixt the cities of BERYTVS and SIDON, and there taried for *Cleopatra*. And bicauſe ſhe taried longer then he would haue had her, he pined away for loue and ſorrow. So that he was at ſuch a ſtraight, that he wiſt not what to doe, and therefore to weare it out, he gaue him ſelfe to quaffing and feaſting. But he was ſo drowned with the loue of her, that he could not abide to ſit at the table till the feaſt were ended: but many times while others banketted, he ranne to the ſea ſide to ſee if ſhe were comming. At length ſhe
Cleopatra came to Blancbourg vnto Antonius. came, and brought with her a worlde of apparell and money to giue vnto the ſouldiers. But ſome ſaye notwithſtanding, that ſhe brought apparell, but no money, and that ſhe tooke of *Antonius* money, and cauſed it to be giuen amonge the ſouldiers in her owne name, as if ſhe had giuen it them. In the meane time it chaunced, that the king of the MEDES, and *Phraortes*
Warres betwixt the Parthians and Medes. king of the PARTHIANS, fell at great warres togeather, the which began (as it is reported) for the ſpoyles of the ROMANES: and grew to be ſo hot betwene them, that the king of MEDES was no leſſe affrayd, then alſo in daunger to loſe his whole Realme. Thereuppon he ſent vnto *Antonius* to pray him to come and make warre with the PARTHIANS, promiſing him that he would ayde him to his vttermoſt power. This put *Antonius* againe in good comfort, conſide-

ring

A ring that vnlooked for, the onely thing he lacked, (which made him he could not ouercome the PARTHIANS, meaning that he had not brought horsemen, and men with darts and slinges enough) was offred him in that sort: that he did him more pleasure to accept it, then it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereuppon, after he had spoken with the king of MEDES at the riuer of Araxes, he prepared him selfe once more to goe through ARMENIA, and to make more cruell warre with the PARTHIANS, then he had done before. Now whilest *Antonius* was busie in this preparation, *Octauia* his wife, whome he had left at ROME, would needes take sea to come vnto him. Her brother *Octauius Cæsar* was willing vnto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors doe report) as for that he might haue an honest culler to make warre with *Antonius* if he did misuse her, and not esteeme of her as she ought to be. But when she was come *Octauia, Antonius wife, came to Athens to meete with him.*

B to ATHENS, she receiued letters from *Antonius*, willing her to stay there vntill his comming, & did aduertise her of his iorney and determination. The which though it grieued her much, and that she knewe it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of aunswer, she asked him whether he would haue those thinges sent vnto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparell for souldiers, a great number of horse, summe of money, and gifts, to bestow on his friendes and Captaines he had about him: and besides all those, she had two thowsand souldiers chosen men, all well armed, like vnto the Prætors bands. When *Niger*, one of *Antonius* friends whome he had sent vnto ATHENS, had brought these newes from his wife *Octauia*, and withall did greatly prayse her, as she was worthy, and well deserued: *Cleopatra* knowing that *Octauia* would haue *Antonius* from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and

C honest behauior, (besides the great power of her brother *Cæsar*) she did adde thereunto her modest kind loue to please her husband, that she would then be too stronge for her, and in the end winne him away: she suttelly seemed to languish for the loue of *Antonius*, pyning her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore, she euery way so framed her countenaunce, that when *Antonius* came to see her, she cast her eyes vpon him, like a woman rauished for ioy. Straight againe when he went from her, she fell a weeping and blubbering, looked rufully of the matter, and still found the meanes that *Antonius* should oftentymes finde her weeping: and then when he came sodainely vppon her, she made as though she dryed her eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were vnwilling that he should see her weepe. All these tricks she vsed, *Antonius* being in readines to goe into SYRIA, to speake with the king of MEDES. Then the flat- *The flickering enticements of Cleopatra, vnto Antonius.*

D terers that furthered *Cleopatraes* mind, blamed *Antonius*, and tolde him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had small loue in him, that would see a poore Ladye in such torment for his sake, whose life depended onely vpon him alone. For, *Octauia*, sayd they, that was maryed vnto him as it were of necessitie, bicause her brother *Cæsars* affayres so required it: hath the honor to be called *Antonius* lawefull spowse and wife: and *Cleopatra*, being borne a Queene of so many thowsands of men, is onely named *Antonius* Leman, and yet that she disdayned not so to be called, if it might please him she might enioy his company, and liue with him: but if he once leaue her, that then it is vnpossible she should liue. To be short, by these their flatteries and enticements, they so wrought *Antonius* effeminate mind, that fearing least she would make her selfe away: he returned againe vnto ALEXANDRIA, and referred the king of MEDES

E to the next yeare following, although he receyued newes that the PARTHIANS at that tyme were at ciuill warres amonge them selues. This notwithstanding, he went afterwardes and made peace with him. For he maried his Daughter which was very younge, vnto one of the sonnes that *Cleopatra* had by him: and then returned, beeing fully bent to make warre with *Cæsar*. When *Octauia* was returned to ROME from ATHENS, *Cæsar* commaunded her to goe out of *Antonius* house, and to dwell by her selfe, bicause he had abused her. *Octauia* aunswered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for sayd she, it were too shamefull a thinge, that two so famous Captaines should bringe in ciuill warres among the ROMANES, the one for the loue of a woma, & the other for the iealousy betwixt one *The occasion of ciuil warres betwixt Antonius and Cæsar.*

F an other. Now as she spake the worde, so did she also performe the deede. For she kept still in *Antonius* house, as if he had bene there, and very honestly and honorably kept his children, not those onely she had by him, but the other which her husband had by *Fuluia*. Further- *The loue of Octauia to Antonius her husband, and her wise and womanly behauior.*

more, when *Antonius* sent any of his men to ROME, to sue for any office in the cõmon wealth A
she receiued him very curteously, and so vsed her selfe vnto her brother, that she obtained the
thing she requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did *Antonius* great hurt. For her
honest loue and regard to her husband, made euery man hate him, when they sawe he did so
vnkindly vse so noble a Lady: but yet the greatest cause of their malice vnto him, was for the
diuision of lands he made amongst his children in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. And to confesse
a troth, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in derision and
contempt of the ROMANES. For he assembled all the people in the show place, where younge
men doe exercise them selues, and there vpon a high tribunall siluered, he set two chayres of
gold, the one for him selfe, and the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower chaires for his children: then
Antonius arrogantly deuideth diuers prouinces vnto his children by Cleopatra. he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish *Cleopatra* Queene of B
Cæsarion, the supposed sõne of Cæsar, by Cleopatra. ÆGYPT, of CYPRVS, of LYDIA, and of the lower SYRIA, and at that time also, *Cæsarion* king of
Alexander & Ptolomy, Antonius sonnes by Cleopatra. the same Realmes. This *Cæsarion* was supposed to be the sonne of *Iulius Cæsar*, who had left
Cleopatra great with child. Secondly he called the sonnes he had by her, the kings of kings, and
gaue *Alexander* for his portion, ARMENIA, MEDIA, and PARTHIA, when he had conquered
the contry: and vnto *Ptolomy* for his portion, PHENICIA, SYRIA, and CILICIA. And there-
withall he brought out *Alexander* in a long gowne after the facion of the MEDES, with a high
copped tanke hat on his head, narrow in the toppe, as the kings of the MEDES and ARMENI-
ANS doe vse to weare them: and *Ptolomy* apparelled in a cloke after the MACEDONIAN man-
ner, with slippers on his feete, and a broad hat, with a royall band or diademe. Such was the
apparell and old attyre of the auncient kinges and successors of *Alexander* the great. So after C
his sonnes had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother: presently a com-
pany of ARMENIAN souldiers set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like com-
pany of the MACEDONIANS the other. Now for *Cleopatra*, she did not onely weare at that time
(but at all other times els when she came abroad) the apparell of the goddesse *Isis*, and so gaue
Accusations betwixt Octauius Cæsar, & Antonius. audience vnto all her subiects, as a new *Isis*. *Octauius Cæsar* reporting all these thinges vnto the
Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in ROME: he thereby
stirred vp all the ROMANES against him. *Antonius* on thother side sent to ROME likewise to ac-
cuse him, and the chiefest poyntes of his accusations he charged him with, were these. First,
that hauing spoyled *Sextus Pompeius* in SICILE, he did not giue him his parte of the Ile. Se-
condly, that he did deteyne in his hands the shippes he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, D
that hauing put *Lepidus* their companion and triumuirate out of his part of the Empire, and
hauing depriued him of all honors: he retayned for him selfe the lands and reuenues thereof,
which had bene assigned vnto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner deuided
all ITALY amongest his owne souldiers, and had left no part of it for his souldiers. *Octauius Cæ-
sar* aunswered him againe: that for *Lepidus*, he had in deede deposed him, and taken his part
of the Empire from him, bicause he did ouercruelly vse his authoritie. And secondly, for the
conquests he had made by force of armes, he was contented *Antonius* should haue his part of
them, so that he would likewise let him haue his part of ARMENIA. And thirdly, that for his
souldiers, they should seeke for nothing in ITALY, bicause they possessed MEDIA and PAR-
THIA, the which prouinces they had added to the Empire of ROME, valliantly fighting with E
their Emperor and Captaine. *Antonius* hearing these newes, being yet in ARMENIA, com-
maunded *Canidius* to goe presently to the sea side with his sixteene legions he had: and he
him selfe with *Cleopatra*, went vnto the citie of EPHESVS, & there gathered together his gal-
lies and shippes out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the
great shippes of burden: and of those, *Cleopatra* furnished him with two hundred, and twenty
Antonius came with eight hundred saile against Octauius Cæsar. thowsand talents besides, and prouision of vittells also to mainteyne al the whole army in this
warre. So *Antonius*, through the perswasions of *Domitius*, commaunded *Cleopatra* to returne
againe into ÆGYPT, and there to vnderstand the successe of this warre. But *Cleopatra*, fearing
least *Antonius* should againe be made friends with *Octauius Cæsar*, by the meanes of his wife
Octauia: she so plyed *Canidius* with money, and filled his purse, that he became her spokes F
man vnto *Antonius*, and told him there was no reason to send her from this warre, who defrai-
ed so great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, bicause that thereby the ÆGYPTIANS
would

A would then be vtterly discoraged, which were the chiefest strength of the army by sea: consi-
dering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederats, that *Cleopatra* was inferior
vnto, either for wisedom or iudgement, seeing that longe before she had wisely gouerned so
great a realme as Ægypt, & besides that she had bene so long acquainted with him, by whom
she had learned to manedge great affayres. These fayer perswasions wan him: for it was pre-
destined that the gouernment of all the world should fall into *Octauius Cesars* handes. Thus,
all their forces being ioyned together, they hoysed sayle towards the Ile of Samos, and there
gaue them selues to feasts and sollace. For as all the kings, Princes, & communalties, peoples
and cities from Syria, vnto the marishes Mæotides, and from the Armenians to the Ly-
B rians, were sent vnto, to send and bringe all munition and warlike preparation they could:
euen so all players, minstrells, tumblers, fooles, and iesters, were commaunded to assemble in
the Ile of Samos. So that, where in manner all the world in euery place was full of lamenta-
tions, sighes and teares: onely in this Ile of Samos there was nothing for many dayes space,
but singing and pyping, and all the Theater full of these common players, minstrells, and sin-
ging men. Besides all this, euery citie sent an oxe thither to sacrifice, and kings did striue one
with another who should make the nobleste feasts, & giue the richest gifts. So that euery man
sayd, what can they doe more for ioy of victorie, if they winne the battell? When they make
already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the warre? When this was done, he gaue
the whole rabble of these minstrells, & such kind of people, the citie of Priene to keepe them
withal, during this warre. Then he went vnto the citie of Athens, and there gaue him selfe a-
C gaine to see playes and pastimes, and to keepe the Theaters. *Cleopatra* on the other side, being
ielous of the honors which *Octauia* had receiued in this citie, where in deede she was marue-
louslie honored and beloued of the Athenians: to winne the peoples good will also at A-
thens, she gaue them great gifts: and they likewise gaue her many great honors, and appoin-
ted certain Ambassadors to cary the decree to her house, amõg the which *Antonius* was one,
who as a Citizen of Athens reported the matter vnto her, & made an oration in the behalfe
of the citie. Afterwards he sent to Rome to put his wife *Octauia* out of his house, who (as it is
reported) went out of his house with all *Antonius* children, sauing the eldest of them he had by
Fuluia, who was with her father, bewailing & lamenting her cursed hap that had brought her
to this, that she was accompted one of the chiefest causes of this ciuill warre. The Romanes
D did pitie her, but much more *Antonius*, & those specially that had seene *Cleopatra*: who nether
excelled *Octauia* in beawtie, nor yet in young yeares. *Octauius Cesar* vnderstanding the sodain
& wonderful great preparation of *Antonius*, he was not a litle astonied at it, (fearing he should
be driuen to fight that sommer) bicause he wanted many things, & the great and grieuous ex-
actions of money did sorely oppresse the people. For all manner of men els, were driuen to
pay the fourth part of their goods and reuenue: but the Libertines, (to were, those whose fa-
thers or other predecessors had some time bene bond men) they were sessed to pay the eight
part of all their goods at one payment. Hereuppon, there rose a wonderfull exclamation and
great vprore all Italy ouer: so that among the greatest faults that euer *Antonius* committed,
they blamed him most, for that he delayed to giue *Cesar* battell. For he gaue *Cesar* leysure to
E make his preparacions, and also to appease the complaints of the people. When such a great
summe of money was demaunded of them, they grudged at it, and grewe to mutinie vpon it:
but when they had once paied it, they remembred it no more. Furthermore, *Titius* and *Plan-
cus* (two of *Antonius* chiefest friends and that had bene both of them Consuls) for the great
iniuries *Cleopatra* did them, bicause they hindered all they could, that she should not come to
this warre: they went and yelded them selues vnto *Cesar*, and tolde him where the testament
was that *Antonius* had made, knowing perfitly what was in it. The will was in the custodie of
the Vestall Nunnes: of whom *Cesar* demaunded for it. They aunswered him, that they would
not giue it him: but if he would goe and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereuppon *Ce-
sar* went thither, & hauing red it first to him self, he noted certaine places worthy of reproch:
F so assembling all the Senate, he red it before them all. Whereuppon diuers were marueloulsly
offended, and thought it a straunge matter that he being aliue, should be punished for that he
had appoynted by his will to be done after his death. *Cesar* chiefly tooke hold of this that he

*Antonius ta-
keth Cleopa-
tra with him,
to the warres,
against Octa-
uius Cesar:
& kept great
feasting at the
Ile of Samos
together.*

*Antonius put
his wife Octa-
uia out of his
house at Rome*

*Octauius Ce-
sar exacteth
grieuous pay-
ments of the
Romanes.*

*Titius and
Plancus run-
neth from An-
tonius, and
doe yeld to
Cesar.*

ordeyned touching his buriall: for he willed that his bodie, though he dyed at Rome, should A
be brought in funerall pompe through the middest of the market place, and that it should be
sent into Alexandria vnto *Cleopatra*. Furthermore, among diuers other faultes wherewith
Antonius was to be charged, for *Cleopatraes* sake: *Caluisius*, one of *Cæsars* friends reproued him,
bicause he had franckly giuen *Cleopatra* all the libraries of the royall citie of Pergamvm, in
the which she had aboue two hundred thowsand seueral bookes. Again also, that being on a
time set at the table, he sodainly rose from the borde, and trode vpon *Cleopatraes* foote, which
was a signe giuen betwene them, that they were agreed of. That he had also suffred the Ephe-
sians in his presence to call *Cleopatra*, their soueraine Ladye. That diuers times sitting in his
tribunall and chayer of state, giuing audience to all kings and Princes: he had receiued loue
letters from *Cleopatra*, written in tables of onyx or christall, and that he had red them, sitting B
in his imperiall seate. That one day when *Furnius*, a man of great accompt, and the eloquentest
man of all the Romanes, pleaded a matter before him: *Cleopatra* by chaunce cõming through
the market place in her litter where *Furnius* was a pleading: *Antonius* straight rose out of his
seate, and left his audience to followe her litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought *Caluisi-*
us deuised the most part of all these accusations of his owne head. Neuertheles they that lo-
ued *Antonius*, were intercessors to the people for him, and amongest them they sent one
Geminius vnto *Antonius*, to pray him he would take heede, that through his negligence his
Empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemie to the people of
Rome. This *Geminius* being arriued in Græce, made *Cleopatra* ielous straight of his cõming:
bicause she surmised that he came not but to speake for *Octauia*. Therefore she spared not to C
tawnt him all supper tyme, and moreouer to spyte him the more, she made him be set lowest
of all at the borde, the which he tooke paciently, expecting occasion to speake with *Antonius*.
Now *Antonius* commaunding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither: he
aunswered him, that it was no table talke, and that he would tell him to morrow morning fa-
sting: but dronke or fasting, howsoeuer it were, he was sure of one thing, that all would not go
well on his side, vnles *Cleopatra* were sent backe into Ægypt. *Antonius* tooke these wordes in
very ill part. *Cleopatra* on the other side aunswered him, thou doest well *Geminius*, sayd she, to
tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments: but within fewe dayes after, *Geminius*
stale away, and fled to Rome. The flatterers also to please *Cleopatra*, did make her driue many
other of *Antonius* faithfull seruaunts and friends from him, who could not abide the iniuries D
done vnto them: amonge the which these two were chiefe, *Marcus Syllanus*, and *Dellius* the
Historiographer: who wrote that he fled, bicause her Phisitian *Glaucus* tolde him, that *Cleo-*
patra had set some secretly to kill him. Furthermore he had *Cleopatraes* displeasure, bicause he
sayde one night at supper, that they made them drinke sowet wine, where *Sarmentus* at
Rome drancke good wine of Falerna. This *Sarmentus* was a pleasaunt younge boye, such
as the Lordes of Rome are wont to haue about them to make them pastyme, which they
call their ioyes, and he was *Octauius Cæsars* boye. Nowe, after *Cæsar* had made sufficient pre-
paration, he proclaymed open warre against *Cleopatra*, and made the people to abolishe the
power and Empire of *Antonius*, bicause he had before giuen it vppe vnto a woman. And
Cæsar sayde furthermore, that *Antonius* was not Maister of him selfe, but that *Cleopatra* had E
brought him beside him selfe, by her charmes and amorous poysons: and that they that
should make warre with them, should be *Mardian* the Euenuke, *Photinus*, and *Iras*, a wo-
man of *Cleopatraes* bedchamber, that friseled her heare, and dressed her head, and *Charmion*, the
which were those that ruled all the affaires of *Antonius* Empire. Before this warre, as it is re-
ported, many signes & wonders fel out. First of all, the citie of Pisavrvm which was made a
colony to Rome, and replenished with people by *Antonius*, standing vpon the shore side of the
sea Adriatick, was by a terrible earthquake sonck into the ground. One of the images of stone
which was set vp in the honor of *Antonius*, in the citie of Alba, did sweate many dayes toge-
ther: and though some wyped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the citie of Patras, F
whilest *Antonius* was there, the temple of *Hercules* was burnt with lightning. And at the citie
of Athens also, in a place where the warre of the gyants against the goddes is set out in i-
magerie: the statue of *Bacchus* with a terrible winde was throwen downe in the Theater.

A famous librarie in the citie of Pergamum.

Furnius, an eloquent Orator among the Romanes.

Geminius sent from Rome to Antonius, to bid him take heede to him selfe.

Many of Antonius friends doe forsake him.

Antonius Empire taken from him.

Signes and wonders before the ciuill warres betwixt Antonius and Oct. Cæsar.

Pesaro, a citie in Italy, sonck into the ground by an earthquake.

It

A It was sayd that *Antonius* came of the race of *Hercules*, as you haue heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed *Bacchus*: and therefore he was called the new *Bacchus*. Furthermore, the same blustering storme of wind, ouerthrew the great mõstrous images at ATHENS, that were made in the honor of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, the which men had named and intituled, the *Antonians*, and yet they did hurt none of the other images which were many besides. The Admirall galley of *Cleopatra*, was called Antoniade, in the which there chaunced a marueilous ill signe. Swallowes had bred vnder the poope of her shippe, & there came others after them that draue away the first, & plucked downe their neasts. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew neare to fight: it was found that *Antonius* had no lesse then fiue hundred good ships of warre, among the which there were many gallies that had eight & ten bancks of owers, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meete for fight, as for triumphe: a hundred thowsand footemen, & twelue thowsand horsemen, & had with him to ayde him these kinges and subiects following. *Bocchus* king of LYBIA, *Tarcondemus* king of high CILICIA, *Archelaus* king of CAPPADOCIA, *Philadelphus* king of PAPHLAGONIA, *Mithridates* king of COMMAGENE, and *Adallas* king of THRACIA. All the which were there euery man in person. The residue that were absent sent their armies, as *Polemõ* king of PONT, *Manchus* king of ARABIA, *Herodes* king of IVRY: & furthermore, *Amyntas* king of LYCAONIA, & of the GALATIANS: and besides all these, he had all the ayde the king of MEDES sent vnto him. Now for *Cæsar*, he had two hundred and fifty shippes of warre, foure score thowsand footemen, & well neare as many horsemen as his enemy *Antonius*. *Antonius* for his part, had all vnder his dominiõ from ARMENIA, B & the riuer of Euphrates, vnto the sea IONIVM & ILLYRICVM. *Octauius Cæsar* had also for his part, all that which was in our HEMISPHÆRE, or halfe part of the world, from ILLYRIA, vnto the Occean sea vpon the west: then all from the Occean, vnto Mare Siculũ: & from AFRICK, all that which is against ITALY, as GAVLE, & SPAYNE. Furthermore, all from the prouince of CYRENIA, vnto ÆTHIOPIA, was subiect vnto *Antonius*. Now *Antonius* was made so subiect to a womans will, that though he was a great deale the stronger by land, yet for *Cleopatraes* sake, C he would needes haue this battell tryed by sea: though he sawe before his eyes, that for lacke of water men, his Captaines did presse by force all sortes of men out of GRÆCE that they could take vp in the field, as trauellers, muleters, reapers, haruest men, and younge boyes, and yet could they not sufficiently furnishe his gallies: so that the most part of them were empD ty, and could scant rowe, bicause they lacked water men enowe. But on the contrary side, *Cæsars* shippes were not built for pompe, highe, and great, onely for a fight and brauery, but they were light of yarage, armed and furnished with water men as many as they needed, and had them all in readines, in the hauens of TARENTVM, and BRVNDVSIVM. So *Octauius Cæsar* sent vnto *Antonius*, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into ITALY, and that for his owne part he would giue him safe harber, to lande without any trouble, and that he would withdraw his armie from the sea, as farre as one horse could runne, vntil he had put his army a shore, & had lodged his men. *Antonius* on the other side brauely sent him word againe, and chalenged the combate of him man to man, though he were the elder: and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of PHARSALIA, as *Iulius* E *Cæsar*, and *Pompey* had done before. Now whileſt *Antonius* rode at anker, lying idely in harber at the head of ACTIVM, in the place where the citie of NICOPOLIS standeth at this present, *Cæsar* had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called TORYNE, before *Antonius* vnderstoode that he had taken shippe. Then began his men to be affraid, bicause his army by land was left behind. But *Cleopatra* making light of it: and what daunger, I pray you, said she, is *Cæsar* keepe at * TORYNE? The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with F full force of owers in battell against him, *Antonius* was affraid that if they came to ioyne, they would take and cary away his shippes that had no men of warre in them. So he armed all his water men, and set them in order of battell vpon the forecastell of their shippes, and then lift vp all his rancks of owers towards the element, as well of the one side, as the other, with the prooes against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of ACTIVM, and so kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furnished with water men and souldiers. Thus *Octauius Cæsar* beeing finely deceyued by this stratageame, re-

An ill signe, foreshowed by swallowes breding in Cleopatraes shippe Antonius going against Oct. Cæsar.

Antonius had 7 glad kinges, & their power to ayde him.

The army & power of Octauius Cæsar against Antonius.

Antonius dominions.

Octauius Cæsars dominions.

Antonius too much ruled by Cleopatra.

Antonius rode at anker at the head of Actiũ, where the citie of Nicopolis standeth.

**The grace of this name cannot properly be expressed in any other tongue, bicause of the equiuocation of this word Torynes, which signifieth a*

virtue of Albania, and also, a ladell to scoome the pot with: as if she mens, Cæsar sat by the fire side, scomming of the pot.

tyred presently, and therewithall *Antonius* very wisely and sodainely did cut him off from fresh water. For, vnderstanding that the places where *Octauius Cæsar* landed, had very litle store of water, and yet very bad: he shut them in with stronge ditches and trenches he cast, to keepe them from salying out at their pleasure, and so to goe seeke water further of. Furthermore, he delt very friendely and curteously with *Domitius*, and against *Cleopatraes* mynde. For, he being sicke of an agewe when he went and tooke a litle boate to goe to *Cæsars* campe, *Antonius* was very sory for it, but yet he sent after him all his caryage, trayne, and men: and the same *Domitius*, as though he gaue him to vnderstand that he repented his open treason, he died immediatly after. There were certen kings also that forsooke him, and turned on *Cæsars* side: as *Amyntas*, and *Deiotarus*. Furthermore, his fleete and nauy that was vnfortunate in all thinges, and vnready for seruice, compelled him to chaunge his minde, and to hazard battell by land. And *Canidius* also, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow *Antonius* determination: he turned him cleane contrary, and counselled him to send *Cleopatra* backe againe, and him selfe to retyre into MACEDON, to fight there on the maine land. And furthermore told him, that *Dicomes* king of the GETES, promised him to ayde him with a great power: and that it should be no shame nor dishonor to him to let *Cæsar* haue the sea, (bicause him selfe & his men both had bene well practised & exercised in battels by sea, in the warre of SICILIA against *Sextus Pompeius*) but rather that he should doe against all reason, he hauing so great skill and experience of battells by land as he had, if he should not employ the force and valliantnes of so many lusty armed footemen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by deuiding them into shippes. But now, notwithstanding all these good perswasions, *Cleopatra* forced him to put all to the hazard of battel by sea: considering with her selfe how she might flie, & prouide for her safetie, not to helpe him to winne the victory, but to flie more easily after the battel lost. Betwixt *Antonius* campe & his fleete of shippes, there was a great hie point of firme lande that ranne a good waye into the sea, the which *Antonius* often vsed for a walke, without mistrust of feare or daunger. One of *Cæsars* men perceiued it, & told his Maister that he would laugh & they could take vp *Antonius* in the middest of his walke. Thereuppon *Cæsar* sent some of his men to lye in ambush for him, & they missed not much of taking of him: for they tooke him that came before him, bicause they discouered to soone, & so *Antonius* scaped verie hardly. So when *Antonius* had determined to fight by sea, he set all the other shippes a fire, but three score shippes of ÆGYPT, & reserued onely but the best & greatest gallies, from three bancks, vnto tenne bancks of owers. Into them he put two & twenty thowsand fighting men, with two thowsand darters & slingers. Now, as he was setting his men in order of battel, there was a Captaine, & a valliant man, that had serued *Antonius* in many battels & conflicts, & had all his body hacked & cut: who as *Antonius* passed by him, cryed out vnto him, & sayd: O, noble Emperor, how commeth it to passe that you trust to these vile brittle shippes? what, doe you mistrust these woundes of myne, and this sword? let the ÆGYPTIANS & PHÆNICIANS fight by sea, and set vs on the maine land, where we vse to conquer, or to be slayne on our feete. *Antonius* passed by him, and sayd neuer a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand & head, as though he willed him to be of good corage, although in deede he had no great corage him selfe. For when the Masters of the gallies & Pilots would haue let their sailes alone, he made them clap them on, saying to culler the matter withall, that not one of his enemies should scape. All that day, & the three dayes following, the sea rose so high, & was so boysterous, that the battel was put of. The fift day the storme ceased, & the sea calmed againe, & then they rowed with force of owers in battaile one against the other: *Antonius* leading the right wing with *Publicola*, & *Cælius* the left, & *Marcus Octauius*, & *Marcus Iustetus* the middest. *Octauius Cæsar* on thother side, had placed *Agrippa* in the left winge of his armye, and had kept the right winge for him selfe. For the armies by lande, *Canidius* was generall of *Antonius* side, and *Taurus* of *Cæsars* side: who kept their men in battell raye the one before the other, vppon the sea side, without stirring one againe the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaynes: *Antonius* being in a swift pinnase, was caried vp and downe by force of owers through his army, & spake to his people to encorage them to fight valliantly, as if they were on maine land, bicause of the steadines & heauines of their ships: & commaunded the Pilots & masters of the gallies,

Cleopatra forsaketh Antonius, & goeth vnto Octauius Cæsar.

Amyntas, and Deiotarus, do both reuolt from Antonius, and goe vnto Cæsar.

Antonius in daunger of taking at Actium.

Antonius regardeth not the good corage of his souldier.

Battail by sea at Actium, betwixt Antonius and Cæsar.

A gallies, that they ſhould not ſturre, none otherwiſe then if they were at anker, and ſo to receiue the firſt charge of their enemies, and that they ſhould not goe out of the ſtraight of the gulfe. *Ceſar* betymes in the morning going out of his tent, to ſee his ſhips thorough out: met a man by chaunce that draue an aſſe before him. *Ceſar* asked the man what his name was. The poore man told him, his name was *Eutychus*, to ſay, fortunate: and his aſſes name Nicon, to ſay, Conquerer. Therefore *Ceſar* after he had wonne the battell, ſetting out the market place with the ſpurres of the gallies he had taken, for a ſigne of his victorie: he cauſed alſo the man and his aſſe to be ſet vp in braſſe. When he had viſited the order of his armie thorough out, he tooke a litle pinnaſe, and went to the right wing, and wondered when he ſawe his enemies lye ſtil in the ſtraight, & ſturred not. For, deeming them a farre of, men would haue thought

A lucky ſigne vnto Octauius Ceſar.

Eutychus Nicon. fortunate Conquerer.

B they had bene ſhippes riding at anker, and a good while he was ſo perſwaded: So he kept his gallies eight furlong from his enemies. About noone there roſe a litle gale of winde from the ſea, and then *Antonius* men waxing angry with tarying ſo long, and truſting to the greatnes and height of their ſhipps, as if they had bene inuincible: they began to march forward with their left wing. *Ceſar* ſeeing that, was a glad man, and began a litle to giue backe from the right wing, to allure them to come further out of the ſtraight & gulfe: to thend that he might with his light ſhippes well manned with water men, turne and enuiron the gallies of the enemies, the which were heauy of yarage, both for their biggenes, as alſo for lacke of watermen to row them. When the skirmiſh began, and that they came to ioyne, there was no great hurt at the firſt meeting, neither did the ſhippes vehemently hit one againſt the other, as they doe com-

C monly in fight by ſea. For on the one ſide, *Antonius* ſhippes for their heauines, could not haue the ſtrength and ſwiftnes to make their blowes of any force: and *Ceſars* ſhippes on thother ſide tooke great heede, not to ruſhe & ſhocke with the forecaſtells of *Antonius* ſhippes, whoſe proues were armed with great braſen ſpurres. Furthermore they durſt not flancke them, becauſe their points were eaſily broken, which way ſoeuer they came to ſet vpon his ſhippes, that were made of great mayne ſquare peeces of tymber, bounde together with great iron pinnes: ſo that the battel was much like to a battel by land, or to ſpeake more properly, to the aſſault of a citie. For there were alwaies three or foure of *Ceſars* ſhippes about one of *Antonius* ſhippes, and the ſouldiers fought with their pykes, halberds, and darts, and threw pots and darts with fire. *Antonius* ſhips on the other ſide beſtowed among them, with their crosbowes

D and engines of battery, great ſtore of ſhot from their highe towers of wodde, that were apon their ſhippes. Now *Publicola* ſeing *Agrippa* put forth his left wing of *Ceſars* army, to compaſſe in *Antonius* ſhippes that fought: he was driuen alſo to looſe of to haue more roome, & going a litle at one ſide, to put thoſe further of that were affraid, and in the middeſt of the battel. For they were ſore diſtreſſed by *Arruntius*. Howbeit the battell was yet of euen hand, and the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when ſodainely they ſaw the three ſcore ſhippes of *Cleopatra* buſie about their yard maſts, and hoyſing ſaile to flie. So they fled through the mid-

Cleopatra flyeth.

deſt of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great ſhippes, & did marueloufly diſorder the other ſhippes. For the enemies them ſelues wondred much to ſee them ſaile in that ſort, with ful ſaile towards PELOPONNESVS. There *Antonius* ſhewed plainely, that

E he had not onely loſt the corage and hart of an Emperor, but alſo of a valliant man, & that he was not his owne man: (prouing that true which an old man ſpake in myrth, that the ſoule of a louer liued in another body, and not in his owne) he was ſo caried away with the vaine loue of this woman, as if he had bene glued vnto her, & that ſhe could not haue remoued without mouing of him alſo. For when he ſaw *Cleopatraes* ſhippe vnder ſaile, he forgot, forſooke, & betrayed them that fought for him, & imbarked vpon a galley with fiue bankes of owers, to follow her that had already begon to ouerthrow him, & would in the end be his vtter deſtruction. When ſhe knew this galley a farre of, ſhe lift vp a ſigne in the poope of her ſhippe, and ſo *Antonius* comming to it, was pluckt vp where *Cleopatra* was, howbeit he ſaw her not at his firſt comming, nor ſhe him, but went and ſate down alone in the prowe of his ſhippe, and ſaid ne-

The ſoule of a louer liueth in another body.

Antonius flyeth after Cleopatra.

F uer a word, clapping his head betwene both his hands. In the meane time came certaine light brigantynes of *Ceſars* that followed him hard. So *Antonius* ſtraight turned the prowe of his ſhippe, and preſently put the reſt to flight, ſauing one *Eurycles* LACEDEMONIAN, that follow-

ed him neare,and preſt vpon him with great corage,ſhaking a dart in his hand ouer the prow, as though he would haue throwen it vnto *Antonius*. *Antonius* ſeing him,came to the foreca- A
ſtell of his ſhip,& asked him what he was that durſt follow *Antonius* ſo neare? I am,aunſwe-
red he,*Eurycles* the ſonne of *Lachares*,who through *Cæſars* good fortune ſeketh to reuenge the
death of my father. This *Lachares* was condemned of fellonie, and beheaded by *Antonius*. But
yet *Eurycles* durſt not venter on *Antonius* ſhippe, but ſet vpon the other Admirall galley (for
there were two) and fell with him with ſuch a blowe of his braſen ſpurre,that was ſo heauy
and bigge, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was loden with very
rich ſtuffe and cariage. After *Eurycles* had left *Antonius*, he returned againe to his place,and
ſate downe,ſpeaking neuer a word as he did before: and ſo liued three dayes alone, without
ſpeaking to any man. But when he arriued at the head of Tænarus, there *Cleopatraes* women B
firſt brought *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* to ſpeake together, and afterwards,to ſuppe and lye to-
gether. Then beganne there agayne a great number of Marchaunts ſhippes to gather about
them,and ſome of their friends that had eſcaped from this ouerthrow: who brought newes,
that his army by ſea was ouerthrowen,but that they thought the army by land was yet whole.
The *Antonius* ſent vnto *Canidius*,to returne with his army into Asia,by Macedon. Now for
him ſelf, he determined to croſſe ouer into Affrick,& toke one of his carects or hulks loden
Antonius lyceneeth his friends to depart,and giueth them a ſhippe loden with gold and ſiluer. with gold and ſiluer,and other rich cariage,and gaue it vnto his friends: commaunding them
to depart,and to ſeeke to ſaue them ſelues. They aunſwered him weeping, that they would
nether doe it,nor yet forſake him. Then *Antonius* very curteouſly and louingly did comfort
them,and prayed them to depart: and wrote vnto *Theophilus* gouernor of Corinthe, that C
he would ſee them ſafe,and helpe to hide them in ſome ſecret place,vntil they had made their
way and peace with *Cæſar*. This *Theophilus* was the father of *Hipparchus*,who was had in great
eſtimation about *Antonius*. He was the firſt of all his infranchiſed bondmen that reuolted
from him,and yelded vnto *Cæſar*,and afterwardes went and dwelt at Corinthe. And thus it
ſtoode with *Antonius*. Now for his armie by ſea, that fought before the head or foreland of
Actium: they helde out a longe tyme, and nothing troubled them more then a great boy-
ſterous wind that roſe full in the prooes of their ſhippes, and yet with much a doe, his nauy
Antonius nauy ouerthrowen by Cæſar. was at length ouerthrowen,fiue howers within night. There were not ſlaine aboue fiue thow- D
ſand men: but yet there were three hundred ſhippes taken, as *Octauius Cæſar* writeth him
ſelfe in his commentaries. Many plainely ſawe *Antonius* flie, and yet could hardly beleeue
it,that he that had nyneteene legions whole by lande, and twelue thowſand horſemen vpon
the ſea ſide, would ſo haue forſaken them, and haue fled ſo cowardly: as if he had not often-
times proued both the one and the other fortune,& that he had not bene throughly acquain-
ted with the diuers chaunges and fortunes of battells. And yet his ſouldiers ſtill wiſhed for
him,and euer hoped that he would come by ſome meanes or other vnto them. Furthermore,
they ſhewed them ſelues ſo valliant and faithfull vnto him,that after they certainly knewe he
was fled,they kept them ſelues whole together ſeuen daies. In the ende *Canidius*, *Antonius*
Lieuetenant,flying by night,and forſaking his campe: when they ſaw them ſelues thus deſti-
tute of their heads and leaders,they yelded themſelues vnto the ſtronger. This done,*Cæſar* ſai-
Antonius legions doe yeld them ſelues vnto Octauius Cæſar. led towards Athens,and there made peace with the Græcians,and deuided the reſt of the E
corne that was taken vp for *Antonius* army,vnto the townes and cities of Græce,the which
had bene brought to extreme miſery & pouerty,cleane without money,ſlaues,horſe,& other
beaſtes of cariage. So that my grandfather *Nicarchus* tolde,that all the Citizens of our citie of
Chæronea,(not one excepted)were driuen them ſelues to cary a certaine meaſure of corne
on their ſhoulders to the ſea ſide,that lieth directly ouer againſt the Ile of Anticyra, & yet
were they driuen thether with whippes. They caried it thus but once: for,the ſecond tyme
that they were charged againe to make the like cariage,all the corne being ready to be caried,
newes came that *Antonius* had loſt the battel,& ſo ſcaped our poore city. For *Antonius* ſouldi-
ers & deputies fled immediatly,& the citizens deuided the corne amongſt them. *Antonius* be-
ing arriued in Libya,he ſent *Cleopatra* before into Ægypt from the citie of Parætonivm: & F
he him ſelfe remained very ſolitary,hauing onely two of his friends with him,with whom he
wandred vp & down,both of them orators,the one *Ariſtocrates* a Græcian,& the other *Lu-*

cilius

A *cilius* a ROMANE. Of whom we haue written in an other place, that at the battell where *Brutus* was ouerthrowen, by the citie of PHILIPPES, he came & willingly put him self into the hands of those that followed *Brutus*, saying that it was he: bicause *Brutus* in the meane time might haue liberty to saue him selfe. And afterwards bicause *Antonius* saued his life, he still remained with him: and was very faithfull and frendly vnto him till his death. But when *Antonius* heard, that he whom he had trusted with the gouernment of LIBYA, and vnto whom he had geuen the charge of his armie there, had yelded vnto *Cesar*: he was so madde withall, that he would haue slaine him selfe for anger, had not his frendes about him withstoode him, and kept him from it. So he went vnto ALEXANDRIA, and there found *Cleopatra* about a wonderfull enterprise, and of great attempt. Betwixt the redde sea, and the sea betwene the landes that poynt B vpon the coast of ÆGYPT, there is a litle peece of land that deuideth both the seas, and separateth AFRICKE from ASIA: the which straight is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not aboue three hundred furlonges ouer. *Cleopatra* went about to lift her shippes out of the one sea, and to hale them ouer the straight into the other sea: that when her shippes were come into this goulfe of ARABIA, she might then carie all her gold & siluer away, and so with a great companie of men goe and dwell in some place about the Ocean sea farre from the sea Mediterranium, to scape the daunger and bondage of this warre. But now, bicause the ARABIANS dwelling about the citie of PETRA, did burne the first shippes that were brought alande, and that *Antonius* thought that his armie by lande, which he left at ACTIVM was yet whole: she left of her enterprise, and determined to keepe all the portes and C passages of her realme. *Antonius*, he forsooke the citie and companie of his frendes, and built him a house in the sea, by the Ile of PHAROS, vpon certaine forced mountes which he caused to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished him selfe from all mens companie: saying that he would lead *Timons* life, bicause he had the like wrong offered him, that was afore offered vnto *Timon*: and that for the vnthankefulnes of those he had done good vnto, and whom he tooke to be his frendes, he was angry with all men, and would trust no man. This *Timon* was a citizen of ATHENS, that lined about the warre of PELOPONNESVS, as appeareth by *Plato*, and *Aristophanes* commedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a vyper, & malicious man vnto mankind, to shunne all other mens companies, but the companie of young *Alcibiades*, a bolde and insolent youth, whom he woulde greatly feast, and make D much of, and kissed him very gladly. *Apemantus* wondering at it, asked him the cause what he ment to make so muche of that young man alone, and to hate all others: *Timon* aunswered him, I do it sayd he, bicause I know that one day he shall do great mischiefe vnto the ATHENIANS. This *Timon* sometimes would haue *Apemantus* in his companie, bicause he was much like to his nature & condicions, and also followed him in maner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the feasts called Choæ at ATHENS, (to wit, the feasts of the dead, where they make sprincklings and sacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feasted together by them selues, *Apemantus* said vnto the other: O, here is a trimme banket *Timon*. *Timon* aunswered againe, yea said he, so thou wert not here. It is reported of him also, that this *Timon* on a time (the people being assembled in the market place about dispatch of some affaires) got vp E into the pulpit for Orations, where the Orators commonly vse to speake vnto the people: & silence being made, euerie man listning to heare what he would say, bicause it was a wonder to see him in that place: at length he began to speake in this maner. My Lordes of ATHENS, I haue a litle yard in my house where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens haue hãged them selues: & bicause I meane to make some building vpon the place, I thought good to let you all vnderstand it, that before the figge tree be cut downe, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time goe hang your selues. He dyed in the citie of HALES, and was buried vpon the sea side. Nowe it chaunced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tombe rounde about, that no man coulde come to it: and vpon the same was wrytten this epitaphe.

Lucillus spoke of in Brutus life.

The fidelitie of Lucilius vnto Antonius.

The wonderful attempts of Cleopatra.

Antonius following the life and example of Timõ Misanthropus the Athenian.

Plato, & Aristophanes testimony of Timon Misanthropus, what he was.

F *Heere lyes a vvretched corse, of vvretched soule bereft,*
Seeke not my name: a plague consume you vvicked vvretches left.

The epitaphe of Timon Misanthropus.

It is reported, that *Timon* him selfe when he liued made this epitaphe: for that which is

commonly rehearſed was not his, but made by the Poet *Callimachus*.

Heere lye I Timon vvho aliue all liuing men did hate,
Paſſe by, and curſe thy fill: but paſſe, and ſtay not here thy gate.

Many other things could we tell you of this *Timon*, but this litle ſhall ſuffice at this preſent. But now to returne to *Antonius* againe. *Canidius* him ſelfe came to bring him newes, that he had loſt all his armie by land at ACTIVM. On thother ſide he was aduertiſed alſo, that *Herodes* king of IVRIE, who had alſo certeine legions and bandes with him, was reuolted vnto *Cæſar*, and all the other kings in like maner: ſo that, ſauing thoſe that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithſtanding did nothing trouble him, and it ſeemed that he was contented to forgoe all his hope, and ſo to be ridde of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his ſolitarie houſe he had built in the ſea which he called Timoneon, and *Cleopatra* receiued him into her royall pallace. He was no ſooner comen thither, but he ſtraight ſet all the city of rioting and banketing againe, and him ſelfe, to liberalitie and giftes. He cauſed the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſar* and *Cleopatra*, to be enrolled (according to the maner of the ROMANES) amongeſt the number of young men: & gaue *Antyllus*, his eldeſt ſonne he had by *Fuluia*, the mans gowne, the which was a plaine gowne, without gard or imbroderie of purple. For theſe things, there was kept great feaſting, banketing, and dauncing in ALEXANDRIA many dayes together. In deede they did breake their firſt order they had ſet downe, which they called Amimetobion, (as much to ſay, no life comparable) & did ſet vp an other which they called Synapothanumenon (ſignifying the order and agreement of thoſe that will dye together) the which in exceeding ſumptuouſnes and coſt was not inferior to the firſt. For their frendes made them ſelues to be inrolled in this order of thoſe that would dye together, and ſo made great feaſtes one to an other: for euerie man when it came to his turne, feaſted their whole companie and fraternitie. *Cleopatra* in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all ſorts of poyſons together to deſtroy men. Now to make proofe of thoſe poyſons which made men dye with leaſt paine, ſhe tried it vpon condemned men in priſon. For when ſhe ſaw the poyſons that were ſodaine and vehement, and brought ſpeedy death with grieuous torments: & in contrary maner, that ſuche as were more milde and gentle, had not that quicke ſpeede and force to make one dye ſodainly: ſhe afterwardes went about to proue the ſtinging of ſnakes and adders, and made ſome to be applied vnto men in her ſight, ſome in one ſorte, and ſome in an other. So when ſhe had dayly made diuers and ſundrie proofes, ſhe found none of all them ſhe had proued ſo fit, as the biting of an Aſpicke, the which only cauſeth a heauines of the head, without ſwounding or complaining, and bringeth a great deſire alſo to ſleepe, with a litle ſwet in the face, and ſo by litle and litle taketh away the ſences and vitall powers, no liuing creature perceiuing that the pacientes feele any paine. For they are ſo ſorie when any bodie waketh them, and taketh them vp: as thoſe that being taken out of a ſound ſleepe, are very heauy and deſirous to ſleepe. This notwithſtanding, they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Octauius Cæſar* in ASIA, *Cleopatra* requeſting the realme of ÆGYPT for her children, and *Antonius* praying that he might be ſuffered to liue at ATHENS like a priuate man, if *Cæſar* would not let him remaine in ÆGYPT. And bicauſe they had no other men of eſtimacion about them, for that ſome were fledde, and thoſe that remained, they did not greatly truſt them: they were inforced to ſende *Euphronius* the ſchoolemaiſter of their children. For *Alexas* LAODICIAN, who was brought into *Antonius* houſe and fauor by meanes of *Timagenes*, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, then any other GREGIAN: (for that he had alway bene one of *Cleopatraes* miniſters to win *Antonius*, and to ouerthrow all his good determinations to vſe his wife *Octauia* well) him *Antonius* had ſent vnto *Herodes* king of IVRIE, hoping ſtill to keepe him his frend, that he ſhould not reuolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed *Antonius*. For where he ſhould haue kept *Herodes* from reuolting from him, he perſwaded him to turne to *Cæſar*: & truſting king *Herodes*, he preſumed to come in *Cæſars* preſence. Howbeit *Herodes* did him no pleaſure: for he was preſently taken priſoner, and ſent in chaines to his owne contrie, & there by *Cæſars* commaundement put to death. Thus was *Alexas* in *Antonius* life time put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, *Cæſar* would not graunt vnto *Antonius* requeſts: but for *Cleopatra*, he made her aunſwere, that he woulde deny her nothing reaſonable, ſo that ſhe would either put *Antonius*

Antonius rioting in Alexandria after his great loſſe & ouerthrow.
Toge virilis.
Antillus, the eldeſt ſonne of Antonius by his wife Fuluia.
An order erected by Antonius, and Cleopatra, called Synapothanumenon, reuoking the former called Amimetobion.
Cleopatra verie buſie in prouing the force of poyſon.
The property of the biting of an Aſpick.
Antonius and Cleopatra ſend Ambaſſadors vnto Octauius Cæſar.
Alexas treaſon iuſtly puniſhed.

to

A to death, or driue him out of her contrie. Therewithall he sent *Thyreus* one of his men vnto her, a verie wise and discreete man, who bringing letters of credit from a young Lorde vnto a noble Ladie, and that besides greatly liked her beawtie, might easely by his eloquence haue perswaded her. He was longer in talke with her then any man else was, and the Queene her selfe also did him great honor: insomuch as he made *Antonius* gealous of him. Whereupon *Antonius* caused him to be taken and well fauoredly whipped, and so sent him vnto *Cæsar*: and bad him tell him that he made him angrie with him, bicause he shewed him selfe prowde and disdainfull towards him, and now specially when he was easie to be angered, by reason of his present miserie. To be short, if this mislike thee said he, thou hast *Hipparchus* one of my infranchised bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleasure, that we may
B crie quittaunce. From thenceforth, *Cleopatra* to cleere her selfe of the suspicion he had of her, she made more of him then euer she did. For first of all, where she did solemnise the day of her birth very meanely and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune: she now in contrary maner did keepe it with such solemnitie, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousnes and magnificence: so that the ghests that were bidden to the feasts, and came poore, went away rich. Nowe things passing thus, *Agrippa* by diuers letters sent one after an other vnto *Cæsar*, prayed him to returne to Rome, bicause the affaires there did of necessity require his person and presence. Thereupon he did deferre the warre till the next yeare following: but when winter was done, he returned againe through Syria by the coast of Africke, to make warres against *Antonius*, and his other Captaines. When the citie of Pelusium was taken, there ran a ru-
C mor in the citie, that *Seleucus*, by *Cleopatraes* consent, had surrendered the same. But to cleere her selfe that she did not, *Cleopatra* brought *Seleucus* wife and children vnto *Antonius*, to be reuenged of them at his pleasure. Furthermore, *Cleopatra* had long before made many sumptuous tombes and monumentes, as well for excellencie of workemanshippe, as for height and greatnes of building, ioyning hard to the temple of *Isis*. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure & pretious things she had of the auncient kings her predecessors: as gold, siluer, emerods, pearles, ebbanie, iuorie, and sinnamon, and besides all that, a maruelous number of torches, faggots, and flaxe. So *Octauius Cæsar* being affrayed to loose suche a treasure and masse of riches, and that this woman for spight would set it a fire, and burne it euery whit: he alwayes sent some one or other vnto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilest he in
D the meane time drewe neere the citie with his armie. So *Cæsar* came, and pitched his campe hard by the city, in the place where they runne and manage their horses. *Antonius* made a saly vpon him, and fought verie valliantly, so that he draue *Cæsars* horsemen backe, fighting with his men euen into their campe. Then he came againe to the pallace, greatly boasting of this victorie, and sweetely kissed *Cleopatra*, armed as he was, when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes vnto her, that had valliantly fought in this skirmish. *Cleopatra* to reward his manlines, gaue him an armor and head peece of cleane gold: howbeit the man at armes when he had receiued this rich gift, stale away by night, and went to *Cæsar*. *Antonius* sent againe to chalenge *Cæsar*, to fight with him hande to hande. *Cæsar* aunswered him, that he had many other wayes to dye then so. Then *Antonius* seeing there was no way more
E honorable for him to dye, then fighting valliantly: he determined to sette vp his rest, both by sea and lande. So being at supper, (as it is reported) he commaunded his officers and household seruauntes that waited on him at his bord, that they should fill his cuppes full, and make as muche of him as they could: for said he, you know not whether you shall doe so much for me to morrow or not, or whether you shall serue an other maister: and it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead bodie. This notwithstanding, perceiuing that his frends and men fell a weeping to heare him say so: to salue that he had spoken, he added this more vnto it, that he would not leade them to battell, where he thought not rather safely to returne with victorie, then valliantly to dye with honor. Furthermore, the selfe same night within litle of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare, and sorrowe, thinking what would be the issue and
F ende of this warre: it is said that sodainly they heard a maruelous sweete harmonie of sundrie sortes of instrumentes of musicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene dauncing, and had song as they vse in *Bacchus* feastes, with mouinges and turninges after the

Pelusium was yeelded vp to Octauius Cæsar.

Cleopatraes monumentes set vp by the temple of Isis.

Strange noises heard, and nothing seene.

maner of the Satyres: & it ſeemed that this daunce went through the city vnto the gate that opened to the enemies, & that all the troupe that made this noiſe they heard, went out of the city at that gate. Now, ſuch as in reaſon ſought the depth of the interpretacion of this wōder, thought that it was the god vnto whom *Antonius* bare ſingular deuotion to counterfeate and reſemble him, that did forſake them. The next morning by breake of day, he went to ſet thoſe few footemen he had in order vpon the hills adioyning vnto the citie: and there he ſtoode to behold his gallies which departed from the hauen, and rowed againſt the gallies of his enemies, and ſo ſtoode ſtill, looking what exployte his ſouldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come neere vnto them, they firſt ſaluted *Cæſars* men: and then *Cæſars* men reſaluted them alſo, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row toward the citie. When *Antonius* ſawe that his men did forſake him, and yeelded vnto *Cæſar*, and that his footemen were broken and ouerthrowen: he then fled into the citie, crying out that *Cleopatra* had betrayed him vnto them, with whom he had made warre for her ſake. Then ſhe being affraied of his fury, fled into the tombe which ſhe had cauſed to be made, and there locked the dores vnto her, and ſhut all the ſpringes of the lockes with great boltes, and in the meane time ſent vnto *Antonius* to tell him that ſhe was dead. *Antonius* beleuing it, ſaid vnto him ſelfe: what doeſt thou looke for further, *Antonius*, ſith ſpitefull fortune hath taken from thee the only ioy thou haddeſt, for whom thou yet reſeruedſt thy life? when he had ſayd theſe words, he went into a chamber & vnarmed him ſelfe, and being naked ſaid thus: O *Cleopatra*, it grieueth me not that I haue loſt thy companie, for I will not be long from thee: but I am ſory, that hauing bene ſo great a Captaine and Emperour, I am in deede condemned to be iudged of leſſe corage and noble minde, then a woman. Now he had a man of his called *Eros*, whom he loued and truſted much, and whom he had long before cauſed to ſweare vnto him, that he ſhould kill him when he did commaunde him: and then he willed him to keepe his promiſe. His man drawing his ſworde, lift it vp as though he had ment to haue ſtriken his maiſter: but turning his head at one ſide, he thruſt his ſword into him ſelfe, and fell downe dead at his maiſters foote. Then ſaid *Antonius*, O noble *Eros*, I thanke thee for this, and it is valliantly done of thee, to ſhew me what I ſhould doe to my ſelfe, which thou couldeſt not doe for me. Therewithall he tooke his ſword, and thruſt it into his bellie, and ſo fell downe vpon a litle bed. The wounde he had killed him not preſently, for the blood ſtinted a litle when he was layed: and when he came ſomwhat to him ſelfe againe, he praied them that were about him to diſpatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out & tormenting him ſelfe: vntill at laſt there came a ſecretarie vnto him called *Diomedes*, who was commaunded to bring him into the tombe or monument where *Cleopatra* was. When he heard that ſhe was aliue, he verie earneſtlie prayed his men to carie his bodie thither, and ſo he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithſtāding, *Cleopatra* would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and caſt out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which *Antonius* was truſſed: and *Cleopatra* her owne ſelfe, with two women only, which ſhe had ſuffered to come with her into theſe monumentes, triſed *Antonius* vp. They that were preſent to behold it, ſaid they neuer ſaw ſo pitiefull a ſight. For, they plucked vp poore *Antonius* all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death, who holding vp his hands to *Cleopatra*, raiſed vp him ſelfe as well as he could. It was a hard thing for theſe women to do, to lift him vp: but *Cleopatra* ſtowping downe with her head, putting to all her ſtrength to her vttermoſt power, did lift him vp with much a doe, and neuer let goe her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good corage, and were as forie to ſee her labor ſo, as ſhe her ſelfe. So when ſhe had gotten him in after that ſorte, and layed him on a bed: ſhe rent her garments vpon him, clapping her breſt, and ſcratching her face & ſtomake. Then ſhe dried vp his blood that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperour, forgetting her owne miſerie and calamity, for the pitie and compaſſion ſhe tooke of him. *Antonius* made her ceaſſe her lamenting, and called for wine, either bicauſe he was a thirſt, or elſe for that he thought thereby to haſten his death. When he had dronke, he earneſtly prayed her, and perſwaded her, that ſhe would ſeeke to ſaue her life, if ſhe could poſſible, without reproache and diſhonor: and that chiefly ſhe ſhould truſt *Proculeius* aboue any man elſe about *Cæſar*. And as for

Antonius nauie doe yeeld them ſelues vnto Cæſar.

Antonius ouerthrowen by Octauius Cæſar.

Cleopatra flieth into her tombe or monument.

Eros Antonius ſeruant, ſlue him ſelfe.

Antonius did thruſt his ſword into him ſelfe, but died not preſently.

Antonius caried vnto Cleopatraes tombe.

A lamentable ſight to ſee Antonius and Cleopatra.

A for him ſelfe, that ſhe ſhould not lament nor ſorowe for the miſerable chaunge of his fortune at the end of his dayes: but rather that ſhe ſhould thinke him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes & honors he had receiued, conſidering that while he liued he was the nobleſt and greateſt Prince of the world, & that now he was ouercome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a ROMANE by an other ROMANE. As *Antonius* gaue the laſt gaſpe, *Proculeius* came that was ſent from *Cæſar*. For after *Antonius* had thruſt his ſworde in him ſelfe, as they caried him into the tombes and monuments of *Cleopatra*, one of his gard called *Dercetæus*, tooke his ſword with the which he had ſtriken him ſelfe, and hidde it: then he ſecretly ſtale away, and brought *Octauius Cæſar* the firſt newes of his death, & ſhewed him his ſword that was bloodied. *Cæſar* hearing theſe newes, ſtraight withdrewe him ſelfe into a ſecret place of his tent, and there burſt

B out with teares, lamenting his hard and miſerable fortune, that had bene his frende and brother in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in ſundry great exploytes and battells. Then he called for all his frendes, and ſhewed them the letters *Antonius* had written to him, and his aunſweres alſo ſent him againe, during their quarrell and ſtrife: & how fiercely and prowdly the other anſwered him, to all iuſt and reaſonable matters he wrote vnto him. After this, he ſent *Proculeius*, and commaunded him to doe what he could poſſible to get *Cleopatra* aliue, fearing leaſt otherwiſe all the treaſure would be loſt: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take *Cleopatra*, and bring her aliue to ROME, ſhe would maruelouſly beawtifie and ſette out his triumphe. But *Cleopatra* would neuer put her ſelfe into *Proculeius* handes, al-

C though they ſpake together. For *Proculeius* came to the gates that were very thicke & ſtrong, and ſurely barred, but yet there were ſome cranewes through the which her voyce might be heard, and ſo they without vnderſtoode, that *Cleopatra* demaunded the kingdome of ÆGYPT for her ſonnes: and that *Proculeius* aunſwered her, that ſhe ſhould be of good cheere, and not be affrayed to referre all vnto *Cæſar*. After he had viewed the place verie well, he came and reported her aunſwere vnto *Cæſar*. Who immediatly ſent *Gallus* to ſpeake once againe with her, and bad him purpoſely hold her with talke, whileſt *Proculeius* did ſet vp a ladder againſt that high windowe, by the which *Antonius* was triſed vp, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where *Cleopatra* ſtoode to heare what *Gallus* ſayd vnto her. One of her women which was ſhut in her monuments with her, ſaw *Proculeius* by chaunce as he came downe, and ſhreeked out: O, poore *Cleopatra*, thou art taken. Then when ſhe ſawe

D *Proculeius* behind her as ſhe came from the gate, ſhe thought to haue ſtabbed her ſelfe in with a ſhort dagger ſhe ware of purpoſe by her ſide. But *Proculeius* came ſodainly vpon her, and taking her by both the hands, ſaid vnto her. *Cleopatra*, firſt thou ſhalt doe thy ſelfe great wrong, and ſecondly vnto *Cæſar*: to depriue him of the occaſion and oportunitie, openly to ſhew his bountie and mercie, and to geue his enemies cauſe to accuſe the moſt curteous and noble Prince that euer was, and to appeache him, as though he were a cruell and mercieleſſe man, that were not to be truſted. So euen as he ſpake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and ſhooke her clothes for feare of any poyſon hidden about her. Afterwardes *Cæſar* ſent one of his infranchiſed men called *Epaphroditus*, whom he ſtraightly charged to looke well vnto her, and to beware in any caſe that ſhe made not her ſelfe away: and for the reſt, to vſe her with all

E the curteſie poſſible. And for him ſelfe, he in the meane time entred the citie of ALEXANDRIA, and as he went, talked with the Philoſopher *Arrius*, and helde him by the hande, to the end that his contrie men ſhould reuerence him the more, bicauſe they ſaw *Cæſar* ſo highly eſteeme and honor him. Then he went into the ſhow place of exerciſes, and ſo vp to his chaire of ſtate which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commaundement, all the people of ALEXANDRIA were aſſembled, who quaking for feare, fell downe on their knees before him, and craued mercie. *Cæſar* bad them all ſtande vp, and told them openly that he forgaue the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed againſt him in this warre. Firſt, for the founders ſake of the ſame citie, which was *Alexander* the great: ſecondly, for the beawtie of the citie, which he muche eſteemed and wondred

F at: thirdly, for the loue he bare vnto his verie frend *Arrius*. Thus did *Cæſar* honor *Arrius*, who craued pardon for him ſelfe and many others, & ſpecially for *Philoſtratus*, the eloquenteſt man of all the ſophiſters and Orators of his time, for preſent and ſodaine ſpeech: howbeit he falſly

The death of Antonius.

Octauius Cæſar lamenteth Antonius death.

Proculeius ſent by Octauius Cæſar to bring Cleopatra aliue.

Cleopatra taken.

Cæſar tooke the citie of Alexandria.

Cæſar greatly honored Arrius the Philoſopher.

Philoſtratus, the eloquenteſt Orator in

named him selfe an Academicke Philosopher. Therefore, *Cæsar* that hated his nature & condicions, would not heare his sute. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed *Arrius* steppe by steppe in a long mourning gowne, still bussing in his eares this Greeke verse: A

his time, for presentspeech vpon a sodaine.

A vvise man it that he be vvise in deede,
May by a vvise man haue the better speede.

Cæsar vnderstanding this, not for the desire he had to deliuer *Philostratus* of his feare, as to ridde *Arrius* of malice & enuy that might haue fallen out against him: he pardoned him. Now touching *Antonius* sonnes, *Antyllus*, his eldest sonne by *Fuluia* was slaine, bicause his schoolemaister *Theodorus* did betray him vnto the souldiers, who strake of his head. And the villaine tooke a precious stone of great value from his necke, the which he did sowe in his girdell, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was founde about him, and so *Cæsar* trussed him vp for it. For *Cleopatraes* children, they were verie honorablie kept, with their gouernors and traine that waited on them. But for *Cæsarion*, who was sayd to be *Iulius Cæsars* sonne: his mother *Cleopatra* had sent him vnto the INDIANS through ÆTHIOPIA, with a great summe of money. But one of his gouernors also called *Rhodon*, euen such an other as *Theodorus*, perswaded him to returne into his contrie, & told him that *Cæsar* sent for him to geue him his mothers kingdom. So, as *Cæsar* was determining with him selfe what he should doe, *Arrius* sayd vnto him, B

Antyllus, Antonius eldest sonne by Fulvia, slaine.

Too Many Cæsars is not good.

The saying of Arrius the Philosopher.

Alluding vnto a certaine verse of *Homer* that sayth:

Too Many Lords doth not vvell.

Therefore *Cæsar* did put *Cæsarion* to death, after the death of his mother *Cleopatra*. Many Princes, great kings and Captaines did craue *Antonius* body of *Octauius Cæsar*, to giue him honorable burial: but *Cæsar* would neuer take it from *Cleopatra*, who did sumptuously and royally burie him with her owne handes, whom *Cæsar* suffred to take as much as she would to bestow vpon his funeralls. Now was she altogether ouercome with sorow & passion of minde, for she had knocked her brest so pitiefully, that she had martired it, and in diuers places had raised vlsers and inflamacions, so that she fell into a feuer withal: whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to haue good colour to absteine from meate, and that so she might haue dyed easely without any trouble. She had a Phisition called *Olympus*, whom she made priuie of her intent, to thend he shoulde helpe her to ridde her out of her life: as *Olympus* wryteth him selfe, who wrote a booke of all these thinges. But *Cæsar* mistrusted the matter, by many coniectures he had, and therefore did put her in feare, & threatned her to put her children to shameful death. With these threats, *Cleopatra* for feare yelded straight, as she would haue yelded vnto strokes: and afterwards suffred her selfe to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, *Cæsar* came him selfe in person to see her, and to comfort her. *Cleopatra* being layed vpon a litle low bed in poore estate, when she sawe *Cæsar* come into her chamber, she sodainly rose vp, naked in her smocke, and fell downe at his feete maruelously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her heare from her head, as also for that she had martired all her face with her nailes, and besides, her voyce was small and trembling, her eyes sonke into her heade with continuall blubbering and moreouer, they might see the most parte of her stomake torne in sunder. To be short, her bodie was not much better then her minde: yet her good grace and comelynes, and the force of her beawtie was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ougly and pitiefull state of hers, yet she showed her selfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When *Cæsar* had made her lye downe againe, and sate by her beddes side: *Cleopatra* began to cleere and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of *Antonius*. *Cæsar*, in contrarie maner, reproued her in euery poynt. Then she sodainly altered her speache, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were affrayed to dye, & desirous to liue. At length, she gaue him a breefe and memoriall of all the readie money & treasure she had. But by chaunce there stoode *Seleucus* by, one of her Treasorers, who to seeme a good seruant, came straight to *Cæsar*, to disproue *Cleopatra*, that she had not set in al, but kept many things back of purpose. *Cleopatra* was in such a rage with him, that she flew vpon him, and tooke him by the heare of the head, and boxed him wellfauoredly. *Cæsar* fell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, said she, O *Cæsar*: is not this a great shame and reproche, that thou hauing vouchesaued to take the peines C

Cæsar vō *Cleopatraes* sonne, put to death.

Cleopatra burieth *Antonius.*

Olympus Cleopatraes Phisition.

Cæsar came to see Cleopatra.

Cleopatra, a martired creature, through her owne passion and fury.

Seleucus, one of Cleopatraes Treasorers.

Cleopatra bet her treasorer before Octauius Cæsar.

Cleopatraes wordes vnto Cæsar.

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A wcome vnto me, and haſt done me this honor, poore wretche, and caitife creature, brought into this pitiefull & miſerable eſtate: and that mine owne ſeruaunts ſhould come now to accuſe me, though it may be I haue reſerued ſome iuells & trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore ſoule) to ſet out my ſelfe withall, but meaning to geue ſome pretie preſentes & gifts vnto *Octauia* and *Liuia*, that they making meanes & interceſſion for me to thee, thou mighteſt yet extend thy fauor and mercie vpon me? *Cæſar* was glad to heare her ſay ſo, perſwading him ſelfe thereby that ſhe had yet a deſire to ſaue her life. So he made her anſwere, that he did not only geue her that to diſpoſe of at her pleaſure, which ſhe had kept backe, but further promiſed to vſe her more honorably and bountifully then ſhe would thinke for: and ſo he tooke his leaue of her, ſuppoſing he had deceiued her, but in deede he was deceiued him ſelfe. There B was a young gentleman *Cornelius Dolabella*, that was one of *Cæſars* very great familiars, & beſides did beare no euil will vnto *Cleopatra*. He ſent her word ſecretly as ſhe had requeſted him, that *Cæſar* determined to take his iorney through SYRIA, & that within three dayes he would ſende her away before with her children. When this was tolde *Cleopatra*, ſhe requeſted *Cæſar* that it would pleaſe him to ſuffer her to offer the laſt oblations of the dead, vnto the ſoule of *Antonius*. This being graunted her, ſhe was caried to the place where his tombe was, & there falling downe on her knees, imbracing the tombe with her women, the teares running downe her cheekes, ſhe began to ſpeake in this ſorte: O my deare Lord *Antonius*, not long ſithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer vnto thee the funerall ſprinklinges and oblations, being a captiue and priſoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing & mur- C dering this captiue body of mine with blowes, which they carefully gard and keepe, onely to triumphe of thee: looke therefore henceforth for no other honors, offeringes, nor ſacrifices from me, for theſe are the laſt which *Cleopatra* can geue thee, ſith nowe they carie her away. Whileſt we liued together, nothing could ſeuer our companies: but now at our death, I feare me they will make vs chaunge our contries. For as thou being a ROMANE, haſt bene buried in ÆGYPT: euen ſo wretched creature I, an ÆGYPTIAN, ſhall be buried in ITALIE, which ſhall be all the good that I haue receiued by thy contrie. If therefore the gods where thou art now haue any power and authoritie, ſith our gods here haue forſaken vs: ſuffer not thy true frend and louer to be caried away aliue, that in me, they triumphe of thee: but receiue me with thee, and let me be buried in one ſelfe tombe with thee. For though my griefes and miſeries be in- D finite, yet none hath grieued me more, nor that I could leſſe beare withall: then this ſmall time, which I haue bene driue to liue alone without thee. Then hauing ended theſe doleful plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands and ſundry noſegayes, and maruelous louingly imbraced the ſame: ſhe commaunded they ſhould prepare her bath, and when ſhe had bathed and waſhed her ſelfe, ſhe fell to her meate, and was ſumptuouſly ſerued. Nowe whileſt ſhe was at dinner, there came a contrieman, and brought her a basket. The ſouldiers that warded at the gates, asked him ſtraight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and tooke out the leaues that couered the figges, and ſhewed them that they were figges he brought. They all of them maruelled to ſee ſo goodly figges. The contrieman laughed to heare them, and bad them take ſome if they would. They beleued he told them truely, and ſo bad him carie them E in. After *Cleopatra* had dined, ſhe ſent a certaine table written and ſealed vnto *Cæſar*, and commaunded them all to go out of the tombes where ſhe was, but the two women, then ſhe ſhut the dores to her. *Cæſar* when he receiued this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requeſting him that he would let her be buried with *Antonius*, founde ſtraight what ſhe ment, and thought to haue gone thither him ſelfe: howbeit he ſent one before in all haſt that might be, to ſee what it was. Her death was very ſodaine. For thoſe whom *Cæſar* ſent vnto her ran thither in all haſt poſſible, & found the ſouldiers ſtanding at the gate, miſtruſting nothing, nor vnderſtanding of her death. But when they had opened the dores, they founde *Cleopatra* ſtarke dead, layed vpon a bed of gold, attired and araied in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called *Iras*, dead at her feete: and her other woman called *Charmion* halfe F dead, and trembling, trimming the Diademe which *Cleopatra* ware vpon her head. One of the ſouldiers ſeeing her, angrily ſayd vnto her: is that well done *Charmion*? Verie well ſayd ſhe againe, and meete for a Princes diſcended from the race of ſo many noble kings. She ſayd no

Cleopatra finely deceiueth Octauius Cæſar, although ſhe deſired to liue.

Cleopatras lamentation ouer Antonius tombe.

The death of Cleopatra.

Cleopatras two waiting women dead with her.

more, but fell downe dead hard by the bed. Some report that this Aſpicke was brought vnto her in the basket with figs, & that ſhe had cõmaunded them to hide it vnder the figge leaues, that when ſhe ſhoulde thinke to take out the figges, the Aſpicke ſhoulde bite her before ſhe ſhould ſee her: howbeit, that when ſhe would haue taken away the leaues for the figges, ſhe perceiued it, and ſaid, art thou here then? And ſo, her arme being naked, ſhe put it to the Aſpicke to be bitten. Other ſay againe, ſhe kept it in a boxe, and that ſhe did pricke and thruſt it with a ſpindell of golde, ſo that the Aſpicke being angerd withall, lept out with great furie, and bitte her in the arme. Howbeit fewe can tell the troth. For they report alſo, that ſhe had hidden poyſon in a hollow raſer which ſhe caried in the heare of her head: and yet was there no marke ſeene of her bodie, or any ſigne diſcerned that ſhe was poyſoned, neither alſo did they finde this ſerpent in her tombe. But it was reported onely, that there were ſeene certeine freſh ſteppes or trackes where it had gone, on the tombe ſide toward the ſea, and ſpecially by the dores ſide. Some ſay alſo, that they found two litle pretie bytings in her arme, ſcant to be diſcerned: the which it ſeemeth *Cæſar* him ſelfe gaue credit vnto, bicauſe in his triumphe he caried *Cleopatraes* image, with an Aſpicke byting of her arme. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now *Cæſar*, though he was maruelous ſorie for the death of *Cleopatra*, yet he wondred at her noble minde and corage, and therefore commaunded ſhe ſhould be nobly buried, and layed by *Antonius*: and willed alſo that her two women ſhoulde haue honorable buriall. *Cleopatra* dyed being eight and thirtie yeare olde, after ſhe had raigned two and twenty yeres, and gouerned aboue fourteene of them with *Antonius*. And for *Antonius*, ſome ſay that he liued three and fitie yeares: and others ſay, ſix and fiftie. All his ſtatues, images, and metralls, were plucked downe and ouerthrowen, ſauing thoſe of *Cleopatra* which ſtoode ſtill in their places, by meanes of *Archibius* one of her frendes, who gaue *Cæſar* a thowſande talentes that they ſhould not be handled, as thoſe of *Antonius* were. *Antonius* left ſeuen children by three wiues, of the which, *Cæſar* did put *Antyllus*, the eldeſt ſonne he had by *Fuluia*, to death. *Octauia* his wife tooke all the reſt, and brought them vp with hers, and maried *Cleopatra*, *Antonius* daughter, vnto king *Iuba*, a maruelous curteous & goodly Prince. And *Antonius*, the ſonne of *Fuluia* came to be ſo great, that next vnto *Agrippa*, who was in greateſt eſtimacion about *Cæſar*, and next vnto the children of *Liuia*, which were the ſecond in eſtimacion: he had the third place. Furthermore, *Octauia* hauing had two daughters by her firſt husband *Marcellus*, and a ſonne alſo called *Marcellus*: *Cæſar* maried his daughter vnto that *Marcellus*, and ſo did adopt him for his ſonne. And *Octauia* alſo maried one of her daughters vnto *Agrippa*. But when *Marcellus* was deade, after he had bene maried a while, *Octauia* perceiuing that her brother *Cæſar* was very buſie to chooſe ſome one among his frends, whom he truſted beſt to make his ſonne in law: ſhe perſwaded him, that *Agrippa* ſhould mary his daughter, (*Marcellus* widow) and leaue her owne daughter. *Cæſar* firſt was contented withall, and then *Agrippa*: and ſo ſhe afterwards tooke away her daughter and maried her vnto *Antonius*, and *Agrippa* maried *Iulia*, *Cæſars* daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of *Octauia* and *Antonius*. *Domitius AEnobarbus* maried the one: and the other, which was *Antonia*, ſo fayer and vertuous a young Ladie, was maried vnto *Druſus* the ſonne of *Liuia*, and ſonne in law of *Cæſar*. Of this marige, came *Germanicus* and *Clodius*: of the which, *Clodius* afterwards came to be Emperour. And of the ſonnes of *Germanicus*, the one whoſe name was *Caius*, came alſo to be Emperour: who, after he had licentiouſly raigned a time, was ſlaine, with his wife and daughter. *Agrippina* alſo, hauing a ſonne by her firſt husbande *AEnobarbus* called *Lucius Domitius*: was afterwardes maried vnto *Clodius*, who adopted her ſonne, and called him *Nero Germanicus*. This *Nero* was Emperour in our time, and ſlue his owne mother, and had almoſt deſtroyed the Empire of Rome, through his madnes and wicked life, being the fift Emperour of Rome after *Antonius*.

Cleopatra killed with the biting of an Aſpicke.

The image of Cleopatra, caried in triumphe at Rome, with an Aſpicke biting of her arme.

The age of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Of Antonius iſſue came Emperors.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Demetrius* with *Antonius*.

NOw, sithence it falleth out, that *Demetrius* and *Antonius* were one of them much like to the other, hauing fortune a like diuers and variable vnto them: let vs therefore come to consider their power and authoritie, and how they came to be so great. First of all, it is certaine that *Demetrius* power and greatnes fell vnto him by inheritance from his father *Antigonus*: who became the greatest and mightiest Prince of all the successors of *Alexander*, and had won the most parte of Asia, before *Demetrius* came of full age. *Antonius* in contrary maner, borne of an honest man, who otherwise was no man of warre, and had not left him any meane to arise to such greatnes: durst take vpon him to contend for the Empire with *Cæsar*, that had no right vnto it by inheritaunce, but yet made him selfe successor of the power, the which the other by great paine and trauell had obteyned, and by his owne industrie became so great, without the helpe of any other: that the Empire of the whole worlde being deuided into two partes, he had the one halfe, and tooke that of the greatest countenaunce and power. *Antonius* being absent, oftentimes ouercame the Parthians in battell by his Lieutenaunts, and chased away the barbarous people dwelling about mount Caucasus, vnto the sea Hyrcanium: insomuche as the thing they most reproue him for, did most witnes his greatnes. For, *Demetrius* father made him gladly marrie *Phila*, *Antipaters* daughter, although she was too old for him: because she was of a nobler house then him selfe. *Antonius* on thother side was blamed for marying of *Cleopatra*, a Queene that for power and nobilitie of blood, excelled all other kings in her time, but *Arsaces*: and moreouer made him selfe so great, that others thought him worthie of greater things, then he him selfe required. Now for the desire that moued the one and the other to conquer realmes: the desire of *Demetrius* was vnblameable & iust, desiring to raigne ouer people, which had bene gouerned at all times, & desired to be gouerned by kings. But *Antonius* desire was altogether wicked & tyrannicall: who sought to keepe the people of Rome in bondage and subiection, but lately before rid of *Cæsars* raigne and gouernment. For the greatest and most famous exployte *Antonius* euer did in warres (to wit, the warre in the which he ouerthrew *Cassius* and *Brutus*) was begon to no other ende, but to depriue his countriemen of their libertie and freedom. *Demetrius* in contrarie maner, before fortune had ouerthrowen him, neuer left to set Greece at libertie, and to driue the garrisons away, which kept the cities in bondage: and not like *Antonius*, that bosted he had slaine them that had set Rome at libertie. The chiefest thing they commended in *Antonius*, was his liberalitie and bountie: in the which *Demetrius* excelled him so farre, that he gaue more to his enemies, then *Antonius* did to his frends: although he was marueilously well thought of, for the honorable and sumptuous funerall he gaue vnto *Brutus* bodie. Howbeit *Demetrius* caused all

The power of Demetrius, & Antonius.

Demetrius & Antonius ambition to gouerne.

The liberalitie and bountie of Demetrius and Antonius.

his enemies be buried that were slaine in battel, and returned vnto *Ptolomy* all the prisoners he had taken, with great giftes and presentes he gaue them. They were both in their prosperitie, verie riotousllie and licentiouslie geuen: but yet no man can euer say, that *Demetrius* did at any time let slippe any oportunitie or occasion to followe great matters, but onelie gaue him selfe in deede to pleasure, when he had nothing else to doe. And further, to say truely, he tooke pleasure of *Lamia*, as a man woulde haue a delight to heare one tell tales, when he hath nothing else to doe, or is desirous to sleepe: but in deede when he was to make any preparation for warre, he had not then Iuey at his darts end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor came not out of Ladies closets, picked and princt to go to battell: but he let all dauncing and sporting alone, and became as the Poet *Euripides* saith,

Demetrius & Antonius vices.

The souldier of Mars, cruell, and bloodie.

But to conclude, he neuer had ouerthrowe or misfortune through negligence, nor by delaying time to followe his owne pleasure: as we see in painted tables, where *Omphale* secretlie stealeth away *Hercules* clubbe, and tooke his Lyons skinne from him. Euen so *Cleopatra* oftentimes vnarmed *Antonius*, and intised him to her, making him lose matters of great importaunce, and verie needefull iorneys, to come and be dandled with her, about the riuers of Canobus, and Taphosiris. In the ende, as *Paris* fledde from the battell, and went to hide him selfe in *Helens* armes: euen so did he in *Cleopatraes* armes, or to speake more properlie, *Paris* hidde him selfe in *Helens* closet, but *Antonius* to followe *Cleopatra*, fledde and lost the victorie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* had many wiues that he had maried, and all at one time: the which was not dissalowable or not forbidden by the kinges of Macedon, but had bene vsed from *Philippe* and *Alexanders* time, as also king *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomy* had, and did honor all them that he maried. But *Antonius* first of all maried two wiues together, the which neuer Romane durst doe before, but him selfe. Secondly, he put away his first Romane wife, which he had lawfully maried: for the loue of a straunge woman, he fondly fell in fancy withall, and contrarie to the lawes and ordinaunces of Rome. And therefore *Demetrius* mariages neuer hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his wiues: but *Antonius* contrarily was vndone by his wiues. Of all the lasciuious partes *Antonius* played, none were so abhominable, as this onely fact of *Demetrius*. For the historiographers write, that they would not suffer dogges to come into the castell of Athens, bicause of all beastes he is too busie with bitcherie: and *Demetrius*, in *Mineruaes* temple it selfe lay with Curtisans, and there defiled many citizens wiues. And besides all this, the horrible vice of crueltie, which a man would thinke were least mingled with these wanton delightes, is ioyned with *Demetrius* concupiscence: who suffered, (or more properly compelled) the goodliest young boy of Athens, to dye a most pitiefull death, to saue him selfe from violence, being taken. And to conclude, *Antonius* by his incontinencie, did no hurte but to him selfe: and *Demetrius* did hurte vnto all others. *Demetrius* neuer hurte any of his frendes: and *Antonius* suffered his Vncle by his mothers side to be slaine, that he might haue his will of *Cicero* to kill him: a thing so damnable, wicked, and cruell of it selfe, that he hardlie deserued to haue bene pardoned, though he had killed *Cicero*, to haue saued his Vncles life. Nowe where they falsefied and brake their othes, the one making *Artabazus* prisoner, and the other killing of *Alexander*: *Antonius* out of doubt had best cause, and iustest colour. For *Artabazus* had betrayed him, and forsaken him in Media. But *Demetrius* (as diuers doe reporte) deuised a false matter to accuse *Alexander*, to cloke the murther he had committed: and some thinke he did accuse him, to whom he him selfe had done iniurie vnto: and was not reuenged of him, that woulde doe him iniurie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* him selfe did many noble feates in warre, as we haue recited of him before: and contrarilie *Antonius*, when he was not there in person, wanne many famous and great victories by his Lieutenaunces: and they were both ouerthrowen being personallie in battell, but yet not both after one sorte. For the one was forsaken of his men being Macedonians, and the other contrarily forsooke his that were Romanes: for he fled, & left them that ventred their liues for his honor. So that the fault the one did was, that he made them his enemies that fought for him: and the fault in the other, that he so beastlie left them that loued him best, and were most faithfull to him. And for their deathes, a man can not praise the one nor

Canobus, and Taphosiris fl.

Demetrius & Antonius wiues.

Antonius the first Romane that euer maried two wiues together.

Demetrius lasciuiousnes.

Dogges not suffred in Athens castle, bicause of bitcherie.

The loue and impietie: the faith & falsehoode of Demetrius and Antonius.

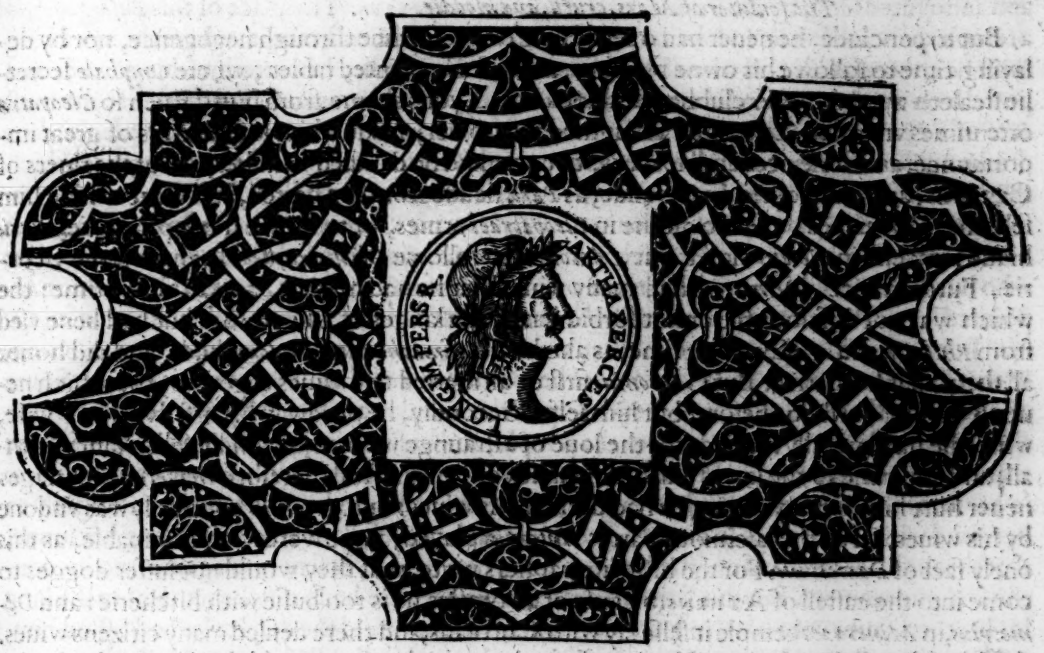
Demetrius & Antonius acts in warres.

the

A the other, but yet *Demetrius* death the more reproachefull. For he ſuffered him ſelfe to be taken priſoner, and when he was ſent away to be kept in a ſtraunge place, he had the hart to liue yet three yeare longer, to ſerue his mouth and bellie, as brute beaſtes doe. *Antonius* on the other ſide ſlue him ſelfe, (to confeſſe a troth) cowardly, and miſerably, to his great paine and griefe: and yet was it before his bodie came into his enemies hands.

THE LIFE OF *Artaxerxes.*

B



C

D

Artaxerxes, the firſt of this name of all the kinges of PERSIA, a noble and curteous Prince as any of all his houſe: was ſurnamed long hand, bicauſe his right hand was longer then his left, and he was the ſonne of king *Xerxes*. But the ſeconde, whoſe life we preſentlie intend to wryte, was ſurnamed *Mnemon*, as muche to ſay, great memorie: and he was the ſonne of the daughter of the firſt *Artaxerxes*. For king *Darius*, and his wife *Paryſatis*, had foure ſonnes: of the which, the eldeſt was this *Artaxerxes*, the ſeconde *Cyrus*, and two other younger, *Oſtanes* and *Oxathres*. *Cyrus* from the beginning bare the name of the former auncient *Cyrus*, which in the PERSIAN tongue ſignifieth the ſunne. But *Artaxerxes* was called before *Arſicas*, although *Dinon* wryteth, that he was called *Oarſes*. Howebeit it is vnlikelie that *Cteſias* (although his bookes otherwiſe be full of fables, and as vntrue as they are founde) ſhould forget the name of the Prince with whom he dwelt, whom he ſerued, and continuallie followed, both him, his wife, and children. *Cyrus* from his cradell was of a hotte ſturring minde, and *Artaxerxes* in contrarie manner, more mylde and gentle in all his actions and doinges. He was maried to a verie fayer Ladie, by his father and mothers commaundement: & afterwards kept her againſt their wills, being forbidden by them. For king *Darius* his father, hauing put his ſonnes wiues brother to death, he woulde alſo haue put her to death: but her husband with teares made ſuche humble ſute to his mother for her, that with muche a doe, he did not onely gette pardon for her life, but graunt alſo that ſhe ſhoulde not be put from him. This notwithſtanding, his mother alwayes loued *Cyrus* better then him, and praied

The parentage of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

The diuerſitie of natures betwixt Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

that he might be king after his fathers death. Wherfore *Cyrus* being in his prouinces of Asia by the sea side, when he was sent for to come to the Court, at what time his father lay sicke of the disease he dyed: he went thither in good hope his mother had preuailed with his father, that in his will he would make him his heire of the realme of Persia. For his mother *Paryſatis* alleaged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did helpe king *Xerxes* in the like case, through *Demaratus* counsell. She said that *Arſicas* was borne before her husband *Darius* was king, & *Cyrus* after he was crowned king. All this could not preuaile. For her eldest sonne *Arſicas*, surnamed *Artaxerxes*, was assigned king of Persia, & *Cyrus* gouernor of Lydia, and the kings Lieutenaunt generall of all the low contries of Asia toward the sea side. Shortly after king *Darius* death, the new king *Artaxerxes* went vnto *Paſargades*, there to be consecrated and annoynted king, by the Priestes of the contrie of Persia. The place of this *Paſargades*, is a temple dedicated vnto *Minerua* the goddesse of battells, as I take it: where the newe king must be consecrated, and when he commeth into the temple, he putteth of his gowne, and putteth on that which the old auncient *Cyrus* ware before he was king. Furthermore, he must eate of a certaine tart or fricacie made of figges with turpentine: and then he must drinke a drinke made with vineger and milke. There are also certeine other secret ceremonies which they must keepe, and none doe know, but the verie Priestes them selues. Now *Artaxerxes* being readie to enter into all these ceremonies, *Tiſaphernes* came vnto him, & brought him one of the Priestes that had bene *Cyrus* schoolemaister in his youth, and had taught him magicke: who by reason shoulde haue bene more offended then any man else, for that he was not appointed king. And this was the cause why they beleued him the better, when he accused *Cyrus*. For he sayd that *Cyrus* had conspired treason against the king his brothers owne person, & that he ment traiterously to kill him in the temple, when he should put of his gowne. Some doe reporte, that *Cyrus* was apprehended vpon this simple accusacion by word of mouth. Others write also, that *Cyrus* came into the temple, and hiding him selfe, he was taken with the maner, and bewraied by the Priest. So as he was going to suffer death, his mother tooke *Cyrus* in her armes, and wounde the heare of her heade about his necke, and tyed him straightly to her: and withall she wept so bitterly, and made suche pitiefull mone vnto the king her sonne, that through her intercession, the king graunted him his life, & sent him againe into his contrie and gouernment. But this satisfied not *Cyrus*, neither did he so muche remember the king his brothers fauor vnto him, in graunting him his life: as he did the despite he had offred him, to be made prisoner. Insomuch that for this grudge and euill will, he euer after had a greater desire then before to be king. Some wryters alleage, that he entred into actuall rebellion against his brother by force of armes, bicause he had not sufficient reuenue to defray the ordinary expence of his house: howbeit it is a meere folly to say so. For though he had had no other helpe but his mother, he might haue had of her what he would haue taken, and desired. Againe, to shew that of him selfe he had abilitie enough: we neede but alleage the souldiers and straungers he gaue pay vnto, in diuers places, as *Xenophon* wryteth. For he brought them not all together into one armie, bicause he desired to kepe his enterprise as secret as he could: but he had frendes and seruaunts that leauied them in diuers places, and vnder diuers colours. And furthermore, he had his mother alway about the king, that cleered all suspicions conceiued against him. He him selfe also on the other side, whilest he made these preparacions, wrote verie humbly vnto his brother, somtime asking somwhat of him, and an other time accusing *Tiſaphernes*: all to blinde the king, to make him thinke that he bent all his malice and spite against him, besides that the king of his owne nature was somwhat dull, and slow, which the common people thought to proceede of his curtesie and good nature. At his first comming to the crowne, he followed the first *Artaxerxes* goodnes and curtesie, by whom he had his name. For he gaue more easie audience vnto suters, he did also more honorably reward & recompence those that had deserued well: & he vsed such moderacion in punishng of offendors, that it appeared he did it not of any malicious minde and desire of reuenge, nor yet of will to hurte any man. When he had any thing geuen him, he tooke it as thankefully, as they offered it him, and did as willingly and frankely also geue againe. For, how litle a thing soeuer was offered him, he tooke it well. And it is reported that one *Romiſes* on a time presented him

Arſicas, surnamed Artaxerxes, assigned to be king of Perſia.

The maner of the consecrating of the kings of Perſia, at Paſargades.

Cyrus accused vnto his brother Artaxerxes.

Cyrus lay in waite to kill Artaxerxes.

Note the flatterie and dissimulation of a woman.

Artaxerxes curteous, and easie to haue accesse vnto.

A a maruelous fayer pomegarnet. By the ſunne ſayd he, this man in a ſhort time of a litle towne would make a great citie, he that would make him gouernor of it. Another time there was a poore laborer ſeing euery mã giue the king a preſent, ſome one thing, ſome another as he paſſed by them: he hauing nothing at hand to giue him, ranne to the riuers ſide, & tooke both his hands full of water, and came and offred it him. King *Artaxerxes* was ſo glad of it, that he ſent him in a cuppe of maſſy gold, a thowſand Darecks, which were peeces of gold ſo named, bicauſe the image of *Darius* was ſtamped vpon them. And vnto one *Euclidas* a LACEDÆMONIAN, that preſumed to giue him bold words, it pleaſed him to aunſwer him by one of his Captaines: thou mayſt ſay what thou lyſt, and I as king, may ſay and doe what I lyſt. Another time as he was a hunting, *Tiribazus* ſhewed the king his gowne that was all to tattered: well, ſayd

Artaxerxes liberalitie to a poore man that gaue him a litle water.

B the king, and what wouldeſt thou haue me to doe? *Tiribazus* aunſwered him, I praye your grace take another, and giue me that you haue on. The king did ſo, and told him: *Tiribazus*, I giue thee my gowne, but I commaund thee not to weare it. *Tiribazus* tooke it, and cared not for the kings commaundement that he ſhould not weare it, not that he was any euill diſpoſed man, but bicauſe he was a fond light headed fellowe that cared for nothing: thereuppon he ſtraight put the kings gowne on his backe, and not contented therewith, he did beſides ſet on many iewells of gold which kings onely are wont to weare, and womens trinckets and ornaments. Therewithal euery man in the Court murmured at him, bicauſe it was a preſumption, directly againſt the lawes and ordinaunces of PERSIA. Howbeit the king did but laugh at it, & tolde him: I giue thee leaue *Tiribazus* to weare thoſe womens gawdes as a woman, and the

Tiribazus lightnes, and Artaxerxes liberalitie.

C kings robe as a foole. Furthermore, where the manner was in PERSIA that no perſon ſate at the kings bord, but his mother and wife, of the which, his mother ſate vppermoſt, & his wife lowermoſt: *Artaxarxes* made his two brethren *Oſtanes* and *Oxathres* ſit at his owne bord. But yet he pleaſed the PERSIANS beſt of all, bicauſe he was content his wife *Statyra* ſhould ſit openly in her charret, and that ſhe might be ſeene and reuerenced by the other Ladyes of the contry. And this made him ſingularly beloued of the people. Now, ſuch as deſired innouation and chaunge, and that could not away with quiet life: they gaue out that the Realme of PERSIA required ſuch a Prince as *Cyrus*, that was liberall of nature, giuen to armes, & greatly rewarded his ſeruaunts, and that the greatnes of the Empire of PERSIA ſtoode in neede of a king, whoſe mind was bent to high attempts and noble enterpriſes. So *Cyrus* thereuppon be-

Statira, king Artaxerxes wife.

Cyrus maketh warre againſt his brother Artaxerxes.

D gan to make warre vpon his brother, not onely truſting vnto them that were of the lowe contries about him, but hoping of thoſe alſo in the high prouinces neare vnto the king. Furthermore he wrote alſo vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, to pray them to ſend him men of warre, promiſing to giue the footemen they ſent, horſes: and the horſemen, coches: landed men, whole villages: and to thoſe that had villages, to giue them cities. Beſides all this, that for the ordinary wages of them that ſhould ſerue him in this warre, he would not pay them by accompt, but by full meaſure: and boaſting largely of him ſelfe, he ſayd he had a greater mind then his brother, that he could better away with hardnes then he, that he vnderſtoode magick better then he, and that he could drinke more wine then he, and cary it better. And that the king his brother in contrary manner was ſo womaniſhe and fearefull, that when he went a hunting, he

Cyrus wonderfull promiſes.

E durſt ſcarce get vp vpon his horſe backe: and when he went to the warres, he would hardly take his charriot. When the LACEDÆMONIANS had red his letters, they ſent a litle ſcrowle vnto *Clearchus*, commaunding him to obey *Cyrus* in any thing he would commaund him. So *Cyrus* did ſet forward to make warre againſt his brother, hauing leauied a great number of fighting men of barbarous nations, and of GRÆCIANS, litle leſſe then thirteene thowſand men: ſometime aduertiſing one cauſe, ſometime another, why he leauied ſuch a multitude of men. But his purpoſe could not be long diſſembled: for *Tiſaphernes* went him ſelfe vnto the Court, to bringe newes of his attempt. Then all the Court was ſtraight in an vprore withall. Many men alſo did accuſe the Queene mother, for the practiſe of this warre, & all her friends & ſeruaunts were vehemently ſuſpected to be conſpyrators with *Cyrus*: but the greateſt thing

F that troubled *Paryſatis* moſt, was Queene *Statyra* her Daughter in lawe, who ſtormed maruelouſly to ſee this warre begon againſt king *Artaxerxes* her husband, and inceſſantly cryed out on her: O, where is the faith thou vowedſt by othe? whereto are thy interceſſions come thou

madeſt,for the pardon of his life: who now conſpyreth his brothers death? By ſauing of his life,art not thou now the cauſe of this warre and troubles we ſee at hand? After this reproch and ſhame receiued by *Statira*,*Paryſatis*,being a cruell and malicious woman of nature,ſo hated her, that from thenceforth ſhe ſought all the wayes ſhe could to put her to death. And *Dinon* the Hiſtoriographer ſayth,that during this warre,ſhe did execute her wicked purpoſe vpon her: but *Cteſias* writeth,that it was after the warre. And therfore it is liker, that he being daily in the king of PERSIAES Court,ſhould certainely knowe the tyme when ſhe did execute her treaſon againſt her, and alſo there is no cauſe why he ſhould rather write it in any other time, then in that in the which the facte was done: although in many other places he commonly vſeth to fitten,and to write deuiſes of his owne head. Therefore let vs leaue the report of this fact to the ſelfe ſame time and place as he hath written it. Now when *Cyrus* drew neare vnto his brothers contry, he had newes, and a rumor ranne through his campe,that the king was not determined to come and fight with him ſo ſoone: and that he ment firſt to goe further into PERSIA,and to tary there til he had gathered his army together out of all parts. And for proofe hereof,the king hauing caſt a great trenche of ten yardes broad,and as many high, the ſpace of foure hundred furlong in length: he left it without gard, and let *Cyrus* winne it, who came on further without any reſiſtaunce,euen to the very citie ſelfe of BABYLON. Howbeit in the ende,*Tiribazus* (as it is reported) was the firſt man that durſt tell the king, that he ſhould not flie fight in that ſort, nor hide him ſelfe in the furdeſt part of PERSIA, leauing his enemy the Realmes of MEDIA,BABYLON,and SVSA: conſidering alſo that he had many moe ſouldiers in readines then his enemye, and an infinite number of Captaines more skilfull,and abler to giue counſell,and to fight,then he was. Theſe words of *Tiribazus* made the king alter his mind,and to determine to giue battell as ſoone as he could. Thereuppon he marched forward againſt his enemie,with nyne hundred thowſand fighting men,excellently well armed, and marching in very good order. That maruelouſly aſtonied *Cyrus* men, and made them affrayd at the firſt, when they ſaw them in ſo excellent good order before them: for that they were diſperſed ſtragling here and there without any order, and men vnarmed, truſting too much in them ſelues,in deſpiſing of their enemie: ſo that *Cyrus* had much a doe to ſet his men in battell raye,and yet was it with great noyſe and tumult. But the GRÆCIANS wondred moſt of all other, when they ſawe the kinges armye marche in ſo good order of battell without any noyſe. For they thought to haue ſeene a wonderfull great diſorder and confuſion, in ſuch an infinite multitude of people: and ſuppoſed they would haue made ſuch a noyſe, that one of them ſhould not haue heard another. Where in deede to the contrary, all was ſo well marſhalled, ſpecially bicauſe he had placed before his battell the beſt carts he had armed with ſiethes,and drawen with the ſtrongeſt and biggeſt great horſe he had in all his armie: hoping by the fiercenes and furye of their careere,to breake into the ranckes of the enemies, before they could come to ioyne with theirs. But ſith this battell is deſcribed by diuers Hiſtoriographers,but ſpecially by *Xenophon*,who hath (as a man would ſay) liuely ſet it out to the eye, & ſetteth it forth to the Reader,not as a battell already fought, but preſently a fighting, ſtirring vp their mindes as if them ſelues were in the action and inſtant daunger, he hath ſo paſſingly ſet it downe: it were but a folly therefore of me to take vppon me to make any further deſcription of it,ſauing to touch ſome ſpeciall poynts worthy of note,which he peraduenture hath left out. As,the place where the battell was fought,is called COVNAXA,fiue hundred furlongs from BABYLON: and how that before the battell, *Clearchus* gaue *Cyrus* counſell to keepe behind the ſquadron of the GRÆCIANS; and not to hazard his perſon among the firſt: and that *Cyrus* aunſwered him, what ſayeſt thou *Clearchus*? wouldeſt thou haue me that ſtriues to be king,to ſhew my ſelfe vnworthy to be a king? But *Cyrus* hauing made this fault, not ſtanding vpon his ſafetie and garde,but ouer raſhely thruſting him ſelfe into great daunger: *Clearchus* ſelfe alſo committed as great a fault (if it were not worſe) when he would not ſet his men in order directly againſt the battel of the enemies,where the kings perſon ſtoode, but went and pent them vp by the riuers ſide, being affrayd leaſt they ſhould haue bene compaſſed in behind. For if he would haue looked ſo ſtraightly to him ſelfe, and haue prouided euery way for his ſafetie,that no man might come to hurt him: he ſhould haue kept him ſelfe at home, and

Artaxerxes army,of nyne hundred thowſand fighting men,againſt his brother Cyrus.

Xenophon the Hiſtoriographer excellently deſcribeth this battell betwixt Artaxerxes and his brother Cyrus.

Safetie in a generall,requiſite in battell. Clearchus cowardlines reproued.

not

A not haue ſtirred one foote out of the dores. But ſith he had comen ſo farre, as from the low contries of Asia, vnto the place where the field was fought, and vncompelled, onely to put *Cyrus* in his fathers ſoate & imperiall crowne, to goe chooſe a place in the battell, not where he might doe his Lord beſt ſeruice that had hyered him, but rather where he might fight more at his eaſe, and at leſſe daunger: it was euen as much, as if through cowardlines his wits had bene taken from him when he ſhould haue fought, or that through treaſon he had forſaken his enterpriſe. For, to proue that the trowpes which were about the kinges perſon, had neuer bene able to haue receiued the charge of the Græcians, and that thoſe being ouerthrowen, the king had bene ſlayne in the field, or els forced to flie, and that *Cyrus* had wonne the field, and by this victorie had bene king: the ſucceſſe of this battell doth plainely
B ſhewe it. And therefore *Clearchus* ouer curious reſpect, deſerued more blame for the loſſe of this battell: then *Cyrus* ouerhardines. For if king *Artaxerxes* would haue choſen or wiſhed a place where the Græcians might haue done him leſſe hurt: he could not haue deuiſed a fitter place that was ſo farre from him, and from whence the Græcians could neither ſee nor heare what was done where he was, as it fell out in ſequell. For *Cyrus* was ſlayne before he could preuaile by *Clearchus* victorie, he was ſo farre from him: and furthermore, *Cyrus* therein knew before what was meeteſt to be done. For he commaunded *Clearchus* to place him ſelfe with his company in the middeſt of the battell: who aunſwered him, he ſhould take no thought for nothing, for he would ſee all things well ordered. And when he had ſayd ſo, he marred all afterwardes: For where the Græcians were, they ouerthrewe the barbarous
C people that made head againſt them, & had thē in chaſe while they were weary of following of them. *Cyrus* being mownted vpon a whot ſtirring horſe, that had a hard head, and was very fierce and dogged, called Paſacas, as *Cteſias* writeth: *Artagerſes*, the gouernor of the prouince of the Cadvsians, ſpyed him a farre of, and when he had found him, clapped ſpurres to his horſe, and came with full cariere vnto him, and cryed out: O traytor, and moſt vnfaithfull and deſperate man, thou now diſhonoreſt the name of *Cyrus* (which is the goodlieſt and moſt honorableſt name of all the Persians) for that thou haſt brought ſo valliant Græcians hether to ſo wicked an enterpriſe, to ſpoyle the Persians goods, in hope to deſtroy thy ſoueraine Lord and onely brother, who hath an infinite number of ſlaues and ſeruaunts farre honeſter men then thou wilt be while thou lieueſt, and that thou ſhalt preſently knowe by
D proofe, for thou ſhalt dye before thou ſee the king thy brothers face: and therewithall he threw his dart at him with all the force he had. But *Cyrus* armor was ſo good, that it pearſed him not: yet the blowe came with ſuch good will, that it made him ſtagger on his horſe back. When *Artagerſes* had giuen him that blowe, he preſently turned his horſe. But *Cyrus* therewithall threw a dart at him ſo happily, that he ſlue him right in the place aboue the bone that ioyneth the two ſhoulders together: ſo that the head of his dart, ranne quite through his necke. Nowe, that *Cyrus* ſlue *Artagerſes* with his owne hands in the field, all the Hiſtoriographers doe agree vpon it: but for the death of *Cyrus*, bicauſe *Xenophon* toucheth it but a litle by the way, for that he was not preſent in the very place where he was ſlayne: it ſhal not be hurtfull particularly to ſet downe the manner thereof, both according to the report of *Dinon*, and
E alſo of *Cteſias*. Firſt, *Dinon* writeth, that after *Cyrus* had ſlayne *Artagerſes*, he went with great fury, and flue in amongeſt the trowpe of them which were neareſt vnto the kings perſon, and that he came ſo neare the king, that he ſlue his horſe ſtarke dead vnder him, and the king fell to the ground withall. But *Tiribazus* that was hard by him, ſtraight mownted the king againe vpon an other horſe, and ſayd vnto him: your grace will remember this battell another day, for it is not to be forgotten. And *Cyrus* clapping ſpurres againe to his horſe, threwe an other dart at *Artaxerxes*, and hit him. But at the third charge, the king tolde them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather dye then ſuffer it: ſo therewithall he ſpurring his horſe to charge *Cyrus*, (who came fiercely and deſperatly, hauing an infinite number of blowes with darts throwen at him on euery ſide) threw his dart at him alſo. So did all thoſe
F that were about his perſon: and ſo was *Cyrus* ſlayne in this conflict. Some ſaye, that he was ſlayne with the wounde the kinge his brother gaue him. Others ſaye, that it was a man at armes of the contry of Caria, vnto whom the king for reward of his good ſeruice, gaue him

Paſacas Cyrus horſe.

Artagerſes the gouernor of the prouince of Caduſia, giueth charge vpon Cyrus.

Cyrus ſlue Artagerſes.

Dinons report of Cyrus death

The Carians be called cocks, bicause they weare creſts on their headpeeces.

the honor in all battels to cary before the firſt ranke, a cocke of gold on the toppe of a ſpeare: for the PERSIANS doe cal the CARIANS cocks, bicauſe in the warres they vſe to weare creaſts in the toppe of their headpeeces. And this is *Dinons* reporte. But *Cteſias*, to cowche in fewe words that which *Dinon* reporteth at large, ſayth: that *Cyrus* after he had ſlaine *Artagerſes*, he gallopped on the ſpurre againſt the king him ſelfe, and the king againſt him, and not a worde betwene them both. *Arieus*, one of *Cyrus* flatterers, threwe the firſt dart at the king, but killed him not: and the king with all his force againe threwe his dart, thinking to haue hit *Cyrus*, but he miſſed him, and ſlue *Tiſaphernes*, one of the vallianteſt and ſtowteſt men *Cyrus* had about him, and ſo fell downe dead. Then *Cyrus* hit *Artaxerxes* ſo ſore a blowe on his breaſt, that he pearced his armor, and entred into his fleſh two fingers deepe. The king with this blowe fell downe to the ground: wherewithall the moſt part of his men about him were ſo affrayd, that they forſooke him, and fled. Howbeit he got vp againe, with the helpe of others that were about him, amongeſt whome *Cteſias* ſayd he was one: and ſo recouered a litle hill not farre of, to take a litle breath. In the meane time, *Cyrus* horſe that was whotte in the mouth, and hard headed as we haue told you: caried his maſter ſpyte of his hart farre from his men, amonge his enemies, and no man knew him, bicauſe it was night, and his men were very buſie in ſeeking for him. But *Cyrus* hoping he had wonne the victory, being of a whot ſtirring nature, and valliant: he went vppe and downe in the thickeſt of his enemies, crying out in the PERSIAN tongue, ſaue your ſelues poore men, ſaue your ſelues. When they heard him ſay ſo, ſome made a lane for him to paſſe by them, and did him reuerence: But by euill fortune his Tiara (which is the highe royall hat after the PERSIAN manner) fell of of his head. Then a younge PERSIAN called *Mithridates*, paſſing by him, hit him a blowe with his dart vpon one of his temples, hard by his eye, not knowing what he was. His wound ſtraight fell of a marueious bleeding. Whereuppon, *Cyrus* ſtaggering at it, fell to the ground in a ſwownd, and his horſe ranne away from him: but the cappariſon he had vppon him fell to the ground all bloudied, and his page that had hurt him, tooke it vp. Shortly after, *Cyrus* being comen to him ſelfe againe, ſome of his Euenukes (which were men gelt, and groomes of his chamber) that were about him, did lift him vp, thinking to ſet him vpon another horſe, and to get him out of the preaſe: but he was not able to ſit on his horſe. Thereuppon he proued if he could better goe a foote, & the Euenuks held him vp by the armes, & led him amaſed as he was, not able to ſtād on his feete, although he thought he had won the battell: bicauſe he heard his enemies flying about him cry, the gods ſaue king *Cyrus*, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receiue them to mercy. But in the meane time, there came certaine poore men of the citie of CAVNVS, who followed the kings campe, getting their liuing as drudges and ſlaues, to doe moſt vile ſeruice. They ioined with the trowpe where *Cyrus* was, ſuppoſing they had bene the kings men: but when they perceiued in the ende by the red coates they ware vpon their armors, that they were enemies, for that the kings men ware white coates: there was one among the reſt that valliantly ſtrake at *Cyrus* behind with his pertiſan, not knowing in deede that it was *Cyrus*. The blowe lighted full on the hamme of his legge and cut his ſinewes ſo, that *Cyrus* fell withall, and falling, by misfortune fell vpon a great ſtone with his browe, where he had bene hurt before, that he died forthwith. Thus doth *Cteſias* report it, where me thinketh he cutteth his throate with a dull edged knife, he hath ſuch a doe to bring *Cyrus* to his ende. Now after *Cyrus* was dead, *Artaſyras*, one of king *Artaxerxes* Euenukes, whome they called the kings eye in the Court: paſſing by a horſebacke, knewe *Cyrus* Euenukes that mourned very pitifully, lamenting the death of their maſter. So he asked the Euenuke whome *Cyrus* loued beſt: who is that that is dead, O *Pariſcas*, that thou weepeſt ſo bitterly? *Pariſcas* aunſwered him againe, ſeeſt thou not *Artaſyras*, that it is *Cyrus* but newly dead? *Artaſyras* wondred much when he ſawe him. So he comforted the Euenuke, and willed him in no caſe to goe from the body: and in the meane time he gallopped a pace to the king, who thought he had loſt all, and was very ill beſides, both for the great thirſt he ſuffred, as alſo for his wound he had on his breaſt. Nowe when the Euenuke came vnto the king, & told him with a ſmyling countenaunce the newes, how he had ſeene *Cyrus* dead: The king was ſo ioyfull at the newes, that he was deſirous him ſelfe forthwith to goe vnto the place where he lay to ſee him, and commaunded *Artaſyras* to bringe

Artaxerxes hurt by Cyrus.

Cyrus hurt.

Cyrus miſerable deſtiny.

A bring him thither. But after he had considered better of it, he was counselled not to goe thither him selfe for feare of the GRÆCIANS, who they sayd wonne all, and were yet chasing & killing them in the field, that fled: But rather than he should send a good company of men thither, to bring him iust report, whether the newes were true of his death or not. Vpon this aduise he stayed, and sent thither thirtye men, euery man with torches in their handes. In the meane tyme, one of his Euenukes called *Satibarzanes*, ranne vp and downe to see if he could get any water for the king, that was almost dead for thirst: for there was no water neere vnto him where he was, and besides, his campe was farre from him. His Euenuke hauing run vp and downe a great way to seeke it, mette by chaunce with these poore slaues and pesants the CAYNIANS, amonge the which one of them caried in an olde ragged goates skinne, about eight glasfefulles of naughty stincking water. So he presently caried the same to the king, who

B dranke it vp euery whit. When the king had dronke it, the Euenuke asked him, if that muddy water did him no hurt. The king sware by the goddes vnto him, that he neuer dranke better wine, nor sweeter water then that was, nor that pleased him better then that did: therefore, sayde he, I beseeche the goddes if it be not my happe to finde him that gaue me this water to reward him, yet that it will please them to send him good fortune. As the king was talking thus with his Euenuke, the thirty men with their torches returned vnto him, and altogether with ioyfull countenaunce, confirmed the good newes he looked not for. For there were comen together againe a great number of souldiers about him, and still came more one after another, that he beganne againe to be coragious. Then he came downe into the

C playne, with a world of lights and torches about him, and went straight vnto the place where his brother *Cyrus* body lay. There, following the auncient manner of the PARSIANS against their enemies, he caused his head and right hand to be striken of, and then made him selfe to be brought vnto him, the which he tooke by the heares of his head (for *Cyrus* wore them long and thicke) and did him selfe shew it vnto them that fled still, and were afraid, to encourage them againe. They wondering to see it, did him humble reuerence, and so gathered by companies about the king, that in a smal time there were gathered together about him, three score and tenne thousand fighting men, with the which he tooke his way againe towards the campe. In deede *Ctesias* sayth, that he had but foure hundred thousand fighting men in all: but *Dinon* and *Xenophon* say more. And for the number of them that were slayne, *Ctesias* sayth, that

D word was brought to the king, that there were nine aboue nyne thousand slaine, howbeit that to sight they seemed to be no lesse then twenty thousand. But for that point, he might be talked withall, in either of both. But furthermore, where he sayth that the king did send him with *Phayllus* ZACYNTHIAN vnto the GRÆCIANS, and others with him: that is a flat lye. For *Xenophon* knew right well, that this *Ctesias* wayted vpon the king, bicause he speaketh of him in diuers places of his historie: and if he had bene appointed by the king to carry report vnto the GRÆCIANS of so waighty a matter, it is like enough *Xenophon* would not haue concealed it, when he nameth *Phayllus* ZACYNTHIAN. But *Ctesias* (as it appeareth by his writings) was a very ambitious man, and partiall vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, but specially vnto *Clearchus*, so

E is glad when he can get any occasion to speake of him selfe for his glory, of LACEDÆMONIANS & of *Clearchus*. Now after this battell, king *Artaxerxes* sent goodly riche gifts vnto *Artagerses* sonne, whose father *Cyrus* had slayne with his owne hands, and as it is reported, did also greatly honor *Ctesias* and many others: and did not forget also to cause the poore CAYNIAN slaue to be sought out, that had giuen him the water to be caried to him which saued his life, and when he had found him out, of a poore wretch vnknowen before, he made him a riche and

F great man. He seuerely punished those also that had offended the martial law, as amongst others, *Arbaces*, one of the MEDES: who when the battell was ioyned, he fled first on *Cyrus* side, and then when he vnderstoode he was slayne, he returned againe to the kings side. For supposing that it was rather timerousnes and cowardly nature, then for treason or euil will he had done, he compelled him to carye a whore on his backe starke naked, all daye long about the market place. And to another, who besides he had yeelded him selfe to his enemies, falsely boasted that he had slayne two: he made his conduct to be bored thorough in three seuerall places with a cordiners alle. Now the king being of opinion that it was him selfe that had slayne his

King Artaxerxes being a thirst, drinke stincking puddle water, and sayd he neuer tasted sweeter

The manner of the Persians in their warres against their enemies.

Plutarck reproueth Ctesias as for a lyer.

How Artaxerxes rewarded the good, and also punished the euill.

brother *Cyrus* with his owne hand, and being desirous that euery man should so thinke & say: he sent presents vnto *Mithridates*, that had hurt him first in the forehead, and commaunded him that caried the giftes vnto him, to tell him from the king: the king doth send thee these presents, bicause thou finding first the cappariſon of *Cyrus* horse, diddest bring it vnto the king. The CARIAN also that had cut the hamme of his legge wherewith *Cyrus* fell downe, asked his gift likewise: the which the king gaue him, and bad the Messenger tell him, the king doth giue thee this, bicause thou wast the second person that broughtest him the good newes. For *Artagyras* was the first, and thou the second, that brought him newes of the death of *Cyrus*. Now *Mithridates*, albeit he was not well pleased in his mind with those wordes, he went his way, and sayd nothing then, nor made any thing a doe: but the vnfortunate CARIAN fondely fell into a foolish vaine, common vnto men. For, the sodeine ioy he felt (as it seemeth) to see such a goodly riche present before him, as the king sent him: made him so forget him selfe, that he began to aspyre, and to pretend greater things, then became his state and calling. And therefore he would not take the kings gifte, as in respecte that he had brought him worde of *Cyrus* death: but began to storme, and to rage, calling the gods to witnesse, that it was he onely, and none other, that slue *Cyrus*, and that they did him great wronge, to take this honor from him. The king beeing told of it, tooke it so angrily: that he presently commaunded them to strike of his head. But *Paryſatis* (the Queene mother) beeing present when the king gaue this commaundement, she prayed him not to put him to death in that sort: for the Villain, sayd she, let me alone, I will chastise him well enough for his presumption and rashe speeche. The king was contented she should haue him. Thereuppon she sent the Sergeaunts to take this cursed CARIAN, and made him be hanged vpon a gybbet ten dayes together, and at the tenne dayes end, caused his eyes to be pulled out of his head, and last of all, poored molten mettell into his eares, and so killed the Villaine with this kinde of torment. *Mithridates* also shortly after, died miserably, by like follye. He was bidden to supper at a feast, whether came also the king and Queene mothers Euenukes: and when they came, *Mithridates* sate downe at the bord in the kings golden gowne he gaue him. When they had supped, and that they beganne to drinke one to another, one of *Paryſatis* Euenukes sayd vnto *Mithridates*: the king hath in deede giuen thee a goodly gowne *Mithridates*, and goodly chaynes and carcanets of gold, and so is the sword very riche and good he gaue thee, so that when thou hast that by thy side, there is no man I warrant thee but will thinke thee a happy man. *Mithridates* then, the wine fuming into his brayne, aunswered straight: what meanest thou by that, *Sparamixes*? I deserued a better then this, when the battell was fought. Then *Sparamixes* langhing on him, aunswered, I do not speak it for any hurt or euil wil I beare thee, *Mithridates*: but to speake franckly among out selues, bicause the GRÆCIANS haue a common prouerbe, that wine telleth true, I pray thee tell me, what valliant acte was it to take vp a cappariſon of a horse that fell on the ground, and to cary it to the king? which the Euenuke spitefully put forth vnto him, not that he was ignorant who did it, but to prouoke him to speake, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a hasty man of nature, & could not kepe his tongue, & least of all when he had droncke so wel as he had done, and so it fell out in deede. For *Mithridates* could not byte it in, but replyed straight: you may talke as long as you lyst of the cappariſon of a horse, & such trash, but I tell you plainly, that *Cyrus* was slayne with myne owne hands, and with no mans els. For I hit him not in vaine as *Artagerses* did, but full in the forehead hard by his eye, and strake him through and through his head againe, and so ouerthrewe him, of which blow he dyed. He had no sooner spoken those words, but the rest that were at the bord, cast down their eyes, foreseeing the death of this pore & vnfortunat *Mithridates*. But then the master of the feast began to speake, and sayd vnto him: friend *Mithridates*, I pray thee let vs drincke and be mery, and reuerence and thanke the good fortune of our king, and for the rest, let this talke goe, it is too highe for vs. When the Euenuke went from thence, he tolde *Paryſatis* the Queene mother what *Mithridates* had sayd before them all: and she went and told the king of it. Who was maruelously offended withall to be so belyed, and to lose the thing that was most honorable, and best pleased him in his victorie. For it was his mind, that all the world (both GRÆCIANS and barbarous people) should certainly beleue, that in the battell betwixt him and his brother he was hurt

The punishments of them that slue Cyrus.

Paryſatis straunge crueltie, paining the Cariam to death.

See the perill of bashfulnes, & rashe answer.

A hurt, but yet that he ſlue *Cyrus* with his owne hand. So the king cõmaunded that *Mithridates* ſhould ſuffer the paines of death in botes, the which is after this maner. They take two botes made of purpoſe ſo euen, that the one is nether broder nor longer then the other, & then lay the offender in one of thẽ vpon his back, & ſo couer him with the other, & do ſow both botes togither: So that the parties feete, hands, & head do come out at holes made of purpoſe for him, the reſt of his bodye is all hidden within. Now they giue him meate as much as he will eate, & if he wil not eate, they force him to it, by thruſting alles in his eies: then when he hath eaten, they giue him hony to drinke mingled with milke, & they do not only powre it into his mouth, but alſo all his face ouer, turning him ful into the ſunne, ſo that his face is all couered ouer with flies: & furthermore, being driuen to do his needes in that troughe, of his excre-
B ments there ingender wormes that eate his body euen to the very priuities. Then, when they ſee the man is dead, they take of the vppermoſt boate, & find all his fleſh deuowred with vermine ingendring of him, euen to his very intrals. So, when *Mithridates* had miſerably languiſhed in this manner, ſeuenteene daies together: at length he died in extreme torments. Now *Paryſatis* (the Queene mother) lacked no more to accompliſh her wicked deſire, but *Meſabates*, one of the kings Euenukes that had cut of *Cyrus* head and hand: & ſeing that he was very ware & circũſpect in his behauior, that ſhe could not take him at any aduauntage: in the end ſhe deuiſed a fine way to intrap him. She had a maruelous wit, & amonge other things could play paſſingly wel at all games at dyce, & did many times play with the king her ſonne before the warres: & after the warres alſo, when he had made peace, ſhe did play at dyce with him as
C ſhe had done before, inſomuch as ſhe knew all his ſecret loue, and furthered him to enioy it. To be ſhort, ſhe would neuer be out of his ſight but as litle as ſhe could, & would let his wife *Statira* haue as litle time with him as might be, that ſhe might gouerne and rule him as ſhe would: both bicauſe ſhe hated her of all creatures liuing, and alſo for that ſhe would beare the greateſt ſway and credit about him. When ſhe ſaw the king one day at leyſure, not knowing how to paſſe the time away: ſhe inticed him to play a thowſand Darecks at dyce, and was contented to loſe them willingly, and paied the thowſand Darecks downe, ſeeming notwithſtanding to be angry with her loſſe. So ſhe prayed him alſo to play one of his Euenukes with her: & the king was well contented with it. But before they would play, they agreed betwene thẽ that they ſhould both name & except fiue of the truſtieſt & chiefeſt Euenukes they had:
D & then, which of them loſt, ſhould preſently deliuer vnto the winner his choyce of all the other Euenukes he would demaund. Thus they fel to play, & ſhe imploying all the cunning ſhe had, & playing as warely as ſhe could poſſible, beſides that the dyce ranne of her ſide, her luck ſerued her ſo, that ſhe wanne: & then ſhe required *Meſabates* for her winnings, being none of thoſe the king had excepted. Whẽ ſhe had him deliuered her, ſhe gaue him to the hangmen, & willed thẽ to flea him aliue, & then that they ſhould crucifie him, & naile him to a croſſe, & hang his skin vpon an other peece of tymber by him: the which was done accordingly. The king was maruelous angry withall when he knew it, & greeuouſly offended with his mother. Howbeit ſhe ſported it out, & laughing, told him: in deed it becomes thee wel to be angry for
E loſing an old gelded Villain, where I loſt a thowſand Darecks quietly, & ſaid neuer a word. So there came no other thing of it, ſauing that the king was a litle angry, & repented him that he had plaied ſo fondly & was ſo finely mocked. But Queene *Statira* on the other ſide, beſids that ſhe was againſt her in al other things: ſhe ſpared not to tel Queene mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her, to put the kings good & faithful ſeruaunts ſo cruelly to death, for *Cyrus* ſake. But now, after that *Tiſaphernes* (king *Artaxerxes* Lieuetenant) had deceiued *Clearchus*, & other captaines of Græce, deteſtably falſifying his word he had giuen thẽ, & that he had ſent them bound vnto the king: *Cteſias* ſayth, that *Clearchus* praied him to helpe him to a combe, & that hauing had one by his meanes, and alſo comed his head, it pleaſed him ſo wel, that to requite his good wil, he gaue him his ſeale of armes from his finger wherewith he ſealed his letters, for a witnes of the great friendſhip that was betwene them two. He ſayth alſo that in the
F ſtone of this ring there was grauen the daunce of the Caryatides. And furthermore, that the other ſouldiers which were priſoners with *Clearchus*, did take away the moſte part of the vittells that were ſent to him, and left him litle or nothing: and that he did remedye all this,

The terrible death of offenders, in botes or troughes, among the Perſians.

The miſerable death of Mithridates.

The deuiliſh craft of Paryſatis, & her great skill & cunning at dyce.

Paryſatis craft and crueltie.

Tiſaphernes betrayeth the Captaines of Grece.

procuring a greater quantitie to be ſent vnto them, & that they ſhould put *Clearchus* portion apart, and all the other ſouldiers part alſo by them ſelues. This he did, as he ſayth, by *Paryſatis* conſent & commaundement, who knowing that amongeſt other vittells they dayly ſent *Clearchus* a gammon of bacon: ſhe tolde him one day he ſhould doe well to hide a litle knife in this gammon of bacon, and to ſend it him, to thend that the life of ſo noble & valliant a man as he was, ſhould not fall to the crueltie of the king. Howbeit, that he was affrayd to meddle withall, and durſt not doe it: & that the king ſware, & promiſed his mother, (who was an earneſt ſuter to him for *Clearchus*) that he would not put him to death. This notwithſtanding, the king being afterwards procured, and perſwaded to the contrary, by Queene *Statira* his wife: he put them all to death, but *Menon*. Therefore *Paryſatis*, Queene mother, after that time (ſayth *Cteſias*) deuiſed all the wayes ſhe could to poyſon Queene *Statira*, and to make her out of the way. But me thinketh this ſmelleth like a lye, that *Paryſatis* ſhould entend ſo wicked and daungerous an acte, as to put the kinges lawfull wife to death, by whome he had ſonnes that were to inherite the crowne, onely for the loue and reſpect of *Clearchus*: and it is too plaine that he coyned that, to honor and magnifie *Clearchus* memorie the more. But to proue it, a man may eaſily find it by the lyes he addeth afterwards vnto it: ſaying, that after the Captaines were ſlayne, all the bodies of the reſt were torne a peeces by dogges & fowles: and alſo that there came a boyſterous winde, and couered all *Clearchus* body with a great hill of duſt, and that out of this hill of duſt ſhortly after there ſpronge vp many palme trees, which made a prety thicke groue, that it ſhadowed all that place. Inſomuch that the king him ſelfe did afterwards maruelouſly repent him for putting of him to death, for that he was an honeſt man, & beloued of the gods. This was not for *Clearchus* ſake, but for an olde canckered malice *Paryſatis* had long time borne in her hart againſt Queene *Statira*: bicauſe ſhe ſaw wel enough, that the credit & authoritie her ſelf had with the king, was in reſpect of a ſonnes duty & obediēce to his mother, & in contrary maner, *Statiraes* credit & authoritie had a better ground & foūdaciō, bicauſe it came of the loue & good wil the king did beare her. And this is the onely cauſe that made her to practiſe the death of Quene *Statira*, hauing determined that her ſelf, or daughter in law, muſt nedes dye. Now Quene mother had one of the women of her chamber called *Gigis*, that was of great credit about her, & whome ſhe onely truſted. *Dinon* writeth, that this *Gigis* did help *Paryſatis* to make the poyſon. But *Cteſias* writeth contrarily, & ſaith that ſhe onely knew it, but otherwiſe that it was againſt her will: & that he that made the poyſon, was one *Belitaras*, but *Dinon* calleth him *Melantas*. Now, though in outward ſemblance and ſhew Queene mother & *Statira* ſemed to haue forgottē all malice betwene them, & that they begā again one of them to keepe company with the other, & did eate & drinke together: yet one of them miſtruſted the other, & tooke great heede to them ſelues, both of them eating one ſelfe meate, & in one diſhe together, and were both ſerued with one ſelf officers & men. In PERSIA there is a litle bird, of the which all the parts of it is excellent good to eate, & is ful of fat within: ſo that it is thought it liueth by ayer & dewe, and in the PERSIAN tongue they cal it Ryntaces. *Paryſatis*, as *Cteſias* ſayth, tooke one of theſe birdes, and cut it in the middeſt with a litle knife, the which was poyſoned onely on one of the ſides, and gaue that halfe which was poyſoned vnto *Statira*. Yet *Dinon* writeth, that it was not *Paryſatis* her ſelfe that gaue it her, but her caruer *Melantas* that carued her meate, & ſtill gaue Queene *Statyra* of that meate which the ſide of his poiſoned knife had touched. So Quene *Statira* preſētly fel ſick of the diſſeaſe wherof ſhe died, with greuous panges & gripings in her bowels, & found plainly that ſhe was poyſoned by *Paryſatis* meanes: wheruppō ſhe told the king as much, who was of the ſame opinion, & thought it was his mother, bicauſe he knew her cruel reuēging mind, that neuer pardoned any, againſt whō ſhe conceiued any grudge. The king therefore to know the troth, when his wife *Statira* was dead, apprehended all his mothers houſhold ſeruaunts & officers, & did put them to torments, to make them confeſſe the troth, ſauing *Gigis*, whome Queene mother kept cloſe in her chamber a long time, & would neuer ſuffer the king to haue her: who earneſtly requeſted her to deliuer her vnto him. Notwithſtanding, *Gigis* her ſelfe at length prayed Quene mother to giue her leaue one night to go home to her houſe. The king vnderſtanding it, layed waite for her, and intercepted her by the way: and when ſhe was taken, he condemned

Clearchus, & other Captaines of Grece put to death, by king Artaxerxes.

Cteſias vanity

The cauſe of Paryſatis hate vnto her Daughter in law, Statyra.

Paryſatis practiſeth to poyſon Queene Statira.

Ryntaces a bird of Perſia that hath no excrements.

How Statira was poyſoned.

A ned her to suffer the paynes of death ordeyned for poysoners, the which in PERSIA is executed in this manner. They make them put their head vpon a great plaine stone, and with an other stone they presse and strike it so long, till they haue dashed the braynes of the malefactor out of their head. After this sort was *Gigis* put to death. Now for *Parysatis* his mother, the king did her no other hurt, nor sayd no more vnto her, but confined her vnto BABYLON according to her desire, & sware, that whilest she liued, he would neuer see BABYLON. In this state stoode the affaires of the king. But now, *Artaxerxes* hauing done the vtmost he could to haue ouercomen the GRÆCIANS which came to make warre with him in the hart of his Realme, and would haue bene as glad of that, as he was to haue ouercome *Cyrus*, & to keepe his crowne & Realme: he could neuer preuaile against them. For though they had lost *Cyrus* that gaue them

B entertainment, & all their priuate Captaines that led them: they saued them selues notwithstanding, being in the hart of his Realme, and shewed the PERSIANS by experience, that all their doings was nothing but gold & siluer, curiositie, & fayer women, & otherwise, nothing but pompe & vanity. Hereuppon al the GRÆCIANS became couragious, & despised the barbarous people: insomuch that the LACEDÆMONIANS thought it a great shame & dishonor vnto them, if they did not deliuer the GRÆCIANS that dwelt in ASIA, from the slauery & bōdage of the PERSIANS, & kept them from the open violence & cruelty of the barbarous people. For they hauing at other times attempted to doe it by their Captaine *Thimbron*, & afterwards also by *Dercyllidas*, whom they sent thither with an army, & hauing done nothing worthy memory: at lēgth they determined to send their king *Agesilaus* thither in person, who pas-

C sing through ASIA with his shipps, began presently to make hot warre against the PERSIANS as soone as euer he had landed his army. For, at the first cōflict he ouerthrew *Tisaphernes* (the king of PERSIAES Lieuetenant) in battel, and made the most part of the cities of GRÆCE that are in ASIA, to rebel against him. *Artaxerxes* loking into this warre, & wisely cōsidering what way & meanes he was to take, to make warre with the GRÆCIANS: he sent into GRÆCE one *Hermocrates* a RHODIAN, (of great credit about him) with a maruelous sūme of gold & siluer, bountifully to bestow in gifts among the nobilitie & chiefe rulers of the cities of GRÆCE, to make all the other GRÆCIANS to rise against the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Hermocrates* wisely executed his cōmission, for he made the chiefest cities of GRÆCE to rebel against LACEDÆMON: so that all PELOPONNESVS being vp in armes, and in great garboyle, the Ephori at LACEDÆ-

D MON were inforced to send for *Agesilaus* home again. *Agesilaus* being sory to depart out of ASIA, said vnto his friends: that the king of PERSIA had driuen him out of his Realme with thirty thowsand archers: bicause that the PERSIAN coyne is stāped with an archer, hauing a bow in his hand. *Artaxerxes* also draue the LACEDÆMONIANS out of all their iurisdiction by sea, by the meanes of *Conon*, general of the ATHENIANS, whō *Pharnabazus* (one of his Lieuetenants) had wonne to take his part. For *Conon*, after he was ouerthrowen in battel at a place called the goates riuer, kept euer after in the Ile of CYPRVS, not so much for the safetie of his person, as also for that it was a mete place to stay in, vntil the wars of GRÆCE were appeased. He knowing that the deuise he had in his head, lacked power to put it in execution, & on the contrary side, that the power of the king lacked a man of deepe iudgemēt to be imployed: he wrote let-

E ters vnto him of his deuise what he thought to doe, straightly charging him whom he deliuered his letters vnto, that if he could possibly, he should cause the same to be deliuered vnto the king by *Zenon* the CRETAN, one of the kings dauncers, or by one *Polycritus* his Phisition, born in the city of MENDE: & in both their absences, then to giue it vnto *Ctesias*, to deliuer vnto the king. It chaunced so that this letter came to the hands of *Ctesias*: who (as it is reported) added moreouer vnto the cōtents of the letter, that the king should send him vnto *Conon*, bicause he was a necessary man to be employed in his seruice, but specially by sea. *Ctesias* sayth not so, but writeth that the king of his owne voluntary motion gaue him this charge. Now, after *Artaxerxes* had through the leading of *Conon* & *Pharnabazus*, won the battell by sea neare to the Ile of GNIDVS, & that therby he had driuen all the LACEDÆMONIANS from their iurisdiction by

F sea, all GRÆCE had him in maruelous great estimation: so that he gaue vnto the GRÆCIANS with such cōditions as he would, that so famous peace, called *Antalcidas* peace. This *Antalcidas* was a citizē of SPARTA, the sonne of one *Leon*, who fauoring king *Artaxerxes* affaires, pro-

The punishments for poysoners in Persia.

Agesilaus king of Lacedæmon, maketh warre with the Persians.

The Persian coyne, how it is stemped.

Artaxerxes draue the Lacedæmonians from all their dominion by sea.

Gnidus Insula.

Antalcidas peace.

cured by the treatie of this peace, that the LACEDÆMONIANS left vnto *Artaxerxes* all the cities of GRÆCE in ASIA, & all the Iles conteined in the same, to enioy quietly, making thē pay tribute at his pleasure. This peace being cōcluded with the GRÆCIANS (if so shameful a treason, reproch, & common infamy to all GRÆCE may be called a peace, as neuer warre fell out more dishonorable & infamous for the vanquished) king *Artaxerxes* that otherwise hated the LACEDÆMONIANS to the death, & that estemed thē (as *Dinon* writeth) the impudentest men liuing: did notwithstanding loue *Antalcidas* passingly wel, & enterteined him very honorably, when he came into PERSIA vnto him. It is reported that the king one day tooke a garland of flowers, & did wet it with the most pretious & sweetest oyle of perfume that was prepared for the feast, & sēt the same vnto *Antalcidas*: insomuch as euery mā maruelled to see the kīg set so much by him. In deed he was a mete man to follow the vanity & curiositie of the PERSIANS, & had wel deserued such a garland to be sent him: who was so bold to daunce a daunce before the PERSIANS, mocking & coūterfeating *Leonidas* & *Callicratidas*, two of the valliantest men that euer were in GRÆCE. Therefore one said at that time in the presence of king *Agesilaus*: O how vnhappy is poore GRÆCE at this day, when the LACEDÆMONIANS come to follow the PERSIANS? But *Agesilaus* presently aūswered him againe, not so, said he: but rather the PERSIANS followe the LACEDÆMONIANS. Notwithstanding, this wise aunswer *Agesilaus* made, did not take away the shame of the fact: & shortly after, the LACEDÆMONIANS lost the battell of LEVCTRES, & therewith also the signiorie & principalitie they had kept of long time ouer all GRÆCE, although they had lost their estimatiō before, for cōsenting to so shameful & dishonorable a peace. Whē SPARTA florished most, & was chiefe of all the other cities of GRÆCE so long did *Artaxerxes* stil cōtinue to make much of *Antalcidas*, & called him his friēd. But after that the LACEDÆMONIANS had lost the battell of LEVCTRES, hauing receiued so great an ouerthrow, & wanting money: they sent *Agesilaus* into ÆGYPT, & *Altaleidas* into PERSIA vnto king *Artaxerxes*, to pray him to ayde and helpe the LACEDÆMONIANS. Howbeit the king made so smal accompt of him, & disdained him so much, denying him, & his requests: that he returned backe to SPARTA, as a man knocked on the head, without any thing done with the king. And there also seing that his enemies mocked him, & fearing that the Ephori would cōmit him to prison: he killed him self with famine. About that time also, the THEBANS after they had won the battell of LEVCTRES, sent *Ismenias* & *Pelopidas* into PERSIA, vnto king *Artaxerxes*: where *Pelopidas* did nothing vnworthy of him self. Howbeit *Ismenias* being commaunded to kneele to the king, he let fall his ringe at his feete, and stowped to take it vp: whereby it was thought of some that he did it to kneele to the king. Another time *Artaxerxes* liking a secret aduertisement very wel sent him from *Timagoras* the ATHENIAN: he gaue him ten thowsand daricks by his Secretary called *Belluris*. And bicause he had a sickly body, & was driuē to drink cowes milke to restore him: the king therfore sent foure score mylche kyne with him to giue milke to the paile, to haue fresh milke euery daye. Furthermore, he sent him a bed throughly furnished with al things necessary, & groomes of the chāber to make his bed, saying, that the GRÆCIANS could not tel how to make it: & did also let him haue men to cary him vpon their armes to the sea side, bicause he was sicke, & whilest he was at the Court, he enterteyned him very honorably & bountifully. So *Ostanes*, the kings brother, said one day vnto him: *Timagoras*, remēber how honorably thou art serued at thy bord, for it is not for no small matter thou art thus made of. This word was rather to cut him for his treason, then for any remēbrance of the benefit receiued. So the ATHENIANS afterwards condēned the same *Timagoras* to dye, bicause he had taken bribes & money of the king of PERSIA. But *Artaxerxes* in recōpence of so many other thinges that he had done, to despite the GRÆCIANS with, he did one thing that pleased them maruelously: when he did put *Tisaphernes* to death, who was the dreadfullest enemye the GRÆCIANS had. *Paryſatis* the Queene mother did helpe to bringe this to passe, aggrauating the accusations brought in against him. For the king kept not his anger longe against his mother, but fell in againe with her, and sent for her, knowing that she had an excellent witte and noble courage to gouerne a great kingdome: and besides, that there was nothing nowe to let them to come together as much as they would, to giue any occasion of iclousie or malice to any person. So euer after, his mother *Paryſatis* endeuored her selfe

Antalcidas Lacedæmonian, greatly esteemed of Artaxerxes.

The persians full of vanitie and curiositie.

The death of Antalcidas Lacedæmonian.

Timagoras Athenian, brybed by king Artaxerxes.

Timagoras was put to death, for taking brybes and gifts of the king of Persia.

King Artaxerxes killeth Tisaphernes.

Artaxerxes fell in againe with his mo-

A to ſeede the king her ſonnes humor euery manner of way, ſeeming to miſlike nothing that he did: Whereby ſhe grewe in great credit with him, that he denied her nothing whatſoeuer ſhe asked him. So ſhe perceyued that the king was extreamely in loue with one of his owne Daughters, that was called *Atoſſa*: howbeit that he diſſembled his loue the beſt he could, and kept it ſecret, chiefly for feare of her, although ſome write, that in deede he had already had her maydenhead. Nowe *Paryſatis* hauing found his loue, ſhe beganne to make more of his Daughter then ſhe did before, and talking with her father, ſometyme ſhe prayſed her beauty, another tyme her grace and good countenaunce, ſaying that ſhe was like a Queene and noble Princeſſe. So that at length by litle and litle ſhe perſwaded him to marye her openly, not paſſing for the lawes and opinions of the GRÆCIANS, conſidering that God had giuen B him vnto the PERSIANS, to ſtabliſhe lawes vnto them, to decyde right from wronge, and the good from the bad. Some Hiſtoriographers doe write, and amongeſt them *Heraclides* of CVMES: that *Artaxerxes* did not onely marie the eldeſt of his Daughters, but the ſecond alſo called *Ameſtris*, of whome we will ſpeake hereafter. Nowe when he had maried the eldeſt, *Atoſſa*, he loued her ſo entierly well, that though ſhe fell ſicke of the diſſeaſe commonly called Vitiligo, that ranne ouer all her bodie: he loued her not the worſe for it, but prayed continually for her vnto the goddeſſe *Iuno*, honoring no other goddeſſe but her onely, and fell downe on his knees before her image, and ſent by his friendes and Lieuetenants ſo many offerings, that all the way from his Court gates vnto the temple of *Iuno*, (which was ſixteene furlong of) was full of gold, ſiluer, riche purple ſilkes, and horſe that were ſent thither. He beganne to C make warre alſo with the ÆGYPTIANS, and made *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates* ATHENIAN, his Lieuetenants, who did no good, bicauſe they fell at variance thone with thother. But afterwards, *Artaxarxes* him ſelfe went in perſon to conquer the CADVSIANS with three hundred thowſand footemen, and tenne thowſand horſemen. So he inuaded their contry, which was a very rude contry, alway darke and clowdy: The earth bringeth forth nothing that man ſoweth, but doth onely feede the inhabitants with peares, apples, and ſuch like frute, and yet the men be very ſtronge and valliant notwithſtanding. So when he was entred farre into the contry before he was ware, he fell into great want of vittells, and was alſo in great daunger. For his ſouldiers found nothing in all the contry that was good to eate, and worſt of all, no vittells could come vnto them from any place, bicauſe of the hardnes and naughty wayes of D the contry: So that his campe liued onely with the fleſhe of their beaſtes of cariage, and yet they ſold it dearely: for, an aſſes head was ſold for three skore ſiluer Drachmas. To conclude, the famyne was ſo great, that prouiſion fayled for the kings owne mouth, and there were but fewe horſe left, for all the reſt were eaten. Then *Tiribazus*, that had oftentimes bene chiefe about the king, bicauſe he was a valliant man, and that through his folly was many tymes alſo out of fauor, as at that preſent tyme, when he had no authoritie nor eſtimation: he deuiſed a ſtratageame, whereby he ſaued the king and all his campe. In this contry of the CADVSIANS, there were two kinges in the field with their armies, both of them camped a ſonder one from the other. *Tiribazus*, after he had ſpoken with king *Artaxerxes*, and had tolde him what he ment to doe: he went vnto one of the kinges, and at the ſelfe ſame tyme alſo ſeeretly ſent his E ſonne vnto the other king, and told either of them, that the other king had ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Artaxerxes* to make peace with him, vnwitting to his companion, and therefore he counſelled him if they were wiſe, one of them to ſeeke to preuent another with all the poſſible ſpeede he could, and promiſed them both, one after another, to helpe them the beſt he could. Both the one and the other of the kings gaue credit to his wordes, either of them both miſtruſting one another: ſo that the one ſpeedily ſent his Ambaſſadors vnto king *Artaxerxes*, with *Tiribazus*, and the other alſo his Ambaſſadors with his ſonne. But *Tiribazus* tarying long in his iorney, king *Artaxerxes* beganne ſomewhat to ſuſpect him, his enemies alſo did accuſe him in his abſence, aud the king grewe very chollerycke, and repented him that he had truſted him ſo farre, and was willing to heare euery man that ſpake againſt him. Howbeit F *Tiribazus* at length returned, and his ſonne alſo, and either of them brought with them the Ambaſſadors of the CADVSIANS, and ſo peace was taken with them both. Then was *Tiribazus* aloft againe, and in greater credit then euer he was, and ſo departed with the king. The

ther Paryſatis, & ſent for her to come to the Court.

Artaxerxes maried his eldeſt Daughter Atoſſa.

King Artaxerxes iorney againſt the Caduſians. The contry of the Caduſians very barren.

Great famyne in Artaxerxes army.

Tiribazus ſtratageame ſaued Artaxerxes, and all his army.

Note, that soft apparell and riches, maketh not a man cowardly and effeminate: but a vile base mind, that followeth euill aduise and counsell.

king then shewed plainely, that cowardlines proceedeth not of pompe and curiositie, as some take it, beleuing that it doth effeminate mens harts, but rather of a vile base mind, that commonly followeth euill, and the worst counsell. For nether the iewells of gold, the kingly robe, nor other sumptuous ornaments which the king euer ware about him, worth twelue thousand talents as it is reported, did not hinder him at that tyme to trauaile, and to take as much payne as any man in all his army. For he him selfe marched a foote the foremost man, caryeng his owne truffe in a scarfe vppon his shoulders, and his target on his arme, and trauelled through highe stony mountaines. So that his souldiers seeing the corage and payne the king him selfe tooke, they marched so nymbly, that it seemed they had wings: for he dayly marched aboue two hundred furlongs. Now the king at length by sore trauell, came to one of his owne houses, where there were goodly arbors and parkes, with goodly trees passingly sette forth: but all the contry besides was naked and barren, so that there was not a tree a great way from thence, and it was maruelous cold. The king suffred his souldiers to hewe downe the goodly pynes and cypres trees in his parkes: and bicause they durst not presume to touch them, he him selfe as he was tooke an axe in his hande and beganne to bewe downe the goodlieste tree there. The souldiers seeing that, fell euery man of them also to hewing: so that in a very short tyme they had prouided them selues well with wodde, and made them great fires in euery place, and so past ouer the night quietly by the fires side. This notwithstanding, he lost a great number of valliant men in this voyage, and almost all his horses. Therefore thinking his men would mocke him, bicause he did fayle of his purpose: he beganne to growe mistrustfull, and to suspect the chiefest noble men he had about him: so that in a rage he put many of them to death, but much more of them remayned, whome he mistrusted. For there is nothing more cruell, nor a greater bloud sucker, then a cowardly tyrant: as in contrary manner nothing is more curteous, and lesse suspicious, then a valliant and hardy man. And therefore brute beastes that be neuer made tame nor mastered, are commonly cowardly, and timerous: and the other to the contrary, that are noble and coragious, are bold straight, and doe come to knowe a man, bicause they haue no feare, nether doe they flie from their clapping and making much of them as they doe. Afterwards king *Artaxerxes* being growen very olde, heard that there was great sturre and contencion betwene his sonnes, which of them should be heire after his death, and that this contencion fell out also amonge his friends and men, of great calling. The wisest of them wished, that as he him self came vnto the crowne, as his fathers eldest sonne: so that he likewise should after his death leaue it vnto his eldest sonne, called *Darius*. But the younger, which was called *Ochus*, being a valliant man, and of a whot stirring nature, had some in the Court also that tooke his parte, and hoped to attrayne to his purpose, by the meanes of his sister *Atossa*, whome he loued and honored, promising to mary her, and to make her Queene, if he might come to be king after his fathers dissease. And besides, there went a report abroad, that in their fathers life time he secretly kept her: howbeit *Artaxerxes* neuer vnderstoode it. Now, bicause he would betimes put his sonne *Ochus* out of all hope to succeede him in the kingdom, least this expectacion might make him to goe about to practise that which *Cyrus* did, and that by this meanes his Realme should growe into faction and ciuill warres: he proclaymed his eldest sonne *Darius* (beeing fiftye yeare olde) king after his death, and furthermore gaue him leaue from thenceforth to weare the poynt of his hat right vp. In Persia the custom is, that when any commeth to be proclaymed successor and heire apparant to the crowne, he should require a gifte of him that proclaymeth him successor. The which the other doth graunt him, whatsoeuer it be that he asketh, so it be not impossible. *Darius* then asked his father a concubine called *Aspasia*, who was first with *Cyrus*, & in greatest fauor with him aboue all the rest, but then was for the kings own bodye. She was borne in the contry of Ionia, of free parents: and being vertuously brought vp, she was brought one night vnto *Cyrus* as he was at supper with other women, who late them downe, without too curious bidding, hard by him, and were verie glad when *Cyrus* offered to play and be merie with them, geuing euerie one of them some pleasaunt word, and they made it not coy. But *Aspasia* stoode on her feete by the table, and sayd neuer a word: and notwithstanding that *Cyrus* called her, she woulde not come at him. Moreouer, when one of

King Artaxerxes curteste to his souldiers.

Darius and Ochus, king Artaxerxes sonnes.

Artaxerxes proclaymeth his sonne Darius king.

Aspasia Ionia, one of Artaxerxes concubines.

the

A the groomes of his chamber would haue taken her to haue brought her to him: the first saith she, that layeth hands on me, shall repent it. Thereuppon all those that were present, said she was a foolish thing, and simply brought vp, and could not tell what was comely for her. Howbeit *Cyrus* being glad of it, passed it ouer with laughing, and told him that had brought them vnto him: doest thou not see, that of all these thou hast brought me, there is not an honest woman but she? After that, *Cyrus* began to make muche of her, and loued her better continually then all the rest, & called her *Aspasia* the wise. This *Aspasia* was taken among the spoiles of *Cyrus* campe after he was ouerthrowen, and *Darius* as we haue told ye, did begge her of his father, who was verie angrie with it in his mind. For the barbarous people of all other things are maruelous gealous of their women, so that not onely he should be put to death, that durst
B but speake to, or touch any concubine of the kings but in sport: but also whosoeuer came nere them, or neere their coches as they trauelled. The kings daughter *Atossa*, whom he had maried against all lawe, was yet liuing, and besides her he had also three hundred and three score passing fayer concubines: and yet when his sonne *Darius* asked *Aspasia* of him, the king answered, she was a free woman borne, and therefore if she woulde, he was content he should haue her: but if she were vnwilling to goe to him, then he would not haue him force her by no meanes. So *Aspasia* was sent for, and she was asked with whom she had rather be. She answered, with *Darius*: contrarie to king *Artaxerxes* expectacion, who both by the custome, and also the law, was compelled to let him haue her. But shortly after he tooke her from him againe, saying that he woulde place her in a Nunrie of *Diana*, in the contrie of ECBATANE,
C where they call her *Anitis*, there to serue the goddesse, and to liue chast all the daies of her life: supposing by this meanes to punish his sonne, not rigorously, but moderatly, with griefe mixt with sporte and earnest. Howebeit his sonne tooke it not so pacientlie, either bicause he was deepelie in loue with *Aspasia*, or else for that he saw his father mocked him in that point. *Tiribazus* finding this, and perceiuing that *Darius* tooke it verie grieuouslie: he aggrauated his anger against his father, knowing the passion of loue in *Darius*, by his owne, vpon the like occasion. King *Artaxerxes* had many daughters, and had promised *Pharnabazus* one of them, called *Apama*: vnto *Orontes*, *Rodogoune*: and to *Tiribazus*, *Amestris*. The king performed the other two mariages, & did put *Tiribazus* by his wife. For the king himselfe maried his owne daughter *Amestris*, and for her, he promised *Tiribazus* the younger, *Atossa*: with whom also
D he himselfe fell in loue, and maried her. *Tiribazus* hereupon was in such a rage with the king, that he hated him to the death: not bicause he was any traitor or seditious man in nature, but a madde harebrained fellow. For sometime he was aloft, and in as good credit and authoritie as the best: sodainly againe he woulde play some madde parte to anger the king, and then he was in as much disgrace, and out of countenaunce: and could not away with neither fortune. For when he was in authoritie, he made euerie man hate him for his pride: and being in disgrace, he could not humble himselfe, but looke bigger then before. Nowe there was fire and brimstone met, when *Tiribazus* tooke parte with *Darius*. For he dayly blewe into his eares, that it was to no purpose for him to weare his hat right vp, if his affaires also went not rightly forward: and that he deceiued himselfe much, if he did not know that his brother (by meanes
E of the women he kept) secretlie aspired to the crowne: and that his father being so vnconstant as he was, he must not trust in any sorte to succeede his father in the kingdome, what proclamation soeuer he hath made in his behalfe to the contrarie. For, sayd he, he that for a GRÆCIAN woman hath broken and violated the holiest lawe that was in PERSIA: thou must not looke that he will performe that he hath promised thee. And furthermore he perswaded him, that it was not a like repulse vnto *Ochus*, to be denied that which he looked for: as it was for him to be turned out of all that euer he had gotten. For sayd he, if it please *Ochus* to liue like a priuate man, he may safelie doe it, and no man will trouble him: but for him selfe that was alreadie proclaimed king, he must of necessitie make him selfe king, or else he must not liue. So the Poet *Sophocles* his saying most commonly proueth true:

F *Ill counsell eazly takes place.*

For the way is large and plaine for a man to beleeue as he lyst, and men commonly are giuen rather to beleue the euill then the good, bicause most men know not what goodnes mea-

The barbarous people can not endure with rinalitie in loue.

Tiribazus incenseth Darius against his father Artaxerxes.

Tiribazus maners, and condicions.

neth. But now beſide theſe perſwaſions, the greatnes of the kingdome, and the feare *Darius* A
ſtoode in of his brother *Ochus*, tooke great force and effect with him: and it may be alſo, that
Venus her ſelfe did ſomewhat in the matter, for the malice and ſpight that *Aſpaſia* was taken
Darius conſpireth againſt Artaxerxes his father. from him. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, thus was it handled: that *Darius* flatly conſpired a-
gainſt his father *Artaxerxes*, together with *Tiribazus*. Now, they hauing gotten many conſpi-
rators to ioyne with them, one of the kings Euenukes perceiuing it, ranne and told the king
of it, and howe they had ſodainly determined to aſſaile him, knowing certainly that it was a-
greed among them ſelues, that they ſhould kill him in his bedde in the night. *Artaxerxes* re-
ceiuing this aduertiſement, thought it was not good to be careleſſe of a matter of ſo great im-
portaunce as his life: and alſo that it were too great lightnes in him ſo ſodainly to beleue his
Euenuke, without better proofe or knowledge. So he tooke this way with him ſelfe. He com- B
A deuiſe of Artaxerxes how to preuent the conſpirators and to ſaue him ſelfe. maunded the Euenuke that had geuen him this informacion, to keepe companie ſtill with the
conſpirators, & to follow them whereſoeuer they went, to ſee their doings: and in the meane
time he bet downe his wall behind his bed, and made a dore thorowe, and ſet vp a hanging of
tapiſtrie before it. When the time was come, as the Euenuke had aduertiſed the king, that the
traitors ment to doe their feate: *Artaxerxes* being layed on his bedde, roſe not vp till he had
ſeene euerie traitor of them in the face that came to kill him. Then when he ſawe them com-
ming towards him with their ſwords drawen, he ſodainly lift vp the hanging, and got in to his
inner chamber, & ſhut the dore after him, making an outcrie, murder, murder. So the traitors
being plainly ſeene and knowen by the king, fled the ſame way they came, and failed of their
purpoſe, and bad *Tiribazus* ſaue him ſelfe, bicauſe he was knowen. So they diſperſed them C
ſelues, and ſcaped by flying. But *Tiribazus* was taken tardie, although he had ſlaine diuers of
the kings gard, valliantly defending him ſelfe: yet they tooke him not, till he was ſtriken with
Tiribazus the traitor ſlaine. a dart a good way of, which ſlewe him. *Darius* was alſo taken and apprehended, and brought
priſoner with his ſonnes: and the king referred him to be iudged by his peeres. For the king
him ſelfe would not be preſent to geue iudgement of him, but deputed others in his place to
accuſe him: howbeit he commaunded his ſecretaries to ſet downe in writing the opinion and
ſentence of euerie one of the Iudges and to bring it him. In fine, they all caſt him, and con-
Darius condemned to dye, and executed. demned him to dye. Then the officers layed hold on him, and brought him into a chamber of
the priſon, where the hangman came with a raſer in his hande with the which he vſed to cut
mens throates ſo condemned to dye. So the hangman comming into the chamber, when he D
ſaw it was *Darius*, he was affrayed, and came out of the chamber againe, his hart failing him,
and durſt not lay handes vpon the perſon of the king. But the Iudges that ſtoode without the
chamber, bad him goe and doe it, vnleſſe he would haue his owne throate cut. So the hang-
man then came in, and tooke *Darius* by the heare of the head, and made him hold downe his
head, and ſo cut his necke with his raſer he had in his other hand. Others doe write, that this
ſentence was geuen in the preſence of king *Artaxerxes* ſelfe, and that *Darius* ſeeing him
ſelfe conuicted by manifeſt proofes brought in againſt him, he fell downe at his fathers feete,
and beſought him to pardon him: and then that his father being angrie, roſe vp, and drew out
his curtelax and wounded him in ſo many places withall, that at length he ſlue him. Then re-
turning into the Court, he worſhipped the ſunne, and turning him to his Lords that were a- E
bout him, he ſayd vnto them. My Lordes, God be with you, and be merie at home in your
houſes, and tell them that were not here, how the great *Oromazes* hath taken reuenge of them
that practiſed treaſon againſt me. This was the end of *Darius* treaſon. Now *Darius* being dead,
Ochus his brother ſtoode in good hope to be next heire to the crowne, & the rather, through
the meanes and frendſhippe of his ſiſter *Atoſſa*: but yet of his legitimate brethren, he feared
King Artaxerxes ſonnes him called *Ariaſpes*, who was onely left of all the reſt that were legitimate: and of his baſtard
brethren, *Arſames*: not bicauſe *Ariaſpes* was elder than he, but for that he was of a ſoft & plaine
nature, the PERSIANS deſired he might be their king. On the other ſide, *Arſames* was wiſe,
and valliant: and *Ochus* ſawe that his father loued him dearely. So he determined to intrappe
them both. Now *Ochus* being a ſuttle and malicious natured man, he firſt ſhewed his crueltie F
vpon *Arſames*, and his malice vpon *Ariaſpes* his legitimate brother. For, bicauſe he knewe he
was but ſimple and plaine, he ſent dayly ſome of the kings Euenukes vnto him, who brought
him

him threatning words and messages, as from the king: telling him that he had determined to put him to a shamefull and cruell death. So, forging these newes continuallie as things verie secret, they did so terrifie poore *Ariaspes*, telling him that the king was fullie bent to put some of his threats in execution out of hand: that he was put in such feare and dispaire of his life, that he prepared him selfe a poyson, and dranke it, to ridde him selfe of his life. King *Artaxerxes* vnderstanding of his death, tooke it very heauily, & began to mistrust the cause that made him to make him selfe away: howebeit he coulde not seeke the proofe of it, for his extreame age. But this chaunce made him loue *Arsames* better then before, shewing plainly that he trusted him better then *Ochus*, and did make him priuie to all things. *Ochus* could no lenger abide to deferre his intent, and therefore entised *Harpates*, *Tiribazus* sonne, to kill his bastard brother *Arsames*: the which he did. Now *Artaxerxes* was so extreame olde, that he was as good as done with age: but after he heard his sonne *Arsames* was murdered, he coulde beare it no lenger, but tooke it so to his hart for sorow, that when he had liued foure score and foureteene yeares, and raigned three score and two, he dyed. When he was dead, they then found that he had bene a gratious & curteous Prince, and one that loued his people and subiectes: when they saw the proofe of his successor *Ochus*, that passed all men liuing, in cruelte and seuerity.

The death of king Artaxerxes. Artaxerxes, was 94. yeres olde at his death.

THE LIFE OF *Dion.*

LIke as *Simonides*, & *Sossius Senecio*, saith that the city of ILIVM was not offended with the CORINTHIANS, for that they came to make warre with them with other GRÆCIANS, bicause *Glaucus* (whose first auncesters came from CORINTH) had taken armes, & louingly fought for the same: euen so me thinkes, that neither the GRÆCIANS nor ROMANES haue cause to complaine of the Academy, sith they be both alike praised of the same in this present booke, in the which are conteined the liues of *Dion* and *Brutus*. Of the which, the one of them hauing bene verie familiar with *Plato* him selfe, and the other from his childhoode brought vp in *Platoes* doctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one selfe schoolehouse, to attempt the greatest enterprises amongest men. And it is no maruell if they two were muche like in many of their doinges, prouing that true which their schoolemaister

Dion & Brutus both Platonians.

Plato de virtute. How mens acts ſhould be famous in the cõmon wealth.

Plato wrote of vertue: that to do any noble act in the gouernment of a common wealth, which A ſhould be famous, and of credit, authoritie, and good fortune, muſt both meete in one ſelfe perſon, ioined with iuſtice and wiſedom. For, as a certaine fenſer called *Hippomachus* ſaid, that he knewe his ſchollers farre of, if he did but ſee them comming from the market with meate in their handes: ſo it muſt needes follow, that men hauing bene vertuouſly brought vp, muſt nedes be wiſe in all their doings, and beſide that it bringeth them to ciuilitie and honeſty, euen ſo it frameth their condicions muche like one vnto an other. Furthermore, their fortunes hauing alſo fallen out both alike, more by chaunce then by any reaſon, do make their liues verie like to eache other. For, they were both of them ſlaine, before they coulde bring their enterpriſes to paſſe which they had determined. But the greateſt wonder of all is this: that their deathes were foreſhewed vnto them both, by a wicked ſpirit that viſiblie appeared vnto either B of them: albeit there be ſome that can not abide thoſe opinions, and doe maintaine that theſe ſights and euill ſpirits doe neuer appeare to any man that hath his right wits, but that they are fancies of litle children, or old women, or of ſome men that their wits are weakened by ſickenes, and ſo haue a certaine imagination of ſuche ſtraunge ſightes, being of this ſuperſtitious minde, that they haue a wicked ſpirit, and an euill angell in them. But if *Dion* and *Brutus*, both of them graue and learned Philoſophers, and verie conſtant men, not ouercome by any ſodaine paſſion or imagination of minde, haue bene moued by ſuch ſights and ſpirits, and haue alſo tolde it vnto their frendes: I can not tell whether we ſhall be inforced, to graunt the moſt ſtraungeſt and oldeſt opinion of this, which ſayth: that there be euill ſpirites which enuying the vertue of good men, to withdraw them from their godly mindes, doe make them affrayed C with theſe feareſull ſights, intiſing them to forſake their godlynes, leaſt that perſiſting therein, they ſhould be rewarded with better life in the world to come, then theirs is. But let vs referre this diſputacion to ſome other booke, and now in this twelfth couple of theſe famous mens liues compared, let vs firſt begin to write the life of him that is the elder of theſe two men we ſpeake of.

A wicked ſpirite appeared vnto Dion & Brutus.

Dionyſius maried Hermocrates daughter.

Dionyſius the elder, after he had the gouernment of SICILIA in his handes, he maried the daughter of *Hermocrates*, a citizen of SYRACVSA. But yet not being throughlie ſettled in his tyrannie, the SYRACVSANS did rebell againſt him, & did ſo cruellie and abhominablie handle the bodie of his wife, that ſhe willinglie poyſoned her ſelfe. So after he had eſtabliſhed him ſelfe in his gouernment with more ſuretie then before, he maried againe two other wiues to- D

Dionyſius wiues, Doride, of Locres: Ariſtomaché, of Syracuſa, Hipparinus daughter, and Dions ſiſter.

gether, the one a ſtraunger of the citie of LOCRES, called *Doride:* and the other of the contrie it ſelfe, called *Ariſtomaché*, the daughter of *Hipparinus* the chiefeſt man of all SYRACVSA, and that had bene companion with *Dionyſius*, the firſt time he was choſen Generall. It was ſayd that *Dionyſius* maried them both in one day, and that they could neuer tell which of them he knewe firſt: but otherwiſe, that he made as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly ſate together with him at his table, and did either of them lye with him by turnes: though the SYRACVSANS would haue their owne contrywoman preferred before the ſtraunger. Howebeit the ſtraunge woman had this good happe, to bring foorth *Dionyſius* his eldeſt ſonne, which was a good countenaunce to defend her, being a forreiner. *Ariſtomaché* in contrarie maner, continued a long time with *Dionyſius*, without frute of her wombe, although he E was verie deſirous to haue children by her: ſo that he put the LOCRIAN womans mother to death, accuſing her that ſhe had with ſorceries and witchcraft, kept *Ariſtomaché* from being with child. *Dion* being the brother of *Ariſtomaché*, was had in great eſtimation at the firſt, for his ſiſters ſake: but afterwards the tyran finding him to be a wiſe man, he loued him thē for his owne ſake. Inſomuch, that among many ſundrie things & pleaſures he did for him: he commaunded his Treaſorers to let him haue what money he asked of them, ſo they made him acquainted withall the ſelfe ſame day they gaue him any. Nowe though *Dion* had euer before a noble minde in him by nature, yet muche more did that magnanimitie increaſe, when *Plato* by good fortune arriued in SICILE. For his comming thither ſurelie was no mans deuiſe, as I take it, but the verie pronidence of ſome god: who (bringing farre of the firſt beginning F and fundation of the libertie of the SYRACVSANS, and to ouerthrow the tyrannicall ſtate) ſent *Plato* out of ITALIE vnto the citie of SYRACVSA, and brought him acquainted with *Dion*, who

Dions kindred with Dionyſius.

Plato came out of Italie vnto Syracuſa.

was

A was but a young man at that time, but yet had an apter witte to learne, and redier good-will to follow vertue, then any young man elſe that followed *Plato*: as *Plato* him ſelfe writeth, and his owne doinges alſo doe witneſſe. For *Dion* hauing from a child bene brought vp with humble conditions vnder a tyran, and acquainted with a ſeruile timerous life, with a prowde and inſolent reigne, with all vanity and curioſitie, as placing chiefe felicity in couetouſnes: neuertheleſſe, after he had felt the ſweete reaſons of Philoſophie, teaching the broad way to vertue, his hart was enflamed ſtraight with earneſt deſire to follow the ſame. And bicauſe he found that he was ſo eaſelie perſwaded to loue vertue and honeſtie, he ſimplie thinking (being of an honeſt plaine nature) that the ſelfe ſame perſwaſions would moue a like affection in *Dionyſius*: obteined of *Dionyſius*, that being at leaſure, he was contented to ſee *Plato*, and to ſpeake with him. *Dion, Platoes ſcholler.*

B When *Plato* came to *Dionyſius*, all their talke in maner was of vertue, and they chiefely reaſoned what was fortitude: where *Plato* proued that tyrans were no valliant men. From thence paſſing further into iuſtice, he told him that the life of iuſt men was happy, and contrarily the life of vniuſt men vnfortunate. Thus the tyran *Dionyſius* perceiuing he was ouercomen, durſt no more abide him, and was angrie to ſee the ſtanders by to make ſuche eſtimacion of *Plato*, and that they had ſuch delight to heare him ſpeake. At length he angrily asked him, what buſineſſe he had to doe there? *Plato* aunſwered him, he came to ſeeke a good man. *Dionyſius* then replied againe: what, in Gods name, by thy ſpeache then it ſeemeth thou haſt founde none yet. Now *Dion* thought that *Dionyſius* anger would proceede no further, and therefore at *Platoes* earneſt requeſt, he ſent him away in a galley with three bankes of owers, the which *Plato and Dionyſius the elder talke together.*

C *Pollis* a Laced æmonian Captaine caried backe againe into Græce. Howbeit *Dionyſius* ſecretlie requeſted *Pollis* to kill *Plato* by the way, as euer he would doe him pleaſure: if not, yet that he would ſell him for a ſlaue, howſoeuer he did. For ſaid he, he ſhall be nothing the worſe for that: bicauſe if he be a iuſt man, he ſhall be as happie to be a ſlaue, as a freeman. Thus, as it is reported, this *Pollis* caried *Plato* into the Ile of Ægina, and there ſold him. For the Æginetes hauing warre at that time with the Athenians, made a decree, that all the Athenians that were taken in their Ile, ſhould be ſold. This notwithſtanding, *Dionyſius* refuſed not to honor and truſt *Dion*, as much as euer he did before, and did alſo ſende him Ambaſſador in matters of great weight. As when he ſent him vnto the Carthaginians, where he behaued him ſelfe ſo well, that he wan great reputacion by his iorney: and the tyran coulde well away *Dionyſius malice vnto Plato.* *Plato ſolde in the Ile of AEgina.*

D with his plaine ſpeach. For no man but he, durſt ſay their mindes ſo boldly vnto him, to ſpeake what he thought good: as on a time he reproued him for *Gelon*. One day when they mocked *Gelons* gouernment before the tyrans face, and that *Dionyſius* him ſelfe ſayd (finely deskanting of his name, which ſignifieth laughture) that he was euen the verie laughing ſtocke him ſelfe of Sicile: the Courtiers made as though they liked this encounter and interpretacion of laughture paſſingly well. But *Dion* not being well pleaſed withall, ſayd vnto him: for his ſake, men truſted thee, whereby thou cameſt to be tyran: but for thine owne ſake they will neuer truſt any man. For, to ſay truly, *Gelon* ſhewed by his gouernment, that it was as goodly a thing as coulde be, to ſee a citie gouerned by an abſolute Prince: but *Dionyſius* by his gouernment on thother ſide, made it appeare as deteſtable a thing. This *Dionyſius* had by his Locrian *Dions boldnes in ſpeaking plainly to the tyran. Gelon ſignifieth laughture.*

E wife three children, and by *Ariſtomaché* foure: of the which, two were daughters, the one called *Sophroſynè*, and the other *Areté*. Of them, *Dionyſius* eldeſt ſonne maried *Sophroſynè*, and *Areté* was maried vnto his brother *Thearides*, after whoſe death *Dion* maried her, being his Nece. Now when *Dionyſius* her father fell ſicke, not likely to eſcape: *Dion* would haue ſpoken with him for his children he had by his ſiſter *Ariſtomaché*. Howbeit the Phiſitions about him, to currie fauor with the next heire and ſucceſſor of the tyrannie, would neuer let him haue any time or oportunitie to ſpeake with him. For, as *Timæus* writeth, they gaue *Dionyſius* the elder (as he had commaunded them) a ſtrong opiat drinke to caſt him in a ſleepe, and ſo thereby they tooke from him all his ſences and ioyned death with his ſleepe. Notwithſtanding, in the firſt counſell and aſſemblie holden by his frendes, to conſult about the ſtate and affaires of *Sophroſynè, and Areté: the daughters of Dionyſius by Ariſtomaché. Dion marieth his Nece Areté the daughter of Dionyſius & of his ſiſter Ariſtomaché. The death of Dionyſius the elder.*

F the younger *Dionyſius*: *Dion* moued matter ſo neceſſarie and profitable for that preſent time, that by his wiſedom he ſhewed they were all but children, and by his bold and franke ſpeach, made them know that they were but ſlaues of the tyranny: bicauſe they beaſtly and cowardly

gaue ſuche counſell and aduiſe, as might beſt pleaſe and feede the young tyrannes humor. But he made them moſt to wonder at him, when they fearing aboue all other thinges, the daunger *Dionyſius* ſtate was in, by reaſon of CARTHAGE, he did promiſe them, that if *Dionyſius* would haue peace, he would then goe foorthwith into AFRICKE, and finde the meanes honorablie to quenche the warres: or if otherwiſe he better liked of warre, that he woulde furniſhe him at his owne proper coſtes and charges, fiftie gallies readie to rowe. *Dionyſius* wondered greatlie at the noble minde of *Dion*, and thanked him muche for the good will he bare vnto him, touching his eſtate. But all men elſe taking *Dions* noble offer to be a reproach of their auarice, and his credit and authoritie, and impaire vnto theirs: they preſentlie vpon this liberall offer tooke occaſion to accuſe him, not ſparing any reproachefull wordes againſt him, to moue *Dionyſius* to be offended with him. For they complayned of him, and ſayd that he cunninglie practiſed to poſſeſſe the tyrannie, making him ſelfe ſtrong by ſea, going about by his gallies to make the tyrannie fall into the handes of the children of *Ariſtomachè* his ſiſter. But the chiefeſt cauſe of all why they did malice and hate him, was his ſtraunge manner of life: that he neither woulde keepe companie with them, nor liue after their manner. For they that from the beginning were crept in fauour and frendſhippe with this younge euill brought vp tyranne, by flattering of him, and feeding him with vaine pleaſures: ſtudied for no other thing, but to enterteine him in loue matters, and other vaine exerciſes, as to riot and bancket, to keepe light women companie, and all ſuche other vile vicious paſtimes and recreacions, by the which the tyrannie became like iron ſoftened by fire, and ſeemed to be verie pleaſaunt vnto the ſubiectes, bicauſe the ouergreat Maieſtie and ſeueritie thereof was ſomewhat milder, not ſo muche by the bountie and goodneſſe, as by the follie and rechleſnes of the Lorde. Thus, this litle care and regarde increaſing more and more, ſtill winning way with the young tyran: did at length melt and breake a ſunder thoſe ſtrong diamond chaines, with the whiche *Dionyſius* the elder made his boaſt that he left his Monarchie and tyrannie chained to his ſonne. For ſometime he would be three dayes together without intermiſſion, ſtill banketing and being dronke: and all that time his Court gates were kept ſhut vnto graue and wiſe men, and for all honeſt matters, and was then full of dronkards, of common playes, dauncinges, maskes, and mommeries, and full of all ſuche tromperie and diſſolute paſtimes. And therefore *Dion* vndoubtedlie was muche enuied of them, bicauſe he gaue him ſelfe to no ſport nor pleaſure: whereupon they accuſed him, and miſnamed his vertues, vices, being ſomwhat to be reſembled vnto them. As in calling his grauetie, pride: his plainnes and boldneſſe in his Oration, obſtinacie: if he did perſwade them, that he accuſed them: and bicauſe he would not make one in their fonde paſtimes: that therefore he deſpiſed them. For to ſay truelie, his manners by nature had a certeine hawtineſſe of minde and ſeueritie, and he was a ſower man to be acquainted with: whereby his companie was not onely troubleſome, but alſo vnpleſaunt to this younger *Dionyſius*, whoſe eares were ſo fine, that they could not away to heare any other thing but flatterie. And furthermore, diuers of his verie frendes and familiars, that did like and commend his plaine manner of ſpeache and noble minde: they did yet reproue his ſternenes, and auſtere conuerſation with men. For it ſeemed vnto them, that he ſpake too roughlie, and delt ouerhardlie with them that had to doe with him, and more then became a ciuill or curteous man. And for proofe hereof, *Plato* him ſelfe ſometime wrote vnto him (as if he had prophecied what ſhoulde happen) that he ſhould beware of obſtinacie, the companion of ſolitarineſſe, that bringeth a man in the ende to be forſaken of euerie one. This notwithſtanding, they did more reuerence him at that time, then any man elſe: bicauſe of the ſtate and gouernment, and for that they thought him the onely man that coulde beſt prouide for the ſafetie and quietneſſe of the tyrannie, the which ſtoode then in tickle ſtate. Now *Dion* knew well enough, that he was not ſo well taken and eſteemed through the good will of the tyran, as againſt his will, and for the neceſſitie of the ſtate and time. So *Dion* ſuppoſing that ignoraunce, and want of knowledge in *Dionyſius* was the cauſe: he deuiſed to put him into ſome honeſt trade or exerciſe, and to teache him the liberall ſciences, to frame him to a ciuill life, that thencefoorth he ſhoulde no more be affrayed of vertue, and ſhoulde alſo take pleaſure and delight in honeſt thinges. For *Dionyſius* of his owne nature, was none of the

Flattering Courtiers do incenſe Dionyſius the younger to hate Dion.

The vices of Dionyſius the younger.

Dions maners, too graue and ſeuere.

Obſtinacie, fellow and companion of ſolitarines.

A the worſt ſort of tyrans, but his father fearing that if he came once to haue a feeling and conceite of him ſelfe, or that he companied with wiſe and learned men, he would go neere to enter into practiſe, and put him out of his ſeate: he euer kept him locked vp in a chamber, and woulde ſuffer no man to ſpeake with him. Then the younger *Dionyſius* hauing nothing elſe to do, gaue himſelfe to make litle chariots, candleſticks, chaires, ſtooles, and tables of wodde. For his father *Dionyſius* was ſo fearefull and miſtruſtfull of euerie bodie, that he woulde ſuffer no man with a paire of barbers ſiſſers to polle the heares of his head, but cauſed an image maker of earth to come vnto him, and with a hotte burning cole to burne his goodly buſh of heare rounde about. No man came into his chamber where he was, with a gowne on his backe, no not his owne brother nor ſonne, but he was driuen before he coulde come in, to put of his B gowne, and the garde of his chamber to ſtrippe him naked whatſoeuer he was: and then they gaue him an other gowne to caſt vpon him, but not his owne. One day his brother *Leptines*, going about to deſcribe vnto him the ſcituacion of ſome place, he tooke a halberd from one of the garde, and with the point thereof beganne to drawe out a platte of the ſame vpon the ground. *Dionyſius* was terriblie offended with him, and did put the ſouldier to death that gaue him his halberd. He ſayed he was affrayed of his frendes, yea and of the wiſeſt of them: bicauſe he knewe that they deſired rather to rule, then to be ruled, and to commaunde, then to obey. He ſlewe one of his Captaines called *Marſyas*, whome he had preferred, and had geuen him charge of men: bicauſe he dreamed that he killed him: ſaying that he dreamed of this in the night, bicauſe that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now *Dionyſius* C that was ſo timerous, and whoſe mind through feareſulnes was ſtill miſerablie occupied: he was notwithſtanding maruelouſlie offended with *Plato*, bicauſe he did not iudge him to be the nobleſt and valliantest man aliue. *Dion* therefore ſeeing (as we haue ſayd) the younger *Dionyſius* cleane marred, and in manner caſt away for lacke of good education: perſwaded him the beſt he coulde to geue him ſelfe vnto ſtudie, and by the greateſt intreatie he coulde poſſiblie make, to pray the Prince of all Philoſophers to come into Sicill. And then when through his intreatie he were come, that he woulde referre him ſelfe whollie vnto him, to thende that reforming his life by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby: (the beſt example that can be poſſible, and by whom all the whole world is ruled and gouerned, which otherwiſe were out of all order and confuſed) he ſhoulde firſt obteine great happines to him D ſelfe, and conſequently vnto all his citizens alſo, who euer after through the temperance and iuſtice of a father, would with good will doe thoſe thinges, which they preſentlie vnwillingly did for the feare of a Lorde, and in doing this, from a tyran he ſhould come to be a king. For, the chaines of a diamant to keepe a realme in ſafetie, were not force, and feare, as his father *Dionyſius* helde opinion: neither the great multitude of young ſouldiers, nor the garde of ten thowſand barbarous people: but in contrarie manner, that they were the loue and good will of their ſubiectes, which the Prince obteineth through vertue and iuſtice: the which chaines though they be ſlacker then the other that are ſo hard and ſtiffe, yet are they ſtronger, and will laſt longer time, to keepe a realme and kingdom in ſafetie. And furthermore, the Prince (ſayd he) is not deſirous of honor, neither is a man that deſerueth greatly to be praiſed and com- E mended, that onely ſtudieth to weare ſumptuous apparell, and that glorieth to ſee his Court richelie furniſhed, and him ſelfe curiouſlie ſerued: and in the meane time doth not frame him ſelfe to ſpeake better, to be wiſer, and to carie a greater maieſty then any other meane or common perſon, not eſteeming to adorne and beawtifie the Princely pallace of his minde, as becommeth the royall maieſtie of a king. *Dion* oftentimes rehearſing theſe exhortacions vnto *Dionyſius*, and otherwhile enterlacing betwene, ſome reaſons he had learned of *Plato*: he graffed in him a wonderfull, and as it were a vehement deſire to haue *Plato* in his companie, and to learne of him. So ſundry letters came from *Dionyſius* vnto Athens, diuers requeſtes from *Dion*, and great intreaty made by certaine Pythagorian Philoſophers, that prayed and perſwaded *Plato* to come into Sicill, to bridle the light diſpoſition of this young man, by his graue F and wiſe inſtructions: who without regard of reaſon, led a diſſolute and licentious life. Therefore *Plato*, as him ſelfe reporteth, bluſhing to him ſelfe, and fearing leaſt he ſhould geue men cauſe to thinke that it was but the opinion men had of him, and that of him ſelfe he was vn-

Dionyſius the elder, a maruelous timerous & ſuſpitious man.

Dionyſius dreame.

Dion perſwadeth the younger Dionyſius to fall to ſtudy.

The aſſured gard of Princes, is the loue of their ſubiects.

Plato goeth into Sicilia, to teach Dionyſius the younger.

willing to do any worthie act: and further, hoping that doing good but vnto one man alone, who was the only guide of all the reſt, he ſhould as it were recouer all SICILIA from her corruption and ſickenes: he performed their requeſts that ſent vnto him. But *Dions* enemies fearing the chaunge and alteracion of *Dionyſius*, they perſwaded him to call *Philiſtus* the Hiſtoriographer home againe from baniſhment, who was a learned man, and had bene brought vp and acquainted with the tyrans facions: to thend he ſhould ſerue as a counterpeace, to withſtande *Plato* and his Philoſophie. For this *Philiſtus*, from the firſt time that the tyrannie beganne to be eſtabliſhed, did ſhew him ſelfe verie willing and conformable to the ſtabliſhment thereof, and had of long time kept the caſtell: and the voyce went, that he kept the mother of *Dionyſius* the elder, and as it was ſuppoſed, not altogether without the tyrans knowledge. But afterwardes, *Leptines* hauing had two daughters by one woman, whom he intiſed to follie being an other mans wife: he maried one of theſe his daughters vnto *Philiſtus*, and made not *Dionyſius* priuie to it before. The tyranne therewith was ſo offended, that he put *Leptines* woman in priſon faſt locked vp, and draue *Philiſtus* out of SICILIA. He being baniſhed thus, repayred vnto ſome of his frendes that dwelt about the Adriaticke ſea, where it ſeemeth he wrote the moſt parte of all his hiſtorie, being then at good leaſure. For he was not called home againe during the life of *Dionyſius* the elder: but after his death, the malice the Courtiers bare vnto *Dion*, cauſed them to procure *Philiſtus* calling home againe, as we haue told you, as the man they thought would ſticke ſtowtly in defenſe of the tyranny. So *Philiſtus* no ſooner returned, but he ſtowtly began to defend the tyranny: & others in contrary maner, deuiſed accuſations to the tyran againſt *Dion*, accuſing him that he had practiſed with *Theodotes* and *Heraclides*, to ouerthrowe the tyrannie of *Dionyſius*. For *Dion*, in my opinion, hoped by *Platoes* comming to bridle and leſſen a litle the ouerlicentious and imperious tyrannie of *Dionyſius*, and thereby to frame *Dionyſius* a wiſe and righteous gouernor. But on the other ſide, if he ſaw he would not follow his counſell, and that he yeelded not to his wiſe inſtructions: he then determined to put him downe, & to bring the gouernment of the common wealth into the handes of the SYRACVSANS: not that he allowed of *Democratia* (to wit, where the people gouerne) but yet certainly thinking that *Democratia* was much better then the tyrannie, when they could not come vnto *Ariſtocratia*, to wit, the gouernment of a few of the nobilitie. Now things being in this ſtate, *Plato* arriued in SICILE, where he was maruelouſly receiued and honored by *Dionyſius*. For when he landed on the ſhoare, leauing his galley that brought him: there was readie for him one of the kings rich and ſumptuous chariots to conuey him to the caſtell: and the tyran made ſacrifice to geue the goddes thankes for his comming, as for ſome wonderfull great good happe chaunced vnto his ſeigniory. Furthermore, the wonderfull modeſtie and temperaunce that was begon to be obſerued in feaſts and bankets, the Court cleane chaunged, and the great goodnes and clemencie of the tyran in all thinges, in miniſtring iuſtice to euerie man: did put the SYRACVSANS in great good hope of chaunge, and euerie man in the Court was verie deſirous to geue him ſelfe to learning and Philoſophie. So that, as men reported, the tyrannes pallace was full of ſande and duſt, with the numbers of ſtudentes that drewe plattes and figures of Geometrie. Shortlie after *Plato* was arriued, by chaunce the time was comen about to doe a ſolemne ſacrifice within the caſtell, at whiche ſacrifice the Heraulde (as the manner was) proclaimed alowde the ſolemne prayer accuſtomed to be done, that it woulde pleaſe the goddes long to preſerue the ſtate of the tyrannie: and that *Dionyſius* being harde by him, ſayd vnto him, what, wilt thou not leaue to curſe me? This worde grieued *Philiſtus* and his companions to the harte, thinkinge that with time, by litle and litle, *Plato* woulde winne ſuche eſtimacion and greate authoritie with *Dionyſius*, that afterwardes they ſhoulde not be able to reſiſt him: conſidering that in ſo ſhort a time as he had bene with *Dionyſius*, he had ſo altered his minde and courage. And therefore they nowe beganne, not one by one, nor in hugger mugger, but all of them with open mowth together to accuſe *Dion*: and ſayed, that it was eaſie to be ſeene, howe he charmed and inchaunted *Dionyſius* through *Platoes* eloquence, to make him willing to reſigne his gouernment, bicauſe he woulde transferre it to the handes of the children of his ſiſter *Ariſtomachē*. Others ſeemed to be offended, for that the ATHENIANS hauing comen before into

Philiſtus the Hiſtoriographer.

Philiſtus the Hiſtoriographer baniſhed out of Sicilia, by Dionyſius the elder.

Democratia: the gouernment of the people. Dion allowed not popular ſtate.

Ariſtocratia: the gouernment of a few of the nobilitie.

Plato came into Sicilia, vnto Dionyſius the younger.

The chaunge of Dionyſius, vpon Platoes comming.

Philiſtus accuſations againſt Dion.

SICILIA

A Sicilia with a great armie, both by ſea and land, they were all loſt and caſt away, and could not win the city of Syracvsa: & that now by one only Sophiſter, they vtterly deſtroyed and ouerthrewe the Empire of *Dionyſius*, perſwading him to diſcharge the ten thowſand ſouldiers he had about him for his garde, to forſake the foure hundred gallies, the ten thowſand horſemen, and as many moe footemen, to goe to the Academy to ſeeke an vnknowen happines neuer heard of before, and to make him happy by Geometry, reſigning his preſent happines and felicitie to be a great Lord, to haue money at will, and to liue pleaſauntlie, vnto *Dion* and his Neuewes. By ſuch like accuſations and wicked tongues, *Dionyſius* began firſt to miſtruſt *Dion*, and afterwardes to be openly offended with him, and to frowne vpon him. In the meane time they brought letters *Dion* wrote ſecretlie vnto the Gouernors of the citie of Carthage, wil- *Dions letters vnto Carthage.*
B ling them that when they would make peace with *Dionyſius*, they ſhoulde not talke with him vnleſſe he ſtoode by: aſſuring them that he would helpe them to ſet things in quietnes, & that all ſhould be well againe. When *Dionyſius* had red theſe letters with *Philiſtus*, & had taken his aduiſe & counſel what he ſhould do, as *Timæus* ſaid: he deceiued *Dion* vnder pretence of recõciliaciõ, making as though he ment him no hurt, & ſaying that he would become frends again with him. So he brought *Dion* one day to the ſea ſide vnder his caſtell, and ſhewed him theſe letters, burdening him to haue practiſed with the Carthaginians againſt him. And as *Dion* went about to make him anſwere, to cleere himſelf: *Dionyſius* would not heare him, but cauſed him to be taken vp as he was, and put into a pinnaſe, & commaunded the mariners to ſet him a lande vpon the coaſt of Italie. After this was done, and that it was knowen abroad in the *Dion ſent away by Dionyſius into Italie.*
C citie, euerie man thought it a cruell parte of *Dionyſius*: inſomuche that the tyrans pallace was in a maruelous pecke of troubles, for the great ſorowe the women made for the departure of *Dion*. Moreouer, the citie ſelfe of Syracvsa began to looke about them, looking for ſome ſodaine great chaunge & innouation, for the tumult & vprore that would happen by meanes of *Dions* baniſhment, and for the miſtruſt alſo that all men would haue of *Dionyſius*. *Dionyſius* conſidering this, and being affrayed of ſome misfortune, he gaue his frendes and the women of his pallace comfortable words, telling them that he had not baniſhed him, but was contented that he ſhould abſent him ſelfe for a time: being affrayed, that in his ſodaine angry moodes he might peraduenture be compelled to do him ſome worſe turne if he remained, bicauſe of his obſtinacie and ſelfewill. Furthermore, he gaue vnto *Dions* frends two ſhippes, to carie as
D much goodes, money, and as many of *Dions* ſeruauntes as they woulde, and to conuey them vnto him vnto Peloponnesvs. *Dion* was a maruelous rich man, & for the pompe of his ſer- *Dions wealth.*
uice, and ſumptuous moueables of his houſe, they were like vnto the perſon of a tyrant. All theſe riches *Dions* frendes brought abord vpon thoſe ſhippes, and caried them vnto him, beſides many other rich gifts, which the women and his frends ſent vnto him. So that by meanes of his great riches, *Dion* was marueloulſie eſteemed among the Græcians: who by the riches of a baniſhed citizen, coniectured what the power of a tyranne might be. But now concerning *Plato*: when *Dion* was exiled, *Dionyſius* cauſed him to be lodged in his caſtell, and by this meanes craftilie placed, vnder cloke of frendſhippe, an honorable garde about him; bicauſe he ſhoulde not returne into Græce to ſeeke *Dion*, to tell him of the iniurie he had done
E vnto him. Howbeit *Dionyſius* often frequenting his companie, (as a wilde beaſt is made tame by companie of man) he liked his talke ſo well, that he became in loue with him, but it was a tyrannicall loue. For he woulde haue *Plato* to loue none but him, and that he ſhoulde eſteeme him aboue all men liuing, being readie to put the whole realme into his handes, and all his forces: ſo that he woulde thinke better of him, then of *Dion*. Thus was this paſſionate affection of *Dionyſius* grieuous vnto *Plato*. For he was ſo drowned with the loue of him, as men extreamelie gealous of the women they loue: that in a moment he woulde ſodainly fall out with him, and ſtraight againe become frendes, and pray him to pardon him. And to ſay truelie, he had a maruelous deſire to heare *Platoes* Philoſophie: but on the other ſide, he reuerenced them that did diſſwade him from it, and told him that he woulde ſpoyle him ſelfe,
F if he entred ouerdeepelie into it. In the meane time fell out warre, and thereupon he ſent *Plato* againe away, promiſing him that the next ſpring he woulde ſende for *Dion* home. But he brake promiſe therein, and yet ſent him his reuenues: and prayed *Plato* to pardon him, *Dionyſius ſent Plato from him.*

though he had not kept promiſe at his time appointed. For he alleaged the warre was the cauſe, and that ſo ſoone as he had ended his warre, he woulde ſende for *Dion*: whome in the meane time he prayed to haue pacience and not to attempt any ſturre or alteracion againſt him, nor to ſpeake euill of him among the GRÆCIANS. This *Plato* ſought to bring to paſſe, and brought *Dion* to ſtudie Philoſophie, and kept him in the Academy at ATHENS. *Dion* lay in the citie of ATHENS with one *Callippus*, whome he had knowen of long time, howbeit he bought him a houſe in the contrie, to lye there ſometime for his pleaſure, the which he gaue afterwards (at his returne into SICILIA) vnto *Speuſippus* that kept him company, and was continually with him, more then with any other frend he had in ATHENS, through *Platoes* counſell: who to ſoften and recreate *Dions* maners, gaue him the company of ſome pleaſaunt conceited man, knowing that this *Speuſippus* coulde modeſtlie obſerue time and place to be pleaſaunt and merie: for which reſpect, *Timon* in his Satyricall ieaſts, calleth *Speuſippus* a good ieaſter. Nowe *Plato* him ſelfe hauing vndertaken to defray the charges of common playes in the dauncings of young children: *Dion* tooke the paines to teache and exerciſe them, and moreouer was him ſelfe at the whole charge of theſe playes, *Plato* ſuffering him to beſtowe that liberality and curteſie vpon the ATHENIANS: the which wanne *Dion* a great deale more good will, then *Plato* honor. *Dion* kept not ſtill at ATHENS, but went alſo to ſee the other good cities of GRÆCE, paſſing his time away. He being at common feaſtes and aſſemblies with the chiefeſt men, and beſt learned in matters of ſtate and gouernment, & neuer ſhewing any light partes, nor ſigne of tyrannicall pride in his maner of life, nor of a man that had bene brought vp with all pompe and pleaſure, but like a graue vertuous man, and well ſtudied in Philoſophie, whereby he grew to be generallie beloued and eſteemed of all men: the cities graunted him publike honors, and ſent him decrees of his glorie, made in their counſells & aſſemblies. Furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS made him a SPARTAN & burges of the city, not paſſing for *Dionyſius* diſpleaſure, though at that time he had geuen them great aide, in the warre they made againſt the THEBANS. Some report, that *Dion* on a time was intreated by *Pædorus* MEGARIAN, to come and ſee him at his houſe: and *Dion* went thither. This *Pædorus* was a marueilous great rich man, & therefore *Dion* ſeeing a great number of people ſtanding at his gates, and that it was a hard thing to come and ſpeake with him he had ſuch great buſines: he turned vnto his frends that did accompanie him, who were angrie they made him tarie ſo long at the gate, and ſayd vnto them: what cauſe haue we to thinke euill of him, ſith we did the like when we were at SYRACVSA? But *Dionyſius* being incenſed with enuie againſt him, and fearing the good will the GRÆCIANS bare him: he kept backe his reuenue, and would no more ſende it him, and ſeaſed all his goodes, the which he gaue to his receiuers to keepe. Furthermore, bicauſe he woulde cleere him ſelfe of the infamie he had gotten amongeſt the Philoſophers for *Platoes* ſake, he ſent for diuers wiſe and learned men, and vainly coueting to excell them all in wiſedome, he was driuen improperlie, and out of time, to alleage many wiſe ſayinges he had learned of *Plato*. Thereuppon he beganne againe to wiſh for him, and to condemne him ſelfe, for that he had no wit to vſe him well when he had him at his commaundement, and that he had not heard ſo muche as he ſhould haue done of him: and like a tyranne as he was, madlie caried away with light deſires, and eaſilie chaunging minde from time to time, a ſodaine vehement deſire tooke him in the heade, to haue *Plato* againe. So he ſought all the meanes and waies he could deuiſe, to pray *Archytas* the Pythagorian Philoſopher to tel him, that he might boldly come, and to be his ſurety vnto him for that he would promiſe him: for firſt of all, they were acquainted together by his meanes. Therefore *Archytas* ſent thither *Archidamus* the Philoſopher. *Dionyſius* alſo ſent certeine gallies, and ſome of his frendes thither, to pray *Plato* to come to him: and he him ſelfe wrote ſpeciallie, and plainly, that it ſhould not goe well with *Dion*, if *Plato* came not into SICILIA: but if he woulde be perſwaded to come, that then he would doe what he would haue him. Many letters and requeſts came vnto *Dion* from his wife and ſiſter, inſomuche as *Dion* ſo vſed the matter, that *Plato* obeyed *Dionyſius*, without making any excuſe at all. So *Plato* wryteth him ſelfe, that he was driuen to come againe the third time into the ſtraight of SICILIA:

To trie if once againe he could Charibdis daungers paſſe.

Dions life in Grece.

Dions vertues and honors done vnto him by the Græcians.

Archytas a Pythagorian Philoſopher.

Dionyſius ſendeth againe for Plato to come into Sicilia.

Platoes third iorney into Sicilia.

Now

A Nowe *Plato* being arriued in SICILIA, he made *Dionyſius* a great ioyfull man, and filled all SICILIA againe with great good hope: for they were all verie deſirous, and did what they could, to make *Plato* ouercome *Philiſtus* and the tyrannie, with his Philoſophie. The women of *Dionyſius* Court did entertaine *Plato* the beſt they could: but aboue all, *Dionyſius* ſeemed to haue a maruelous truſt and affiance in him, and more then in any other of all his frendes. For he ſuffred *Plato* to come to him without ſearching of him, and oftentimes offred to geue him a great ſumme of money: but *Plato* would take none of it. Therefore *Ariſtippus* CYRENIAN being at that time in the tyrannes Court in SICILIA, ſayd that *Dionyſius* beſtowed his liberalitie ſurelie. For, to vs that aske much he geueth litle, and much vnto *Plato* that requireth nothing. After *Dionyſius* had geuen *Plato* his welcome, he beganne to moue him againe of *Dion*. *Ariſtippus ſaying of Dionyſius.*

B *Dionyſius* on the other ſide, at the firſt did vſe him with fine delayes, but afterwards he ſhewed him ſelfe angrie in deede: and at length fell out with *Plato*, but yet ſo couertlie, that others ſaw it not. For *Dionyſius* diſſembled that, and otherwiſe in all other things he did him as much honor as he could deuiſe, practiſing thereby to make him to forſake *Dions* frendſhippe. Now *Plato* found him at the firſt, that there was no truſt to be geuen to his wordes, and that all were but lyes and deuiſes he either ſayd or did: howebeit he kept it to him ſelfe, and euer paciently bare all things, hoping for the beſt, and made as though he beleued him. They two thus finelie diſſembling with eache other, thinking to deceiue all men, and that none ſhoulde vnderſtande their ſecrets: *Helycon* CYZICENIAN, one of *Platoes* frendes, did prognoſticate the eclipſe of the ſunne. The ſame falling out as he had prognoſticated, the tyran eſteemed mar- *Helycon a Mathematician.*

C uelouſly of him, and gaue him a ſiluer talent for his labor. Then *Ariſtippus* ſporting with other Philoſophers, ſayd he could tell them of a ſtraunger thing to happen then that. So when they prayed him to tell them what it was: I do prognoſticate, ſayd he, that *Plato* and *Dionyſius* will be enemies ere it be long. In thend it came to paſſe, that *Dionyſius* made porte ſale of all *Dions* goodes, and kept the money to him ſelfe, and lodged *Plato* that before lay the next Court to his pallace, among the ſouldiers of his gard, whom he knewe maliced him of long time, and ſought to kill him: bicauſe he did perſwade *Dionyſius* to leaue his tyranny and to liue without his gard. *Plato* being in this inſtant daunger, *Archytas* ſent Ambaſſadors foorthwith vnto *Dio-* *Ariſtippus diuination.* *Architas requireth Plato of Dionyſius.*

D *nyſius*, in a galley of thirtie owers, to demaund *Plato* againe: declaring that *Plato* came againe to SYRACVSA, vppon his worde and caution. *Dionyſius* to excuſe him ſelfe, and to ſhewe that he was not angrie with him at his departure from him: he made him all the great cheere and feaſtes he coulde, and ſo ſent him home with great ſhewes of good will. One day among the reſt, he ſayd vnto *Plato*: I am affrayed *Plato*, ſayd he, that thou wilt ſpeake euill of me, when thou art among thy frendes and companions in the Academy. Then *Plato* ſmiling, aunſwered him againe: the goddes forbidde that they ſhoulde haue ſuche ſcarcetie of matter in the Academy, as that they muſt needes talke of thee. Thus was *Platoes* returne, as it is reported, although that which he him ſelfe wryteth agreeth not much with this reporte. Theſe things went to *Dions* harte, ſo that ſhortly after he ſhewed him ſelfe an open enemie vnto *Dionyſius*, but ſpecially when he heard how he had handled his wife. *Plato* vnder couert words, ſent *Dio-* *nyſius* worde of it by his letters. And thus it was. After *Dion* was exiled *Dionyſius* returning *Dionyſius maried Dions wife to an other man.*

E *Plato* backe againe, he willed him ſecretlie to feele *Dions* minde, whether he woulde not be angrie that his wife ſhould be maried to an other man: bicauſe there ranne a rumor abroade (whether it were true, or inuented by *Dions* enemies) that he liked not his mariage, and coulde not liue quietlie with his wife. Therefore when *Plato* was at ATHENS, and had tolde *Dion* of all thinges, he wrote a letter vnto *Dionyſius* the tyranne, and did ſette all other thinges downe ſo plainelie, that euerie man might vnderſtande him, but this one thing only ſo darkelie, that he alone, and none other coulde vnderſtande him, but him to whom he had wrytten: declaring vnto him, that he had ſpoken with *Dion* about the matter he wote of, and that he did lette him vnderſtande he woulde be maruelous angrie, if *Dionyſius* did it. So at that time, bicauſe there was great hope of reconciliacion betwene them, the tyranne did no-

F thing latelie touching his ſiſter, but ſuffered her ſtill to remaine with *Dions* ſonne. But when they were ſo farre out, that there was no more hope to returne in fauour againe, and that he had alſo ſent home *Plato* in diſgtace and diſpleaſure: then he maried his ſiſter *Aretè*

(*Dions* wife) against her will, vnto one of his frends called *Timocrates*, not following therin his fathers iustice and lenitie. For *Polyxenus* that had maried his fathers sister *Thesta*, being also become his enemie: he fled out of SICILIA. *Dionysius* the elder sent for his sister *Thesta*, and tooke her vp verie sharpely, for that she knowing her husbande would flie, she did not come and tell him of it. *Thesta* noblie aunswered him againe, and neuer was affrayed nor abashed: why, *Dionysius*, doest thou thinke me a woman so faint harted and beastlie, that if I had knowen my husband would haue gone his way, and left me: that I would not haue taken the sea with him, and both haue runne one fortune together? Truely I knew not of his departure till he was gone: for it had bene more for mine honor to haue bene called the wife of the banished *Polyxenus*, then the sister of thee a tyran. *Dionysius* maruelled to heare his sister speake thus boldly, and the SYRACVSANS wondred at her noble corage: insomuch that when the tyrannie was vtterly destroyed, they did not refuse to doe her all the honor they could deuise, as vnto a Queene. And when she was deade also, all the citizens of SYRACVSA by a common decree, did accompanie her bodie at her buriall. This litle digression from our historie, is not altogether vnprofitable. But now againe to our matter. *Dion* from thenceforth disposed him selfe altogether vnto warre, against *Platoes* counsell and aduise: who did his best endeuour to dissuade him from it, both for the respect of *Dionysius* good enterteinment he had geuen him, as also for that *Dion* was of great yeares. Howbeit on the other side, *Speusippus*, and his other frendes did prouoke him vnto it, and did perswade him to deliuer SICILIA from the slauerie and bondage of the tyran, the which helde vp her handes vnto him, and woulde receiue him with great loue and good will. For whileſt *Plato* lay at SYRACVSA, *Speusippus* keeping the citizens companie more then *Plato* did, he knew their minds better then he. For at the first they were affrayed to open them selues vnto him, and frankelie to speake what they thought, mistrusting he was a spie vnto the tyran, sent amongest them to feele their mindes: but within a short time they beganne to trust him, and were all of one minde, for they prayed and perswaded *Dion* to come, and not to care otherwise for bringing of shippes, souldiers, nor horses with him, but onely to hyre a shippe, and to lend the SICILIANS his bodie and name against *Dionysius*. *Speusippus* reporting these newes vnto *Dion*, did put him in good hart againe: wherupon he began secretly to leauie men by other mens meanes, to hide his purpose and intent. The Philosophers doe set forward *Dions* warres. Many citizens dealing in the affaires of the common wealth did aide him, and diuers of them also that onely gaue their mindes to the studie of Philosophie: and among them, *Eudemus* CYPRIAN (on whose death *Aristotle* wrote his dialogue of the soule) and *Timonides* LEVCADIAN went with him. Furthermore, there ioyned also with him *Miltas* THESSALIAN, a Soothsayer, and that had bene his companion in studie in the Academy. Nowe of all them whom the tyran had banished, (which were no lesse then a thowsande persons) there were but onely fiue and twentie that durst accompanie him in this warre. For all the other were suche dastardes, that they forsooke him, and durst not goe with him. The place where they appointed to meete, was the Ile of ZACYNTHE, where they leauied all their souldiers, that were not aboue eight hundred in all, but all of them braue souldiers, and valliant men, and excellentlie well trained in warres: and to conclude, such lustie men, as would incorage all the armie *Dion* hoped of at his ariuall in SICILE, to fight like valliant men with them. These hyered souldiers, the first time that they vnderstoode it was to go into SICILIA, to make warre with *Dionysius*: they were amased at the first, and misliked the iorney, bicause it was vndertaken rather of malice and spite that *Dion* had to be reuenged, then otherwise of any good cause or quarrell, who hauing no better hope, tooke vppon him desperate and impossible enterprises. Therefore the souldiers were offended with their Captaines that had pressed them, bicause they had not told them of this warre before. But after that *Dion* by a notable Oration had told them, how tyrannies haue euill fundacions, & are subiect vnto ruine, & that he led them not into SICILIA so much for souldiers, as he did to make thē Captaines of the SYRACVSANS, & the other SICILIANS, who of long time desired nothing more then occasion to rise. And, when after him also *Alcimenes*, (a cōpanion with him in this warre, and the chiefest man of all the ACHAIANS, both for nobility & estimacion) did speake vnto them in like maner, then they were all contented to goe whether they would lead

Polyxenus maried Thesta, his father Dionysius sister.

The noble answere of Thesta, vnto her brother Dionysius the elder.

Dion beginneth to make warre against Dionysius.

The Philosophers aduanced Dions warre.

Aristotles dialogue de anima.

Dions army.

A lead them. It was then in the hart of ſommer, and the wind blew called the GRÆCIAN wind, the Moone being at the full, and *Dion* hauing prepared to make a ſumptuous ſacrifice vnto the god *Apollo*, he led all his men armed with white corſelets in proceſſion into the temple: and after the ſacrifice done, he made them a feaſt in the parke or ſhewe place of the ZACYNTHIANS. There the tables were layed, and the ſouldiers wondred to ſee the great ſtate & magnificence of the great number of pots of gold and ſiluer, and ſuch other furniture and preparation, as paſſed a priuate mans wealth: then they thought with them ſelues, that a man being ſo olde, and Lord of ſo great a good, would not attempt things of ſuch daunger, without good ground, and great aſſurance of his friends ayde & helpe. But after his oblations of wine, and common prayers made to the gods at feaſts: ſodainly the Moone eclipſed. *Dion* thought

Dions ſumptuous fare in feaſting.

The eclipſe of the Moone, and cauſe of the eclipſe.

B it not ſtraunge to ſee an eclipſe, conſidering the reuolutions of the eclipſes, and knowing very well it is a ſhadowe that falleth vpon the body of the Moone, bicauſe of the direct interpoſition of the earth betwixt her and the Sunne. But bicauſe the ſouldiers that were affrayd and aſtonied withall, ſtoode in neede of ſome comfort and encoragement: *Miltas* the Soothſayer ſtanding vp in the middeſt amongeſt them, ſayd vnto them. My fellowe ſouldiers, be of good cheere, and aſſure your ſelues that we ſhall proſper: for God doth foreſhewe vs by this ſight we ſee, that ſome one of the chiefeſt thinges nowe in higheſt place and dignitie ſhall be eclipſed. And at this preſent time what thing carieth greater glory and fame, than the tyrannie of *Dionyſius*? Therefore you muſt thinke, that ſo ſoone as you arriue in SICILIA, your ſelues ſhall put out his light and glory. This interpretacion of the eclipſe of the Moone, did

C *Miltas* the Soothſayer make, before all the whole companye. But touching the ſwarme of bees that lighted on the poope of *Dions* ſhippe, he told him, and his friends priuately: that he was affrayd his acts which ſhould fall out famous and glorious, ſhould laſt but a while, & floriſhing a few dayes, would ſtraight cõſume away. It is reported alſo, that *Dionyſius* in like manner had many ſtraunge ſignes and wonderfull tokens from aboue. Among others, there came an Eagle that ſnatched the partiſan out of the ſouldiers handes, and caried it quite away with her, and then let it fall into the ſea. The ſea alſo beating againſt the walls of the caſtell, was as ſweete to drinke a whole day together, as any conduite or running water: as thoſe that taſted of it, found it true. Furthermore, a ſowe farrowed pygges that lacked no parts of the body, but onely their eares. This the Soothſayers ſayd did ſignifie rebellion, and diſobedience of his

Wonders ſhewed vnto Dion.

Wonders appearing vnto Dionyſius.

D ſubiects: & that the Citizens would no more heare him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they told alſo, that the ſweetenes of the ſalt water prognoſticated to the SYRACVSANS, chaſig of cruell and euill time, vnto good and ciuil gouernment: and that the Eagle, *Iupiters* miniſter, and the partiſan, the marke and token of the kingdom and Empire, did betoken that *Iupiter* the chiefe of all gods had determined to deſtroy and put downe the tyranny. *Theopompus* reporteth this matter thus. So *Dions* ſouldiers were imbarked into two great ſhippes of burden, and another third ſhippe that was not very great, and two pynnaſes with thirtye owers followed them. For their armor and weapon, beſide thoſe the ſouldiers had: he caried two thowſand targets, a great number of bowes and arrowes, of darts, of pykes, and plenty of vittells: that they ſhould lacke nothing all the time they were vpon the ſea, conſidering that

Dions preparation.

E their iorney ſtoode altogether at the curteſie of the windes and ſea, and for that they were affrayd to lande, vnderſtanding that *Philiſtus* roade at anker in the coaſt of APVLGLIA, with a fleete of ſhippes that lay in wayte for their comming. So hauing a pleaſant gale of wind, they ſayled the ſpace of twelue dayes together, and the thirtene day they came to the foreland of SICILIA called Pachynus. There the Pilot thought it beſt they ſhould land preſently: for if they willingly looſed into the ſea, and loſt that poynt, they were ſure they ſhould loſe alſo many nights and dayes in vaine in the middeſt of the ſea, being then ſommer time, and the wind at the South. But *Dion* being affrayd to land ſo neare his enemies, he was deſirous to goe further, and ſo paſt by the foreland of Pachynus. Then the Northwind roſe ſo bigge and great,

Pachynus, the foreland of Sicilia.

A tempeſt on the ſea againſt Dion.

F ligthning and thunder mingled withall (bicauſe it was at that time when the ſtarre Arcturus beginneth to ſhewe) it made ſo terrible a tempeſt, and powred downe ſuch a ſore ſhower of rayne vpon them, that all the Mariners were amazed withall, and knew not whether the wind

would driue them: till that ſodainly they ſaw the ſtorme had caſt them vpon the Ile of Cercina, (which is on the coaſt of Libya) and ſpecially where it is moſt daungerous to arriue for the rocks, for their ſhippes were like to haue runne vpon them, and to haue made ſhippe-wracke. But with much a doe they bare of the ſhippes with their great longe poles, and wandred vp and downe the ſea, not knowing whether they went, vntill the ſtorme ceaſed. Then they met a ſhippe, whereby they knew that they were in the flat, which the Marriners call the heads of the great Syrte. Thus they wandring vp and downe, being maruelous angry that the ſea was calme, there roſe a litle South wind from the land, although they leaſt looked for any ſuch wind at that time, and litle thinking it would ſo haue chaunged: but ſeeing the wind riſe bigger and bigger, they packed on all the ſayles they had, and making their prayers vnto the gods they croſſed the ſea, and ſayled from the coaſt of Libia, directly vnto Sicile, and had the winde ſo lucky, that at the fift daye they were neare vnto a litle village of Sicilia, called Minoa, the which was ſubiect to the Carthaginians. *Synalus* Carthaginian, being at that time Captaine and gouernor of the towne of Minoa, and *Dions* friende, was there by chaunce at that preſent, who being ignorant of his enterpriſe & comming, did what he could to keepe *Dions* ſouldiers from landing. But they notwithſtanding ſodainly lept a land armed, but ſlue no man. For *Dion* had commaunded them the contrary, for the friendſhip he bare the Captaine: and they following the townes men hard that fled before them, entred the towne, hand ouer head amongeſt them, and ſo wanne the market place. When both the Captaines met, and that they had ſpoken together, *Dion* redeliuered the towne into *Synalus* hands again, without any hurt or violence offred him. *Synalus* on the other ſide did indeuor him ſelfe all he could to make much of the ſouldiers, and holpe *Dion* to prouide him of all things neceſſary. But this did moſt of all encorage the ſouldiers, bicauſe *Dionyſius* at their arriuall, was not then in Sicilia: for it chaunced ſo, that not many dayes before he went into Italy, with foure ſcore ſayle. Therefore when *Dion* willed them to remayne there a fewe dayes to refreſh them ſelues, bicauſe they had bene ſo ſore ſea beaten a long time together: they them ſelues would not, they were ſo glad to imbrace the occaſion offred them, and prayed *Dion* to leade them forthwith to Syracvsa. *Dion* leauing all his ſuperfluous armor and prouiſion in the hands of *Synalus*, and praying him to ſende them to him when time ſerued: he tooke his way towardes Syracvsa. So by the way, two hundred horſemen of the Agrigentines, which dwell in that part called Ecnomvs, came firſt to ioyne with him, and after them, the Geloians. The rumor of their comming ranne ſtraight to Syracvsa. Thereuppon *Timocrates* that had maried *Aretè*, *Dions* wife, and *Dionyſius* the fathers ſiſter, and vnto whom *Dionyſius* the yonger had left the charge and gouernment of all his men and friends in the citie: he preſently diſpatched a poſt with letters, to aduertiſe *Dionyſius* of *Dions* comming. He him ſelfe alſo in the meane time had taken ſuch order, that there roſe no tumult nor mutinie in the citie, though they all of them lacked no good will to rebell: but bicauſe they were vncerteine whether this rumor was true or falſe, being affrayd, euery man was quiet. Now there chaunced a ſtraunge misfortune vnto the Meſſenger, that caried the letters vnto *Dionyſius*. For after he had paſſed the ſtraight, and that he was arriued in the citie of Rheggio of Italyes ſide, making haſte to come to the citie of Cavlonia, where *Dionyſius* was: he met by the way one of his acquaintance that caried a mutton but newly ſacrificed. This good fellow gaue him a peece of it, and the Meſſenger ſpurred away with all the ſpeede he could poſſible. But when he had ridden the moſt part of the night, he was ſo weary and drowſie for lacke of ſleepe, that he was driuen to lye downe. So he lay downe vpon the ground, in a wodde hard by the high way. The ſauor of this fleſhe brought a woulfe to him, that caried away the fleſhe and the portmantew it was wrapt in, and in the which alſo were his letters of aduertiſement, which he caried vnto *Dionyſius*. When he awoke out of his ſleepe, and ſaw that his portmantew was gone: he enquired for it, and went wandring vppe and downe a long time to ſeeke it: howbeit all in vaine, for he could neuer find it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to goe to the tyranne without his letters, but rather to flie into ſome vnknowen place where no body knew him. Thus ouerlate receiued *Dionyſius* aduertiſement by others of this warre, which *Dion* made in Sicilia. In the meane time, the Camarinians came and ioyned with *Dions* army, in the highe way

Synalus, Captaine of Minoa for the Carthaginians

Dion wanne Minoa.

Dion goeth to Syracuſa.

A ſtraunge chaunce happened vnto the Meſſenger ſent to Dionyſius.

A woulfe caried away the Meſſengers portmanteau.

A way towards SYRACVSA: and ſtill there came vnto him alſo a great number of the SYRACVSANS that were vppe in armes, which were gotten into the field. On the other ſide, certaine CAMPANIANS and LEONTINES, which were gotten into the caſtell of EPIPOLES with *Timocrates*, of purpoſe to keepe it: Vpon a falſe rumor *Dion* gaue out (and which came vnto them) that he would firſt goe againſt their townes: they forſooke *Timocrates*, and went to take order to defend their owne goods. *Dion* vnderſtanding that, being lodged with his armie in a place called MACRÆ: he preſently remoued his campe being darke night, and marched forward till he came vnto the riuer of Anapus, which is not from the citie aboue tenne furlongs of: and there ſtaying a while, he ſacrificed vnto the riuer, and made his prayer, and worſhipped the riſing of the Sunne. At the ſelfe ſame inſtant alſo, the Soothſayers came and told him, that B the gods did promiſe him aſſured victorie. And the ſouldiers alſo ſeeing *Dion* weare a garland of flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremonie of the ſacrifice: all of them with one ſelfe good will, tooke euery man one of them, (beeing no leſſe then fiue thowſande men that were gathered together by the way, and but ſlenderly armed with ſuch thinges as came firſt to hand, howbeit ſupplying with good will their want of better furniture and armor) and when *Dion* commaunded them to marche, for ioy they ranne, and incoraged one another with great cryes, to ſhew them ſelues valliant for recouerye of their libertie. Nowe for them that were within the citie ſelf of SYRACVSA, the noble men & chief Citizens went to receiue them at the gates in their beſt gownes. The common people on the other ſide ranne and ſet vpon them that tooke part with the tyranne, and ſpoyled them that were called the PROSA- C GOGIDES (as much to ſay, the common Promoters of men) the deteſtableſt villaines, hateful to the gods and men. For they like Sicophants and buſie tale bearers, would iet vp and downe the citie, and mingle amonge the Citizens, hauing an oer in euery mans matter, being full of prittle prattle, and buſie headed, to know what euery man ſayd and did, and then to goe cary it to the tyranne. Theſe men were they that had their payment firſt of all, for they killed them with dry blowes, beating them to death with ſtaues. When *Timocrates* could not enter into the caſtell with them that kept it, he tooke his horſe backe, and fled out of the citie, and flying made all men affrayd and amaſed where he came, enlarging *Dions* power by his report, bicauſe it ſhould not ſeeme that for feare of a triſle, he had forſaken the citie. In the meane time, *Dion* came on towards the citie with his men, and was come ſo neare, that they might ſee him D plainly from the citie, marching foremoſt of all, armed with a fayer bright white corſelet, hauing his brother *Megacles* on his right hande of him, & *Callippus* ATHENIAN on the left hand, crowned with garlands of flowers: and after him alſo there followed a hundred ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, choſen for his gard about him, and the reſt came marching after in good order of battel, being led by their Captaines. The SYRACVSANS ſaw him comming, and went out and receiued him as a holy and bleſſed proceſſion, that brought them their libertie & popular ſtate againe, the which they had loſt the ſpace of eight and fortye yeares. When *Dion* was come into the citie by the gate called Menitide, he cauſed his trompetter ſownd to appeaſe the rumor and tumult of the people. Then he commaunded a Herawld to proclayme alowd, that *Dion* and *Megacles*, who were come to put downe the tyranny, did ſet all the SYRA- E CVSANS at libertie, and all the other SICILIANS alſo, from the bondage and ſubiection of the tyranne: and bicauſe *Dion* him ſelfe was deſirous to ſpeake vnto the people, he went to the vpper part of the towne called ACRADINA. The SYRACVSANS all the ſtreetes thorough as he paſſed by, had on either hand of him prepared ſacrifices, and ſet vp tables, and cuppes vppon them: and as he paſſed by their houſes, they caſt flowers and frutes on him, and made prayers vnto him, as if he had bene a god. Now vnder the caſtell there was a place called Pentapyla, a clocke to know by the Sunne how the day went, the which *Dionyſius* had cauſed to be made, and it was of a good prety height. *Dion* got vp vpon it, and from thence made his oration to the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and perſwading his contrymen to doe their endeuor to recouer their libertie againe, and to mainteyne it. They being in a F maruelous ioy withall, and deſirous to pleaſe *Dion*: did chooſe him and his brother *Megacles* their Lieuetenants generall, with abſolute power and authoritie. Afterwards alſo, by the conſent of *Dion* him ſelfe and his brother, and at their requeſtes in like manner, they choſe

Anapus fl.

Dionyſius picke thanket ſlayne.

Dion receiued into Syracuſa.

Dion reſtoreth the Syracuſans to libertie.

Dionyſius clocke.

twenty other Captaines, of the which the moſt part of them had bene baniſhed by the tyran, and were returned againe with *Dion*. The Soothſayers and Prognoſticators liked it well, and ſayd it was a good ſigne for *Dion*, that he trode that ſumptuous building and workemanſhip of the tyranne vnder his feete, when he made his oration: but bicauſe the hande of the diall did ſhewe the courſe of the Sunne, which neuer leaueth going, vpon the which he got vppe when he was choſen Lieuetenant generall with abſolute power and authoritie: they were affrayd againe, that it was a ſigne *Dions* affayres ſhould haue a ſodaine chaunge of fortune. After this, *Dion* hauing taken the caſtell of EPIPOLES, he ſet all the Citizens at libertie which were kept there as priſoners in captiuitie by the tyranne, and enuyroned the caſtell round about with a wall. Within ſeuen dayes after, *Dionyſius* returned by ſea to the caſtell of SYRACVSA, and therewithall alſo came the carts loden with armor and weapon to SYRACVSA, the which *Dion* had left with *Synalus*: the which *Dion* cauſed to be diſtributed amonge the Citizens of SYRACVSA that had none. Others did furniſhe them ſelues as well as they could, and ſhewed that they had corage and good will to fight for the maintenance and defence of their libertie. In the meane time, *Dionyſius* ſent Ambaſſadors, firſt vnto *Dion* priuately, to ſee if he would yeld to any compoſition. But *Dion* would not heare them, but bad them tell the SYRACVSANS openly what they had to ſay, being men that were free, and enioyed libertie. Then the Ambaſſadors ſpake in the behalfe of the tyranne, vnto the people of SYRACVSA, promiſing them with mild and gentle wordes, that they ſhould paye no more ſubſedies and taxes, but very litle, and ſhould be no more troubled with warres, other then ſuch as they them ſelues ſhould like of. The SYRACVSANS made a mockery at thoſe offers, and *Dion* alſo aunſwered the Ambaſſadors, and willed *Dionyſius* to ſend no more to the SYRACVSANS, before he had diſpoſſeſt him ſelfe of his tyranny: & ſo that he would leaue it, he would be his meane to obtayne all things iuſt and reaſonable of the people. *Dionyſius* liked very well of this good offer, and therefore ſent his Ambaſſadors againe to praye the SYRACVSANS that they would appoynte ſome amongeſt them to come to the caſtell, to talke with him for the benefit and commoditie of the common wealth, that he might heare what they would alleage, and they alſo what aunſwer he would make. *Dion* choſe certaine whome he ſent vnto him. Now there ranne a rumor in the citie amonge the SYRACVSANS, which came from the caſtell: that *Dionyſius* would willingly of him ſelfe, rather then by reaſon of *Dions* comming, depoſe him ſelfe of the tyrannie. But this was but a falſe alarom, and crafty fetche of *Dionyſius*, to intrappe the SYRACVSANS by. For thoſe that were ſent him from the citie, he kept them priſoners euery man of them: and one morning hauing made his ſouldiers drinke wine luſtely, which he kept in pay to gard his perſon, he ſent them with great furie to aſſault the wall the SYRACVSANS had built againſt the caſtell. Nowe, bicauſe the SYRACVSANS looked for nothing leſſe then for the ſodaine aſſault, and for that theſe barbarous people with a wonderfull corage & great tumult ouerthrew the wal, and others of them alſo did ſet vpon the SYRACVSANS: there was not a man of them that durſt make head to fight with them, ſauing the ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, whome *Dion* had brought with him. Who, when they heard the noyſe, ranne ſtraight to repulſe them, and yet they them ſelues could not well tell what they ſhould doe vpon that ſodaine. For they could heare nothing, for the great noyſe and hurly burley of the SYRACVSANS which fled with great diſorder, and came and mingled them ſelues amongeſt them. Til at length, *Dion* perceiuing he could not be heard, to ſhew them by deede what they ſhould doe: he went firſt him ſelfe againſt theſe barbarous people, and about him there was a cruell and bloody fight. For his enemies knewe him as well as his owne men, and they all ranne vpon him with great cryes. Now for *Dion* him ſelfe, in deede bicauſe of his age, he was heauier then was requiſite for one that ſhould away with the paynes of ſuch battells: but he had ſuch a valliant corage in him, that he went thorough withall luſtely, and ſlue them that did aſſaile him. Yet he had his hand alſo thruſt thorough with a pyke, and very hardly did his curaces holde out the blowes of the darts and thruſts by hande which he receiued on them; they were ſo mangled and hacked with ſuch a number of darts and pykes paſſed thorough his ſhield and broken on him, that in the ende he was beaten downe: howbeit his ſouldiers reſcued him ſtraight. Then he made *Timonides* their Captaine, and he him ſelfe tooke his horſe backe,

The predictions of the Soothſayers.

Dionyſius ſet Ambaſſadors vnto Dion.

Dion fighteth with Dionyſius.

Dion hurt.

A backe, and went vp and downe the citie, ſtaying and quieting the flying of the SYRACVSANS. Then he ſent for his ſouldiers the ſtraungers, which he had put in garriſon in that part of the citie called the ACRADINE to keepe it, and brought them being freſhe, againſt the barbarous people of the caſtell that were wearied, and almoſt all of them diſcoraged to attempt any further enterpriſe. For they had made this ſalye out, in hope to haue taken all the citie at the firſt onſet, onely running vp and downe: but when contrary to their expectacion, they met theſe valliant ſouldiers and freſhe ſupply, they then beganne to retyre againe vnto the caſtell. And the GRÆCIAN ſouldiers on the other ſide, perceiuing they gaue backe, they came the faſter vpon them, ſo that they were compelled to turne their backes, and were driuen within their walls, after they had ſlayne three ſcore and foureteene of *Dions* men, and loſt a great number
B of their owne. This was a noble victorie and therefore the SYRACVSANS gaue the ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, an hundred ſiluer Minas, in reward for their good ſeruice: & they gaue *Dion* their generall, a crowne of gold. After this, there came letters to *Dion* by a trompet from the caſtell, written from the women of his houſe: and among the packet of letters, there was one of them directed: to my father: the which *Hipparinus* wrote vnto him. For that was *Dions* ſonnes name, though *Timæus* writeth he was called *Aretæus*, after his mothers name *Areta*. But in ſuch matters, me thinkes *Timonides* is better to be credited, becauſe he was his friend and companion in armes. All the other letters that were ſent, were openly red before the aſſembly of the SYRACVSANS, and did only concerne requeſts of theſe women vnto *Dion*. The SYRACVSANS would not haue the ſuppoſed letter of his ſonne to be openly red: but *Dion* a-
C gainſt their mindes opened it, and found that it was *Dionyſius* letter, who by wordes, made the direction of it vnto *Dion*, but in effect, he ſpake vnto the SYRACVSANS. For in ſight, it ſeemed a manner of requeſt and iuſtification of him ſelfe: but in truth, it was written of purpoſe to accuſe *Dion*. Firſt of all he remembred him of the thinges he had done before, for the eſtabliſhing and preſeruation of the tyrannie: and afterwards of cruell threats againſt thoſe whome he ſhould loue beſt, as his wife, his ſonne and ſiſter: and laſt of all, full of moſt humble requeſts and intreaties with ſorowe and lamentacion. But that which moſt moued *Dion* of all other was, that he required him not to deſtroye the tyrannye, but rather to take it for him ſelfe, and not to ſet them at libertie that hated him, and would alwayes remember the miſchiefe he had done vnto them: & that he would him ſelfe take vpon him to be Lord, ſauing by that meanes
D the liues of his parents and friends. When theſe letters had bene red before the whole aſſembly of the people, the SYRACVSANS thought not how to reuerence (as they ought) with admiration, the inflexible conſtancy and magnanimitie of *Dion*, that ſtoode firme and faſt for iuſtice and vertue, againſt ſuch vehement intreatie and perſwaſion of his kinſfolke and friends: but they contrarily began to be affrayd, and to miſtruſt him, as he that of neceſſitie ſhould be forced to pardon the tyranne, for the great pledges and oſtages he had of him. Wherefore, they began to chooſe them new gouernors, and the rather, becauſe they heard that *Heraclides* was comming vnto them, whome they loued ſingularly well. This *Heraclides* was one of them that had bene baniſhed, a good ſouldier and Captaine, and well eſteemed of for the charge and office he bare vnder the tyrannes: howbeit a very vnconſtant man in euery thing,
E & would not continue long in a mind, & leaſt conſtant in warres, where he had great charge of honor in hand. He had fallen out with *Dion* in PELOPONNESVS, wherefore he determined to come with a power by him ſelfe, and with his owne fleete againſt the tyranne. So he atriued at length at SYRACVSA, with ſeuen gallies, and three other ſhippes, where he found *Dionyſius* againe ſhut vp into his caſtell with a wall, and the SYRACVSANS alſo to haue the better hand of him. Then he began to curry fauor with the common people all the wayes he could poſſibly deuiſe, hauing by nature a certaine pleaſing manner to winne the common people, which ſeeke nothing els but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the eaſier for him to winne them, becauſe the people did already miſlike *Dions* ſeueritie, as a man too ſeuere and cruell to gouerne a common wealth. For they had now their will ſo much, and were growen
F ſo ſtronge headed, becauſe they ſawe them ſelues the ſtronger: that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free cities, where they onely be Lordes, and doe rule) before they were fully ſet at libertie. Therefore firſt of all, not being called together by the authoritie

Dions victory of Dionyſius.

Hipparinus, Dions ſonne.

Dionyſius craft vnto Dion.

Heraclides what he was.

Heraclides returneth to Syracuſa.

The Syracuſans do chooſe Heraclides Admirall, to ſpight Dion.

of the gouernors: they all ranne in a furye, of their owne light heads, vnto the place of common aſſemblies, and there choſe *Heraclides* Admirall. Then *Dion* vnderſtanding this, came to complaine of the iniurie they had done him, declaring vnto them, that to giue this power now vnto *Heraclides*, was to take that away which they had firſt giuen vnto him: bicauſe he ſhould no more be generall, if they choſe any other Admirall by ſea then him ſelfe. The SYRACVSANS then, as it were againſt their willes, did reuoke the power they had giuen vnto *Heraclides:* but afterwards *Dion* ſent for *Heraclides*, to pray him to come home to him. When he came, he rebuked him a litle, and tolde him that it was not honeſtly, nor profitably done of him, to ſue to the people, & to contend for honor againſt him in ſo daungerous a tyme, when the leaſt occaſion in the world was enough to haue marred all. Afterwards *Dion* him ſelfe called an aſſembly againe of the citie, and eſtabliſhed *Heraclides* Admirall: and perſwaded the Citizens to giue him ſouldiers, as he had in deede. *Heraclides* outwardly ſeemed to honor *Dion*, and confeſſed openly that he was greatly bound vnto him, and was alway at his heeles very lowly, being ready at his commaundement: but in the meane time, ſecretly he inticed the common people to rebell, & to ſtirre vp thoſe whom he knew meete men to like of chaunge. Whereby he procured *Dion* ſuch trouble, and brought him into ſuch perplexitie, that he knew not well what way to take. For if he gaue them aduiſe to let *Dionyſius* quietly come out of the caſtell: then they accuſed him, and ſayd he did it to ſaue his life. If on the other ſide, bicauſe he would not trouble them, he continued ſeege ſtill, and did eſtabliſhe nothing: then they thought he did it of purpoſe to draw out the warres in length, bicauſe he might the lenger time remaine their chiefetaine generall, and ſo to keepe the Citizens lenger in feare. At that time there was one *Soſis* in SYRACVSA, a man of no name, but noted amonge the SYRACVSANS for his villany and wickednes, eſteeming that full and ample libertie, when he might vnchecked licentiouſly ſpeake what he would, as in deede he did. For he ſeeking to doe *Dion* a diſpleaſure: firſt of all one day at a common counſel he ſtoode vp on his feete, and called the SYRACVSANS beaſtes, (amongeſt many other vile wordes he gaue them) if they did not perceiue, that being come from a fond and droncken tyrannie, they had nowe receiued a ſober maſter, and a wiſe and ware tyranne. So when he had thus openly ſhewed him ſelfe an enemy vnto *Dion*, he came no more that daye into the market place: but the next morning he was ſeene ronning vp and downe the citie naked, his head and face all of a gore bloud, as if he had bene followed by men to haue ſlayne him. Thus *Soſis* comming in this manner into the middeſt of the market place, cryed out, that *Dions* ſtraungers had lyen in wayte for him, and had handled him in this ſort, ſhewing his wound on his head. Many of the people tooke this matter very grieuouſly, and cried out vpon *Dion*, and ſayd it was vilely and tyrannically done of him: by feare of murther and daunger, to take away the libertie from the Citizens to ſpeake. Nowe though the whole aſſembly hereuppon fell into an vprore withall, *Dion* notwithſtanding came thither to cleare him ſelfe of theſe accuſations, and made them preſently ſee, that this *Soſis* was brother to one of *Dionyſius* gard: who had put into his head, in this ſort to put the citie of SYRACVSA in an vprore, bicauſe *Dionyſius* had no other hope nor meanes to eſcape, but by ſtirring vp faction and ſedition amonge them, to make one of them fall out with another. The Surgions were ſent for forthwith to ſearche the wounde of this *Soſis:* who founde that it was rather a litle ſcratche, then any violent wound giuen him. For the woundes or cuts of a ſword, are euer deepeſt in the middeſt: and *Soſis* cut was but very litle, and not deepe, hauing had many beginnings, and giuen him (as it ſeemed) at ſundry times, that for very paine, the party that cut him was driuen to leaue of, & ſo came to cut him at diuers times. Furthermore, there came certaine of his friends in the meane time, that brought a raſer before the aſſembly, and reported that as they came, they met *Soſis* by the way all bloudied: who ſayd, that he fled from *Dions* ſouldiers, which had but newly hurt him. Whereuppon they preſently followed them, but found no man, and onely they ſaw a raſer, which ſome bodye had caſt vpon a hollow ſtone thereabout, where they firſt ſaw him comming vnto them. Thus *Soſis* deuiſe had but euill ſucceſſe. For beſide all theſe prooſes and tokens, *Dions* houſhold ſeruaunts came to be a witnes againſt him: that very earely in the morning he went abroad alone with a raſer in his hand. Then they that before did burden and accuſe *Dion*, knewe not what to ſay

Heraclides, a diſſembler, practiſing to make the people to rebell againſt Dion.

Soſis a wicked man, moueth ſedition againſt Dion.

Dion cleareth Soſis accuſation againſt him.

to

A the matter, but shroncke away: whereuppon the people condēning *Sosis* to death, they were quiet againe with *Dion*. Yet were they alwaies affraid of these souldiers that were straungers, specially when they saw the greatest conflicts they had with the tyranne, was by sea, after that *Philistus* was come from the coast of Aetolia with a great number of gallies to ayde the tyranne. For then they thought, that these souldiers the straungers being armed at all partes to fight by land, they would do them no more seruice by sea: bicause the Citizens them selues were they that kept them in safetie, for that they were men practised to fight by sea, and were also the stronger by meanes of their ships. But beside all this, the onely thing that made them to be coragious again, was the good fortune they had at the battel by sea, in the which when they had ouercome *Philistus*, they cruelly and barbarously vsed him. Truely *Ephorus* saith, that *Sosis condemned to death.*

Philistus slain

B *Philistus* slue him selfe, when he sawe his galley taken. Howbeit *Timonides* (who was alway with *Dion* from the first beginning of this warre) writing vnto *Speusippus* the Philosopher, saith that *Philistus* was taken aliue, bicause his galley ranne a land: and that the Syracvsans first tooke of his curaces, and stripped him naked, and after they had done him all the villanie and spight they could, they cut of his head, and gaue his body vnto boyes, commaunding them to dragge it into that part of the citie called Acradine, and then to cast it into the common priuie. *Timæus* also to spight him the more, sayth that the boyes tyed the deade bodye by his lame legge, and so dragged him vp and downe the citie, where all the Syracvsans did what villanie to it they could, being glad to see him dragged by the legge, that had sayd *Dionysius* should not flie from the tyranny vpon a light horse, but that they should pull him out by the

C legge against his will. Now *Philistus* reporteth this matter thus, not as spoken to *Dionysius* by him selfe, but by some other. But *Timæus* taking a iust occasion and culler to speake euil of the good will, fidelitie, and care that *Philistus* had alwayes seemed to shew in the confirmation & defence of the tyrannie: doth liberally bestow iniurious wordes on him in this place. Nowe for them whome he had in deede offended, if they of malice and spight to be reuenged, did offer him crueltie, peraduenture they were not much to be blamed: but for them that since his death haue written the ieasts, who were neuer offended by him in his life time, and who ought to shewe them selues discreete in their writing, me thinkes that if they had regarded their owne credit and estimation, they should not so fondly and outragiously haue reproued the aduersities and misfortunes, which by fortune may as well chaunce to the honestest man,

Timæus, and Ephorus the Historiographers reproued.

D as vnto him. Thus fondely doth *Ephorus* prayse *Philistus*, who though he haue an excellent fine wit to counterfeate goodly excuses, and cunningly to hide wicked and dishoneſt partes, and eloquently to deuise by honest words to defend an euill cause: yet can not he with all the fiue wits he hath excuse him self, that he hath not bene the onely man of the world that hath most fauored tyrannes, and that hath euer loued, and specially desired power, wealth, and alliance with tyrannes. But he in my opinion taketh the right course of an Historiographer, that nether doth commend *Philistus* doings, nor yet casteth his aduersities in his teeth to his reproche. After *Philistus* death, *Dionysius* sent vnto *Dion*, to make him an offer to deliuer him the castell, armor, munition, and souldiers that were in it, with money also to paye them for fiue monethes space. For him selfe, he prayed that he might be suffered to goe safely into Ita-

E ly, and to lye there, to take the pleasure of the frutes of the contry called Gyarta, which was within the territorie of Syracvsa, and lyeth out from the sea towardes the mayne land. *Dion* refused this offer, and aunswered the Ambassadors that they must moue the Syracvsans in it. They supposing they should easily take *Dionysius* aliue, would not heare the Ambassadors speake, but turned them away. *Dionysius* seeing no other remedie, left the castell in the handes of his eldest sonne *Apollocrates*, and hauing a lusty gale of winde, he secretly imbarked certaine of his men he loued best, with the richest thinges he had, and so hoysed sayle, vnwares to *Heraclides*, the Admirall of Syracvsa. The people were maruelously offended with *Heraclides* for it, and beganne to mutine against him. But *Heraclides*, to pacifie this tumult of the

Dionysius flyeth from Syracusa.

Apollocrates the eldest sonne of Dionysius the yonger.

F people, suborned one *Hippon* an Orator, who preferred the lawe Agraria vnto the people, for the diuision of all the Iland amongest them: and that the beginning of libertie was equalitie, and of bondage pouertie, vnto them that had no landes. *Heraclides* giuing his consent to this decree, and stirring the common people to sedition against *Dion*, that withstoode it: perswa-

ded the SYRACVSANS not onely to confirme the lawe *Hippon* had propownded, but alſo to A
diſcharge the hyered ſtraungers, to chooſe other Captaines and gouernors, and to rid them
ſelues of *Dions* ſeuere gouernment. But they ſuppoſing ſtraight to haue bene rid from the ty-
ranny, as from a long and grieuous ſickneſs, ouerraſhly taking vpon them like people that of
long time had bene at libertie, they vtterly vndid them ſelues, and ouerthrew *Dions* purpoſe:
who like a good Phiſition was carefull to ſee the citie well ordered and gouerned. So when
they were aſſembled to chooſe new officers in the middeſt of ſommer, there fel ſuch horrible
Signes appearing to the Syracuſans. thunders, and other terrible ſtormes, & vnfortunate ſignes in the element, that for the ſpace
of fifteene dayes together, the people were ſtil ſcattered and diſperſed when they were aſſem-
bled: inſomuch, that being affraide of theſe ſignes aboue, they durſt not at that time create
any new Captaines. Certaine dayes after, as the Orators had choſen a fayer time to proceede B
to the election of officers: an oxe drawing in a cart (being daily acquainted with euery ſight
and noyſe) ſodainly without any occaſion offered, fell into a madnes againſt the carter that
draue him, and breaking his yoke aſonder, ranne ſtraight to the Theater, and there made the
people runne into euery corner, to flye and ſaue them ſelues: and then flinging, and bearing
all downe before him that ſtoode in his way, he ranne through as much of the citie, as the e-
nemies afterwards wanne of them. This notwithſtanding, the SYRACVSANS making light ac-
compt of all theſe ſignes, they choſe fiue and twenty Captaines, of the which *Heraclides* was
one: and ſecretly they ſent to feele the hiered ſouldiers, to ſee if they could entice them from
Dion, to cauſe them to take their part, and made them large promiſes to make them free men,
as them ſelues of SYRACVSA. The ſouldiers would not be enticed from him, but faithfully & C
louingly tooke *Dion* amongeſt them with their armor and weapon, and putting him in the
Dion departeth out of Syracuſa. middeſt of them, led him in this manner out of the citie, and did no man hurt, but reprouing
their vnthankfulnes and villanie vnto all thoſe they met by the way. Then the SYRACVSANS
deſpiſing them for their ſmal number, & bicauſe they did not firſt ſet vpon them, but truſting
on the other ſide to them ſelues for that they were the greater number: they came to aſſayle
them, ſuppoſing they ſhould eaſily ouercome them in the citie, & kil euery man of them. *Dion*
being thus at a ſtraight, that of neceſſitie he muſt fight againſt his owne contry men, or els be
ſlaine him ſelfe with his ſouldiers: he held vp his hands to the SYRACVSANS & very earneſtly
praied them to be content, pointing them with his finger to the caſtell that was full of their e-
nemies, which ſhewed them ſelues vpon the wals, & ſaw what they did. In the ende, when he D
ſaw that he could not pacifie their furie & tumult, and that all the citie was in an vprore with
the prittle prattle of theſe ſeditious people, who like the ſea were caried with the wind: he did
yet forbid his ſouldiers to giue any charge vpon them, who notwithſtanding made a coun-
tenaunce with great cryes, and ratling of their harnes, as if they had ment to ronne on them.
Then the SYRACVSANS durſt not abide by it, but ranne away like ſheepe through the ſtreets,
The cowardlines of the Syracuſans. & no man chaſed them. So *Dion* called backe his men againe, & led them directly into the cō-
try of the LEONTINES. Thē the new officers & gouernors of SYRACVSA, perceiuing that the
women laughed them to ſcorne: bicauſe they would recouer the ſhame they had loſt, they
armed their men a new againe, & did marche after *Dion* to fight with him, whome they ouer-
tooke at a riuer, as he was ready to paſſe ouer. Then began their horſemen a litle to skirmiſhe E
with *Dions* company. But when they ſaw he did no more beare with their faults for contries
ſake, but frowned in deede vpon them, & did ſet his men in battel ray againſt them: then they
turned their backs againe, with more ſhame and reproache then before, and ſo fled vnto the
The Leontines doe receiue Dion. citie of SYRACVSA, & had not many of their men ſlaine. The LEONTINES receiued *Dion* ve-
ry honorably, tooke the ſtraungers his ſouldiers, and gaue them pay, & made them free Citi-
zens with them: & ſent Ambaſſadors alſo vnto the SYRACVSANS, to wil them to let the ſtraū-
gers haue their pay. The SYRACVSANS on their ſide alſo, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the LEON-
TINES to accuſe *Dion*. So all their confederats were aſſembled in the citie of the LEONTINES;
& in that aſſembly, after both parties had bene heard, to heare what they would ſay: it was iud-
ged that the SYRACVSANS were to blame. Howbeit they would not ſtand to the iudgement of F
their confederats, for they were now growen proud & careles, bicauſe they were gouerned by
no man, but had Captaines that ſtudied to pleaſe them, & were affraid alſo to diſpleaſe them.

After

A After that, there arriued certain gallies of *Dionysius*, at SYRACVSA, of the which, *Nypsius* NEAPOLITAN was captaine: which brought vittels & money, to help thē that were beleged within the castel. These gallies were fought with, & the SYRACVSANS obtained victorie, and tooke foure of the tyrannes gallies with three bancks of owers a peece: howbeit they fondly abused their victorie. For they hauing no body to commaund nor rule them, imployed all their ioy, in ryoting and bancketting, and in fond and dissolute meetings, taking so litle care and regard to their busines, that now when they thought the castel was sure their owne, they almost lost their citie. For *Nypsius* perceiuing that euery part of the citie was out of order, and that the common people did nothing all day long vnto darke night, but bybbe and drinke drunke, dauncing after their pypes and howboyes, and that the gouernors them selues were very B glad also to see such feasting, or els for that they dissembled it, and durst not commaund and compell them that were droncke: he wisely tooke the occasion offered him, and scaled the wall which had shut vp the castell, and wanne it, and ouerthrewe it. Then he sent the barbarous souldiers into the citie, and commaunded them to doe with them they met, what they would or could. The SYRACVSANS then too late found their fault, and hardly gaue present remedie, they were so amazed and sodainely set on: for in deede they made a right sacke of the citie. Here men were killed, there they ouerthrewe the wall, in another place they caried away women and litle children prisoners into the castell, weeping and crying out: and lastly, they made the Captaines at their wits ende, who could giue no present order, nor haue their men to serue them against their enemies, that came hand ouer head on euery side amongest C them. The citie being thus miserably in garboyle, and the ACRADINE also in great hazard of taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to rise againe: euery man thought then with him selfe that *Dion* must be sent for, but yet no man moued it notwithstanding, being ashamed of their vnthankefulnes and ouergreat folly they had committed, in driuing him away. Yet necessitie inforcing them vnto it, there were certaine of the horsemen and of their confederats that cryed, they must send for *Dion*, and the PELOPONNESIANS his souldiers, which were with him in the territorie of the LEONTINES. Assoone as the first worde was heard, and that one had the hart to tell it to the people, all the SYRACVSANS cryed out, there was the poynt: and they were so glad of it, that the water stoode in their eyes for ioy, and besought the gods it would please them to bringe him vnto them, they were so D desirous to haue him againe. For they called to minde howe valliant and resolute he was in daunger, and how that he was neuer affrayde, but did encorage them with his manhood in such sort, that being led by him, they were not affrayd to set vpon their enemies. So the confederats for them, sent presently *Archonides* and *Telesides* vnto him: and the noble men that serued on horsebacke, they sent him also fiue amongest them, beside *Hellanicus*. Who tooke their horses, and posted for life, so that they came to the citie of the LEONTINES about Sunne set, and lighting from their horses, they went first of all and kneeled downe at *Dions* feete, and weeping, tolde him the miserable state of the SYRACVSANS. Straight there came diuers of the LEONTINES, and many of the PELOPONNESIAN souldiers vnto *Dion*, mistrusting then that there was some newes in hand, to see the earnest and humble sute the Ambas- E sadors of SYRACVSA made vnto him. Wherefore *Dion* tooke them presently with him, and brought them him selfe vnto the Theater, where the common counsells and assemblies of the citie were holden. Thither ranne euery man to heare what the matter was. Then *Archonides* and *Hellanicus* brought in by *Dion*, tolde openly before the whole assemblie, the greatnes of their miserie, and requested the hyered souldiers to come and ayde the SYRACVSANS, forgetting the iniurie they had receiued: considering that they had more dearely payd for their follye, then they them selues whome they had so iniured, would haue made them to haue suffered. When they had sayd their mindes, there was a great silence through all the Theater: and then *Dion* rose vp, and beganne to speake. But the great teares that fell from his eyes would not suffer him to speake: wherefore the hyered souldiers being sory to F see him weepe, prayed him not to trouble him selfe, but to be of good corage. Then *Dion* letting goe the sorowe and griefe he had conceiued, he beganne to speake vnto them in this manner. My Lordes of PELOPONNESVS, and you also the confederats: I haue called you

The negligence and troubles of the Syracusans.

The Syracusans doe send for Dion againe.

Dions oration vnto his soul-

diers, perſwading them to ayde the Syracuſans.

together to conſult with you, what you ſhould doe. For my ſelfe, it were no honeſty for me to conſult what I ſhould do now, when the city of SYRACVSA ſtandeth in peril of deſtruction: & therefore if I can not ſaue it from deſtruction, yet at the leaſt I wil bury my ſelfe in the fire and ruine of my contry. But for you, if it pleaſe you once more to helpe vs, vnaduiſed & more vnfortunate people: you ſhal by your meanes ſet the poore diſtreſſed city of SYRACVSA againe a foote, which is your deede. Or if it be ſo, that remẽbring the iniuries the SYRACVSANS haue offred you, you wil ſuffer it to be deſtroyed: yet I beſech the gods that at the leaſt they will requite your valliantnes, fidelity, & good loue you haue borne me vntil this preſent, beſeeching you to remẽber *Dion*, who nether forſooke you at any time when you haue bene iniuried, nor his cõtry men, when they were in trouble. So, going on ſtil with his tale, the mercenary ſtraũgers ſtepped forth with great noiſe, & praied him to leade them to ayde SYRACVSA. Then the Ambaſſadors alſo that were ſent from the SYRACVSANS, ſaluted & imbraced them, & prayed the gods to bleſſe *Dion* & them, with al the good hap that might be. So when al was whiſht & quiet, *Dion* willed them forthwith to goe & prepare them ſelues, & that they ſhould be there ready armed after ſupper, determining the very ſame night to go to aide SYRACVSA. But now at SYRACVSA, while day light laſted, *Dionyſius* ſouldiers & captaines did al the miſchief & villany they could in the city: & when night came, they retired again into their caſtel, hauing loſt very few of their men. Then the ſeditious gouernors of the SYRACVSANS tooke hart againe vnto them, hoping that the enemies would be contẽted with that they had done: & therfore began a new to perſwade the citizens to let *Dion* alone, & not to receiue him with his mercenary ſouldiers if they came to aide him, ſaying, that they them ſelues were honeſter men then the ſtraungers, to ſaue their city, & to defend their liberty without help of any other. So other Ambaſſadors were ſent again vnto *Dion*, ſome from the captaines & gouernors of the city, to ſtay them that they ſhould not come: & others alſo from the horſemen, & noble Citizens his friends to haſtẽ his iorney. Whereuppõ by reaſon of this variance, *Dion* marched very ſoftly at his eaſe. Now by night, *Dions* enemies within the city got to the gates, & kept thẽ that *Dion* ſhould not come in. *Nyſius* on the other ſide made a ſaly out of the caſtel with his mercenary ſouldiers, being better appointed, & a greater nũber of thẽ then before: & with thẽ he ſtraight plucked downe all the wal which they had built before the caſtel, & ran & ſacked the city. At this ſaly out of the caſtel, they did not only kill the men they met, but women & litle children alſo, & ſtaied no more to ſpoile, but to deſtroy & put all to hauock. For, bicauſe *Dionyſius* ſaw that he was brought to a ſtraight & deſperat caſe, he bare ſuch mortal malice againſt the SYRACVSANS, that ſith there was no remedy but that he muſt needes forgo his tyranny: he determined to burye it, with the vtter deſtruction & deſolation of their citie. And therefore, to preuent *Dions* ayde, & to make a quick diſpatch to deſtroy all: they came with burning torches in their hands, & did ſet fire of all things they could come to: & further of, they fiered their darts & arrowes, & beſtowed them in euery place of the city. So, they that fled for the fire, were met withall, & ſlayne in the ſtreetes by the ſouldiers, and others alſo that ranne into their houſes, were driuen out againe by force of fire. For there were a number of houſes that were afire, and fel downe vpon them that went and came. This miſery was the chiefeſt cauſe why all the SYRACVSANS agreed together, to ſet open the gates vnto *Dion*. For when *Dion* heard by the way, that *Dionyſius* ſouldiers were gone againe into the caſtell, he made no great haſte to marche forward: but when day was broken, there came certaine horſemen from SYRACVSA vnto *Dion*, who brought him newes that the enemies had once againe taken the city. Then alſo came other of his enemies vnto him, and prayed him to make haſte. Now their miſerie increaſing ſtill, and they being brought into hard ſtate: *Heraclides* firſt ſent his brother vnto *Dion*, and then *Theodotes* his Vncle, to pray him to come quickly, and helpe them. For now there was no man left to reſiſt the enemies, bicauſe he him ſelfe was hurt, and the citie alſo was in manner cleane burnt & deſtroyed. When theſe newes came to *Dion*, he was yet about three ſcore furlong from the towne. So he told his mercenary ſouldiers the daunger the towne was in, & hauing encoraged them, he led them no more fayer & ſoftly, but running towards the city, & meeting Meſſengers one of anothers neck as he went, that prayed him to make all the poſſible ſpede he could. By this meanes, the ſouldiers marching with wõderful ſpede & good will

The inconſtancy of the Syracuſans.

Syracuſa ſet a fire by Dionyſius ſouldiers.

toge-

A together, he entred the gates of the city at a place called HECATOMPEDON. First of all, he sent the lightest armed he had, against the enemies, to thende that the SYRACVSANS seeing them, they might take a good hart again to them: whilest he himself in the meane time did set al the other heauy armed souldiers and Citizens that came to ioyne with him, in battell raye, & did cast them into diuers squadrons, of greater length then breadth, and appointed them that should haue the leading of them, to thend that setting vpon the enemies in diuers places together, they should put them in the greater feare & terror. When he had set all things in this order, & had made his prayers vnto the gods, & that they saw him marching through the citie against their enemies: then there rose such a common noyse & reioycing, & great showte of the souldiers, mingled with vowes, prayers, and perswasions of all the SYRACVSANS: that
B they called *Dion* their god & sauior, & the mercenary souldiers their brethren & fellow Citizens. Furthermore, there was not a SYRACVSAN that so much regarded his owne life & person, but he seemed to be more affraid of the losse of *Dion* only, then of all the rest. For they saw him the foremost man ronning through the daũger of the fire, treading in bloud, & vpon dead bodies that lay slaine in the middest of the streets. Now, in deede to charge the enemies, it was a maruelous daungerous enterprise: for they were like mad beasts, & stoode beside in battell ray alongst the wal which they had ouerthrowen, in a very daungerous place, & hard to win. Howbeit the daunger of the fire did most of all trouble & amaze the straungers, & did stoppe their way. For, on which side soeuer they turned them, the houses round about them were all of a fire, and they were driuen to marche ouer the burnt timber of the houses, and to ronne in
C great daunger of the walls of the house sides that fell on them, & to passe through the thicke smoke mingled with dust, & beside, to keepe their rancks with great difficultie. And whē they came to assaile the enemies, they could not come to fight hand to hand, but a few of them in number, bicause of the straightnes of the place: howbeit the SYRACVSANS with force of cries & showtes did so animat, & encorage their men, that at length they draue *Nypsius* & his men to forsake the place. The most part of them got into the castell, being very neare vnto them: the other that could not get in in time, fled straglingly vp and downe, whom the GRÆCIAN souldiers slue, chasing of them. The extremitie of the time did not presently suffer the Conquerors to reape the frute of their victory, nether the ioyes & imbracings meete for so great an exployte. For the SYRACVSANS went euery man home to his owne house, to quenche the
D fire, the which could scarcely be put out all the night. When daye brake, there was none of these seditious flatterers of the people that durst tary in the citie, but cōdemning them selues, they fled to take their fortune. *Heraclides* and *Theodotes* came together of their owne good wills to yeld them selues vnto *Dion*, confessing that they had done him wronge, and humbly praying him to shew him selfe better vnto them, then they had shewed them selues vnto him: & that it was more honorable for him, being euery way vnmatchable for his vertues, to shew him selfe more noble to conquer his anger, then his vnthankfull enemies had done: who contending with him before in vertue, did now confesse themselues to be farre inferior vnto him. This was the summe & effect of *Heraclides* & *Theodotes* submission vnto *Dion*. But his friends did perswade him not to pardon two such wicked men, who did malice & enuy his honor: and
E as he would doe the straungers his souldiers any pleasure, that he should put *Heraclides* into their hands, to roote out of the common wealth of SYRACVSA, his vile manner to flatter and curry fauor with the people, the which was as daungerous and great a plague to a citie, as the tyranny. *Dion* pacifying them, aunswered. Other generals of armies, said he, do imploy al their wits in marshall exercise & warres: but for him selfe, that he had of long time studied, & learned in the schole of the Academy, to ouercome anger, enuy, & all malice & contencion. The noble proofe whereof is most seene, not in vsing honest men and his friends moderately, but shewing mercy also vnto his enemies, & forgetting his anger against them that haue offended him: and that for his part, he had rather ouercome *Heraclides*, not in riches and wisedom, but in clemency & iustice, for therein chiefly consisted excellencie, sith no man els in warres can
F challenge power & gouernment, but fortune, that ruleth most. And though *Heraclides*, sayd he, through enuy hath done like a wicked man: must *Dion* therefore through anger bleamish his vertue? In deede by mans law it is thought meeter, to reuenge an iniurie offered, then to

Dions fight in the citie of Syracusa.

Nypsius compelled by Dion to flie into the castell.

Dions mercy to his enemies & the great profit he tooke by study, in the Academy at Athens.

No mā should be mooued by an others wickednes.

" doe an iniurie: but nature ſheweth, that they both proceede of one ſelfe imperfection. Now, A
" though it be a hard thing to chaunge and alter the euill diſpoſition of a man, after he is once
" nuſeled in villany: yet is not man of ſo wild & brutiſh a nature, that his wickednes may not be
" ouercome with often pleaſures, when he ſeeth that they are continually ſhewed him. *Dion* aũ-
ſwering his friends thus, he forgaue *Heraclides*, & beginning againe to ſhut vp the caſtell with
a wal round about, he cõmaũded the SYRACVSANS euery man of them to cut downe a ſtake,
& to bringe it thither. So, when night was come, ſetting his ſouldiers the ſtraungers in hand
withall, whileſt the SYRACVSANS ſlept & tooke their eaſe: by morning he had compaſſed the
caſtel round about with a pale. The next day, they that ſaw the greatnes & ſodaine expediti-
on of this worke, wondred much at it, as wel the enemies, as alſo the Citizens: & when he had
buried the dead bodies, & redeemed them that were taken priſoners, (which were not much B
leſſe then two thowſand perſons) he called a common counſel of the citie, in the which *Hera-
clides* made a motion, that *Dion* ſhould be choſen general of SYRACVSA, with abſolute power
& authoritie, both by ſea & land. The chiefeſt men of the citie liked very well of it, and would
haue had the people to haue paſt it. But the rabble of theſe mariners, and other mechanicall
people liuing by their labor, would not ſuffer *Heraclides* to be put from his Admiralſhip, but
fel to mutinie, thinking that though *Heraclides* did them no pleaſure els, yet he would euer be
The frowardnes of the Syracuſans againſt Dion. a more populer man then *Dion*, & pleaſe the common people better. *Dion* graunted their de-
ſire, & made *Heraclides* Admiral againe of the ſea: howbeit he did anger them as much an o-
ther way, whẽ he did not only reiect the earneſt ſute they made to haue the law Agraria paſſe
for diuiſion of lands in equalitie amongeſt them, but did alſo cancel & reuoke all that had ben C
Heraclides againe ſtirreth vp the Syracuſans, to rebell againſt Dion. done before. Wherefore *Heraclides* remaining at MESSINA, began thenceforth to enter into
new practiſes again, & to flatter the ſouldiers & ſea fairing men he had brought thether with
him, & to ſtirre them vp to rebel againſt *Dion*, ſaying, that he would make him ſelfe tyranne: &
him ſelfe in the meane time ſecretly practiſed with *Dionyſius*, by meanes of a SPARTAN called
Pharax. The nobleſt men of the SYRACVSANS miſtruſted it, & thereuppon there fell out great
mutinie in their campe, whereby alſo followed great famine in SYRACVSA: ſo that *Dion* was
at ſuch a ſtraight, that he could not tell what to ſay to it, & was reproued of all his friends for
that he had againe preferred to great authoritie againſt him ſelfe, ſo vntractable a man, & ſo
malicious & wicked a perſon as *Heraclides* was. Now, when *Pharax* laye in campe with an ar-
my neare vnto the citie of NAPLES, in the marches of the AGRIGENTINES: *Dion* did bringe D
the army of the SYRACVSANS into the field, being yet determined not to fight with him til a-
nother time. But through *Heraclides*, & the ſea mens crying out, that ſaid he would not try this
warre by battel, but would draw it out in length bicauſe he would be ſtill generall: he was for-
ced to giue battell, and loſt it. Howbeit the ouerthrow was not great, and happened rather bi-
cauſe his men were at a iarre among them ſelues, by reaſon of their faction and diuiſion, then
otherwiſe. *Dion* therefore prepared to fight another battell, and gathered his men together a-
gaine, incoraging them, when euen at twylight word was brought him that *Heraclides* with al
his fleete was vnder ſaile towards SYRACVSA, meaning to take the citie, & to ſhut *Dion* & his
army out of it. Wherefore he preſently tooke with him the chiefeſt men of authoritie in the
citie, and the moſt willingeſt men, and rode all night with them in ſuch haſte, that they were E
at the gates of SYRACVSA the next morning by nyne of the clocke, hauing ridden ſeuen hun-
dred furlong. *Heraclides* that had ſayled with all the poſſible ſpeede he could to preuent him
with his ſhippes, perceiuing that he came ſhort, he turned ſaile, and taking ſeas at all aduen-
Gæſylus Lacedæmonian commeth to Syracuſa, to be generall of the Syracuſans. ture, by chaunce he met with *Gæſylus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who tolde him he was ſent from LA-
CEDÆMON, to be general to the SICILIANS in this warre, as *Gylippus* was ſent at other times
before. He was glad he had met with him, to haue ſuch a remedy and defence againſt *Dion*, &
boaſted of it vnto the friends & confederats of SYRACVSA, and ſent a Herauld before vnto the
SYRACVSANS, sũmoning them to receiue *Gæſylus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who was ſent to be their
general. *Dion* made aunſwer: that the SYRACVSANS had gouernors enow, & though that their
affayres did of neceſſitie require a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine, yet that him ſelfe was he, for F
Gæſylus maketh Dion & Heraclides friends again. that he was made free in SPARTA. Thẽ *Gæſylus* perceiuing he could not obtaine to be general,
he went vnto SYRACVSA, & came to *Dion*, & there made *Heraclides* & him friends againe, by
the

A the great and ſolemne othes he made: & bicauſe *Gæſylus* alſo ſware, that he him ſelfe would be reuenged of him for *Dions* ſake, & puniſhe *Heraclides*, if euer after he did once more conſpire againſt him. After that, the SYRACVSANS brake vp their army by ſea, bicauſe it did them then no ſeruice, and was beſide chargeable keeping of it, and further did alſo breede ſedition and trouble amongeſt their gouernors: and ſo went to lay ſtraighter ſiege to the caſtell then euer they did, and built vp the wall againe, which the enemies had ouerthrowen. Then *Dionyſius* ſonne ſeeing no aide to come to him from any parte, and that vittels failed them, and further, that the ſouldiers began to mutine, being vnable to keepe them: he fel to a compoſition with *Dion*, and deliuered vp the caſtell into his hands, with all the armor and munition in it: and ſo tooke his mother & his ſiſters of *Dion*, and put them abord vpon fiue gallies, with the which *The caſtell of Syracuſe ſurrendred vnto Dion.*

B he went vnto his father, through the ſafe conduit of *Dion*. There was not a man at that time in all SYRACVSA, but was there to ſee this ſight, or if by chaunce there were any abſent, the other that were there called them thither as lowde as they could crie, ſaying, that they did not ſee the goodlieſt day and ſunne ſhine, which the citie of SYRACVSA might ſee then at her riſing, the ſame being now reſtored againe to her former libertie. If vntill this preſent day they doe reckon the flying of *Dionyſius*, for one of the rareſt examples of fortunes chaunge, as one of the greateſt and notableſt thing that euer was: what ioy thinke we had they that draue him out, & what pleaſure had they with them ſelues, that with the leaſt meane that could be poſſible, did deſtroy the greateſt tyrannie in the world? So, when *Apollocrates Dionyſius* ſonne was imbarked, and that *Dion* was entred into the caſtell: the women within the caſtell would not

C tary till he came into the houſe, but went to meete him at the gates, *Ariſtomaché* leading *Dions* ſonne in her hand, and *Areta* following her weeping, being verie fearefull how ſhe ſhould call and ſalute her husband, hauing lyen with an other man. *Dion* firſt ſpake to his ſiſter, and afterwards to his ſonne: and then *Ariſtomaché* offering him *Areta*, ſaid vnto him. Since thy baniſhment, O *Dion*, we haue led a miſerable and captiue life: but now that thou art returned home with victorie, thou haſt ridde vs out of care and thraldom, and haſt alſo made vs againe bolde to lift vp our heades, ſauing her here, whom I wretched creature haue by force (thy ſelfe aliue) ſeene maried vnto an other man. Now then, ſith fortune hath made thee Lord of vs all, what iudgement giueſt thou of this compulſion? Howe wilt thou haue her to ſalute thee, as her Vncle, or husbande? As *Ariſtomaché* ſpake theſe wordes, the water ſtoode in *Dions* eyes: ſo, *The words of Ariſtomaché vnto Dion, at his entry into the caſtell of Syracuſa.*

D he gently and louingly taking his wife *Areta* by the hand, he gaue her his ſonne, and willed her to goe home to his houſe where he then remained, and ſo deliuered the caſtell to the SYRACVSANS. He hauing this proſperous ſucceſſe and victorie, would not reape any preſent benefite or pleaſure thereby, before he had ſhewed him ſelfe thankefull to his frends, geuen great gifts alſo vnto the confederats of SYRACVSA, and ſpeciallie, before he had geuen euerie one of his frends in the citie, and his mercenarie ſouldiers the ſtraungers, ſome honorable reward according to their deſerts, exceeding his abilitie with magnanimitie of minde: when he him ſelfe liued ſoberly, and kept a moderate dyet, contenting him with any thing that came firſt to hand. Euery man that heard of it, wondered at him, conſidering that not only all SICILIA and CARTHAGE, but generallie all GRÆCE looked vpon his great proſperitie and good for-

E tune, thinking no man liuing greater then him ſelfe, nor that any Captaine euer attained to ſuch fame and wonderfull fortune, as he was come vnto. This notwithſtanding, *Dion* liued as temperatly and modeſtly in his apparell, and alſo in his number of ſeruaunte, and ſeruice at his bord, as if he had liued with *Plato* in the Academy at ATHENS, and had not bene conuerſant amongeſt ſouldiers and Captaines, which haue no other comfort nor pleaſure for all the paines and daungers they ſuffer continuallie, but to eate and drinke their fill, and to take their pleaſure all day long. *Plato* wrote vnto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But *Dion*, in my opinion, had no reſpect but to one place, and to one citie (to wit, the Academy) and would haue no other Iudges nor lookers into his doinges, but the ſchollers of the ſame: who neither wondered at his great exploytes, valliantnes, nor victorie, but only conſidered if he

F did wiſelie and modeſtlie vſe this fortune he had, and could ſo keepe him ſelfe within modeſt boundes, hauing done ſo great thinges. Furthermore, touching the grauetie he had when he ſpake to any bodie, and his inflexible ſeueritie which he vſed towards the people, he determi-

Dion taketh his wife Areta againe, which had forcibly bene maried vnto an other man.

Dions temperance and thriftines.

ned neuer to alter or chaunge it: notwithſtanding that his affaires required him to ſhew curteſie and lenitie, and that *Plato* alſo reproued him for it, and wrote, that ſeueritie and obſtinacie (as we ſayd before) was the companion of ſolitarines. But it ſeemeth to me that *Dion* did vſe it for two reſpectes. The firſt, bicauſe nature had not framed him curteous and affable to winne men: ſecondly, he did what he could to drawe the SYRACVSANS to the contrarie, who were ouerlicentious, & ſpoyled with too much flattery: for *Heraclides* began againe to be buſie with him. Firſt of all, *Dion* ſending for him to come to counſell, he ſent him word he would not come: and that being a priuate citizen, he woulde be at the common counſell amongeſt others when any was kept. Afterwards he accuſed him, for that he had not ouerthrowen and raſed the caſtell: and alſo bicauſe he would not ſuffer the people to breake open the tombe of *Dionyſius* the elder, to caſt out his bodie: & bicauſe he ſent for counſellers to CORINTHE, and diſdained to make the citizens his companions in the gouernment of the common wealth. In deede to confeſſe a troth, *Dion* had ſent for certaine CORINTHIANS, hoping the better to ſtabliſh the forme of a common wealth, which he had in his minde, when they were come. For his minde was vtterly to breake the gouernment of *Democratia*, (to wit, the abſolute gouernment and authoritie of the people in a citie, not being as it were a common wealth, but rather a fayer and market where thinges are ſolde, as *Plato* ſayth) and to ſtabliſhe the LACONIAN or CRETAN common wealth, mingled with a Princely, and popular gouernment: & that ſhould be, *Ariſtocratia*, to wit, the number of a fewe noble men that ſhoulde gouerne and direct the chiefeſt and waightieſt matters of ſtate. And for that purpoſe, he thought the CORINTHIANS the meteſt men to help him to frame this cõmon wealth, cõſidering that they gouerned their affaires more by chooſing a few number of the nobilitie, then otherwiſe, and that they did not referre many thinges to the voyce of the people. And bicauſe he was aſſured that *Heraclides* would be againſt him in it all that he could, and that otherwiſe he knewe he was a ſeditious, a troubleſome, and light headed fellow: he then ſuffered them to kill him who had long before done it, if he had not kept them from it, & ſo they went home to his houſe, and ſlue him there. The murther of *Heraclides* was much miſliked of the SYRACVSANS: howbeit *Dion* cauſed him to be honorablie buried, and brought his bodie to the grounde, followed with all his armie. Then he made an Oration him ſelfe to the people, and told them, that it was impoſſible to auoyde ſedition and trouble in the citie, ſo long as *Dion* and *Heraclides* did both gouerne together. At that time there was one *Callippus* an ATHENIAN, a familiar of *Dions*, who (as *Plato* ſayth) came not acquainted with *Dion* through the occaſion of his ſtudie in Philoſophie: but bicauſe he had bene his guide to bring him to ſee the ſecret miſteries and ceremonies of the ſacrifices, and for ſuch other like common talke and companie. This notwithſtanding, *Callippus* did accompanie him in all this warre, and was verie muche honored of him, and was one of the firſt of all his frendes that entred into SYRACVSA with him, and did valliantlie behaue him ſelfe in all the battells and conflicts that were fought. This *Callippus* ſeeing that *Dions* beſt & chiefeſt frends were all ſlaine in this warre, & that *Heraclides* alſo was dead, that the people of SYRACVSA had no more any heade, and beſides, that the ſouldiers which were with *Dion* did loue him better then any other man: he became the vnfaithfulleſt man and the verieſt villan of all other, hoping that for reward to kill his frend *Dion*, he ſhould vndoubtedly come to haue the whole gouernment of all SICILIA, and as ſome doe reporte, for that he had taken a bribe of his enemies of twentie talentes for his labor to commit this murther. So he began to practiſe, to bribe, and to ſubborne certaine of the mercenarie ſouldiers againſt *Dion*, and that by a maruelous craftie and ſuttle fetch. For, vſing commonly to report vnto *Dion* certeine ſeditious wordes, ſpoken peraduenture by the ſouldiers in deede, or elſe deuiſed of his owne head: he wan ſuch a libertie and boldnes by the truſt *Dion* had in him, that he might ſafely ſay what he would to any of the ſouldiers, and boldly ſpeake euill of *Dion* by his owne commaundement: to thend he might thereby vnderſtand the better whether any of the ſouldiers were angry with him, or wiſhed his death. By this pollicy, *Callippus* ſtraight foũd out thoſe that bare *Dion* grudge, & that were already corrupted, whom he drew to his conſpiracy. And if any man vnwilling to geue eare vnto him, went and told *Dion*, that *Callippus* would haue intiſed him to conſpire againſt him: *Dion* was not angrie with him for it, thinking that he did, but as he had commaunded

Heraclides conſpireth againe againſt Dion.

Dion ſent to the Corinthians to ſtabliſh a common wealth to the Syracuſans.

Dion ment to aboliſh Democratia, and to aduaunce Ariſtocratia.

The authoritie of the people, reſembled by Plato to a fayer, or market.

The common wealth of the Corinthians.

The murther of Heraclides.

Callippus Athenian, conſpireth againſt Dion.

Note the ſuttletie of tale bearers.

A commaunded him to doe. Now as this treaſon was practiſing againſt *Dion*, there appeared a great and monſtruous ghoſt or ſpirit vnto him. By chaunce ſitting late one euening all alone, in a gallerie he had, and being in a deepe thought with him ſelfe, ſodainly he heard a noyſe: and therewith caſting his eye to thend of his gallery, (being yet day light) he ſaw a monſtrous great woman, like vnto one of the furies ſhewed in playes, and ſaw her ſweeping of the houſe with a broome. This viſion ſo amazed and affrighted him, that he ſent for his frends, and told them what a ſight he had ſeene: and prayed them to tarie with him all night, being as it were a man beſide him ſelfe, fearing leaſt the ſpirite woulde come to him againe if they left him alone, of the which notwithſtanding he neuer heard more afterwards. Howbeit ſhortly after, his ſonne being growen to mans ſtate, for a certaine light anger he had taken when he was B but a boy, he caſt him ſelfe hedlong downe from the toppe of the houſe, and ſo was ſlaine. *Dion* being in this ſtate, *Callippus* went on ſtill with his treaſon, and ſpred a rumor abroade among the SYRACVSANS, that *Dion* ſeeing him ſelfe nowe deſtitute of children, was determined to ſend for *Apollocrates*, *Dionyſius* ſonne, to make him his heire and ſucceſſor, being coſin germaine to his wife, and his ſiſters daughters ſonne. Then began *Dion*, his wife, and ſiſter to miſtruſt *Callippus* practiſes, and they were told of it by diuers ſundrie and manifeſt proofes. But *Dion* being ſorie (as I ſuppoſe) for *Heraclides* death, and inwardlie taking that murther in very euill part, as a fowle blot to his life and doings: he ſayd he had rather dye a thowſand deaths, and to offer his throate to be cut to any that would, rather then he would liue in that miſerie, to be compelled to take heede as well of his frends, as of his enemies. *Callippus* then ſeeing the C women ſo buſie and inquiſitiue of his doings, & fearing leaſt he ſhould be bewrayed: he came weeping vnto them, and told them it was nothing, and that he was readie to aſſure them of it by any maner of way they would deuiſe. The women then willed him to ſweare by the great othe, which was in this maner. He that muſt take this othe, commeth into the temple of the goddeſſes *Theſmophores*, which are, *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*. And after certaine ſacrifices done, he putteth on the purple chaplet of the goddeſſe *Proſerpina*, holding a burning torch in his hand and ſweareth in this maner. *Callippus* hauing done all theſe ceremonies, and made the oth in forme as I haue told you: he made ſo light accompt of the goddeſſes, that he taried no lenger to do the murther he had determined, but till the very feaſt day of the goddeſſe ſhould come, by whom he had ſworne: and ſlue him on the day of the feaſt of *Proſerpina*. Nowe, I doe not D thinke that he choſe that day of ſette purpoſe, knowing right well that he did alwayes ſinne againſt her, what time ſoeuer he had killed his brother, being by his meanes ſpeciallie admitted to the ſocietie and brotherhoode with him, of the fraternity and miſteries of *Ceres* & *Proſerpina*. Of this conſpiracie there were diuers. For, as *Dion* was ſet in his chamber talking with his frends where there were many beddes to ſit on: ſome compaſſed the houſe round about, others came to the dores and windowes of his chamber, and they that ſhould doe the deede to diſpatche him, which were the ZACYNTHIAN ſouldiers, came into his chamber in their coates without any ſword. But when they were come in, they that were without did ſhut the dores after them, and locked them in, leaſt any man ſhoulde come out: and they that were within, fell vpon *Dion*, and thought to haue ſtrangled him. But when they ſaw they could not, E they called for a ſworde. Neuer a man that was within, durſt open the dores, though there were many with *Dion*. For they thought euery man to ſaue their owne liues, by ſuffering him to be killed, and therefore durſt not come to helpe him. So the murtherers taried a long time within, and did nothing. At length there was one *Lycon* a SYRACVSAN, that gaue one of theſe ZACYNTHIAN ſouldiers a dagger in at the window, with the which they cut *Dions* throate, as a weather they had holden a long time in their handes, euen dead for feare. The murther being executed, they caſt his ſiſter, and wife, great with childe, into priſon, and there the poore Ladie was pitiefullie brought to bedde of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring vp, then otherwiſe to doe any thing with the childe. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it, bicauſe *Callippus* began then a litle to grow to ſome F trouble. For at the firſt, after he had ſlaine *Dion*, he bare all the whole ſway for a time, and kept the citie of SYRACVSA in his hands: & wrote vnto ATHENS, the which next vnto the immortall goddes he was moſt affrayed of, hauing defiled his handes in ſo damnable a treaſon. And

A ſpirite appeared vnto Dion.

The lamentable death of Dions ſonne.

Apollocrates Dionyſius ſonne.

The great oth of the Syracuſans.

Dion ſlaine by Callippus Athenian.

Dions wife brought to bed of a ſonne in priſon.

therefore, in my opinion, it was not euill ſpoken, that ATHENS is a citie of all other that bringeth forth the beſt men when they geue them ſelues to goodnes, & the wickedeſt people alſo, when they doe diſpoſe them ſelues to euill: as their contrie alſo bringeth foorth the beſt honnie that is, and hemlocke in like maner that quickely diſpatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit the gods, and fortune, did not ſuffer this treaſon and wicked man to raigne long, hauing comen to the gouernment of a realme by ſo damnable a murther: but ſhortly after they gaue him his payment he had deſerued. For *Callippus* going to take a litle towne called CATANA, he loſt the citie of SYRACVSA: whereupon he ſayd that he had loſt a citie, and got a * cheeſe-knife. Afterwards he went to aſſaile the MESSENIANS, and there he loſt a great number of his men, and amongeſt them were ſlaine thoſe that killed *Dion*. Now *Callippus* finding no citie in all SICILIA, that woulde receiue him, but that they all did hate and abhorre him: he went to take the citie of RHEGIO in ITALIE. There being in great diſtreſſe and neede of all thinges, and not able to maintaine his ſouldiers: he was ſlaine by *Leptines*, and *Polyperchon*, with the ſelfe ſame dagger wherewith *Dion* before was ſlaine: the which was knowen by the facion, being ſhort after the LACONIAN daggers, and alſo by the workemanſhippe vpon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of *Callippus*. Now for *Ariſtomaché* and *Areta*, they were taken out of priſon: and *Icetes* SYRACVSAN, that ſomtimes had bene one of *Dions* frends, tooke them home to his owne houſe, and vſed them verie well and faithfully for a certaine time, but afterwards was wonne and corrupted by *Dions* enemies. So he cauſed a ſhippe to be prouided for them, and bare them in hande that he would ſende them into PELOPONNESVS: but he gaue them charge that caried them away, to kill them as they went, and to throw them ouer bord into the ſea. Some ſay, that the two women, and the litle young boy, were caſt aliue into the ſea. But this reward of the ſinfull act that he committed, returned againe vppon him ſelfe, as it had done before vnto others. For he was taken by *Timoleon* that put him to death: and beſides, the SYRACVSANS did alſo kill two of his daughters in reuenge of the vnfaithfulnes he had ſhewed vnto *Dion*.

The puniſhment of Callippus.

* Κατάν in corrupt ſpeech ſignifieth a knife to ſcrape or cut cheeſe, which is truelier called κατάνη, Iulius Pollux. lib. 10 cap. 24.

Callippus ſlaine with the ſame dagger that ſlue Dion.

The cruelnie of the Syracuſans vnto Dion and his poſterity.

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Brutus.

A *Marcus Brutus* came of that *Iunius Brutus*, for whome the auncient Romanes made his ſtatue of braſſe to be ſet vp in the Capitoll, with the images of the kings, holding a naked ſword in his hand: bicauſe he had valliantly put downe the Tarqvines from their kingdom of Rome. But that *Iunius Brutus* being of a ſower ſtearne nature, not ſoftned by reaſon, being like vnto ſword blades of too hard a temper: was ſo ſubiect to his choller and malice he bare vnto the tyrannes, that for their ſakes he cauſed his owne ſonnes to be executed. But this *Marcus Brutus* in contrarie maner, whoſe life we preſently wryte, hauing framed his manners of life by the rules of vertue and ſtudie of Philoſophie, and hauing imployed his B wit, which was gentle and conſtant, in attempting of great things: me thinkes he was rightly made and framed vnto vertue. So that his verie enemies which wiſh him moſt hurt, bicauſe of his conſpiracy againſt *Iulius Cæſar*: if there were any noble attempt done in all this conſpiracie, they referre it whollie vnto *Brutus*, and all the cruell and violent actes vnto *Caſſius*, who was *Brutus* familiar frend, but not ſo well geuen, and condicioned as he. His mother *Seruilia*, it is thought came of the blood of *Seruilius Hala*, who, when *Spurius Melius* went about to make him ſelfe king, and to bring it to paſſe had entiſed the common people to rebell: tooke a dagger and hid it cloſe vnder his arme, and went into the market place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had ſomewhat to ſay vnto him, and preſſed as neere him as he could: wherefore *Melius* ſtowping downe with his head, to heare what he would ſay, *Brutus* C ſtabbed him in with his dagger, and ſlue him. Thus muche all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, ſome for the euil wil & malice they bare vnto *Brutus*, bicauſe of the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, doe maintaine that he came not of *Iunius Brutus* that draue out the Tarqvines: for there were none left of his race, conſidering that his two ſonnes were executed for conſpiracie with the Tarqvines: and that *Marcus Brutus* came of a meane houſe, the which was raiſed to honor and office in the common wealth, but of late time. *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher wryteth the contrarie, that *Iunius Brutus* in deede ſlue two of his ſonnes which

The parentage of Brutus.

Brutus maners.

Seruilia M. Brutus mother.

Brutus parentage by his father.

were men growen, as the hiſtories doe declare: howebeit that there was a third ſonne, being A
but a litle childe at that time, from whom the houſe and family afterwardes was deriued: and
furthermore, that there were in his time certeine famous men of that familie, whoſe ſtature
and countenaunce reſembled much the image of *Iunius Brutus*. And thus much for this mat-
Seruilia Catoes ſiſter. ter. *Marcus Cato* the Philoſopher was brother vnto *Seruilia M. Brutus* mother: whom *Brutus*
Brutus ſtudies ſtudied moſt to follow of all the other ROMANES, bicauſe he was his Vncle, and afterwards he
maried his daughter. Now touching the GRÆCIAN Philoſophers, there was no ſect nor Phi-
loſopher of them, but he heard and liked it: but aboue all the reſt, he loued *Platoes* ſect beſt,
Brutus followed the olde Academyke. & did not much geue him ſelfe to the new nor meane Academy as they call it, but altogether
to the old Academy. Therefore he did euer greatly eſteeme the Philoſopher *Antiochus*, of the
citie of ASCALON: but he was more familiar with his brother *Ariſton*, who for learning and B
knowledge was inferior to many other Philoſophers, but for wiſedom & curteſie, equall with
the beſt and chiefeſt. Touching *Empylus*, whom *Marcus Brutus* him ſelfe doth mencion in his
Empylus an Orator, wrote a booke of Cæſars death, and intituled it, Brutus. Epiſtells, and his frends alſo in many places: he was an Orator, and left an excellent booke he
wrote of the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, and tituled it *Brutus*. He was properly learned in the Latine
tongue, and was able to make long diſcourſe in it, beſide that he could alſo plead verie well in
Latine. But for the Græke tongue, they do note in ſome of his Epiſtells, that he counterfea-
Brutus maner of wryting his Epiſtells in Græke. ted that briefe compendious maner of ſpeach of the LACEDÆMONIANS. As when the warre
was begonne, he wrote vnto the PARGAMENIANS in this ſorte. I vnderſtand you haue geuen
Dolobella money: if you haue done it willingly, you confeſſe you haue offended me: if againſt
A briefe letter to the Samians. your wills, ſhewe it then by geuing me willinglie. An other time againe vnto the SAMIANS: C
Your counſels be long, your doinges be ſlowe, conſider the ende. And in an other Epiſtell he
wrote vnto the PATAREIANS: The XANTHIANS deſpiſing my good wil, haue made their con-
trie a graue of diſpaire: and the PATAREIANS that put them ſelues into my protection, haue
loſt no iot of their libertie. And therefore whileſt you haue libertie, either chooſe the iudge-
ment of the PATAREIANS, or the fortune of the XANTHIANS. Theſe were *Brutus* manner of
Brutus followed Cato into Cyprus. letters which were honored for their briefenes. So *Brutus* being but a young ſtripling went in- A
to CYPRVS with his Vncle *Cato*, who was ſent againſt *Ptolomy* king of ÆGYPT, who hauing
ſlaine him ſelfe, *Cato* ſtaying for certaine neceſſarie buſines he had in the Ile of RHODES, had
* *Or Canidius.* alreadie ſent * *Caninius*, one of his frends before, to keepe his treaſure and goods. But *Cato* fea-
ring he woulde be light fingered, wrote vnto *Brutus* foorthwith to come out of PAMPHYLIA, D
(where he was but newlie recouered of a ſickeneſſe) into CYPRVS, the which he did. The
which iorney he was ſorie to take vpon him, both for reſpect of *Caninius* ſhame, whome *Cato*
as he thought wrongfullie ſlaundered: as alſo bicauſe he thought this office too meane and
vnmeete for him, being a young man, and geuen to his booke. This notwithſtanding, he be-
haued him ſelfe ſo honeſtlie and carefullie, that *Cato* did greatly commende him: and after all
the goodes were ſold and conuerted into readie money, he tooke the moſt parte of it, and re-
turned withall to ROME. Afterwards when the Empire of ROME was deuided into factions,
and that *Cæſar* and *Pompey* both were in armes one againſt the other, and that all the Empire
of ROME was in garboyle and vprore: it was thought then that *Brutus* woulde take parte with
Cæſar, bicauſe *Pompey* not long before had put his father vnto death. But *Brutus* preferring the E
reſpect of his contrie and common wealth, before priuate affection, and perſwading him ſelfe
Brutus taketh parte with Pompey. that *Pompey* had iuſter cauſe to enter into armes then *Cæſar*: he then tooke parte with *Pompey*,
though oftentimes meting him before, he thought ſcorne to ſpeake to him, thinking it a great
ſinne and offence in him, to ſpeake to the murtherer of his father. But then ſubmitting him
ſelfe vnto *Pompey*, as vnto the head of the common wealth: he ſailed into SICILIA, Lieutenant
vnder *Seſtius* that was Gouernor of that prouince. But when he ſaw that there was no way to
riſe, nor to do any noble exployts, and that *Cæſar* & *Pompey* were both camped together, and
fought for victory: he went of him ſelfe vnſent for into MACEDON, to be partaker of the daun-
ger. It is reported that *Pompey* being glad, and wondering at his comming when he ſawe him
come to him: he roſe out of his chaire, and went and imbraced him before them all, and vſed F
Brutus exerciſe in Pompeys campe. him as honorablie, as he could haue done the nobleſt man that tooke his parte. *Brutus* being
in *Pompeys* campe, did nothing but ſtudie all day long, except he were with *Pompey*, & not only

the

A the dayes before, but the ſelfe ſame day alſo before the great battell was fought in the fieldes of PHARSALIA, where *Pompey* was ouerthrowen. It was in the middeſt of ſommer, and the ſunne was verie hotte, beſides that the campe was lodged neere vnto mariſhes, and they that caried his tent, taried long before they came: whereuppon, being verie wearie with trauell, ſcant any meate came into his mouth at dinner time. Furthermore, when others ſlept, or thought what woulde happen the morrowe after: he fell to his booke, and wrote all day long till night, wryting a breuiarie of *Polybius*. It is reported that *Cæſar* did not forgette him, and that he gaue his Captaines charge before the battell, that they ſhoulde beware they killed not *Brutus* in fight, and if he yeelded willinglie vnto them, that then they ſhoulde bring him vnto him: but if he reſiſted, and woulde not be taken, then that they ſhoulde lette him goe,
B and doe him no hurte. Some ſaye he did this for *Seruiliaes* ſake, *Brutus* mother. For when he was a young man, he had bene acquainted with *Seruilia*, who was extreamelie in loue with him. And bicauſe *Brutus* was borne in that time when their loue was hotteſt, he perſwaded him ſelfe that he begat him. For proofe hereof the reporte goeth, that when the waightieſt matters were in hande in the Senate, about the conſpiracie of *Catiline*, which was likelie to haue vndone the citie of ROME, *Cæſar* and *Cato* ſate neere together, and were both of contrarie mindes to eache other: and then, that in the meane time one deliuered *Cæſar* a letter. *Cæſar* tooke it, and red it ſoftlie to him ſelfe: but *Cato* cried out vpon *Cæſar*, and ſayd he did not well to receiue aduertiſementes from enemies. Whereuppon the whole Senate beganne to murmure at it. Then *Cæſar* gaue *Cato* the letter as it was ſent him, who red
C it, and founde that it was a loue letter ſent from his ſiſter *Seruilia*: thereuppon he caſt it againe to *Cæſar*, and ſayde vnto him, holde, dronken ſoppe. When he had done ſo, he went on with his tale, and maintayned his opinion as he did before: ſo commonlie was the loue of *Seruilia* knowen which ſhe bare vnto *Cæſar*. So, after *Pompeys* ouerthrowe at the battell of PHARSALIA, and that he fledde to the ſea: when *Cæſar* came to beſeege his campe, *Brutus* went out of the campe gates vnſeene of any man, and lept into a mariſhe full of water and reedes. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went vnto the citie of LARISSA: from whence he wrote vnto *Cæſar*, who was verie glad that he had ſcaped, and ſent for him to come vnto him. When *Brutus* was come, he did not onelie pardon him, but alſo kept him alwayes about him, and did as muche honor and eſteeme him, any man he had in
D his companie. Nowe no man coulde tell whether *Pompey* was fledde, and all were maruelous deſirous to knowe it: wherefore *Cæſar* walking a good waye alone with *Brutus*, he did aske him which way he thought *Pompey* tooke. *Cæſar* perceiuing by his talke that *Brutus* geſſed certainlie whether *Pompey* ſhoulde be fledde: he left all other wayes, and tooke his iorney directlie towardes ÆGYPT. *Pompey*, as *Brutus* had conjectured, was in deede fledde into ÆGYPT, but there he was villanouſlie ſlayne. Furthermore, *Brutus* obteyned pardon of *Cæſar* for *Caſſius*: and defending alſo the king * of LYBIAES cauſe, he was ouerlayed with a worlde of accuſacions againſt him, howebeit intreating for him, he ſaued him the beſt parte of his realme and kingdome. They ſay alſo that *Cæſar* ſayd, when he hearde *Brutus* pleade: I knowe not, ſayd he, what this young man woulde, but what he woulde, he willeth it vehe-
E mentlie. For as *Brutus* grauetie and conſtant minde woulde not graunt all men their requeſts that ſued vnto him, but being moued with reaſon and diſcretion, did alwayes encline to that which was good and honeſt: euen ſo when it was moued to followe any matter, he vſed a kinde of forcible and vehement perſwaſion that calmed not, till he had obteyned his deſire. For by flattering of him, a man coulde neuer obteyne any thing at his handes, nor make him to doe that which was vniuſt. Further, he thought it not meete for a man of calling and eſtimacion, to yeelde vnto the requeſtes and intreaties of a ſhameleſſe and importunate ſuter, requeſting thinges vnmeete: the which notwithſtanding, ſome men doe for ſhame, bicauſe they dare deny nothing, And therefore he was wont to ſay, that he thought them euill brought vp in their youth, that coulde deny nothing. Nowe when *Cæſar* tooke ſea to goe
F into AFRICKE, againſt *Cato* and *Scipio*, he left *Brutus* Gouernour of GAVLE in ITALIE, on this ſide of the Alpes, which was a great good happe for that prouince. For where others were ſpoyled and polled by the inſolencie and couetouſneſſe of the Gouernours, as if it had

Brutus ſtudied in Pompeis campe.

Iulius Cæſar carefull of Brutus ſafety.

Iulius Cæſar loued Seruilia, Brutus mother.

Brutus ſaued by Iulius Cæſar, after the battell of Pharſalia.

* *This king was Iuba: howbeit it is true alſo, that Brutus made interceſſion for Deiotarus king of Galatia: who was deprined notwithſtanding of the moſt parte of his contrie, by Cæſar and therefore this place were beſt to be vnderſtanded, by Deiotarus.*

Cæſar made Brutus Gouernour of Gaule on this ſide the mountaines.

bene a contrie conquered: *Brutus* was a comforte and reſt vnto their former troubles and miſeries they ſuſteyned. But he referred it whollie vnto *Cæſars* grace and goodneſſe. For, when *Cæſar* returned out of AFRICKE, and progreſſed vp and downe ITALIE: the things that pleaſed him beſt to ſee, were the cities vnder *Brutus* charge and gouernment, and *Brutus* him ſelfe: who honored *Cæſar* in perſon, and whoſe companie alſo *Cæſar* greatlie eſteemed. Now there were diuers ſortes of Prætorſhippes at ROME, and it was looked for, that *Brutus* or *Caſſius* would make ſute for the chiefeſt Prætorſhippe, which they called the Prætorſhippe of the citie: bicauſe he that had that office, was as a Iudge to miniſter iuſtice vnto the citizens. Therfore they ſtroue one againſt the other, though ſome ſay that there was ſome litle grudge betwext them for other matters before, and that this contencion did ſette them further out, though they were allyed together. For *Caſſius* had maried *Iunia*, *Brutus* ſiſter. Others ſay, that this contencion betwext them came by *Cæſar* himſelfe, who ſecretly gaue either of them both hope of his fauour. So their ſute for the Prætorſhippe was ſo followed and laboured of either partie, that one of them put an other in ſute of lawe. *Brutus* with his vertue and good name contended againſt many noble exploytes in armes, which *Caſſius* had done againſt the PARTHIANS. So *Cæſar* after he had heard both their obiections, he told his frendes with whom he conſulted about this matter: *Caſſius* cauſe is the iuſter, ſayd he, but *Brutus* muſt be firſt preferred. Thus *Brutus* had the firſt Prætorſhippe, and *Caſſius* the ſecond: who thanked not *Cæſar* ſo much for the Prætorſhippe he had, as he was angrie with him for that he had loſt. But *Brutus* in many other thinges taſted of the benefite of *Cæſars* fauour in any thing he requeſted. For if he had liſted, he might haue bene one of *Cæſars* chiefeſt frendes, and of greateſt authoritie and credit about him. Howebeit *Caſſius* frendes did diſſwade him from it (for *Caſſius* and he were not yet reconciled together ſithence their firſt contencion and ſtrife for the Prætorſhip) and prayed him to beware of *Cæſars* ſweete intiſements, and to flie his tyrannicall fauors: the which they ſayd *Cæſar* gaue him, not to honor his vertue, but to weaken his conſtant minde, framing it to the bent of his bowe. Now *Cæſar* on the other ſide did not truſt him ouermuch, nor was not without tales brought vnto him againſt him: howbeit he feared his great minde, authority, & frends. Yet on the other ſide alſo, he truſted his good nature, & fayer condicions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that *Antonius* and *Dolabella* did conſpire againſt him: he aunſwered, that theſe fat long heared men made him not affrayed, but the leane and whitely faced fellowes, meaning that, by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. At an other time alſo when one accuſed *Brutus* vnto him, and bad him beware of him: What, ſayd he againe, clapping his hand on his breſt: thinke ye that *Brutus* will not tarie till this bodie dye? Meaning that none but *Brutus* after him was meete to haue ſuche power as he had. And ſurelie, in my opinion, I am perſwaded that *Brutus* might in dede haue come to haue bene the chiefeſt man of ROME, if he could haue contented him ſelfe for a time to haue bene next vnto *Cæſar*, & to haue ſuffred his glorie and authoritie, which he had gotten by his great victories, to conſume with time. But *Caſſius* being a chollericke man, and hating *Cæſar* priuatlie, more then he did the tyrannie openlie: he incenſed *Brutus* againſt him. It is alſo reported, that *Brutus* coulde euill away with the tyrannie, and that *Caſſius* hated the tyranne: making many complayntes for the iniuries he had done him, and amongeſt others, for that he had taken away his Lyons from him. *Caſſius* had prouided them for his ſportes, when he ſhould be Ædilis, and they were found in the citie of MEGARA, when it was wonne by *Calenus*, and *Cæſar* kept them. The rumor went, that theſe Lyons did maruelous great hurt to the MAGARIANS. For when the citie was taken, they brake their cages where they were tied vp, and turned them looſe, thinking they would haue done great miſchiefe to the enemies, and haue kept them from ſetting vppon them: but the Lyons contrarie to expectacion, turned vpon them ſelues that fled vnarmed, & did ſo cruelly tare ſome in peces, that it pitied their enemies to ſee them. And this was the cauſe, as ſome do report, that made *Caſſius* conſpire againſt *Cæſar*. But this holdeth no water. For *Caſſius* euen frō his cradell could not abide any maner of tyrans, as it appeared when he was but a boy, & went vnto the ſame ſchoole that *Fauſtus*, the ſonne of *Sylla* did. And *Fauſtus* bragging among other boyes, highly boaſted of his fathers kingdom: *Caſſius* roſe vp on his feete, and gaue him two good whirts on the eare. *Fauſtus* gouernors would haue put this matter in ſute againſt *Caſſius*: But

Brutus and Caſſius contend for the Prætorſhip of the citie.

Caſſius maried Iunia, Brutus ſiſter.

The firſt cauſe of Caſſius malice againſt Cæſar.

Cæſar ſuſpected Brutus.

Cæſars ſaying of Brutus.

Caſſius incenſeth Brutus againſt Cæſar.

Caſſius Lions at Megara.

Caſſius an enemie of tyrans.

A But *Pompey* woulde not ſuffer them, but cauſed the two boyes to be brought before him, and asked them howe the matter came to paſſe. Then *Caſſius*, as it is wrytten of him, ſayd vnto the other: goe to *Fauſtus*, ſpeake againe and thou dareſt, before this noble man here, the ſame wordes that made me angrie with thee, that my fiſtes may walke once againe about thine eares. Suche was *Caſſius* hotte ſtirring nature. But for *Brutus*, his frendes and contrie men, both by diuers procurementes, and ſundrie rumors of the citie, and by many bills alſo, did openlie call and procure him to doe that he did. For, vnder the image of his aunceſter *Iunius Brutus*, that draue the kinges out of Rome, they wrote: O, that it pleaſed the goddes thou wert nowe aliue, *Brutus*: and againe, that thou wert here amonge vs nowe. His tribunall (or chaire) where he gaue audience durings the time he was Prætor, was full of ſuche B billes: *Brutus*, thou art a ſleepe, and art not *Brutus* in deede. And of all this, *Cæſars* flatterers were the cauſe: who beſide many other exceeding and vnſpeakeable honors they dayly deuiſed for him, in the night time they did put Diadeames vppon the heades of his images, ſuppoſinge thereby to allure the common people to call him kinge, inſteade of Dictator. Howebeit it turned to the contrarie, as we haue wrytten more at large in *Iulius Cæſars* life. Nowe when *Caſſius* felt his frendes, and did ſtirre them vp againſt *Cæſar*: they all agreed and promiſed to take parte with him, ſo *Brutus* were the chiefe of their conſpiracie. For they told him, that ſo high an enterpriſe and attempt as that, did not ſo muche require men of manhoode, and courage to drawe their ſwordes: as it ſtoode them vppon to haue a man of ſuche eſtimacion as *Brutus*, to make euerie man boldlie thinke, that by his onelie preſence the fact C were holie, and iuſt. If he tooke not this courſe, then that they ſhoulde goe to it with fainter hartes, and when they had done it, they ſhoulde be more fearefull: bicauſe euerie man woulde thinke that *Brutus* woulde not haue refuſed to haue made one with them, if the cauſe had bene good and honeſt. Therefore *Caſſius* conſidering this matter with him ſelfe, did firſt of all ſpeake to *Brutus*, ſince they grewe ſtraunge together for the ſute they had for the Prætorſhippe. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that they had imbraced one an other: *Caſſius* asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate houſe, the firſt day of the moneth of Marche, bicauſe he heard ſay that *Cæſars* frendes ſhoulde moue the counſell that day, that *Cæſar* ſhoulde be called king by the Senate. *Brutus* aunſwered him, he would not be there. But if we be ſent for ſayd *Caſſius*: howe then? For my ſelfe then ſayd *Brutus*, I meane D not to holde my peace, but to withſtande it, and rather dye then loſe my libertie. *Caſſius* being bolde, and taking holde of this worde: why, q he, what Romane is he aliue that will ſuffer thee to dye for the libertie? What, knoweſt thou not that thou art *Brutus*? Thinkeſt thou that they be cobblers, tapſters, or ſuche like baſe mechanicall people, that wryte theſe billes and ſcrowles which are founde dayly in thy Prætors chaire, and not the nobleſt men and beſt citizens that doe it? No, be thou well aſſured, that of other Prætors they looke for giftes, common diſtribucions amongeſt the people, and for common playes, and to ſee fenſers fight at the ſharpe, to ſhew the people paſtime: but at thy handes, they ſpecially require (as a due det vnto them) the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bent to ſuffer any extremity for thy ſake, ſo that thou wilt ſhew thy ſelfe to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art. E Thereuppon he kiſſed *Brutus*, and imbraced him: and ſo each taking leaue of other, they went both to ſpeake with their frendes about it. Nowe amongeſt *Pompeys* frendes, there was one called * *Caius Ligarius*, who had bene accuſed vnto *Cæſar* for taking parte with *Pompey*, and *Cæſar* diſcharged him. But *Ligarius* thanked not *Cæſar* ſo muche for his diſcharge, as he was offended with him for that he was brought in daunger by his tyrannicall power. And therefore in his hearte he was alway his mortall enemie, and was beſides verie familiar with *Brutus*, who went to ſee him beinge ſicke in his bedde, and ſayed vnto him: O *Ligarius*, in what a time art thou ſicke? *Ligarius* riſinge vppe in his bedde, and taking him by the right hande, ſayed vnto him: *Brutus*, ſayed he, if thou haſt any great enterpriſe in hande worthie of thy ſelfe, I am whole. After that time they beganne to feele all their acquain- F taunce whome they truſted, and layed their heades together conſultinge vppon it, and did not onelie picke out their frendes, but all thoſe alſo whome they thought ſtowt enough to attempt any deſperate matter, and that were not affrayed to loaſe their liues.

How Brutus was incenſed againſt Cæſar.

Caſſius praieth Brutus firſt, to helpe him to put downe the tyran.

* *In an other place they cal him Quintus, Brutus maketh Ligarius one of the cõſpiracie.*

They do hide the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar, from Cicero.

For this cauſe they durſt not acquaint *Cicero* with their conſpiracie, although he was a man whome they loued dearelie, and truſted beſt: for they were affrayed that he being a coward by nature, and age alſo hauing increaſed his feare, he woulde quite turne and alter all their purpoſe, and quenche the heate of their enterpriſe, the which ſpeciallie required hotte and earneſt execucion, ſeeking by perſwaſion to bring all thinges to ſuche ſafetie, as there ſhould be no perill. *Brutus* alſo did let other of his frendes alone, as *Statilius* EPICVRIAN, and *Faonius*, that made profeſſion to followe *Marcus Cato*. Bicauſe that hauing caſt out wordes a farre of, diſputing together in Philoſophie to feele their mindes: *Faonius* aunſwered, that ciuill warre was worſe then tyrannicall gouernment vſurped againſt the lawe. And *Statilius* tolde him alſo, that it were an vnwiſe parte of him, to put his life in daunger, for a ſight of ignoraunt fooles and aſſes. *Labeo* was preſent at this talke, and maintayned the contrarie againſt them both. But *Brutus* helde his peace, as though it had bene a doubtfull matter, and a harde thing to haue decided. But afterwardes, being out of their companie, he made *Labeo* priuie to his intent: who verie readilie offered him ſelfe to make one. And they thought good alſo to bring in an other *Brutus* to ioyne with him, ſurnamed *Albinus*: who was no man of his handes him ſelfe, but bicauſe he was able to bring good force of a great number of ſlaues, and fenſers at the ſharpe, whome he kept to ſhewe the people paſtime with their fighting, beſides alſo that *Cæſar* had ſome truſt in him. *Caſſius* and *Labeo* tolde *Brutus Albinus* of it at the firſt, but he made them no aunſwere. But when he had ſpoken with *Brutus* him ſelfe alone, and that *Brutus* had tolde him he was the chiefe ringleader of all this conſpiracie: then he willinglie promiſed him the beſt aide he coulde. Furthermore, the onlie name and great calling of *Brutus*, did bring on the moſt of them to geue conſent to this conſpiracie. Who hauing neuer taken othes together, nor taken or geuen any caution or aſſuraunce, nor binding them ſelues one to an other by any religious othes: they all kept the matter ſo ſecret to them ſelues, and coulde ſo cunninglie handle it, that notwithſtanding the goddes did reueale it by manifeſt ſignes and tokens from aboue, and by predictions of ſacrifices: yet all this woulde not be beleued. Nowe *Brutus*, who knewe verie well that for his ſake all the nobleſt, vallianteſt, and moſt couragious men of ROME did venter their liues, waying with him ſelfe the greatneſſe of the daunger: when he was out of his houſe, he did ſo frame and facion his countenaunce and lookes, that no man coulde diſcerne he had any thing to trouble his minde. But when night came that he was in his owne houſe, then he was cleane chaunged. For, either care did wake him againſt his will when he woulde haue ſlept, or elſe oftentimes of him ſelfe he fell into ſuche deepe thoughtes of this enterpriſe, caſting in his minde all the daungers that might happen: that his wife lying by him, founde that there was ſome maruelous great matter that troubled his minde, not beinge wont to be in that taking, and that he coulde not well determine with him ſelfe. His wife *Porcia* (as we haue tolde you before) was the daughter of *Cato*, whome *Brutus* maried being his coſin, not a maiden, but a younge widowe after the death of her firſt husbande *Bibulus*, by whome ſhe had alſo a younge ſonne called *Bibulus*, who afterwardes wrote a booke of the actes and ieaſtes of *Brutus*, extant at this preſent day. This young Ladie being excellentlie well ſeene in Philoſophie, louing her husbande well, and being of a noble courage, as ſhe was alſo wiſe: bicauſe ſhe woulde not aske her husbande what he ayled before ſhe had made ſome proofe by her ſelfe, ſhe tooke a litle raſor ſuche as barbers occupie to pare mens nayles, and cauſinge all her maydes and women to goe out of her chamber, gaue her ſelfe a greate gaſhe withall in her thigh, that ſhe was ſtraight all of a goare bloode, and incontinentlie after, a vehement feuer tooke her, by reaſon of the payne of her wounde. Then perceiuing her husbande was maruelouſlie out of quiet, and that he coulde take no reſt: euen in her greateſt payne of all, ſhe ſpake in this ſorte vnto him. I being, O *Brutus*, (ſayed ſhe) the daughter of *Cato*, was maried vnto thee, not to be thy beddefellowe and companion in bedde and at borde onelie, like a harlot: but to be partaker alſo with thee, of thy good and euill fortune. Nowe for thy ſelfe, I can finde no cauſe of faulte in thee touchinge our matche: but for my parte, howe may I ſhowe my duetie towardes thee, and howe muche I woulde doe for thy ſake, if I can not conſtantlie beare a ſecret miſchaunce

Ciuill warre worſe then tyrannicall gouernment.

The wonderfull faith and ſecreſie of the Conſpirators of Cæſars death.

Porcia, Catoes daughter, wife vnto Brutus.

Bibulus booke of Brutus actes.

Porcia ſtudied in Philoſophie.

The corage of Porcia.

Great difference betwext a wife and a harlot.

Porciaes words vnto her husband Brutus.

A or griefe with thee, which requireth ſecrecy and fidelity? I confeſſe, that a womans wit commonly is too weake to keepe a ſecret ſafely: but yet, *Brutus*, good educacion, and the companie of vertuous men, haue ſome power to reforme the defect of nature. And for my ſelfe, I haue this benefit moreouer: that I am the daughter of *Cato*, & wife of *Brutus*. This notwithſtanding, I did not truſt to any of theſe things before: vntill that now I haue found by experience, that no paine nor griefe whatſoeuer can ouercome me. With thoſe wordes ſhe ſhewed him her wounde on her thigh, and tolde him what ſhe had done to proue her ſelfe. *Brutus* was amazed to heare what ſhe ſayd vnto him, and lifting vp his handes to heauen, he beſought the goddes to geue him the grace he might bring his enterpriſe to ſo good paſſe, that he might be founde a husband, worthie of ſo noble a wife as *Porcia*: ſo he then did comfort her the beſt
B he coulde. Now a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped *Cæſar* woulde not faile to come: the conſpirators determined then to put their enterpriſe in execucion, bicauſe they might meete ſafelie at that time without ſuſpicion, and the rather, for that all the nobleſt and chiefeſt men of the citie woulde be there. Who when they ſhould ſee ſuche a great matter executed, would euerie man then ſet to their handes, for the defence of their libertie. Furthermore, they thought alſo that the appointment of the place where the counſell ſhoulde be kept, was choſen of purpoſe by diuine prouidence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of ſeates for men to ſit in, where alſo was ſet vp the image of *Pompey*, which the citie had made and conſecrated in honor of him: when he did beawtifie that parte of the
C citie with the Theater he built, with diuers porches about it. In this place was the aſſembly of the Senate appointed to be, iuſt on the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, which the ROMANES call, Idus Martias: ſo that it ſeemed ſome god of purpoſe had brought *Cæſar* thither to be ſlaine, for reuenge of *Pompeys* death. So when the day was come, *Brutus* went out of his houſe with a dagger by his ſide vnder his long gowne, that no bodie ſawe nor knewe, but his wife onelie. The other conſpirators were all aſſembled at *Caſſius* houſe, to bring his ſonne into the market place, who on that day did put on the mans gowne, called Toga Virilis: and from thence they came all in a troupe together vnto *Pompeys* porche, looking that *Cæſar* woulde ſtraight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull aſſured conſtancie of theſe conſpirators, in ſo daungerous and waightie an enterpriſe as they had vndertaken. For
D many of them being Prætors, by reaſon of their office, whoſe duetie is to miniſter iuſtice to euerie bodie: they did not onelie with great quietneſſe and curteſie heare them that ſpake vnto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gaue them attentiue eare, as if they had had no other matter in their heades: but moreouer, they gaue iuſt ſentence, and carefullie diſpatched the cauſes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine ſumme of money, refuſed to pay it, and cried out that he did appeale vnto *Cæſar*. Then *Brutus* caſting his eyes vppon the conſpirators, ſayd, *Cæſar* ſhall not lette me to ſee the lawe executed. Notwithſtanding this, by chaunce there fell out many misfortunes vnto them, which was enough to haue marred the enterpriſe. The firſt and chiefeſt was, *Cæſars* long tarying, who came verie late to the Senate: for bicauſe the ſignes of the ſacrifices appeared
E vnluckie, his wife *Calpurnia* kept him at home, and the Soothſayers bad him beware he went not abroade. The ſeconde cauſe was, when one came vnto *Caſca* being a conſpirator, and taking him by the hande, ſayd vnto him: O *Caſca*, thou kepteſt it cloſe from me, but *Brutus* hath tolde me all. *Caſca* being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and ſayd: why, howe nowe, howe commeth it to paſſe thou art thus riche, that thou doeſt ſue to be Ædilis? Thus *Caſca* being deceiued by the others doubtfull wordes, he tolde them it was a thowſand to one, he blabbed not out all the conſpiracie. An other Senator called *Popilius Lana*, after he had ſaluted *Brutus* and *Caſſius* more frendlie then he was wont to doe: he rounded ſoftlie in their eares, and told them, I pray the goddes you may goe through with that you haue taken in hande, but withall, diſpatche I reade you, for your enterpriſe is bewrayed. When he had
F ſayd, he preſentlie departed from them, and left them both affrayed that their conſpiracie woulde out. Nowe in the meane time, there came one of *Brutus* men poſt haſt vnto him, and tolde him his wife was a dying. For *Porcia* being verie carefull and penſiue for that which

The wonderfull conſtancy of the conſpirators, in killing of Cæſar.

Sundrie misfortunes to haue broken of the enterpriſe.

The weakenes of Porcia, notwithstanding her former corage.

was to come, and being too weake to away with so great and inward griefe of minde: she coulde hardlie keepe within, but was frighted with euerie litle noyse and crie she hearde, as those that are taken and possest with the furie of the Bacchantes, asking euery man that came from the market place, what *Brutus* did, and still sent messenger after messenger, to knowe what newes. At length, *Cæsars* comming being prolonged as you haue heard, *Porciaes* weakenesse was not able to holde out any lenger, and thereuppon she sodainlie swounded, that she had no leasure to goe to her chamber, but was taken in the middest of her house, where her speache and sences failed her. Howbeit she soone came to her selfe againe, and so was layed in her bedde, and tended by her women. When *Brutus* heard these newes, it grieued him, as it is to be presupposed: yet he left not of the care of his contrie and common wealth, neither went home to his house for any newes he heard. Nowe, it was reported that *Cæsar* was comming in his litter: for he determined not to stay in the Senate all that day (bicause he was affrayed of the vnluckie signes of the sacrifices) but to adiorne matters of importaunce vnto the next session and counsell holden, fayning him selfe not to be well at ease. When *Cæsar* came out of his litter: *Popilius Læna*, that had talked before with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and had prayed the goddes they might bring this enterprise to passe: went vnto *Cæsar*, and kept him a long time with a talke. *Cæsar* gaue good eare vnto him. Wherefore the conspirators (if so they shoulde be called) not hearing what he sayd to *Cæsar*, but coniecturing by that he had tolde them a litle before, that his talke was none other but the verie discouerie of their conspiracie: they were affrayed euerie man of them, and one looking in an others face, it was easie to see that they all were of a minde, that it was no tarying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill them selues with their owne hands. And when *Cassius* and certeine other clapped their handes on their swordes vnder their gownes to draw them: *Brutus* marking the countenaunce and gesture of *Læna*, and considering that he did vse him selfe rather like an humble and earnest suter, then like an accuser: he sayd nothing to his companion (bicause there were many amongest them that were not of the conspiracie) but with a pleasaunt countenaunce encouraged *Cassius*. And immediatlie after, *Læna* went from *Cæsar*, and kissed his hande: which shewed plainlie that it was for some matter concerning him selfe, that he had held him so long in talke. Nowe all the Senators being entred first into this place or chapter house where the counsell should be kept: all the other conspirators straight stoode about *Cæsars* chaire, as if they had had some thing to haue sayd vnto him. And some say, that *Cassius* casting his eyes vpon *Pompeys* image, made his prayer vnto it, as if it had bene aliue. * *Trebonius* on thother side, drewe *Antonius* aside, as he came into the house where the Senate sate, and helde him with a long talke without. When *Cæsar* was come into the house, all the Senate rose to honor him at his comming in. So when he was set, the conspirators flocked about him, & amongst them they presented one * *Tullius Cimber*, who made humble sute for the calling home againe of his brother that was banished. They all made as though they were intercessors for him, and tooke him by the handes, and kissed his head and brest. *Cæsar* at the first, simplie refused their kindnesse and intreaties: but afterwardes, perceiuing they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then *Cimber* with both his hands plucked *Cæsars* gowne ouer his shoulders, and *Casca* that stoode behinde him, drew his dagger first, and strake *Cæsar* vpon the shoulder, but gaue him no great wound. *Cæsar* feeling him selfe hurt, tooke him straight by the hande he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin: O traitor, *Casca*, what doest thou? *Casca* on thother side cried in Græke, and called his brother to helpe him. So diuers running on a heape together to flie vppon *Cæsar*, he looking about him to haue fledde, sawe *Brutus* with a sworde drawen in his hande readie to strike at him: then he let *Cascaes* hande goe, and casting his gowne ouer his face, suffered euerie man to strike at him that woulde. Then the conspirators thronging one vpon an other bicause euerie man was desirous to haue a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting vpon one bodie, one of them hurte an other, and among them *Brutus* caught a blowe on his hande, bicause he would make one in murdering of him, and all the rest also were euery man of them bloudied. *Cæsar* being slaine in this maner, *Brutus* standing in the middest of the house, would haue spoken, and stayed the other Senators that were not of the conspiracie, to haue tolde them

Brutus with his countenaunce encouraged his fearefull consortes.

** In Cæsars life it is sayd, it was Decius Brutus Albinus, that kept Antonius with a talke without.*

** In Cæsars life he is called Metellus Cimber.*

The murther of Cæsar.

Casca, the first that wounded him.

A them the reaſon why they had done this facte. But they as men both affrayd and amazed, fled one vpon anothers necke in haſte to get out at the dore, and no man followed them. For it was ſet downe, and agreed betwene them, that they ſhould kill no man but *Cæſar* onely, and ſhould intreate all the reſt to looke to defend their libertie. All the conſpirators, but *Brutus*, determining vpon this matter, thought it good alſo to kill *Antonius*, bicauſe he was a wicked man, and that in nature fauored tyranny: beſides alſo, for that he was in great eſtimation with ſouldiers, hauing bene conuerſant of long time amongeſt them: and ſpecially, hauing a mind bent to great enterpriſes, he was alſo of great authoritie at that time, being Conſul with *Cæſar*. But *Brutus* would not agree to it. Firſt, for that he ſayd it was not honeſt: ſecondly, bicauſe he told them there was hope of chaunge in him. For he did not miſtruſt, but that *Antonius* be-

Why Antonius was not ſlayne with Cæſar.

B ing a noble minded and coragious man (when he ſhould knowe that *Cæſar* was dead) would willingly helpe his contry to recouer her libertie, hauing them an example vnto him, to follow their corage and vertue. So *Brutus* by this meanes ſaued *Antonius* life, who at that preſent time diſguiſed him ſelfe, and ſtale away. But *Brutus* & his conſorts, hauing their ſwords bloudy in their handes, went ſtraight to the Capitoll, perſwading the Romanes as they went, to take their libertie againe. Now, at the firſt time when the murther was newly done, there were ſodaine outcryes of people that ranne vp & downe the citie, the which in deede did the more increaſe the feare and tumult. But when they ſaw they ſlue no man, nether did ſpoyle or make hauock of any thing: then certaine of the Senators, & many of the people imboldening them ſelues, went to the Capitoll vnto them. There a great number of men being aſſembled toge-

Brutus with his conſorts went vnto the Capitoll.

C ther one after another: *Brutus* made an oration vnto them to winne the fauor of the people, and to iuſtifie that they had done. All thoſe that were by, ſayd they had done well, and cryed vnto them that they ſhould boldly come downe from the Capitoll. Whereuppon, *Brutus* and his companions came boldly downe into the market place. The reſt followed in trowpe, but *Brutus* went formoſt, very honorably compaſſed in round about with the nobleſt men of the citie, which brought him from the Capitoll, thorough the market place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people ſaw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehells of all ſortes, and had a good will to make ſome ſturre: yet being aſhamed to doe it for the reuerence they bare vnto *Brutus*, they kept ſilence, to heare what he would ſay. When *Brutus* began to ſpeake, they gaue him quiet audience: howbeit immediatly after, they ſhewed that

D they were not all contented with the murther. For when another called *Cinna* would haue ſpoken, and began to accuſe *Cæſar*: they fell into a great vprore among them, and marueloufly reuiled him. Inſomuch that the conſpirators returned againe into the Capitol. There *Brutus* being affrayd to be beſeeged, ſent back againe the noble men that came thither with him, thinking it no reaſon, that they which were no partakers of the murther, ſhould be partakers of the daunger. Then the next morning the Senate being aſſembled, and holden within the temple of the goddeſſe *Tellus*, to wete the earth: and *Antonius*, *Plancus*, and *Cicero*, hauing made a motion to the Senate in that aſſembly, that they ſhould take an order to pardon and forget all that was paſt, and to ſtabliſhe friendſhip and peace againe: it was decreed, that they ſhould not onely be pardoned, but alſo that the Conſuls ſhould referre it to the Senate what honors

Honors decreed for the murtherers of Cæſar.

E ſhould be appoynted vnto them. This being agreed vpon, the Senate brake vp, and *Antonius* the Conſul, to put them in hart that were in the Capitoll, ſent them his ſonne for a pledge. Vpon this aſſurance, *Brutus* and his companions came downe from the Capitoll, where euery man ſaluted and imbraced eche other, among the which, *Antonius* him ſelfe did bid *Caſſius* to ſupper to him: and *Lepidus* alſo bad *Brutus*, and ſo one bad another, as they had friendſhip and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called againe to counſell, did firſt of all commend *Antonius*, for that he had wiſely ſtayed and quenched the beginning of a ciuill warre: then they alſo gaue *Brutus* and his conſorts great prayſes, and laſtly they appoynted them ſeuerall gouernments of prouinces. For vnto *Brutus*, they appoynted Creta: Africk, vnto *Caſſius*: Aſia, vnto *Trebonius*: Bithynia, vnto *Cimber*: and vnto the o-

F ther *Decius Brutus Albinus*, Gavle on this ſide the Alpes. When this was done, they came to talke of *Cæſars* will and teſtament, and of his funeralls and tombe. Then *Antonius* thinking good his teſtament ſhould be red openly, and alſo that his body ſhould be honorably buried,

Cæſars will, & funeralls.

and not in hugger mugger, leaſt the people might thereby take occaſion to be worſe offended if they did otherwiſe: *Caſſius* ſtowtly ſpake againſt it. But *Brutus* went with the motion, & agreed vnto it: wherein it ſeemeth he committed a ſecond fault. For the firſt fault he did was, when he would not conſent to his fellow conſpirators, that *Antonius* ſhould be ſlayne: And therefore he was iuſtly accuſed, that thereby he had ſaued and ſtrengthened a ſtronge & grieuous enemy of their conſpiracy. The ſecond fault was, when he agreed that *Cæſars* funeralls ſhould be as *Antonius* would haue them: the which in deede marred all. For firſt of all, when *Cæſars* teſtament was openly red amonge them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed vnto euery Citizen of Rome, 75. Drachmas a man, and that he left his gardens and arbors vnto the people, which he had on this ſide of the riuer of Tyber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built: the people then loued him, and were maruelous ſory for him. Afterwards when *Cæſars* body was brought into the market place, *Antonius* making his funerall oration in praiſe of the dead, according to the auncient cuſtom of Rome, and perceiuing that his wordes moued the common people to compaſſion: he framed his eloquence to make their harts yerne the more, and taking *Cæſars* gowne all bloudy in his hand, he layed it open to the ſight of them all, ſhewing what a number of cuts and holes it had vpon it. Therewithall the people fell preſently into ſuch a rage and mutinie, that there was no more order kept amongeſt the common people. For ſome of them cryed out, kill the murtherers: others plucked vp formes, tables, and ſtalles about the market place, as they had done before at the funeralls of *Clodius*, and hauing layed them all on a heape together, they ſet them on fire, and thereuppon did put the bodye of *Cæſar*, and burnt it in the middeſt of the moſt holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was thoroughly kindled, ſome here, ſome there, tooke burning fire brands, and ranne with them to the murtherers houſes that had killed him, to ſet them a fire. Howbeit the conſpirators foreſeeing the daunger before, had wiſely prouided for them ſelues, and fled. But there was a Poet called *Cinna*, who had bene no partaker of the conſpiracy, but was alway one of *Cæſars* chiefeſt friends: he dreamed the night before, that *Cæſar* bad him to ſupper with him, and that he refuſing to goe, *Cæſar* was very importunate with him, and compelled him, ſo that at length he led him by the hand into a great darke place, where being maruelouſly affrayd, he was driuen to follow him in ſpite of his hart. This dreame put him all night into a feuer, and yet notwithſtanding, the next morning when he heard that they caried *Cæſars* body to buriall, being aſhamed not to accompany his funerals: he went out of his houſe, and thruſt him ſelf into the preaſe of the common people that were in a great vprore. And bicauſe ſome one called him by his name, *Cinna*: the people thinking he had bene that *Cinna*, who in an oration he made had ſpoken very euill of *Cæſar*, they falling vpon him in their rage, ſlue him outright in the market place. This made *Brutus* and his companions more affrayd, then any other thing, next vnto the chaunge of *Antonius*. Wherefore they got them out of Rome, and kept at the firſt in the citie of Antium, hoping to returne againe to Rome, when the furie of the people were a litle aſſwaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, conſidering that they had to deale with a fickle and vnconſtant multitude, eaſye to be caried, and that the Senate ſtoode for them: who notwithſtanding made no enquiery of them that had torne poore *Cinna* the Poet in peeces, but cauſed them to be ſought for and apprehended, that went with fire brands to ſet fire of the conſpirators houſes. The people growing weary now of *Antonius* pride and inſolency, who ruled all things in manner with abſolute power: they deſired that *Brutus* might returne againe, and it was alſo looked for, that *Brutus* would come him ſelfe in perſon to playe the playes which were due to the people, by reaſon of his office of Prætorſhip. But *Brutus* vnderſtanding that many of *Cæſars* ſouldiers which ſerued vnder him in the warres, and that alſo had lands and houſes giuen them in the cities where they lay, did lye in wayte for him to kill him, and that they dayly by ſmall companies came by one and by one into Rome: he durſt no more returne thither, but yet the people had the pleaſure and paſtyme in his abſence, to ſee the games and ſportes he made them, which were ſumptuouſlie ſet foorth and furniſhed with all thinges neceſſarie, ſparing for no coſt. For he had bought a great number of ſtraunge beaſtes, of the which he would not geue one of them to any frende he had, but that they ſhoulde all be employed in his

Brutus committed two great faults after Cæſars death.

Antonius funerall oration for Cæſar.

The ſtraunge dreame of Cinna the Poet.

The murder of Cinna the Poet, being miſtaken for an other of that name.

Brutus and his conſorts doe flye from Rome.

Brutus playes and ſportes at Rome in his abſence.

A his games: and went him ſelfe as farre as BYZANTIVM, to ſpeake to ſome players of comedies and Muſitions that were there. And further he wrote vnto his friends for one *Canutius* an excellent player, that whatſoeuer they did, they ſhould intreate him to play in theſe playes: For, ſayd he, it is no reaſon to compell any GRÆCIAN, vnles he will come of his owne good will. Moreouer, he wrote alſo vnto *Cicero*, and earneſtly prayed him in any caſe to be at theſe playes. Now the ſtate of ROME ſtanding in theſe termes, there fell out an other chaunge and alteracion, when the younge man *Octauius Cæſar* came to ROME. He was the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſars* Nece, whome he had adopted for his ſonne, and made his heire, by his laſt will and teſtament. But when *Iulius Cæſar* his adopted father was ſlayne, he was in the citie of APOLLONIA, where he ſtudied tarying for him, bicauſe he was determined to make warre with the

Octauius Cæſars comming to Rome.

B PARTHIANS: but when he heard the newes of his death, hę returned againe to ROME, where to begin to curry fauor with the common people, he firſt of all tooke vpon him his adopted fathers name, & made diſtribution amonge them of the money which his father had bequeathed vnto them. By this meanes he troubled *Antonius* ſorely, and by force of money, got a great number of his fathers ſouldiers together, that had ſerued in the warres with him. And *Cicero* him ſelfe, for the great malice he bare *Antonius*, did fauor his proceedings. But *Brutus* marueloufly reproued him for it, and wrote vnto him, that he ſeemed by his doinges not to be ſory to haue a Maiſter, but onely to be affrayd to haue one that ſhould hate him: and that all his doinges in the common wealth did witneſſe, that he choſe to be ſubiect to a milde and curteous bondage, ſith by his words and writings he did commend this young man *Octauius*

Brutus reproued Cicero for taking part with Octauius Cæſar.

C *Cæſar*, to be a good and gentle Lorde. For our predeceſſors ſayde he, would neuer abyde to be ſubiect to any Maiſters, how gentle or mild ſoeuer they were: and for his owne part that he had neuer reſolutely determined with him ſelfe to make warre, or peace, but otherwiſe, that he was certenly minded neuer to be ſlaue nor ſubiect. And therefore he wondred much at him, how *Cicero* coulde be affrayd of the daunger of ciuill warres, and would not be affrayd of a ſhameful peace: and that to thruſt *Antonius* out of the vſurped tyranny, in recompence he went about to ſtabliſhe younge *Octauius Cæſar* tyranne. Theſe were the contents of *Brutus* firſt letters he wrote vnto *Cicero*. Now, the citie of ROME being deuided in two factions, ſome taking part with *Antonius*, other alſo leaning vnto *Octauius Cæſar*, and the ſouldiers making port ſale of their ſeruice to him that would giue moſt: *Brutus* ſeeing the ſtate of ROME would

D be vtterly ouerthrowen, he determined to goe out of ITALY, and went a foote through the contry of LVKE, vnto the citie of ELEA, ſtanding by the ſea. There *Porcia* being ready to departe from her husband *Brutus*, and to returne to ROME, did what ſhe could to diſſemble the griefe and ſorow ſhe felt at her hart: But a certaine paynted table bewrayed her in the ende, although vntill that time ſhe alwayes ſhewed a conſtant and pacient mind. The deuiſe of the table was taken out of the Greeke ſtories, howe *Andromachè* accompanied her husband *Hector*, when he went out of the citie of TROY to goe to the warres, and how *Hector* deliuered her his litle ſonne, and how her eyes were neuer of him. *Porcia* ſeeing this picture, and likening her ſelfe to be in the ſame caſe, ſhe fell a weeping: and comming thither oftentymes in a day to ſee it, ſhe wept ſtill. *Acilius* one of *Brutus* friendes perceiuing that, rehearſed the verſes *Andromachè* ſpeaketh to this purpoſe in *Homer*:

Porcias ſorowfull returne to Rome for the abſence of her husband Brutus.

The ſtory of Hector and Andromache ſet forth in painted tables

E *Thou Hector art my father, and my mother, and my brother,*
And husband eke, and in all: I mind not any other.

Then *Brutus* ſmyling, aunſwered againe: but yet (ſayd he) I can not for my part ſay vnto *Porcia*, as *Hector* aunſwered *Andromache* in the ſame place of the Poet:

Tush, meddle thou vvith vveying dewly ovvt
Thy mayds their task, and pricking on a clovvt.

For in deede, the weake conſtitution of her body, doth not ſuffer her to performe in ſhew, the valliant acts that we are able to doe: but for corage and conſtant minde, ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe as ſtowt in the defence of her contry, as any of vs. *Bibulus*, the ſonne of *Porcia*, reporteth

F this ſtory thus. Now *Brutus* imbarking at ELEA in LVKE, he ſayled directly towards ATHENS. When he arriued there, the people of ATHENS receiued him with common ioyes of reioycing, and honorable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whome he went

How Brutus beſtowed his time at Athens.

daily to heare the lectures of *Theomneſtus* ACADEMICK Philoſopher, and of *Cratippus* the PERIPATETICK, and ſo would talke with them in Philoſophie, that it ſeemed he left all other matters, and gaue himſelfe onely vnto ſtudye: howbeit ſecretly notwithſtanding, he made preparation for warre. For he ſent *Heroſtratus* into MACEDON, to winne the Captaines and ſouldiers that were vpon thoſe marches, & he did alſo enterteyne all the younge gentlemen of the ROMANES, whome he founde in ATHENS ſtudying Philoſophie: amongeſt them he found *Ciceroes* ſonne, whome he highly prayſed and commended, ſaying, that whether he waked or ſlept, he found him of a noble mind and diſpoſition, he did in nature ſo much hate tyrannes. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into armes: and being aduertiſed that there came out of ASIA a certaine fleete of ROMANE ſhips that had good ſtore of money in them, and that the Captaine of thoſe ſhippes (who was an honeſt man, and his famillier friende) came towards ATHENS: he went to meete him as farre as the Ile of CARYSTOS, and hauing ſpoken with him there, he handled him ſo, that he was contented to leaue his ſhippes in his hands. Whereuppon he made him a notable banket at his houſe, bicauſe it was on his birth day. When the feaſt day came, & that they began to drinke luſtely one to another: the gheſts dranke to the victorie of *Brutus*, and the libertie of the ROMANES. *Brutus* therefore to encorage them further, called for a bigger cuppe, & holding it in his hand, before he dranke ſpake this alowd:

Brutus commendeth Ciceroes ſonne.

Brutus prepareth him ſelfe to warre.

My deſtiny and Phœbus are agreede,
To bring me to my finall end vvith ſpeede.

And for proofe hereof, it is reported, that the ſame day he fought his laſt battell by the citie of PHILIPPES, as he came out of his tent, he gaue his men for the word and ſignall of battell, *Phœbus*: ſo that it was thought euer ſince, that this his ſodaine crying out at the feaſt, was a prognoſtication of his misfortune that ſhould happen. After this, *Antiſtius* gaue him of the money he caried into ITALY, 50. Myriades. Furthermore, all *Pompeys* ſouldiers that ſtragled vp and downe THESSALY, came with very good will vnto him. He tooke from *Cinna* alſo, fiue hundred horſemen, which he caried into ASIA, vnto *Dolabella*. After that, he went by ſea vnto the city of DEMETRIADE, and there tooke a great deale of armor and munition which was going to *Antonius*: and the which had bene made and forged there by *Iulius Cæſars* commaundement, for the warres againſt the PARTHIANS. Furthermore, *Hortenſius* gouernor of MACEDON, did reſigne the gouernment thereof vnto him. Beſides, all the Princes, kings and noble men thereabouts, came and ioyned with him, when it was told him that *Caius*, (*Antonius* brother) comming out of ITALY, had paſſed the ſea, & came with great ſpeede towards the citie of DYRRACHIVM, and APOLLONIA, to get the ſouldiers into his hands, which *Gabinius* had there. *Brutus* therefore to preuent him, went preſently with a fewe of his men in the middeſt of winter when it ſnewe hard, and tooke his way thorough hard and fowle contries, and made ſuch ſpeede in deede, that he was there long before *Antonius* ſumpters, that caried the vittells. So that when he came neare vnto DYRRACHIVM, a diſeaſe tooke him which the Phiſitions call Βουλιμία, to ſay, a cormorant and vnſatiable appetite to eate: by reaſon of the cold and paynes he had taken. This ſicknes chaunceth often, both to men & beaſts, that trauaile when it hath ſnowen: Either bicauſe the naturall heate being retyred into the inward parts of the body, by the coldnes of the ayer hardening the skinne, doth ſtraight digeſt and conſume the meate: or els bicauſe a ſharpe ſuttell wind comming by reaſon of the ſnow when it is molten, doth pearce into the body, and driueth out the naturall heate which was caſt outward. For it ſeemeth, that the heate being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withall comming out of the skinne of the body: cauſeth the ſweates that follow the diſeaſe. But hereof we haue ſpoken at large in other places. *Brutus* being very faynt, and hauing nothing in his campe to eate: his ſouldiers were compelled to goe to their enemies, & comming to the gates of the citie, they prayed the warders to helpe them to bread. When they heard in what caſe *Brutus* was, they brought him both meate and drinke: in requitall whereof, afterwards when he wanne the citie, he did not onely intreate and vſe the Citizens thereof curteouſly, but all the inhabitants of the citie alſo for their ſakes. Now, when *Caius Antonius* was arriued in the citie of APOLLONIA, he ſent vnto the ſouldiers thereabouts to come

A ſtrannge diſeaſe tooke Brutus at Dyrrachium. VVhy by ſnow this hungry diſeaſe taketh men that are wearied with trauell.

Brutus thankfulnes, and clemency.

vnto

A vnto him. But when he vnderſtoode that they went all to *Brutus*, and furthermore, that the Citizens of Apollonia did fauor him much: he then forſooke that citie, and went vnto the citie of Bvthrotvs, but yet he loſt three of his enſeignes by the way, that were ſlayne euery man of them. Then he ſought by force to winne certaine places of ſtrength about Bylis, & to driue *Brutus* men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore to obtayne his purpoſe, he fought a battell with *Cicero*, the ſonne of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, by whome he was ouercome. For *Brutus* made the younger *Cicero* a Captaine, and did many notable exployes by his ſeruice. Shortly after, hauing ſtolen vpon *Caius Antonius* in certein mariſhes farre from the place from whence he fled: he would not ſet on him with furie, but onely road round about him, commaunding his ſouldiers to ſpare him & his men, as reckoning them all his own
B without ſtroke ſtriking: and ſo in deede it hapned. For they yelded them ſelues, and their Captaine *Antonius*, vnto *Brutus*: ſo that *Brutus* had now a great army about him. Now *Brutus* kept this *Caius Antonius* long time in his office, and neuer tooke from him the markes and ſignes of his Conſulſhip, although many of his friends, & *Cicero* among others, wrote vnto him to put him to death. But when he ſawe *Antonius* ſecretly practiſed with his Captaines to make ſome alteracion: then he ſent him into a ſhippe, and made him to be kept there. When the ſouldiers whome *C. Antonius* had corrupted, were gotten into the citie of Apollonia, and ſent from thence vnto *Brutus* to come vnto them: he made them aunſwer, that it was not the maner of Romane Captaines to come to the ſouldiers, but the ſouldiers to come to the Captaine, and to craue pardon for their offences committed. Thereuppon they came to him, and
C he pardoned them. So *Brutus* preparing to goe into Asia, newes came vnto him of the great chaunge at Rome. For *Octauius Cæſar* was in armes, by commaundement and authoritie from the Senate, againſt *Marcus Antonius*. But after that he had driuen *Antonius* out of Italy, the Senate then began to be affrayd of him: bicauſe he ſued to be Conſul, which was contrary to the law, and kept a great army about him, when the Empire of Rome had no neede of them. On the other ſide, *Octauius Cæſar* perceiuing the Senate ſtayed not there, but turned vnto *Brutus* that was out of Italy, and that they appoynted him the gouernment of certaine prouinces: then he began to be affrayd for his part, and ſent vnto *Antonius* to offer him his friendſhip. Then comming on with his armye neare to Rome, he made him ſelfe to be choſen Conſul, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a ſtrippling or ſpringal of twenty yeare
D old, as him ſelfe reporteth in his owne commentaries. So when he was Conſul, he preſently appoynted Iudges to accuſe *Brutus* and his companions, for killing of the nobleſt perſon in Rome, and chiefeſt Magiſtrate, without law or iudgement: and made *L. Cornificius* accuſe *Brutus*, and *M. Agrippa*, *Caſſius*. So, the parties accuſed were condemned, bicauſe the Iudges were compelled to giue ſuch ſentence. The voyce went, that when the Herauld (according to the cuſtom after ſentence giuen) went vp to the chaier or pulpit for orations, & proclaymed *Brutus* with a lowd voyce, ſummoning him to appeare in perſon before the Iudges: the people that ſtoode by ſighed openly, and the noble men that were preſent honge downe their heads, & durſt not ſpeake a word. Among them, the teares fell from *Publius Silicius* eyes: who ſhortly after, was one of the proſcripts or outlawes appoynted to be ſlayne. After that, theſe three
E *Octauius Cæſar*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, made an agreement betwene them ſelues, and by thoſe articles deuided the prouinces belonging to the Empire of Rome amonge them ſelues, and did ſet vp billes of proſcription and outlary, condemning two hundred of the nobleſt men of Rome to ſuffer death, and among that number, *Cicero* was one. Newes being brought thereof into Macedon, *Brutus* being then inforced to it, wrote vnto *Hortenſius*, that he ſhould put *Caius Antonius* to death, to be reuenged of the death of *Cicero*, and of the other *Brutus*, of the which the one was his friend, and the other his kinſeman. For this cauſe therefore, *Antonius* afterwards taking *Hortenſius* at the battell of Philippes, he made him to be ſlayne vpon his brothers tombe. But then *Brutus* ſayd, that he was more aſhamed of the cauſe for the which *Cicero* was ſlayne, then he was otherwiſe ſory for his death: and that he could not but greatly
F reproue his friendes he had at Rome, who were ſlaues more through their owne fault, then through their valliantnes or manhood which vſurped the tyranny: conſidering that they were ſo cowardly and faynt harted, as to ſuffer the ſight of thoſe things before their eyes, the report

C. Antonius yelded vnto Brutus.

Octauius Cæſar ioyneth with Antonius.

Brutus accuſed, and condemned, by Octauius Cæſars meanes, for the death of Iulius Cæſar.

The Triumuirate.

C. Antonius murdered.

whereof ſhould onely haue grieued them to the hart. Nowe when *Brutus* had paſſed ouer his army (that was very great) into ASIA, he gaue order for the gathering of a great number of ſhippes together, aſwell in the coaſt of BITHYNIA, as alſo in the citie of CYZICVM, bicauſe he would haue an army by ſea: and him ſelfe in the meane time went vnto the cities, taking order for all things, and giuing audience vnto Princes and noble men of the contry that had to doe with him. Afterwards, he ſent vnto *Caſſius* in SYRIA, to turne him from his iorney into ÆGYPT, telling him that it was not for the conqueſt of any kingdom for them ſelues, that they wandred vp and downe in that ſort, but contrarily, that it was to reſtore their contry againe to their libertie: and that the multitude of ſouldiers they gathered together, was to ſubdue the tyrannes that would keepe them in ſlauery and ſubiection. Wherefore regarding their chiefe purpoſe and intent, they ſhould not be farre from ITALY, as neare as they could poſſible, but ſhould rather make all the haſte they could, to helpe their contry men. *Caſſius* beleued him, & returned. *Brutus* went to meete him, and they both met at the citie of SMYRNA, which was the firſt time that they ſaw together, ſince they tooke leaue eche of other, at the hauen of PIRÆA in ATHENS: the one going into SYRIA, and the other into MACEDON. So they were maruelous ioyfull, and no leſſe coragious, when they ſaw the great armies together which they had both leauied: conſidering that they departing out of ITALY, like naked and poore baniſhed men, without armor and money, nor hauing any ſhippe ready, nor ſouldier about them, nor any one towne at their commaundement: yet notwithſtanding, in a ſhort time after they were now met together, hauing ſhippes, money and ſouldiers enowe, both footemen & horſemen, to fight for the Empire of ROME. Now *Caſſius* would haue done *Brutus* as much honor, as *Brutus* did vnto him: but *Brutus* moſt commonly preuented him, and went firſt vnto him, both bicauſe he was the elder man, as alſo for that he was ſickly of bodye. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilfull in warres, but otherwiſe maruelous chollerick and cruell, who ſought to rule men by feare, rather then with lenitie: and on the other ſide he was too familier with his friends, and would ieſt too brodely with them. But *Brutus* in contrary manner, for his vertue and valliantnes, was wellbeloued of the people and his owne, eſteemed of noble men, and hated of no man, not ſo much as of his enemies: bicauſe he was a maruelous lowly and gentle perſon, noble minded, and would neuer be in any rage, nor caried away with pleaſure and couetouſnes, but had euer an vpright mind with him, and would neuer yeeld to any wronge or iniuſtice, the which was the chiefeſt cauſe of his fame, of his riſing, and of the good will that euery man bare him: for they were all perſwaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly beleue, that if *Pompey* him ſelfe had ouercome *Cæſar*, he would haue reſigned his authoritie to the law: but rather they were of opinion, that he would ſtill keepe the ſouerainty and abſolute gouernment in his hands, taking onely, to pleaſe the people, the title of Conſul or Dictator, or of ſome other more ciuill office. And as for *Caſſius*, a hot, chollerick, & cruell man, that would oftentymes be caried away from iuſtice for gayne: it was certainly thought that he made warre, and put him ſelfe into ſundry daungers, more to haue abſolute power and authoritie, then to defend the libertie of his contry. For, they that will alſo conſider others, that were elder men then they, as *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Carbo*: it is out of doubt that the ende and hope of their victorie, was to be Lordes of their contry: and in manner they did all confeſſe that they fought for the tyranny, and to be Lordes of the Empire of ROME. And in contrary manner, his enemies them ſelues did neuer reproue *Brutus*, for any ſuch chaunge or deſire. For, it was ſayd that *Antonius* ſpake it openly diuers tymes, that he thought, that of all them that had ſlayne *Cæſar*, there was none but *Brutus* only that was moued to doe it, as thinking the acte commendable of it ſelfe: but that all the other conſpirators did conſpire his death, for ſome priuate malice or enuy, that they otherwiſe did beare vnto him. Hereby it appeareth, that *Brutus* did not truſt ſo much to the power of his army, as he did to his owne vertue: as is to be ſeene by his writings. For approaching neare to the inſtant daunger, he wrote vnto *Pomponius Atticus*, that his affayres had the beſt happe that could be. For, ſayd he, eyther I will ſet my contry at libertie by battell, or by honorable death rid me of this bondage. And furthermore, that they being certeine and aſſured of all thinges els, this one thing onely was doubtfull to them: whether they ſhould liue or dye with libertie. He wrote alſo that *Antonius* had

Brutus and Caſſius doe ioyne armies together.

The ſharpe and cruell condicions of Caſſius.

Brutus gentle and fayer condicions.

Brutus intent good, if he had ouercomen.

Antonius teſtimonie of Brutus.

Brutus noble mind to his contry.

A had his due paiment for his folly. For where he might haue bene a partner equally of the glory of *Brutus*, *Caßius*, and *Cato*, & haue made one with them: he liked better to chooſe to be ioyned with *Octauius Cæſar* alone: with whome, though now he be not ouercome by vs, yet ſhall he ſhortly after alſo haue warre with him. And truely he proued a true Prophet, for ſo came it in deede to paſſe. Now whileſt *Brutus* and *Caßius* were together in the citie of SMYRNA: *Brutus* prayed *Caßius* to let him haue ſome part of his money whereof he had great ſtore, bicauſe all that he could rappe and rend of his ſide, he had beſtowed it in making ſo great a number of ſhippes, that by meanes of them they ſhould keepe all the ſea at their commaundement. *Caßius* friendes hindered this requeſt, and earneſtly diſſwaded him from it: perſwading him, that it was no reaſon that *Brutus* ſhould haue the money which *Caßius* had gotten together by

Brutus, a true Prophet of Antonius.

B ſparing, and leauied with great euill will of the people their ſubiects, for him to beſtowe liberally vppon his ſouldiers, and by this meanes to winne their good willes, by *Caßius* charge. This notwithſtanding, *Caßius* gaue him the thirde parte of his totall ſumme. So *Caſſius* and *Brutus* then departing from eche other, *Caſſius* tooke the citie of RHODES, where he too diſhoneſtly & cruelly vſed him ſelfe: although when he came into the citie, he aunſwered ſome of the inhabitants, who called him Lord and king, that he was nether Lord nor king, but he onely that had ſlaine him, that would haue bene Lord and king. *Brutus* departing from thence, ſent vnto the LYCIANS, to require money, and men of warre. But there was a certaine Orator called *Naucrates*, that made the cities to rebell againſt him, inſomuch that the contry men of that contry kept the ſtraights and litle mountaines, thinking by that meanes to ſtoppe *Brutus*

Caßius wanne the citie of Rhodes.

C paſſage. Wherefore *Brutus* ſent his horſemen againſt them, who ſtale vppon them as they were at dinner, and ſlue ſix hundred of them: and taking all the ſmall townes and villages, he did let all the priſoners he tooke, goe without payment of ranſome, hoping by this his great curteſie to winne them, to drawe all the reſt of the contry vnto him. But they were ſo fierce and obſtinate, that they would mutyne for euery ſmall hurt they receyued as they paſſed by their contry, and did deſpiſe his curteſie and good nature: vntill that at length he went to beſeege the citie of the XANTHIANS, within the which were ſhut vppe the cruelleſt and moſte warrelikeſt men of LYCIA. There was a ryuer that ranne by the walls of the citie, in the which many men ſaued them ſelues, ſwymming betweene two waters, and ſledde: howbeit they layed nettes ouerthwart the ryuer, and tyed litle bells on the toppe of them, to

Brutus ioſte in Lycia.

D ſownd when any man was taken in the nettes. The XANTHIANS made a ſalye out by night, and came to fire certaine engynes of battery that bette downe their walls: but they were preſently driuen in agayne by the ROMANES, ſo ſoone as they were diſcouered. The winde by chaunce was maruelous bygge, and increaſed the flame ſo ſore, that it violently caried it into the cranewes of the wall of the citie, ſo that the next houſes vnto them were ſtraight ſet a fire thereby. Wherefore *Brutus* beeing affrayde that all the citie woulde take of a fire, he preſently commaunded his men to quenche the fire, and to ſaue the towne if it might be. But the LYCIANS at that inſtant fell into ſuch a frenſie, and ſtraunge and horrible diſpayre, that no man can well expreſſe it: and a man can not more rightly compare or lyken it, then to a franticke and moſte deſperate deſire to dye. For all of them together, with their wiues

The citie of Xanthus ſet a fire.

The deſperate ende of the Xanthians.

E and children, Maiſters and ſeruaunts, and of all ſortes of age whatſoeuer, fought vppon the ramper of their walles, and did caſt downe ſtones and fierworkes on the ROMANES, which were very buſie in quenching the flame of the fire, to ſaue the citie. And in contrary manner alſo, they brought fagotts, drye wodde, and reedes, to bringe the fire further into the citie aſmuch as might bee, increaſing it by ſuche thinges as they brought. Nowe when the fire had gotten into all the partes of the citie, and that the flame burnt bright in euery place: *Brutus* beeing ſorye to ſee it, gotte vppon his horſe, and rode rownde about the walles of the citie, to ſee if it were poſſible to ſaue it, and helde vppe his handes to the inhabitants, praying them to pardon their cityes, and to ſaue them ſelues. Howbeit they woulde not be perſwaded, but did all that they coulde poſſible to caſt them ſelues away;

F not onely men and women, but alſo litle children. For ſome of them weeping and crying out, did caſt them ſelues into the fire: others headlong throwing them ſelues downe from the walles, brake their neckes: others alſo made their neckes bare, to the naked

swordes of their fathers, and vndid their clothes, praying them to kill them their owne A
handes. After the citye was burnt, they founde a woman hanged vppe by the necke, holding one of her children in her hande deade by her, hanged vppe also: and in the other hande a burning torche setting fire on her house. Some woulde haue had *Brutus* to haue seene her, but he woulde not see so horrible and tragicall a sight: but when he heard it, he fell a weeping, and caused a Herauld to make proclamation by sownd of trompet, that he woulde giue a certaine summe of money, to euery souldier that coulde saue a XANTHIAN. So there were not (as it is reported) aboue fiftye of them saued, and yet they were saued against their willes. Thus the XANTHIANS hauing ended the reuolution of their fatall destinie, after a longe continuance of tyme: they did through their desperation, renue the memorie of the lamentable calamities of their Auncestors. Who in like manner, in the warres B
of the PERSIANS, did burne their citie, and destroyed them selues. Therefore *Brutus* likewise beseeging the citie of the PATARBIANS, perceyuing that they stowtly resisted him: he was also affrayde of that, and could not well tell whether he should giue assault to it, or not, least they woulde fall into the dispayre and desperation of the XANTHIANS. Howbeit hauing taken certaine of their women prisoners, he sent them backe agayne, without payment of ransome. Nowe they that were the wiues and Daughters of the noblest men of the citie, reporting vnto their parents, that they had founde *Brutus* a mercifull, iuste, and curteous man: they perswaded them to yeelde them selues and their citie vnto him, the which they did. So after they had thus yeelded them selues, diuers other cities also followed them, and did the like: and founde *Brutus* more mercifull and curteous, then they thought they should C
haue done, but specially farre aboue *Cassius*. For *Cassius*, about the selfe same tyme, after he had compelled the RHODIANS euery man to deliuer all the ready money they had in gold and siluer in their houses, the which being brought together, amounted to the summe of eyght thowsande talents: yet he condemned the citie besides, to paye the summe of fiue hundred talents more. Where *Brutus* in contrary manner, after he had leauyed of all the contrye of LYCIA but a hundred and fiftye talents onely: he departed thence into the contrye of IONIA, and did them no more hurt. Nowe *Brutus* in all this iorney, did many notable actes and worthy of memorie, bothe for rewarding, as also in punishing those that had deserued it: Wherefore amonge the rest, I will tell you of one thinge, of the which he him selfe, and all the noble men of the ROMANES were maruelous glad. When *Pompey* the great (ha- D
uing lost the battell against *Iulius Cæsar*, in the fieldes of PHARSALIA) came and fell vppon the coast of ÆGYPT, hard by the citie of PELVSIVM: those that were protectors to the young king *Ptolomy*, beeing then but a childe, sate in counsell with his seruaunts and friendes, what they shoulde determine in that case. They were not all of one mynde in this consultacion: for some thought it good to receyue *Pompey*, others also, that they shoulde driue him out of ÆGYPT. But there was a certayne Rethoritian called *Theodotus*, that was borne in the Ile of CHIO, who was the kinges Schoolemaister to teache him Rethoricke. He beeing called to this counsell for lacke of sufficienter men, sayde, that bothe the one and the other side went awrye, aswell those that were of opinion to receyue *Pompey*, as the other that woulde haue had him driuen awaye: and that the best waye was (considering the present E
tyme) that they shoulde laye holde on him, and kill him, adding withall, this sentence, that a deade man byteth not. The whole counsell stucke to this opinion. So, for a notable example of incredible misfortune, and vnlooked for vnto *Pompey*: *Pompey* the great was slayne, by the motion and counsell of this wicked Rethoritian *Theodotus*, as *Theodotus* afterwardes did him selfe boast of it. But when *Iulius Cæsar* came afterwardes into ÆGYPT, the wicked men that consented to this counsell, had their payment according to their deserts: for they dyed euery man of them a wicked death, sauing this *Theodotus*, whome fortune respyted a litle while lenger, and yet in that tyme he liued a poore and miserable life, neuer tarying longe in any one place. So *Brutus* going vppe and downe ASIA, *Theodotus* coulde hyde him selfe no lenger, but was brought vnto *Brutus*, where he suffered paines of death: F
so that he wanne more fame by his deathe, then euer he did in his life. About that tyme, *Brutus* sent to praye *Cassius* to come to the citye of SARDIS, and so he did. *Brutus*

The Patareians doe yeld them selues vnto Brutus.

The extreme couetousnes and cruelsie of Cassius to the Rhodians.

Brutus clemẽcy vnto the Lycians.

Theodotus borne in Chio a Rethoritian Scholemaister to Ptolomy the young king of Ægypt.

Theodotus saying: a dead man biteth not.

Theodotus Chian, the Rethoritian that gaue counsell to

A vnderſtanding of his comming, went to meete him with all his friendes. There, both their armies being armed, they called them both Emperors. Nowe, as it commonly happeth in great affayres betwene two perſons, both of them hauing many friends, and ſo many Captaines vnder them: there ranne tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a litle chamber together, and bad euery man auoyde, and did ſhut the dores to them. Then they beganne to powre out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and lowde, earneſtly accuſing one another, and at length fell both a weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber hearing them lowd within, and angry betwene them ſelues, they were both amaſed, and affrayd alſo leſt it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commaunded, that no man ſhould come to them. Notwithſtanding, one

kill Pompey was put to death by Brutus.

Brutus and Caſſius doe meete at the citie of Sardis.

Brutus and Caſſius complaints one vnto the other.

B *Marcus Phaonius*, that had bene a friend and follower of *Cato* while he liued, & tooke vpon him to counterfeate a Philoſopher, not with wiſedom and diſcretion, but with a certaine bedlem and frantick motion: he would needes come into the chamber, though the men offered to keepe him out. But it was no boote to let *Phaonius*, when a mad moode or toye tooke him in the head: for he was a hot haſty man, & ſodaine in all his doings, and cared for neuer a Senator of them all. Now, though he vſed this bold manner of ſpeeche after the profeſſion of the Cynick Philoſophers, (as who would ſay, doggs) yet this boldnes did no hurt many times, becauſe they did but laugh at him to ſee him ſo mad. This *Phaonius* at that time, in deſpite of the doorekeepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine ſcoffing & mocking geſture which he counterfeated of purpoſe, he rehearſed the verſes which old *Neſtor* ſayd in *Homer*,

M. Phaonius a follower of Cato.

Cynick Philoſophers, counted doggs.

C *My Lords, I pray you harken both to mee,*
For I haue ſeene moe yeares than ſuchye three.

Caſſius fel a laughing at him: but *Brutus* thruſt him out of the chamber, & called him dogge, and counterfeate Cynick. Howbeit his comming in brake their ſtrife at that time, and ſo they left eche other. The ſelfe ſame night *Caſſius* prepared his ſupper in his chamber, and *Brutus* brought his friendes with him. So when they were ſet at ſupper, *Phaonius* came to ſit downe after he had waſhed. *Brutus* tolde him alowd, no man ſent for him, and bad them ſet him at the vpper end: meaning in deede at the lower ende of the bed. *Phaonius* made no ceremonie, but thruſt in amongeſt the middeſt of them, and made all the companye laugh at him: So they were merry all ſupper tyme, and full of their Philoſophie. The next daye after, *Brutus*, vpon

D complaynt of the SARDIANS, did condemne and noted *Lucius Pella* for a defamed perſon, that had bene a Prætor of the ROMANES, and whome *Brutus* had giuen charge vnto: for that he was accuſed and conuicted of robberie, and pilferie in his office. This iudgement much miſliked *Caſſius*: bicauſe he him ſelfe had ſecretly (not many dayes before) warned two of his friends, attainted and conuicted of the like offences, and openly had cleered them: but yet he did not therefore leaue to employ them in any manner of ſeruice as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproued *Brutus*, for that he would ſhew him ſelfe ſo ſtraight and ſeuere in ſuch a tyme, as was meeter to beare a litle, then to take thinges at the worſt. *Brutus* in contrary manner aunſwered, that he ſhoulde remember the Ides of Marche, at which tyme they ſlue *Iulius Cæſar*: who nether pilled nor polled the contrye, but onely was a fauorer and

Iulius Cæſar ſlayne at the Ides of March

E ſuborner of all them that did robbe and ſpoyle, by his countenaunce and authoritie. And if there were any occaſion whereby they might honeſtly ſette aſide iuſtice and equitie: they ſhould haue had more reaſon to haue ſuffered *Cæſars* friendes, to haue robbed and done what wronge and iniurie they had would, then to beare with their owne men. For then ſayde he, they could but haue ſayde they had bene cowards: and nowe they may accuſe vs of iniuſtice, beſide the paynes we take, and the daunger we put our ſelues into. And thus may we ſee what *Brutus* intent and purpoſe was. But as they both prepared to paſſe ouer againe, out of ASIA into EVROPE: there went a rumor that there appeared a wonderfull ſigne vnto him. *Brutus* was a carefull man, and ſlept very litle, both for that his dyet was moderate, as alſo bicauſe he was continually occupied. He neuer ſlept in the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the

The wonderfull conſtancy of Brutus, in matters of iuſtice and equitie. Brutus care, and watching.

F tyme he was driuen to be alone, and when euery bodye els tooke their reſt. But nowe whileſt he was in warre, and his heade euer buſily occupied to thinke of his affayres, and what would happen: after he had ſlumbered a litle after ſupper, he ſpent all the reſt of the night in diſ-

patching of his waightieſt cauſes, and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leyſure left him, he would read ſome booke till the third watche of the night, at what tyme the Captaines, pety Captaines and Colonells, did vſe to come vnto him. So, being ready to goe into EVROPE, one night very late (when all the campe tooke quiet reſt) as he was in his tent with a litle light, thinking of waighty matters: he thought he heard one come in to him, and caſting his eye towards the doore of his tent, that he ſaw a wonderfull ſtraunge and monſtruous ſhape of a body comming towards him, and ſayd neuer a word. So *Brutus* boldly asked what he was, a god, or a man, and what cauſe brought him thither. The ſpirit aunſwered him, I am thy euill ſpirit, *Brutus*: and thou ſhalt ſee me by the citie of PHILIPPES. *Brutus* beeing no otherwiſe affrayd, replyed againe vnto it: well, then I ſhall ſee thee agayne. The ſpirit preſently vaniſhed away: and *Brutus* called his men vnto him, who tolde him that they heard no noyſe, nor ſawe any thinge at all. Thereuppon *Brutus* returned agayne to thinke on his matters as he did before: and when the daye brake, he went vnto *Caſſius*, to tell him what viſion had appeared vnto him in the night. *Caſſius* beeing in opinion an EPICVRIAN, and reaſoning thereon with *Brutus*, ſpake to him touching the viſion thus. In our ſecte, *Brutus*, we haue an opinion, that we doe not alwayes feele, or ſee, that which we ſuppoſe we doe both ſee and feele: but that our ſenſes beeing credulous, and therefore eaſily abuſed (when they are idle and vnoccupied in their owne obiects) are induced to imagine they ſee and conieture that, which they in truth doe not. For, our minde is quicke and cunning to worke (without eyther cauſe or matter) any thinge in the imagination whatſoeuer. And therefore the imagination is reſembled to claye, and the minde to the potter: who without any other cauſe than his fancie and pleaſure, chaungeth it into what facion and forme he will. And this doth the diuerſitie of our dreames ſhewe vnto vs. For our imagination doth vppon a ſmall fancie growe from conceit to conceit, altering both in paſſions and formes of thinges imagined. For the minde of man is euer occupied, and that continuall mouing is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cauſe of this in you. For you being by nature giuen to melancholick diſcourſing, and of late continually occupied: your wittes and ſences hauing bene ouerlabored, doe eaſilier yeelde to ſuch imaginations. For, to ſay that there are ſpirits or angells, and if there were, that they had the ſhape of men, or ſuch voyces, or any power at all to come vnto vs: it is a mockerye. And for myne owne parte, I would there were ſuche, bicauſe that we ſhoulde not onely haue ſouldiers, horſes, and ſhippes, but alſo the ayde of the goddes, to guide and further our honeſt and honorable attempts. With theſe words *Caſſius* did ſomewhat comfort and quiet *Brutus*. When they rayſed their campe, there came two Eagles that flying with a maruelous force, lighted vppon two of the foremoſte enſeignes, and alwayes followed the ſouldiers, which gaue them meate, and fedde them, vntill they came neare to the citie of PHILIPPES: and there one daye onely before the battell, they bothe flewe awaye. Now *Brutus* had conquered the moſte parte of all the people, and nations of that contry: but if there were any other citie or Captaine to ouercome, then they made all cleere before them, and ſo drewe towards the coaſts of THASSOS. There *Norbanus* lying in campe in a certaine place called the ſtraights, by another place called SYMBOLON: (which is a port of the ſea) *Caſſius* and *Brutus* compaſſed him in in ſuch ſort, that hewas driuen to forſake the place which was of great ſtrength for him, and he was alſo in daunger beſide to haue loſt all his armye. For, *Octauius Cæſar* could not followe him bicauſe of his ſicknes, and therefore ſtayed behind: whereuppon they had taken his army, had not *Antonius* ayde bene, which made ſuch wonderful ſpeede, that *Brutus* could ſcant beleue it. So *Cæſar* came not thether of ten daies after: & *Antonius* camped againſt *Caſſius*, and *Brutus* on thother ſide againſt *Cæſar*. The ROMANES called the valley betweene both campes, the PHILIPPIAN fields: and there were neuer ſeene two ſo great armies of the ROMANES, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, *Brutus* army was inferior to *Octauius Cæſars*, in number of men: but for brauery and rich furniture, *Brutus* army farre excelled *Cæſars*. For the moſt part of their armors were ſiluer and gilt, which *Brutus* had bountifully giuen them: although in all other things he taught his Captaines to liue in order without exceſſe. But for the brauery of armor, & weapõ, which ſouldiers ſhould cary in their hands, or otherwiſe weare vpon their backes: he thought

A ſpirit appeared vnto Brutus in the citie of Sardis

Caſſius opinion of ſpirits, after the Epicurians ſect.

The cauſe of dreames.

A wonderfull ſigne by two Eagles.

Brutus and Caſſius camps before the citie of Philippes againſt Octauius Cæſar, & Antonius.

Brutus ſouldiers brauely armed.

Brutus opinion for

that

A that it was an encoragement vnto them that by nature are greedy of honor, & that it maketh them also fight like deuills that loue to get, and be affrayd to lose: bicause they fight to keepe their armor and weapon, as also their goods and lands. Now when they came to muster their armies, *Octauius Cæsar* tooke the muster of his army within the trenches of his campe, & gaue his men onely a litle corne, and fiue siluer Drachmas to euery man to sacrifice to the gods, & to pray for victory. But *Brutus* skorning this miserie and niggardlines, first of all mustered his armie, and did purifie it in the fields, according to the manner of the ROMANES: and then he gaue vnto euery band a number of weathers to sacrifice, and fiftie siluer Drachmas to euery souldier. So that *Brutus* and *Cassius* souldiers were better pleased, and more coragiously bent to fight at the daye of the battell, then their enemies souldiers were. Notwithstanding, being

the bravery of souldiers, in their armor and weapons.

B busily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chaunced certaine vnlucky signes vnto *Cassius*. For one of his Sergeaunts that caried the roddes before him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backwards, the which he should haue worne on his head in the tyme of sacrificing. Moreouer it is reported also, that at another tyme before, in certaine sportes and triumphe where they caried an image of *Cassius* victorie of cleane gold, it fell by chaunce, the man stumbling that caried it. And yet further, there were seene a maruelous number of fowles of praye, that feede vpon dead carkasses: and beehiues also were founde, where bees were gathered together in a certaine place within the trenches of the campe: the which place the Soothsayers thought good to shut out of the precinct of the campe, for to take away the superstitious feare and mistrust men would haue of it. The which

Vnlucky signes vnto Cassius.

C beganne somewhat to alter *Cassius* minde from *Epicurus* opinions, and had put the souldiers also in a maruelous feare. Thereuppon *Cassius* was of opinion not to trye this warre at one battell, but rather to delay tyme, and to drawe it out in length, considering that they were the stronger in money, and the weaker in men and armors. But *Brutus* in contrary manner, did alway before, and at that tyme also, desire nothing more, then to put all to the hazard of battell, assoone as might be possible: to the ende he might either quickely restore his contry to her former libertie, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still troubled in following and mainteyning of such great armies together. But perceiuing that in the dayly skirmishes and byckerings they made, his men were alway the stronger, and euer had the better: that yet quickned his spirits againe, and did put him in better hart. And furthermore, bicause that some

Cassius and Brutus opinions about battell.

D of their owne men had already yelded them selues to their enemies, and that it was suspected moreouer diuers others would doe the like: that made many of *Cassius* friendes, which were of his minde before, (when it came to be debated in counsell whether the battell shoulde be fought or not) that they were then of *Brutus* minde. But yet was there one of *Brutus* friendes called *Atellius*, that was against it, and was of opinion that they should tary the next winter. *Brutus* asked him what he should get by taryinga yeare lenger? If I get nought els, quod *Atellius* agayne, yet haue I liued so much lenger. *Cassius* was very angry with this aunswer: and *Atellius* was maliced and esteemed the worse for it of all men. Thereuppon it was presently determined they should fight battell the next daye. So *Brutus* all supper tyme looked with a cheerefull countenaunce, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wisely of Philoso-

Atellius opinion for the battell.

E phie, and after supper went to bed. But touching *Cassius*, *Messala* reporteth that he supped by him selfe in his tent with a fewe of his friendes, and that all supper tyme he looked very sadly, and was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: and that after supper he tooke him by the hande, and holding him fast (in token of kindnes as his manner was) tolde him in Greeke: *Messala*, I protest vnto thee, and make thee my witnes, that I am compelled against my minde and will (as *Pompey* the great was) to ieopard the libertie of our contry, to the hazard of a battel. And yet we must be liuely, and of good corage, considering our good fortune, whome we shoulde wronge too muche to mistrust her, although we followe euill counsell. *Messala* writeth, that *Cassius* hauing spoken these last wordes vnto him, he bad him farewell, and willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, bicause it was his birth

Cassius words vnto Messala, the night before the battell.

F day. The next morning by breake of day, the signall of battell was set out in *Brutus* and *Cassius* campe, which was an arming scarlet coate: and both the Chiefetaines spake together in the middest of their armies. There *Cassius* beganne to speake first, and sayd: the gods graunt vs, O

Brutus and Cassius talke before the battell.

Brutus, that this day we may winne the field, and euer after to liue all the reſt of our life quietly, one with another. But ſith the gods haue ſo ordeyned it, that the greateſt & chiefeſt things amongeſt men are moſt vncertaine, and that if the battell fall out otherwiſe to daye then we wiſhe or looke for, we ſhall hardely meete againe: what art thou then determined to doe, to flye, or dye? *Brutus* aunſwered him, being yet but a young man, and not ouergreatly experienced in the world: I truſt, (I know not how) a certaine rule of Philoſophie, by the which I did greatly blame and reproue *Cato* for killing of him ſelfe, as being no lawfull nor godly acte, touching the gods, nor concerning men, valliant, not to giue place and yeld to diuine prouidence, and not conſtantly and paciently to take whatſoeuer it pleaſeth him to ſend vs, but to drawe backe, and flie: but being nowe in the middeſt of the daunger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God, that this battell fall out fortunate for vs: I will looke no more for hope, neither ſeeke to make any new ſupply for warre againe, but will rid me of this miſerable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gaue vp my life for my contry in the Ides of Marche, for the which I ſhall liue in another more glorious worlde. *Caſſius* fell a laughing to heare what he ſayde, and imbracing him, come on then ſayde he, let vs goe and charge our enemies with this mynde. For eyther we ſhall conquer, or we ſhall not neede to feare the Conquerors. After this talke, they fell to conſultacion amonge their friendes for the ordering of the battell. Then *Brutus* prayed *Caſſius* he might haue the leading of the right winge, the which men thought was farre meeter for *Caſſius*: both bicauſe he was the elder man, and alſo for that he had the better experience. But yet *Caſſius* gaue it him, and willed that *Meſſala* (who had charge of one of the warrelikeſt legions they had) ſhoulde be alſo in that winge with *Brutus*. So *Brutus* preſently ſent out his horſemen, who were excellently well appoynted, and his footemen alſo were as willing and readye to giue charge. Nowe *Antonius* men did caſt a trenche from the mariſhe by the which they laye, to cutte of *Caſſius* way to come to the ſea: and *Cæſar*, at the leaſt his armye, ſtyrred not. As for *Octauius Cæſar* him ſelfe, he was not in his campe, bicauſe he was ſicke. And for his people, they litle thought the enemies would haue giuen them battell, but onely haue made ſome light skirmiſhes to hinder them that wrought in the trenche, and with their darts and ſlings to haue kept them from finiſhing of their worke: but they taking no heede to them that came full vpon them to giue them battell, maruelled much at the great noyſe they heard, that came from the place where they were caſting their trenche. In the meane tyme *Brutus* that led the right winge, ſent litle billes to the Colonells and Captaines of priuate bandes, in the which he wrote the worde of the battell: and he him ſelfe riding a horſe backe by all the trowpes, did ſpeake to them, and incoraged them to ſticke to it like men. So by this meanes very fewe of them vnderſtoode what was the worde of the battell, and beſides, the moſte parte of them neuer taryed to haue it tolde them, but ranne with greate furie to aſſayle the enemies: whereby through this diſorder, the legions were marueloufly ſcattered and diſperſed one from the other. For firſt of all, *Meſſalaes* legion, and then the next vnto them, went beyond the left winge of the enemies, and did nothing, but glawnſing by them, ouerthrewe ſome as they went, and ſo going on further, fell right vpon *Cæſars* cámpe, out of the which (as him ſelfe writeth in his commentaries) he had bene conueyed away a litle before, thorough the counſell and aduiſe of one of his friendes called *Marcus Artorius*: Who dreaming in the night, had a viſion appeared vnto him, that commaunded *Octauius Cæſar* ſhould be caried out of his campe. Inſomuch as it was thought he was ſlayne, bicauſe his lytter (which had nothing in it) was thruſt through & through with pykes and darts. There was great ſlaughter in this campe. For amongeſt others, there were ſlayne two thowſand LACEDÆMONIANS, who were arriued but euen a litle before, comming to ayde *Cæſar*. The other alſo that had not glaunſed by, but had giuen a charge full vpon *Cæſars* battell: they eaſily made them flie, bicauſe they were greatly troubled for the loſſe of their campe, and of them there were ſlayne by hand, three legions. Then being very earneſt to followe the chaſe of them that fled, they ranne in amongeſt them hand ouer head into their campe, & *Brutus* among thē. But that which the cōquerors thought not of, occaſion ſhewed it vnto them that were ouercome: & that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked, & vngarded of thē of the right wing, who were ſtrayed too far of, in following

Brutus aunſwer to Caſſius.

The battell at Philippes, againſt Octauius Cæſar, and Antonius.

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A ing of them that were ouerthrowen. So they gaue a hot charge vpon them. But notwithſtanding all the force they made, they coulde not breake into the middeſt of their battell, where they founde men that receiued them, and valliantlie made head againſt them. Howbeit they brake and ouerthrewe the left wing where *Caſſius* was, by reaſon of the great diſorder among them, and alſo bicauſe they had no intelligence how the right wing had ſped. So they chaſed them beating them into their campe, the which they ſpoyled, none of both the Chieftaines being preſent there. For *Antonius*, as it is reported, to flie the furie of the firſt charge, was gotten into the next mariſh: and no man coulde tell what became of *Octauius Cæſar*, after he was caried out of his campe. Inſomuche that there were certaine ſouldiers that ſhewed their ſwords bloodied, & ſayd that they had ſlaine him, and did deſcribe his face, and ſhewed what
B age he was of. Furthermore the voward, and the middeſt of *Brutus* battell, had alreadie put all their enemies to flight that withſtoode them, with great ſlaughter: ſo that *Brutus* had conquered all of his ſide, and *Caſſius* had loſt all on the other ſide. For nothing vndid them, but that *Brutus* went not to helpe *Caſſius*, thinking he had ouercome them, as him ſelfe had done: and *Caſſius* on the other ſide taried not for *Brutus*, thinking he had bene ouerthrowen, as him ſelfe was. And to proue that the victorie fell on *Brutus* ſide, *Meſſala* confirmeth it: that they wanne three Eagles, and diuers other enſignes of their enemies, and their enemies wanne neuer a one of theirs. Now *Brutus* returning from the chaſe, after he had ſlaine and ſacked *Cæſars* men: he wondred muche that he coulde not ſee *Caſſius* tent ſtanding vp high as it was wont, neither the other tentes of his campe ſtanding as they were before, bicauſe all the whole cãpe
C had bene ſpoiled, and the tentes throwen downe, at the firſt comming in of the enemies. But they that were about *Brutus*, whoſe ſight ſerued them better, tolde him that they ſawe a great gliſtering of harnes, and a number of ſiluered targets, that went & came into *Caſſius* campe, and were not (as they tooke it) the armors, nor the number of men that they had left there to gard the campe: and yet that they ſaw not ſuch a number of dead bodies, and great ouerthrow, as there ſhould haue bene, if ſo many legions had bene ſlaine. This made *Brutus* at the firſt miſtruſt that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the campe of his enemie which he had taken, and cauſed his men to be ſent for that yet followed the chaſe, and gathered them together, thinking to leade them to aide *Caſſius*, who was in this ſtate as you ſhall heare. Firſt of all he was maruelous angrie, to ſee how *Brutus* men ranne to
D geue charge vpon their enemies, and taried not for the word of the battell, nor commaundement to geue charge: and it grieued him beſide, that after he had ouercome them, his men fell ſtraight to ſpoyle, and were not carefull to compaſſe in the reſt of the enemies behinde. But with tarying too long alſo, more then through the valliantneſſe or foreſight of the Captaines his enemies: *Caſſius* founde him ſelfe compaſſed in with the right wing of his enemies armie. Whereuppon his horſemen brake immediatly, and fled for life towardes the ſea. Furthermore, perceiuing his footemen to geue ground, he did what he could to kepe them from flying, and tooke an enſigne from one of the enſigne bearers that fled, and ſtucke it faſt at his feete: although with much a do he could ſcant keepe his owne gard together. So *Caſſius* him
E ſelfe was at length compelled to flie, with a few about him, vnto a litle hill, from whence they might eaſely ſee what was done in all the plaine: howebeit *Caſſius* him ſelfe ſawe nothing, for his ſight was verie bad, ſauing that he ſaw (and yet with much a doe) how the enemies ſpoiled his campe before his eyes. He ſawe alſo a great troupe of horſemen, whom *Brutus* ſent to aide him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he ſent *Titinnius*, one of them that was with him, to goe and know what they were. *Brutus* horſemen ſawe him comming a farre of, whom when they knewe that he was one of *Caſſius* chiefeſt frendes, they ſhowted out for ioy: and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their horſes, and went and imbraced him. The reſt compaſſed him in rounde about a horſeback, with ſongs of victorie and great ruſhing of their harnes, ſo that they made all the field ring againe for ioy. But this marred all. For *Caſſius* thinking in deede that *Titinnius* was taken
F of the enemies, he then ſpake theſe wordes: deſiring too much to liue, I haue liued to ſee one of my beſt frendes taken, for my ſake, before my face. After that, he gotte into a tent where no bodie was, and tooke *Pyndarus* with him, one of his freed bondmen, whom he reſerued

Octauius Cæſar falſely reported to be ſlaine at the battell of Philippes.

Caſſius miſfortune.

Caſſius offended with the ſundrie errors Brutus and his men committed in battell.

Caſſius valliantnes in warres.

The importance of error & miſtaking in warres.

euer for ſuche a pinche, ſince the curſed battell of the PARTHIANS, where *Craſſus* was ſlaine, A
though he notwithſtanding ſcaped from that ouerthrow: but then caſting his cloke ouer his
head, & holding out his bare neck vnto *Pindarus*, he gaue him his head to be ſtriken of. So the
Caſſius ſlaine by his man Pindarus. head was found ſeuered from the bodie: but after that time *Pindarus* was neuer ſeene more.
Wherupon, ſome tooke occaſion to ſay, that he had ſlaine his maſter without his cõmaunde-
ment. By & by they knew the horſemen that came towards them, & might ſee *Titinnius* crow-
ned with a garland of triumphe, who came before with great ſpeede vnto *Caſſius*. But when he
perceiued by the cries and teares of his frends which tormented them ſelues, the misfortune
The death of Titinnius. that had chaunced to his Captaine *Caſſius*, by mistaking: he drew out his ſword, curſing him
ſelfe a thowſand times that he had taried ſo long, and ſo ſlue him ſelfe preſentlie in the fielde.
Brutus in the meane time came forward ſtill, and vnderſtoode alſo that *Caſſius* had bene ouer- B
throwen: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came verie neere to his campe. So when
he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of *Caſſius*, calling him the laſt of all the
ROMANES, being vnpoſſible that ROME ſhould euer breede againe ſo noble & valliant a man
as he: he cauſed his bodie to be buried, and ſent it to the citie of THASSOS, fearing leaſt his
funerals within the campe ſhould cauſe great diſorder. Then he called his ſouldiers together,
& did encorage them againe. And when he ſaw that they had loſt all their cariage, which they
could not brooke well: he promiſed euerie man of them two thowſand Drachmas in recom-
pence. After his ſouldiers had heard his Oration, they were al of them pretily cheered againe,
wondering much at his great liberalitie, and waited vpon him with great cries when he went
his way, praiſing him, for that he only of the foure Chieftaines, was not ouercome in battell. C
And to ſpeake the trueth, his deedes ſhewed that he hoped not in vaine to be conqueror. For
with fewe legions, he had ſlaine and driuen all them away, that made head againſt him: and
yet if all his people had fought, and that the moſt of them had not outgone their enemies to
runne to ſpoyle their goods: ſurely it was like enough he had ſlaine them all, and had left ne-
The number of men ſlaine, at the battell of Philippes. uer a man of them aliue. There were ſlaine of *Brutus* ſide, about eight thowſand men, coũting
the ſouldiers ſlaues, whom *Brutus* called Brigas: and of the enemies ſide, as *Meſſala* wryteth,
there were ſlaine as he ſuppoſeth, more then twiſe as many moe. Wherefore they were more
diſcoraged then *Brutus*, vntill that verie late at night, there was one of *Caſſius* men called *De-
metrius*, who went vnto *Antonius*, and caried his maiſters clothes, whereof he was ſtripped
not long before, and his ſword alſo. This encoraged *Brutus* enemies, and made them ſo braue, D
that the next morning betimes they ſtoode in battell ray againe before *Brutus*. But on *Brutus*
ſide, both his campes ſtoode wauering, and that in great daunger. For his owne campe being
full of priſoners, required a good garde to looke vnto them: and *Caſſius* campe on the other
ſide tooke the death of their Captaine verie heauilie, and beſide, there was ſome vile grudge
betwene them that were ouercomen, and thoſe that did ouercome. For this cauſe therefore
Brutus did ſet them in battell ray, but yet kept him ſelfe from geuing battell. Now for the ſlaues
that were priſoners, which were a great number of them, & went & came to and fro amongſt
the armed men, not without ſuſpicion: he commaunded they ſhoulde kill them. But for the
freemen, he ſent them freely home, and ſaid, that they were better priſoners with his enemies,
then with him. For with them, they were ſlaues and ſeruauntes: and with him, they were free E
men, and citizens. So when he ſaw that diuers Captaines and his frendes did ſo cruelly hate
Brutus clemẽcy & curteſie. ſome, that they would by no meanes ſaue their liues: *Brutus* him ſelfe hid them, and ſecretlie
ſent them away. Among theſe priſoners, there was one *Volumnius* a ieaſter, and *Sacculio* a com-
mon player, of whom *Brutus* made no accompt at all. Howbeit his frends brought them vnto
him, and did accuſe them, that though they were priſoners, they did not let to laugh them to
ſcorne, and to ieaſt broadly with them. *Brutus* made no aunſwere to it, bicauſe his heade was
occupied other wayes. Whereupon, *Meſſala Coruinus* ſayd: that it were good to whippe them
on a ſkaffold, and then to ſende them naked, well whipped, vnto the Captaines of their ene-
mies, to ſhewe them their ſhame, to keepe ſuche mates as thoſe in their campe, to play the
fooles, to make them ſport. Some that ſtoode by, laughed at his deuiſe. But *Publius Caſca*, that F
gaue *Iulius Cæſar* the firſt wounde when he was ſlaine, ſayd then: It doth not become vs to be
thus merie at *Caſſius* funeralls: and for thee, *Brutus*, thou ſhalt ſhowe what eſtimacion thou
madeſt,

A madeſt of ſuche a Captaine thy compere, by putting to death, or ſauing the liues of theſe bloodes, who hereafter will mocke him, and defame his memorie. *Brutus* aunſwered againe in choller: why then doe you come to tell me of it, *Caſca*, and doe not your ſelues what you thinke good? When they hearde him ſay ſo, they tooke his aunſwere for a conſent againſt theſe poore vnfortunate men, to ſuffer them to doe what they thought good: and therefore they caried them away, & ſlue them. Afterwards *Brutus* performed the promiſe he had made to the ſouldiers, and gaue them the two thowſand Drachmas a peece, but yet he firſt reproued them, bicauſe they went & gaue charge vpon the enemies at the firſt battell, before they had the word of battell geuen them: and made them a new promiſe alſo, that if in the ſecond battell they fought like men, he would geue them the ſacke and ſpoyle of two cities, to wit,

B THESSALONICA, and LACEDÆMON. In all *Brutus* life there is but this only fault to be found, and that is not to be gaineſaid: though *Antonius* and *Octauius Cæſar* did reward their ſouldiers farre worſe for their victory. For when they had driuen all the naturall ITALIANS out of ITALIE, they gaue their ſouldiers their landes and townes, to the which they had no right: and moreouer, the only marke they ſhot at in all this warre they made, was but to ouercome, and raigne. Where in contrarie manner they had ſo great an opinion of *Brutus* vertue, that the common voyce and opinion of the world would not ſuffer him, neither to ouercome, nor to ſaue him ſelfe, otherwiſe then iuſtlie and honeſtly, and ſpeciallie after *Caſſius* death: whome men burdened, that oftentimes he moued *Brutus* to great crueltie. But nowe, like as the mariners on the ſea after the rudder of their ſhippe is broken by tempeſt, do ſeeke to naile on ſome

C other peece of wodde in liew thereof, and doe helpe them ſelues to keepe them from hurt, as much as may be vpon that inſtant daunger: euen ſo *Brutus*, hauing ſuch a great armie to gouerne, and his affaires ſtanding verie tickle, and hauing no other Captaine coequall with him in dignitie and authoritie: he was forced to imploy them he had, and likewiſe to be ruled by them in many things, & was of mind him ſelfe alſo to graunt them any thing, that he thought might make them ſerue like noble ſouldiers at time of neede. For *Caſſius* ſouldiers were verie euill to be ruled, and did ſhewe them ſelues verie ſtubborne and luſtie in the campe, bicauſe they had no Chieftaine that did cõmaund them: but yet rancke cowards to their enemies, bicauſe they had once ouercome them. On the other ſide *Octauius Cæſar*, and *Antonius*, were not in much better ſtate: for firſt of all, they lacked vittells. And bicauſe they were lodged in low

D places, they looked to abide a hard and ſharpe winter, being camped as they were by the mariſh ſide, and alſo for that after the battell there had fallen plentie of raine about the autumne, where through, all their tents were full of myre and durt, the which by reaſon of the colde did freeze incontinentlie. But beſide all theſe diſcommodities, there came newes vnto them of the great loſſe they had of their men by ſea. For *Brutus* ſhippes met with a great aide and ſupplie of men, which were ſent them out of ITALIE, and they ouerthrewe them in ſuche ſorte, that there ſcaped but few of them: and yet they were ſo famiſhed, that they were compelled to eate the tackle and ſailes of their ſhippes. Thereuppon they were verie deſirous to fight a battell againe, before *Brutus* ſhould haue intelligence of this good newes for him: for it chaũced ſo, that the battell was fought by ſea, on the ſelfe ſame day it was fought by lande. But by

E ill fortune, rather then through the malice or negligence of the Captaines, this victory came not to *Brutus* eare, till twentie dayes after. For had he knowen of it before, he would not haue bene brought to haue fought a ſecond battell, conſidering that he had excellent good prouiſion for his armie for a long time, and beſides, lay in a place of great ſtrength, ſo as his campe could not be greatly hurt by the winter, nor alſo diſtreſſed by his enemies: and further, he had bene a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by ſea, as he was alſo by land. This would haue maruelouſly encoraged him. Howbeit the ſtate of ROME (in my opinion) being now brought to that paſſe, that it could no more abide to be gouerned by many Lordes, but required one only abſolute Gouernor: God, to preuent *Brutus* that it ſhoulde not come to his gouernment, kept this victorie from his knowledge, though in deede it came but a litle too late. For the day be-

F fore the laſt battell was geuen, verie late in the night, came *Clodius*, one of his enemies into his campe, who told that *Cæſar* hearing of the ouerthrow of his armie by ſea, deſired nothing more then to fight a battell before *Brutus* vnderſtoode it. Howebeit they gaue no credit to his

Brutus faults wiſely excuſed by Plutarke.

Brutus victorie by ſea.

Wonderfull famine amõg Cæſars ſouldiers by ſea.

The ignorãce of Brutus victorie by ſea, was his vtter deſtruction.

words, but despised him so muche, that they would not vouchsafe to bring him vnto *Brutus*, A
bicause they thought it was but a lye deuised, to be the better welcome for this good newes.
The selfe same night, it is reported that the monstruous spirit which had appeared before vn-
The euill spirit appeared againe vnto Brutus. to *Brutus* in the citie of SARDIS, did now appeare againe vnto him in the selfe same shape and
forme, and so vanished away, and sayd neuer a word. Now *Publius Volumnius*, a graue & wise
Philosopher, that had bene with *Brutus* from the beginning of this warre, he doth make men-
Straunge sightes before Brutus second battell. cion of this spirite, but sayth: that the greatest Eagle and ensigne was couered ouer with a
swarme of bees, and that there was one of the Captaines, whose arme sodainly fell a sweating,
that it dropped oyle of roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about to drie him, but
all would doe no good. And that before the battell was fought, there were two Eagles fought
betwene both armies, and all the time they fought, there was a maruelous great silence all the B
valley ouer, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight betwene them: and
that in the end, the Eagle towardes *Brutus* gaue ouer, and flew away. But this is certaine, and
a true tale: that when the gate of the campe was open, the first man the standerd bearer met
that caried the Eagle, was an ÆTHIOPIAN, whome the souldiers for ill lucke mangled with
Brutus second battell. their swordes. Now, after that *Brutus* had brought his armie into the fielde, and had set them
in battell ray, directlie against the voward of his enemie: he pawsed a long time, before he
gaue the signall of battell. For *Brutus* riding vp and downe to view the bands and companies:
it came in his head to mistrust some of them, besides, that some came to tell him so muche as
he thought. Moreouer, he sawe his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not goe lustely
to geue charge: but still stayed, to see what the footemen woulde doe. Then sodainly, one of C
the chiefest Knightes he had in all his armie called *Camulatius*, and that was alway marue-
lously esteemed of for his valliantnes, vntill that time: he came hard by *Brutus* a horsebacke,
and roade before his face to yeeld him selfe vnto his enemies. *Brutus* was maruelous sorie for
it, wherefore partely for anger, and partely for feare of greater treason and rebellion, he so-
dainly caused his armie to marche, being past three of the clocke in the afternoone. So in that
place where he him selfe fought in person, he had the better: and brake into the left wing of
his enemies, which gaue him way, through the helpe of his horsemen that gaue charge with
his footemen; when they saw the enemies in a maze, and affrayed. Howbeit the other also on
the right wing, when the Captaines would haue had them to haue marched: they were affraid
to haue bene compassed in behinde, bicause they were fewer in number then their enemies, D
and therefore did spred them selues, and leaue the middest of their battell. Wherby they ha-
uing weakened them selues, they could not withstande the force of their enemies, but turned
taile straight, and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight vpon it to com-
Brutus valliantnes and great skill in warres. passe *Brutus* behinde, who in the middest of the conflict, did all that was possible for a skilfull
Captaine and valliant souldier: both for his wisedom, as also for his hardinesse, for the obtai-
ning of victorie. But that which wanne him the victorie at the first battell, did now lose it him
at the seconde. For at the first time, the enemies that were broken and fled, were straight cut
in peeces: but at the seconde battell, of *Cassius* men that were put to flight, there were fewe
slaine: and they that saued them selues by speede, being affrayed bicause they had bene ouer-
come, did discourage the rest of the armie when they came to ioyne with them, & filled all the E
The death of the valliant young man Cato, the sonne of Marcus Cato. army with feare & disorder. There was the sonne of *M. Cato* slaine, valliantly fighting amongst
the lustie youths. For, notwithstanding that he was verie wearie, and ouerharried, yet would
he not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling alowde his name, and
also his fathers name, at length he was beaten downe amongest many other dead bodies of
his enemies, which he had slaine rounde about him. So there were slaine in the field, all the
chiefest gentlemen and nobilitie that were in his armie: who valliantlie ranne into any daun-
The fidelitie of Lucilius vnto Brutus. ger, to saue *Brutus* life. Amongest them there was one of *Brutus* frendes called *Lucilius*, who
seeing a troupe of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men else they met in their way,
but going all together right against *Brutus*, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his
life, and being left behinde, told them that he was *Brutus*: and bicause they should beleue him, F
he prayed them to bring him to *Antonius*, for he sayd he was affrayed of *Cæsar*, and that he did
truste *Antonius* better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good happe, and thinking
them

A them ſelues happie men: they caried him in the night, and ſent ſome before vnto *Antonius*, to tell him of their comming. He was maruelous glad of it, and went out to meete them that brought him. Others alſo vnderſtanding of it, that they had brought *Brutus* priſoner: they came out of all parts of the campe to ſee him, ſome pitying his hard fortune, & others ſaying, that it was not done like him ſelfe ſo cowardlie to be taken aliue of the barbarous people, for feare of death. When they came neere together, *Antonius* ſtayed a while, bethinking him ſelfe how he ſhould vſe *Brutus*. In the meane time *Lucilius* was brought to him, who ſtowtly with a bold countenaunce ſayd. *Antonius*, I dare aſſure thee, that no enemie hath taken, nor ſhall take *Marcus Brutus* aliue: and I beſeech God keepe him from that fortune. For whereſoeuer he be found, aliue or dead: he will be found like him ſelfe. And nowe for my ſelfe, I am come vnto
B thee, hauing deceiued theſe men of armes here, bearing them downe that I was *Brutus*: and doe not refuſe to ſuffer any torment thou wilt put me to. *Lucilius* wordes made them all amazed that heard him. *Antonius* on the other ſide, looking vpon all them that had brought him, ſayd vnto them: my companions, I thinke ye are ſorie you haue failed of your purpoſe, & that you thinke this man hath done you great wrong: but I doe aſſure you, you haue taken a better bootie, then that you followed. For, in ſteade of an enemie, you haue brought me a frend: and for my parte, if you had brought me *Brutus* aliue, truely I can not tell what I ſhould haue done to him. For, I had rather haue ſuche men my frendes, as this man here, then enemies. Then he embraced *Lucilius*, and at that time deliuered him to one of his frendes in cuſtodie, and *Lucilius* euer after ſerued him faithfullie, euen to his death. Nowe *Brutus* hauing paſſed a
C litle riuer, walled in on either ſide with hie rockes, and ſhadowed with great trees, being then darke night, he went no further, but ſtayed at the foote of a rocke with certaine of his Captaines and frends that followed him: and looking vp to the firmament that was full of ſtarres, ſighing, he rehearſed two verſes, of the which *Volumnius* wrote the one, to this effect, *Brutus flying.*

Let not the vvight from vvhom this miſchiefe vvent
(O Ioue) eſcape vvithout devv punishment.

And ſayth that he had forgotten the other. Within a litle while after, naming his frendes that he had ſeene ſlaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater ſigh then before: ſpecially, when he came to name *Labio*, and *Flauius*, of the which the one was his Lieutenant, and the other, Captaine of the pioners of his campe. In the meane time, one of the companie
D being a thirſt, and ſeeing *Brutus* a thirſt alſo: he ranne to the riuer for water, and brought it in his ſallet. At the ſelfe ſame time they heard a noyſe on the other ſide of the riuer. Whereupon *Volumnius* tooke *Dardanus*, *Brutus* ſeruaunt with him, to ſee what it was: and returning ſtraight againe, asked if there were any water left. *Brutus* ſmiling, gentlie tolde them all was dronke, but they ſhall bring you ſome more. Thereuppon he ſent him againe that went for water before, who was in great daunger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly ſcaped, being ſore hurt. Furthermore, *Brutus* thought that there was no great number of men ſlaine in battell, and to know the trueth of it, there was one called *Statilius*, that promiſed to goe through his enemies (for otherwiſe it was impoſſible to goe ſee their campe) and from thence if all were well, that he woulde lift vp a torche light in the ayer, and then returne againe with ſpeede to
E him. The torche light was lift vp as he had promiſed, for *Statilius* went thither. Nowe *Brutus* ſeeing *Statilius* tarie long after that, and that he came not againe, he ſayd: if *Statilius* be aliue, he will come againe. But his euill fortune was ſuche, that as he came backe, he lighted in his enemies hands, and was ſlaine. Now, the night being farre ſpent, *Brutus* as he ſate bowed towards *Clitus* one of his men, and told him ſomwhat in his eare, the other aunſwered him not, but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proued *Dardanus*, and ſayd ſomwhat alſo to him: at length he came to *Volumnius* him ſelfe, & ſpeaking to him in Græke, prayed him for the ſtudies ſake which brought them acquainted together, that he woulde helpe him to put his hande to his ſword, to thruſt it in him to kill him. *Volumnius* denied his requeſt, and ſo did many others: and amongeſt the reſt, one of them ſayd, there was no tarying for them there, but that they
F muſt needes flie. Then *Brutus* riſing vp, we muſt flie in deede ſayd he, but it muſt be with our hands, not with our feete. Then taking euery man by the hand, he ſayd theſe words vnto them with a cheerefull countenance. It reioyceth my hart that not one of my frends hath failed me

Appian meaneth this by Antonius.

The death of Statilius.

Brutus ſaying of flying with hands, & not with feete.

at my neede, and I do not complaine of my fortune, but only for my contries sake: for, as for me, I thinke my selfe happier than they that haue ouercome, considering that I leaue a perpetuall fame of our corage and manhoode, the which our enemies the conquerors shall neuer attaine vnto by force nor money, neither can let their posteritie to say, that they being naughtie and vniust men, haue slaine good men, to vsurpe tyrannical power not pertaining to them. Hauing sayd so, he prayed euerie man to shift for them selues, and then he went a litle aside with two or three only, among the which *Strato* was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the studie of Rethoricke. He came as neere to him as he coulde, and taking his sword by the hilts with both his hands, & falling downe vpon the poynt of it, ran him selfe through. Others say, that not he, but *Strato* (at his requeste) held the sword in his hand, & turned his head aside, and that *Brutus* fell downe vpon it: and so ranne him selfe through, and dyed presently. *Messala*, that had bene *Brutus* great frend, became afterwards *Octauius Cæsars* frend. So, shortly after, *Cæsar* being at good leasure, he brought *Strato*, *Brutus* frende vnto him, and weeping sayd: *Cæsar*, beholde, here is he that did the last seruice to my *Brutus*. *Cæsar* welcomed him at that time, and afterwards he did him as faithfull seruice in all his affaires, as any GRÆCIAN els he had about him, vntill the battell of ACTIVM. It is reported also, that this *Messala* him selfe aunswered *Cæsar* one day, when he gaue him great praise before his face, that he had fought valliantlie, and with great affection for him, at the battell of ACTIVM: (notwithstanding that he had bene his cruell enemy before, at the battell of PHILIPPES, for *Brutus* sake) I euer loued, sayd he, to take the best and iustest parte. Now, *Antonius* hauing found *Brutus* bodie, he caused it to be wrapped vp in one of the richest cote armors he had. Afterwards also, *Antonius* vnderstanding that this cotearmor was stollen, he put the theefe to death that had stollen it, & sent the ashes of his bodie vnto *Seruilia* his mother. And for *Porcia*, *Brutus* wife: *Nicolaus* the Philosopher, and *Valerius Maximus* doe wryte, that she determining to kill her selfe (her parents and frendes carefullie looking to her to kepe her from it) tooke hotte burning coles, and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close, that she choked her selfe. There was a letter of *Brutus* found wrytten to his frendes, complayning of their negligence, that his wife being sicke, they would not helpe her, but suffred her to kill her selfe, choosing to dye, rather then to languish in paine. Thus it appeareth, that *Nicolaus* knewe not well that time, sith the letter (at the least if it were *Brutus* letter) doth plainly declare the disease and loue of this Lady, and also the maner of her death.

Brutus slue him selfe.

Strato, Brutus familiar and frend.

Strato receiued into Cæsars frendship.

Messala Corsinus, Brutus frend.

Brutus funerals.

Porcia, Brutus wife, killed her selfe with burning coles.

THE COMPARISON OF *Dion with Brutus.*

A TO come nowe to compare theſe two noble perſonages together, it is certaine that both of them hauing had great gifts in them (& ſpecially *Dion*) of ſmall occaſions they made them ſelues great men: & therfore *Dion* of both deſerueth chiefeſt praiſe. For, he had no cohelper to bring him vnto that greatneſſe, as *Brutus* had of *Caſſius*: who doubtleſſe was not comparable vnto *Brutus*, for vertue and reſpect of honor, though otherwiſe in matters of warre, he was no leſſe wiſe and valliant then he. For many doe impute vnto *Caſſius*, the firſt beginning and originall of all the warre and enterpriſe: and ſayd it was he that did encourage *Brutus*, to conſpire *Cæſars* death. Where *Dion* furniſhed him ſelfe with armor, ſhippes and
B ſouldiers and wanne thoſe frendes and companions alſo that did helpe him, to proſecute his warre. Nor he did not as *Brutus*, who roſe to greatneſſe by his enterpriſes, and by warre got all his ſtrength and riches. But he in contrarie maner, ſpent of his owne goods to make warre for the libertie of his contrie and diſburſed of his owne money, that ſhould haue kept him in his baniſhment. Furthermore, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were compelled of neceſſity to make warres, bicauſe they coulde not haue liued ſafelie in peace, when they were driuen out of ROME: for that they were condemned to death, and purſued by their enemies. And for this cauſe therefore they were driuen to hazard them ſelues in warre, more for their owne ſafetie, then for the libertie of their contrie men. Whereas *Dion* on the other ſide, liuing more merily and ſafelie in his baniſhment, then the tyranne *Dionyſius* him ſelfe that had baniſhed him: did put
C him ſelfe to that daunger, to deliuer SICILE from bondage. Nowe the matter was not a like vnto the ROMANES, to be deliuered from the gouernment of *Cæſar*: as it was for the SYRACVSANS, to be ridde of *Dionyſius* tyrannie. For *Dionyſius* denyed not, that he was not a tyranne, hauing filled SICILE with ſuche miſerie and calamitie. Howebeit *Cæſars* power and gouernment when it came to be eſtabliſhed, did in deede much hurt at his firſt entrie and beginning vnto thoſe that did reſiſt him: but afterwardes, vnto them that being ouercome had receiued his gouernment, it ſeemed he rather had the name and opinion onely of a tyranne, then otherwiſe that he was ſo in deede. For there neuer followed any tyrannicall nor cruell act, but contrarilie, it ſeemed that he was a mercifull Phiſition, whom God had ordeyned of ſpeciall grace to be Gouernor of the Empire of ROME, and to ſet all thinges againe at quiet ſtay,
D the which required the counſell and authoritie of an abſolute Prince. And therefore the ROMANES were maruelous ſorie for *Cæſar* after he was ſlaine, and afterwardes would neuer pardon them that had ſlaine him. On the other ſide, the cauſe why the SYRACVSANS did moſt accuſe *Dion*, was: bicauſe he did let *Dionyſius* eſcape out of the caſtell of SYRACVSA, and bi-

cauſe he did not ouerthrow and deface the tombe of his father. Furthermore, towching the warres: *Dion* alway ſhewed him ſelfe a Captaine vnreprouable, hauing wiſelie and skilfullie taken order for thoſe things, which he had enterpriſed of his owne head and counſell: and did amende the faults others committed, and brought things to better ſtate then he found them. Where it ſeemeth, that *Brutus* did not wiſely to receiue the ſecond battell: conſidering his reſt ſtoode vpon it. For, after he had loſt the battell, it was vnpoſſible for him euer to riſe againe: & therefore his hart failed him, and ſo gaue vp all, and neuer durſt ſtriue with his euill fortune as *Pompey* did, conſidering that he had preſent cauſe enough in the field to hope of his ſouldiers, and being beſide a dreadfull Lorde all the ſea ouer. Furthermore, the greateſt reproache they could obiect againſt *Brutus*, was: that *Iulius Cæſar* hauing ſaued his life, and pardoned all the priſoners alſo taken in battell, as many as he had made requeſt for, taking him for his frende, and honoring him aboue all his other frends: *Brutus* notwithſtanding had imbrued his hands in his blood, wherewith they could neuer reproue *Dion*. For on the contrarie ſide, ſo long as *Dion* was *Dionyſius* frende and kinſeman, he did alway helpe him to order and gouerne his affaires. But after he was baniſhed his contrie, and that his wife was forciblie maried to an other man, and his goodes alſo taken from him: then he entred into iuſt and open warres againſt *Dionyſius* the tyranne. But in this poynt, they were contrarie together. For wherein their chiefeſt praiſe conſiſted, to witte, in hating of tyrannes and wicked men: it is moſt true that *Brutus* deſire was moſt ſincere of both. For hauing no priuate cauſe of complaint or grudge againſt *Cæſar*, he ventred to kill him, onely to ſet his contrie againe at libertie. Where if *Dion* had not receiued priuate cauſe of quarrell againſt *Dionyſius*: he woulde neuer haue made warre with him. The which *Plato* proueth in his Epiſtells, where is plainlie ſeene: that *Dion* being driuen out of the tyrans Court againſt his will, and not putting him ſelfe to voluntarie baniſhment, he draue out *Dionyſius*. Furthermore, the reſpect of the common wealth cauſed *Brutus*, that before was *Pompeys* enemie, to become his frende, and enemie vnto *Cæſar*, that before was his frend: only referring his frendſhippe and enmitie, vnto the conſideracion of iuſtice and equitie. And *Dion* did many things for *Dionyſius* ſake and benefit, all the while he truſted him: and when he beganne to miſtruſt him, then for anger he made warre with him. Wherefore all his frendes did not beleue, but after he had driuen out *Dionyſius*, he would ſtabliſh the gouernment to him ſelfe, flattering the people with a more curteous and gentle title then the name of a tyranne. But for *Brutus*, his verie enemies them ſelues confeſſed, that of all thoſe that conſpired *Cæſars* death, he only had no other ende and intent to attempt his enterpriſe, but to reſtore the Empire of Rome againe, to her former ſtate & gouernment. And furthermore, it was not all one thing to deale with *Dionyſius*, as it was to haue to doe with *Iulius Cæſar*. For no man that knew *Dionyſius*, but would haue deſpiſed him, conſidering that he ſpent the moſt parte of his time in drinking, dycing, and in haunting lewde womens company. But to haue vndertaken to deſtroy *Iulius Cæſar*, and not to haue ſhroncke backe for feare of his great wiſedom, power, and fortune, conſidering that his name only was dreadfull vnto euerie man, and alſo not to ſuffer the kings of Parthia and India to be in reſt for him: this could not come but of a maruelous noble minde of him, that for feare neuer fainted, nor let fall any part of his corage. And therfore, ſo ſone as *Dion* came into Sicilia, many thowſands of men came and ioyned with him, againſt *Dionyſius*. But the fame of *Iulius Cæſar* did ſet vp his frends againe after his death, and was of ſuche force, that it raiſed a young ſtripling, *Octauius Cæſar*, (that had no meanes nor power of him ſelfe) to be one of the greateſt men of Rome: and they vſed him as a remedie to encounter *Antonius* malice and power. And if men will ſay, that *Dion* draue out the tyran *Dionyſius* with force of armes, and ſundrie battells: and that in contrarie maner *Brutus* ſlue *Cæſar*, being a naked man, and without gard: then doe I aunſwere againe, that it was a noble parte, and of a wiſe Captaine, to chooſe ſo apt a time and place, to come vppon a man of ſo great power, and to finde him naked without his gard. For he went not ſodainlie in a rage, and alone, or with a ſmall companie, to aſſaile him: but his enterpriſe was long time before determined of, and that with diuers men, of all the which, not a man of them once fayled him: but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning he choſe them honeſt men, or elſe that by his choyſe of them, he made them good men.

In what things Dion was inferior vnto Brutus.

Whereas

A Whereas *Dion*, either from the beginning made no wise choyse in trusting of euill men, or else bicause he could not tell how to vse them he had chosen: of good men he made them become euill, so that neither the one nor the other coulde be the parte of a wise man. For *Plato* himselfe reproueth him, for that he had chosen suche men for his frendes, that he was slaine by them, and after he was slaine, no man woulde then reuenge his death. And in contrarie maner, of the enemies of *Brutus*, the one (who was *Antonius*) gaue his bodie honorable buriall: and *Octauius Cæsar* the other, reserued his honors and memories of him. For at *Millayne*, (a citie of GAVLE on ITALIE side) there was an image of his in brasse, verie like vnto him; the which *Cæsar* afterwardes passing that way, behelde verie aduisedly, for that it was made by an excellent workeman, and was verie like him, and so went his way. Then he stayed sodainly a-

Brutus honored of his enemies after his death.

B gaine, and called for the Gouernors of the citie, and before them all tolde them, that the citizens were his enemies, and traitors vnto him, bicause they kept an enemie of his among them. The Gouernors of the citie at the first were astonied at it, and stowtlie denyed it: and none of them knowing what enemie he ment, one of them looked on an other. *Octauius Cæsar* then turning him vnto *Brutus* statue, bending his browes, sayd vnto them: this man you see standing vp here, is he not our enemie? Then the Gouernors of the citie were worse afrayed then before, & could not tel what answere to make him. But *Cæsar* laughing, and commending the GAVLES for their faithfulnes to their frendes, euen in their aduersities: he was contented *Brutus* image should stand still as it did.

Brutus image or statue standing in brasse in Millaine, was preserued and kept by Octauius Cæsar.

C

THE LIFE OF *Aratus.*

D

E

CHrisyppus the Philosopher (my frend *Polycrates*) being affrayed as it seemeth of the euill sound of an auncient prouerbe not rightlie as it was spoken, and in vse, but as he thought it best, he wrote in this maner:

F

VVhat children do their auncetors commend,
But those vvhom fortune fauors to the end?

But *Dionysodorus* TROEZENIAN reprouing him, doth rehearse the prouerbe rightly as in deede it is?

VVhat children do their auncetors commend,

But thoſe vvhoſe life is vertuous to the end?

Saying, that this prouerbe ſtoppeth their mouthes who of them ſelues are vnworthie of praiſe, and yet are ſtill boaſting of the vertues of their auncеſters, whoſe praiſe they hiely extoll. But affore thoſe that (as *Pindarus* ſayth,)

Do match their noble auncetors in prowweſſe of their owne,
And by their frutes commend the ſtocke vvhence they them ſelues are growne.

(As thy ſelfe that conformeſt thy life vnto the examples and maners of thy vertuous auncеſters:) it is no ſmall good happe for them, often to remember the noble deedes of their parentes in hearing them ſpoken of, or otherwiſe for them ſelues oftentimes to remember ſome notable doings of their parents. For in them, it is not for lacke of commendable vertues, that they report others praiſe and glorie: but in ioyning their owne vertues, to the vertues of their auncеſters, they do increaſe their glorie, as inheriting their vertuous life, as challenging their diſcent by blood. Therefore, hauing wrytten the life of *Aratus* thy contrie man, and one of thy auncеſters, whoſe glorie and greatneſſe thou doeſt not blemiſhe, I doe ſende it vnto thee, not that I thinke but that thou haſt more diligentlie then any man elſe, ſearched out all his deedes and ſayings: But yet, bicauſe that thy two ſonnes, *Polycrates*, and *Pythocles*, reading, and ſtill hearing ſome thing reported, might be brought vp at home by the example of their auncеſters, whoſe deedes ſhall lye before them to followe. For he loueth him ſelfe more, then he regardeth perfit vertue, or his credit: that thinketh him ſelfe ſo perfit, as he neede not follow any others example.

The example of our auncеſters, wherein profitable to their poſteritie.

The citie of SICYONE, after it fell from her firſt gouernment of the optimacie and nobilitie, which is proper to the cities of the DORIANS: like an inſtrument out of tune, it fell into ciuill warres and ſeditious practiſes, through the Orators of the people: and neuer ceaſſed to be plagued with thoſe troubles and miſeries, alway chaunging new tyrannes, vntill that *Cleon* being ſlaine, they choſe *Timoclidas* and *Clinias* their Gouernors, two of the nobleſt men & of greateſt authoritie in all the citie. Now when the common wealth beganne to grow to a certeine ſtate of gouernment, *Timoclidas* dyed: and *Abantidas*, the ſonne of *Paſeas*, pretending to make him ſelfe Lord of the citie, he ſlue *Clinias*, and put to death ſome of his parentes and frendes, draue away others, and ſought alſo to put his ſonne *Aratus* to death, that was then but ſeuen yeare old. But in this hurly burly and tumult, *Aratus* flying out of his fathers houſe, among them that ranne away, and wandering vp and downe the citie, being ſcared and affrayed, finding no man to helpe him: by good fortune he gotte into a womans houſe, called *Soſo*, which was *Abantidas* ſiſter, and wife vnto *Periphantus*, his father *Clinias* brother. She being of a noble minde, and iudging that the childe *Aratus* by Gods prouidence fledde vnto her: hidde him in her houſe, and in the night ſecretlie ſent him vnto the citie of ARGOS. Now after that *Aratus* had ſcaped, and was ſafe from this daunger: from that time there bred in him a vehement malice againſt tyrannes, the which ſtill increaſed in him, as he grewe in yeares. So he was vertuouſlie brought vp in the citie of ARGOS, with his fathers frends: and perceiuing with him ſelfe that he waxed bigge and ſtrong, he diſpoſed his bodie to diuers exerciſes, and became ſo excellent in them, that he contended in fiue manner of exerciſes, and oftentimes bare the beſt away. And in his images and ſtatues, he appeared in face, ful and well liking, as one that fed well, and the maieſtie of his countenaunce argueth that he vſed ſuche exerciſe: and ſuche commonly are large eaters. From whence it came, that he did not geue him ſelfe ſo muche to pleading, as peraduenture was requiſite for a Gouernor of a common wealth. Howebeit, ſome doe iudge by his Commentaries he wrote, that he had an eloquenter tongue then ſeemed vnto ſome: bicauſe he wrote them in haſt, hauing other buſines in hand, and euen as things came firſt into his minde. But afterwards, *Dinias* and *Ariſtotle* Logitian, ſlue *Abantidas*, who did commonlie vſe to ſit in the market place, to heare their matters, and to talke with them. And this gaue them good meanes and oportunitie to worke their feate they did. After *Abantidas* death, his father *Paſeas* poſſeſſed the tyrannie: whom *Nicocles* afterwardes ſlue alſo by treaſon, and made him ſelfe tyranne in his place. It is reported that this *Nicocles* did liuelie reſemble the countenaunce of *Periander*, the ſonne of *Cypſelus*, as *Orontes* PERSIAN was very like vnto *Alcmaon*, the ſonne of *Amphiaraus*: and an other young

The common weale of the Sicyonians conuerted into tyrannie.

Abantidas, tyran of Sicyone.

Aratus the ſonne of Clinias, ſcaped the handes of the tyran Abantidas.

Aratus malice againſt tyrans.

Aratus fauor.

Aratus wrote a booke of Cōmentaries.

Abantidas the tyran ſlaine.

Ariſtotle the Logitian.

LACE-

A LACEDÆMONIAN, vnto *Hector* of TROYA, whom *Myrſilus* wryteth, was troden vnder mens feete, through the ouergreat preſſe of people that came to ſee him, when they hearde of it. This *Nicocles* was tyranne foure monethes together, in the which he did wonderfull great hurt to the citie, and had almoſt loſt it, the ÆTOLIANS comming on a ſodaine, who were like to haue taken it. Nowe *Aratus* was come to the ſtate of a ſtripling, and was greatlie eſteemed for the noble houſe he came of, and alſo for the great courage they founde in him, which was no ſmall matter: and beſides that, he had a maieſtie in his countenaunce, being wiſer then was looked for in a young man of his yeares. Therefore the baniſhed men from the citie of SICYONE, repaired vnto him before any other man. *Nicocles* for his parte alſo was not careleſſe of his doinges, but had an eye euer to ſee what *Aratus* intended, although
B he litle miſtruſted any ſuche bolde enterpriſe, nor ſo daungerous an exployt of him: but did onely coniecture that he did ſtirre vp the kings which had bene his dead fathers frendes. And ſo in deede *Aratus* tooke that courſe. But when he ſaw that *Antigonus* ſtill delayed his promiſes, and did alwayes tract time, and that the hope of aide from king *Ptolomy* of ÆGYPT was too farre of: at length he determined to vndertake to deſtroy the tyranne him ſelfe. So he firſt conſulted with *Ariſtomachus* and * *Ecdelus*: of the which the one was baniſhed from SICYONE, and the other an ARCADIAN, from the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, a Philoſopher, and a valliant man of his hands, and had bene ſcholler to *Arceſilaus* the Academicke, in the citie of ATHENS. Theſe two men being contented to ioyne with *Aratus*, he practiſed with other of the baniſhed men alſo: of the which there were ſome that were aſhamed, not to be partakers
C of his hope & noble attempt, and ſo did alſo ioyne with him. Howbeit the moſt part of them did not only refuſe to enter into that practiſe, but further, went about to diſſwade *Aratus* from his enterpriſe, ſaying: that for lacke of knowledge and experience, he vnderſtoode not the daunger in vndertaking ſuch a matter, altogether ſo vnlikelie. Nowe, as *Aratus* was thinking in his minde to keepe a certaine place in the territory of SICYONE, from whence they might make warre with the tyrannes: there came a priſoner vnto them out of the citie of ARGOS, that had broken priſon from the tyranne of SICYONE: and was brother vnto *Xenocles*, one of the baniſhed men. He being brought by the ſame *Xenocles* vnto *Aratus*, told that in the place whereby he had ſaued him ſelfe, the grounde within was almoſt as high as the toppe of the wall, the which in that parte ioyned vnto high ſtonie places: and that without the wall the
D height was not ſo great, but that it was eaſelie ſcalable with ladders. When *Aratus* heard that, he ſent two of his men, *Seuthas*, and *Technon*, with *Xenocles* to viewe the wall, being determined if it were true, rather to proue ſecretlie to execute his pretended enterpriſe, and quickely to put it to a venter: then to beginne a long warre, and to prepare an open armie, he being a priuate man, to goe againſt the power of a tyranne. *Xenocles* being returned againe to *Aratus*, after he had meaſured the height of the wall: he reported that the place was not vnſcalable, but yet very hard to come to it vndiſcouered, bicauſe of certeine litle curſt curres a gardiner kept hard by the wall, which would neuer leaue barking. Howbeit *Aratus* would not leaue of his enterpriſe ſo. Now it was not ſtraunge to ſee euerie man prepare them ſelues of armor and weapon, bicauſe at that time there were great robberies and cruell murthers committed
E by high wayes, and one would aſſault an other: but for the ladders, *Euphranor* that was a carpenter and maker of engines, did not ſticke to make them openlie, bicauſe his common occupation did take away all ſuſpition why they were made. For this carpenter was him ſelfe alſo a baniſhed man from SICYONE, as the reſidue were. Furthermore, *Aratus* frendes he had in ARGOS, of thoſe fewe men they had, did euerie man of them lende him tenne men, and armed thirtie of his owne men: beſide them, *Aratus* him ſelfe alſo did hyre ſome pretie number of ſouldiers, by the practiſe of *Xenophilus*, whome the Captaines of the theeues did furniſh him. They were geuen to vnderſtand that they ſhould be ledde to the territorie of SICYONE, to take a pray of cattell and coltes of the king: and they were ſent before, ſome one way, ſome an other, with commaundement, all to meete together at the tower of Polyf gnotus, where they ſhoulde tarie. So he ſent *Capheſias* alſo before, without any weapons, with foure companions with him: who ſhoulde come to this gardiners houſe in the night, like ſtraungers and trauellers, to lye in his houſe, and to locke him vppe and his dogges,

Aratus goth about to deliuer his contry from the tyrannie.

* *In an other place he calleth him Ecdemus.*

Ariſtomachus and Ecdelus, doe ioine with Aratus.

Aratus preparatiõ to deliuer his contrie from tyrannie.

bicause they had no other deuise to get in but that way. But in the meane time, there were certaine spialls of *Nicocles* the tyranne discouered, that walked vp and downe the citie (making no countenaunce of any matter) to see what *Aratus* did. Wherefore, *Aratus* went out of his house early in the morning (as his manner was) and walked to the market place with his frendes. Then he went to the shewe place (or place of exercises) and there stripped him selfe, annoynted him, and wrestled, and in the ende tooke certaine of the young gentlemen home with him, that were wont to make merie, and to passe the time away with him: and immediatly after, one of his seruauntes was seene in the market place, carying of garlandes of flowers. An other was seene also buying of linckes and torches, and an other hyering of these common dauncing and singing women, which followe feastes and bankets with their instruments. *Nicocles* spialls seeing that, were deceiued: for one of them laughing on an other sayd, that they might easely see by that, there was nothing more fearefull and timerous then a tyran: considering that *Nicocles* being Lord of so great a citie, was affrayed of a young stripling, that spent all that he could rappe & rend to keepe him in his banishment, vpon vaine bankets, and feasts, at noone dayes. And thus were the tyrans spialls finely mocked. *Aratus* selfe departed immediatly after dinner out of Argos, & went vnto his souldiers, whom he had appointed before to mete him at the tower of Polygnotus, & led them straight vnto Nemea. There he told them openly his full intent and purpose, hauing before made an Oration vnto them to encourage them, and also made them maruelous fayer promises. Then he gaue them for their watche word, *Apollo* fauorable, and so went directly to the citie of Sicyone, marching with great speede at the first bicause of the going downe of the Moone, and afterwardes slackened his pace a litle, so that they had Moone light all the way as they came, and the Moone went not downe, vntill they were come to the gardiners house that was harde by the wall. So *Cephesius*, whome he had sent before vnto the gardiners house, came to meete with *Aratus*, and brought him word that he could not take the dogges, bicause they ranne away: howbeit that he had made fast the gardiner in his owne house. This discoraged the most parte of all the companie, who would needes haue him in any case to returne backe againe. But *Aratus* then began to comfort them, and promised that he would lead them backe againe, if it chaunced that the dogges were too busie with them: and therewithall presently caused the ladder men to goe before, whom *Ecdelus* and *Mnasitheus* led, and he him selfe came fayer and softly after. The dogges made a fowle barking, and were baying about *Ecdelus* & his companie. This notwithstanding, they came safely to the wall, and did set vp their scaling ladders. But euen as the first men got vp on them, the Captaine of the watch that had geuen place to him that should ward in the morning, came by chaunce, and passed hard by them, visiting the souldiers with a litle bell, and there was a number of torches, and a great noyse of men that followed him. They that were vpon the ladders hearing them, ducked downe, and stirred not: and thereby the souldiers that passed by them, could not see them. But now the new morning watch came towards them also, which did put them in great daunger to be discouered: but yet they once againe scaped them and were not discouered, bicause the second watch went beyond them, and stayed not. Then *Ecdelus* and *Mnasitheus* immediatly scaled the wall, & sent *Technon* with all possible spede vnto *Aratus*, to will him to make all the hast he could to come to them. Now there was no great distance betwext the garden where the dogges were, and the wall, and a litle tower where they kept a great greyhounde to keepe watche: but the greyhounde neuer heard their comming, either bicause he was a cowardly curre of nature, or els for that he had bene ouercourst and wearied the day before. But the gardiners litle curres that bald and barked beneath, had wakened the greyhounde with their barking, who at the first began to aunswere them with a soft girning: but when they came by the tower where he lay, he barked out alowde, that all the place thereabouts rang of his barking. Insomuch, that the skowte which was further of, called alowde to the hunt that kept the dogge, and asked what he ailed, that he made such a barking, and whether there were any thing sturring or not that angered him. The hunt within the tower aunswered, that it was nothing, but that his dogge was waked, and fell a barking at the lights of the watch that passed by, and at the noyse of the bell. This made *Aratus* souldiers a great deale the bolder: bicause they thought that the hunte had bene made priuy

Aratus policy to deceiue Nicocles spialls.

Aratus daungers, in deliuering of his contrie from the tyranny of Nicocles.

A priuy to their enterprise, and that he went about to hide their secret attempt, and hoped also that there were many other within the citie that would further their enterprise. When they came to get vp vpon the wall, it was of a great height, and very daungerous, bicause the ladders shooke, and bowed by reason of the waight of the men, vnles they did come vp fayer and softly one after another. Furthermore the time did put them in some perill, bicause the cocks began to crowe, and the contry folke that brought things to the market to sell, began to come a pace to the towne out of euery quarter. And therefore *Aratus* made haste to get vp, hauing onely forty men aboue with him, and looked for some besides to come vp, which were yet beneath. Then he marched directly towards the tyrannes pallace, where his hiered souldiers kept watch and ward: and comming sodenly vpon them, layed hold of euery man of them, & B slue not one. Then he sent into the citie to his friends, to will them to come vnto him. Therevppon they ranne out of euery corner to *Aratus*. Now the day began to breake, and straight the Theater was full of people that gathered together, bicause of the noyse and sturre they heard in the citie, not knowing what the matter ment: vntill at length an Herauld proclaymed with open voyce, that it was *Aratus* the sonne of *Clinias*, who called his contry men and Citizens to the recouerye of their libertie. Then they perswading them selues, that the thing which they long wished and looked for, was nowe come to passe: they ranne all in a trowpe together to the tyrannes house, and set it a fire. But the flame rose so high and great after the fire had taken it in euery part, that it was seene to the citie of CORINTHE: insomuch that the CORINTHIANS wondring what the matter should be, were in mind to haue gone to helpe it. C Now for *Nicocles*, he saued him selfe, and got out of the citie by secret vaults he had made vnder the ground. The souldiers on the other side quenching the fire with the helpe of the Citizens, did sacke all they found in the tyrants pallace. The which *Aratus* hyndered not, but did moreouer make all the rest of the tyrants goods common amongest them. So his enterprise had so good successe, that there was none of his owne company slayne he brought with him, nether any of their enemies that were within the citie, fortune kept this exployt so pure and cleane from any bloudshed. Then *Aratus* restored foure score men vnto their lands & goods againe, whome the tyrant *Nicocles* had banished: and others also, that had bene banished by former tyrants, to the number of fiue hundred men, who had bene wel neare fifty yeares space banished out of their contry. Nowe the most of them being comen home poore and needy, D would haue entred on their goods and lands they enioyed before: and so, entring againe vpon their lands in their contry, and their houses in the citie, they amazed *Aratus* withall, seeing *Antigonus* on the one side practise all the meanes he could to winne SICYONA beeing nowe free, and they all in an vprore and mutinie in the citie. Therefore, following the best counsell he could thinke vppon and deuise, considering the daunger of the present tyme: he ioyned the citie in league and friendship with the ACHAIANS, and of them all, made but one bodye. And bicause the Citizens of SICYONE were DORIANS, they were glad to submit them selues to be gouerned and protected by the name of the ACHAIANS, who were at that tyme of no great fame nor power. For they dwelt in litle villages, and had no great bounds of landes, nether were they very special good, for that they stoode vpon the sea side, where was no manner E of hauen nor port, but stones and rockes good store: and the sea beating vpon them, did eate into the mayne land. This notwithstanding, they made their enemies know, that the power of GRÆCE when it was vnited and gouerned by good policie was of great force, and almost inuincible. For the ACHAIANS being in comparison of the auncient force of GRÆCE, of no regard, and but a part of one citie enfeebled with ciuill and forrein warre: So long as they could submit them selues to be ruled by the wisedom and vertue of their Captaine, and not enuy & malice his prosperitie and soueraintie: they did not onely mainteyne them selues as free men, in the middest of the seruitude of so many great cities, large and mighty, but did also deliuer many other people of GRÆCE from their tyrants. Now, for *Aratus* manners: he was one that in nature loued ciuill gouernment, and equalitie among Citizens in one selfe citie: he was F nobly minded, and more painefull about the affayres of the common weale, then carefull of his owne busines, and hated tyrants to the death, and imployed his good or euill will wholy for the seruice of the common wealth. And therefore he seemed not to be so fownd a friend,

Aratus wan the citie of Sicyone without bloodshed.

Nicocles the tyrant flyeth.

Aratus ioyneth the citie of Sicyone vnto the Achaians.

Aratus referred all things to the common wealth.

as he was a gentle and mercifull enemye: framing him ſelfe in either of both, as tyme ſerued for the common wealth. To be ſhort, it was a generall and common voyce amonge all the cities confederats, in priuate company, and at open meetings in the Theaters: that *Aratus* loued nothing but vertue, and honeſty. That in open warres he was not ſo valliant and coragious, as he was crafty and ſuttell, to take a citie on the ſodaine. Furthermore, though he was valliant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he would neuer haue brought to paſſe: yet it ſeemeth he left many thinges poſſible vndone, the which he might eaſily haue done, for that he durſt not venter on them. For as there be beaſtes whoſe ſight is perfitteſt by night, and by day they can ſee nothing, bicauſe the ſubtiltie of the humor and moyſture in their eyes is dried vp, and can not abide the bright light of the daye: euen ſo, men that otherwiſe by nature are very wiſe, are eaſely affrayd of daunger, when they muſt venter on it at noone dayes, where contrarily they are bold in ſecret enterpriſes, ſodeinly to attẽpt any thing. Now, this contrarietie and difference in men well brought vp, groweth through ignorance & lacke of inſtruction of Philoſophie, which of it ſelfe doth noriſh vertue, as frute that ſpringeth vp without planting, or helpe of mans hand. But this is beſt diſcerned by examples. So *Aratus* hauing ioyned him ſelfe and his citie SICYONE vnto the ACHAIANS, and ſeruing in perſon as a man of armes among the reſt: he was maruelouſly beloued of his generalls, that ſaw him ſo obedient. For, notwithſtanding that he had made ſo large a contribucion as the eſtimation of him ſelfe, and the force of his citie vnto the common wealth of the ACHAIANS: yet he was as ready to obey and execute the commaundements of the generals, as the pooreſt and meaneſt ſouldier, were he of DYMA, or of TRITA, or of any other ſmall village whatſoeuer. Furthermore, a great ſumme of money beeing ſent him from king *Ptolomy* for a gifte, amownting to twenty and fiue talents, he tooke it, but forthwith diſpoſed it amongeſt his poore contry men, both to releeue their want, as alſo to redeeme priſoners. This notwithſtanding, the baniſhed men ſtill vexed & troubled them that had their goods & lands, to haue thẽ out of their hands, and otherwiſe would be ſatisfied by no meanes. Their common wealth therefore beeing in great daunger to fall into ciuill warre, *Aratus* perceiuing there was no other way to helpe this miſchiefe, but by *Ptolomies* liberalitie: he determined to goe vnto him, to praye him to helpe him with money, to pacifie this grudge and tumult. So he imbarked at the hauen of METHONA, aboue the foreland of MALEA, to ſayle from thence into ÆGYPT: howbeit he had ſuch a contrary wind, and the ſea roſe ſo hie, that the maiſter of the ſhippe was driuen to let her goe whether ſhe woulde to take ſea roome. So beeing driuen quite from his direct courſe, with great daunger he got to the citie of ADRIA, which was his enemy: bicauſe *Antigonus* kept it, and had a garriſon in it. But *Aratus* did wiſely preuent it, going a ſhore, & wandred farre from the ſea, with one of his friends called *Timanthes*, and got into a wodde, where they had an euill nights reſt. He had not gone farre after he had left his ſhippe, but the Captaine of the garriſon came, and ſought for him. Notwithſtanding, his ſeruaunts had mocked him finely, (being before inſtructed by *Aratus* what aunſwer they ſhould make) ſaying that he was gone, and fled into the Ile of EVBOEA. Howbeit, the Captaine of the garriſon ſtayed the ſhippe, his men, and all things els ſhe had in her, and tooke her for a good priſe. Within fewe dayes after, *Aratus* being maruelouſly troubled, and at a ſtraight with him ſelfe what he ſhould doe: there happily arriued a ROMANE ſhippe hard by the place where he kept moſt, partly to hide him ſelfe, and partly alſo to ſee if he could diſcouer any thing. This ſhippe was bownd for SYRIA. So he had delt with the maſter of the ſhippe in that ſorte, that he tooke him abourd, and promiſed he would deliuer him in CARIA, and ſo he did. But he was in as much daunger, this ſecond iorney againe by ſea, as he was in the firſt he made towards ÆGYPT. From CARIA, a long time after, *Aratus* went into ÆGYPT, and ſpake with the king, who made very much of him: for *Aratus* fed him ſtill by ſending of him paſſing fayer tables, and pictures of GRÆCE, of excellent workemanſhip. And in deede haning a ſinguler good wit, he alwayes got together, and bought the excellenteſt painted pictures he could get, but ſpecially the pictures of *Pamphilus* and *Melanthus*, to ſend them vnto the king. For learning floriſhed yet in the citie of SICYONE, and they eſteemed the paintings of tables in that citie, to be the perfitteſt for true cullers, and fine drawing, of all other places. Inſomuch as *Apelles*, (though he was then of maruelous

VVhy owles ſee beſt by night, and not by day.

Men ignorant of Philoſophy be likned vnto owles.

Aratus taketh ſea to go to king Ptolomy into AEgypt.

The pictures and paynted tables made in the citie of Sicyone, did

A lous fame for paynting) went thither, and gaue to theſe two excellent paynters a talent, to remayne a while in their company: not ſo much to attaine to the perfection of the art, as thereby to winne him ſelfe fame. And therefore when *Aratus* had reſtored his citie againe to libertie, he cauſed all the images of the tyrannes to be defaced and plucked downe: howbeit he ſtoode doubtful a long tyme, whether he ſhould deface *Ariſtratus* picture or not, who raigned in the tyme of *Phillip*. For it was paynted with the hands of all the ſchollers of *Melanthus*, being by a triumphant chariot, that caried a victorie, and as *Polemon* the Geographer writeth, *Apelles* hand was to it. This picture was a paſſing peece of worke to ſee to, ſo that *Aratus* at the firſt yelded, and was contented to ſaue it for the excellencye of the workemanſhip: yet in the ende, ouercome with the extreme hate he bare vnto tyrants, he bad it ſhould be defaced. Now
B it is reported alſo, that *Nealces* the paynter being one of *Aratus* friends, prayed him with the teares in his eyes to pardon ſuch a notable peece of worke. But when he ſawe *Aratus* ſo hard harted that he would not graunt it: he tolde him it was good reaſon to make warre with tyrants, but not with their pictures. Let vs then (q he) leaue the chariot of triumphe and victorie, and I will make thee ſee *Ariſtratus*, willingly to come out of the table. *Aratus* was contented to let him haue his will. Then *Nealces* defaced the picture of *Ariſtratus*, and in place thereof drue onely a palme tree, and durſt adde nothing els to it of his owne deuiſe. Some ſay, that vnder the chariot were conueied *Ariſtratus* feete defaced. So *Aratus* by meanes of theſe tables and pictures, was maruelouſly well beloued of king *Ptolomy*. But after that he was acquaynted with him, and knew his conuerſation: he loued him then better then before. Inſomuch that
C he gaue him a hundred and fifty talents to helpe his citie withall: of the which, he caried forty away with him vnto PELOPONNESVS, and the king afterwards ſent him the reſt at ſundry tymes. Nowe this was a maruelous matter of him to get ſuch a maſſe of money together for his Citizens: conſidering that the Orators, Captaines and Gouernors of free cities, for a litle ſumme of money onely which they haue taken of kings and Princes, haue bene corrupted, & betrayed their townes and contry. But this was a more wonder, that by meanes of this money, he made peace and loue betwixt the poore and riche, and furthermore, ſaued vpright all the people of SICYONE, where he ſhewed him ſelfe maruelous wiſe, and temperate, being of that
D great power and authoritie he was. For after they had choſen him Arbitrator to iudge, compownd, and abſolutely to decyde all quarrells and ſtrife betwene the baniſhed men: he would neuer vndertake it him ſelfe alone, but tooke fifteene other of the chiefeſt Citizens with him, and with them, with great paynes and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his citizens, and made them good friends one with another. Therefore, not onely all the inhabitants and Citizens of SICYONE together, did not onely decree publike honors meete for him: but alſo the baniſhed men them ſelues did priuately caſt his image in braſſe, and ſet it vp, vnder the which they cauſed this inſcription to be grauen.

paſſe all the other paintings in Grece.

The excellency of Ariſtratus picture the tyran of Sicyone, painted by all Melanthus ſchollers and Apelles help: & Aratus conſultation for the defacing of it.

The ſaying of Nealces the paynter, touching tyrans.

The great liberalitie of Ptolomy vnto Aratus.

Aratus temperance.

Thy prouueſſe and thy feates of armes, thy counſell ſage and vviſe,
Not onely are among the Greekes extolled to the skyes,
But alſo to the vtmoſt ſtreyts of Marrok blovven by fame.
And vve that through thy goodnes home into our contry came,
E *Haue ſet this image vp to thee Aratus, as a ſigne*
Of our deliurance through thy loue and through the povvr diuine.
For thy good nature furthred by good fortune doth reſtore
Vs contry, lavves, and libertie, bereft vs quite before.

Aratus hauing done all theſe thinges, he ſuppreſſed the enuye of the Citizens, through the great good turnes he had done vnto them. But then king *Antigonus* being angry with *Aratus* in his mind, and ſeeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be miſtruſted of *Ptolomy*: he did him many other great curteſies, *Aratus* neuer ſeeking them at his hands. But one day ſpecially aboue the reſt, as he did ſacrifice vnto the gods at CORINTH, he ſent *Aratus* part of his weathers he had ſacrificed, vnto SICYONE. And at the feaſt of his ſacrifice in the hea-
F ring of many noble men that were bidden gheſts, he ſayd openly of *Aratus*: I did alway thinke that this young SICYONIAN could not but haue a liberall mind, louing the libertie of his contry and contry men: but I perceiue now he is a man that can iudge of Princes manners and

affayres. For heretofore he made no accompt of vs, bicauſe his hope was out of this contry, A
and he greatly eſteemed the riches of Ægypt, hearing talke of ſo many Elephants, of ſuch a
great fleete of ſhippes, and of ſuch a ſumptuous Court, as king *Ptolomyes* Court. But now that
he knoweth by experience, that it is onely but a ſmoke and vaine pompe, he is come to vs: &
for my part, he is welcome to me, & I will haue you all to take him for my friend. Theſe words
of king *Antigonus*, were ſtraight taken at bownd of certaine enuious men, and caried for lacke
of better matter vnto king *Ptolomy*, euery man ſtriuing who ſhould write all the euil they could
againſt him: So that *Ptolomy* thereuppon ſent a Meſſenger of purpoſe vnto him, to reproue
him for it. Thus fell there out much enuy and malice, betwene the earneſt loue of theſe Prin-
ces and kings, that contended with eche other who ſhould haue *Aratus*. Furthermore, the firſt
Aratus doings in his firſt Prætorſhip. tyme that *Aratus* was choſen Lieuetenant generall of the trybe of the Achaians, he forraged B
and ſpoyled the contry of Locride, which lyeth directly ouer againſt Achaia, and Caly-
donia alſo. Howbeit he came not tyme enough to ayde the Boeotians, in the battell which
they loſt before the citie of Chæronea, againſt the Ætolians: where *Abœocritus*, Gouer-
nor of Boeotia was ſlayne in the field, with a thowſand other Boeotians. Howbeit the next
yeare following, he being the ſecond time choſen Lieuetenant generall, he attempted to win
the caſtell of Corinth againe, being an enterpriſe which not onely concerned the priuate
benefit of Sicyone it ſelfe, and the trybe of the Achaians, but alſo of all Græce beſides.
For, he was fully bent to driue the garriſon of the Macedonians thence, the which ſeemed
euen a very yoke that held all the Græcians noſes to the gryndſtone. For like as *Chares*, Cap-
taine of the Athenians, hauing in a certaine conflict diſcomfited the kings Lieuetenants, C
wrote to the Athenians that he had wonne a victory halfe ſiſter to the victory of *Marathon*:
Euen ſo me thinkes it were no diſgrace to ſay, that this execution was like (as one brother to
another) to the killing of the tyrants, which was done by *Pelopidas* Theban, and *Thraſybulus*
Athenian, ſauing that this laſt acte was more famous, bicauſe it was not againſt Græci-
ans, but againſt ſtraungers, and forreyn power and gouernment, vpon whom it was executed.
For the Iſthmus or barre of Peloponnesvs, which ſeperateth the ſea Ægeum from the ſea
Preſche, an Iland of Peloponneſus. Ionium, doth come and ioyne the firme land of the reſt of Græce, with the Presche, an I-
land of Peloponnesvs. Euen ſo likewiſe, the Mountaine called Acrocorinthe, on the which
Acrocorinthus mons. the caſtell ſtandeth, riſing vp in the middeſt of Græce, when there is any garriſon of men of
warre in it, it cutteth of all traffike and paſſage by, of any armies of them which inhabite with- D
in the ſtraite: from them that are without the ſtraight, both by ſea and by land, and maketh
him onely Lorde of the contry that keepeth the caſtell. So that it was not for ſport, but for
truth, and in good earneſt, that *Philip* the young king of Macedon was wont to call the citie
Young king Philips ſaying, of the caſtell of Corinth. and caſtell of Corinth, the ſtockes and gyues of Græce. And therefore was this caſtel mar-
uelouſly wiſhed and deſired of euery man, but ſpecially of kings and Princes. But the deſire
Antigonus had of it was ſo vehement, that it differed nothing from the paſſions of a frantick
louer. For he did nothing els continually but ſtudy and deuiſe howe he might winne it vppon
the ſodeine, from them that kept it: bicauſe otherwiſe by open force, it was impoſſible to be
had. Wherefore after the death of *Alexander* that kept that caſtell, being poyſoned (as it is re-
ported) by *Antigonus* practiſe, the caſtell being left in the handes of his wife *Nicæa*, who go- E
uerned the ſtate of Corinthe, and did carefully cauſe the Acrocorinthe to be kept: he im-
Antigonus craft and deceit. mediatly ſent his ſonne *Demetrius* thither, and put *Nicæa* in good hope to mary her with this
young Prince: a thing that pleaſed this Lady well, though ſhe was very olde. So, for her ſelfe,
ſhe was wonne ſtraight, by meanes of his young ſonne *Demetrius*, whome he vſed as a ſtale to
intrappe her. Howbeit *Nicæa* for all this goodly offer, forſooke not her caſtell, but alwayes
made it ſtraightly to be looked vnto. *Antigonus* ſeemed to make no accompt of it, but dayly
gaue him ſelfe to make ſumptuous ſacrifices, feaſts, and playes to the gods, within the citie of
Corinthe for the mariage: as though he had ment no other thing, but bancketing and io-
litie all that might be. When the hower was come to ſee theſe ſportes, and that the Muſition
Amœbeus began to ſinge: he him ſelfe made as though he would accompany *Nicæa* vnto the F
Theater, being conueyed thither in a ſumptuous riche lytter, as it had bene for a Queene. She
was very glad of this honor, and thought nothing leſſe then of that which happened her. But
when

A when *Antigonus* came to the ende of a ſtreete that turned to goe vp the hill towards the caſtell, he bad her keepe on ſtill to the Theater: and him ſelfe in the meane time left *Amœbeus* there with his ſinging, and all the feaſt of the mariage, and went ſtraight vp to the caſtell, forcing him ſelfe aboue his ſtrength and yeares. When he was at the toppe of the hill, and found the gates ſhut, he knocked with his ſtaffe, and commaunded the garriſon to open him the gates. They wondring to ſee him there in perſon, did let him in. When he was gotten into the caſtell, he was ſo exceding ioyfull of it, that he had no reaſon to moderate his ioye, but would bancket in the middeſt of ſtreetes, and in the market place, hauing minſtrells to playe vpon their inſtruments at his table, wearing garlands of flowers on their heads for ioye, and did ſo fondly and lightly behaue him ſelfe, as if he had bene a light young man, and not (as he

B was) an olde man: who had proued ſuch ſundry chaunges of fortune, and yet ſuffered him ſelfe to be thus caried away with pleaſure, that he imbraced, and ſpake to euery man he met. Whereby it is eaſie to iudge, that ioy poſſeſſing a man without wit or diſcretion, it maketh him beſides him ſelfe, and doth more trouble his wits, then payne or feare. Now *Antigonus* hauing wonne the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe, as you haue heard, he put it into the handes of thoſe he truſted beſt, to be ſafely kept: and therefore made *Perſæus* the Philoſopher Captaine of the caſtell. But in deede *Aratus* was in mind to haue attempted the taking of the caſtell, in *Alexanders* life tyme: yet he let it alone, bicauſe he ioyned him ſelfe with the Achaians. But at that tyme there was offered him another occaſion againe to attempt it, and this it was. At Corinthe, there were foure brethren borne in Syria, of the which, one of them being called

C *Diocles*, was a ſouldier of the garriſon of the caſtell: and the reſt, hauing robbed the kings treaſure, went ſtraight vnto Sicyone, to *AEgias* the banker, whome *Aratus* imployed in his affaires. These three brethren immediatly told him part of the gold they had robbed: and afterwards, one of them called *Erginus*, comming often to ſee him, by litle and litle told him all the reſt. By this meanes *AEgias* fell into familliar acquaintance with him, and talked with him of the garriſon of the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe. *Erginus* told him, that going vnto his brother vp thoſe ſteepe and highe rockes, he found a path as it were cut out of the rocke, that went to a place of the wall of the caſtell, which was very lowe. *AEgias* hearing that, anſwered him ſmyling: alas, my friend, what meane you to ſteale a litle peece of golde to hinder the king, when in one howers ſpace you can ſell ſuch a great maſſe of money together? for aſwell ſhall

D you dye if you be apprehended for this felony, as if you were otherwiſe attainted for treaſon. *Erginus* with that fell a laughing, and promiſed that he would feele his brother *Diocles* minde in it, for he did not greatly truſt his other brethren. So returning ſhortly after, he bargayned with *Aratus* to bring him to a place of the wall that was not aboue fifteene foote highe, promiſing that he would helpe him to execute the reſt, with his brother *Diocles*. *Aratus* promiſed then to giue him fifty talents, if he brought his enterpriſe to paſſe: and if he fayled, that he would then giue either of them a houſe and a talent. *Erginus* would haue the whole 50. talents put into *AEgias* the bankers handes. *Aratus* had not ſo much ready money, and beſides, he would not take it vp at vſery, for feare of giuing cauſe to ſuſpect his enterpriſe. Wherefore he tooke all his plate of gold and ſiluer, and his wiues iewells, and layed them to gage to *AEgias*,

E to diſburſe the ſayd ſumme. But *Aratus* had ſo great and noble a mind in him, and was ſo bent to doe notable acts: that knowing howe *Phocion* and *Epaminondas* had bene eſteemed for the iuſteſt and honeſteſt men of Græce, bicauſe they had refuſed great gifts that were offered them, and would neuer ſell nor ſtayne their honor for money: he yet ſurpaſſing them, was contented to ſpend his owne, to bring any good enterpriſe to paſſe, & did put his life in daunger for the common benefit of his contry men, they them ſelues knowing nothing of his enterpriſe, which turned all to their benefit. What is he then, that will not wonder at the great magnanimitie and corage of ſuch a man, and that will not euen nowe as it were, be willing to ayde him: conſidering how dearely he bought ſo great a daunger of his perſon, and howe he laied his plate and all the richies he had to gage, to be brought in the night among the middeſt

F of his enemies, where he was to fight for his owne life, hauing no other gage nor pledge, but the hope of ſuch a noble enterpriſe, and nothing els? But now, though the enterpriſe of it ſelf was daungerous, an error chaunced through ignorance at the firſt, made it yet more daun-

Antigonus craftily reſteth the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe.

Ouergreat ioy to a ſimple man, maketh him mad.

Perſeus the Philoſopher, made captaine of the Acrocorinthe.

Aratus determination for the taking of the Acrocorinthe.

gerous. For *Aratus* had ſent *Technon*, one of his men before with *Diocles*, to viewe the wall. A
This *Technon* had neuer ſpoken with *Diocles*, howbeit he thought in his minde what manner of man he was, by the markes that *Erginus* had giuen him of him: that he had a blacke curled heare, that his face was blacke, and that he had no beard. Nowe *Technon* being come to the place where *Erginus* ſayd he would be with *Diocles*: he ſtayed before the towne in a place called ORNIS. So whileſt he was tarying there, the elder brother of *Diocles*, called *Dionyſius* (who knew nothing of the enterpriſe, nor was made acquaynted withall, and looked very like his brother *Diocles*) came that way by chaunce. *Technon* being moued by the markes he ſawe in him, like vnto thoſe he was told of: asked him if he were nothing a kinne to *Erginus*. The other aunſwered, he was his brother. Then *Technon* perſwading him ſelfe it was certenly *Diocles* that ſpake to him, without asking him his name, or making other inquiery of him: he B
tooke him by the hand, and began to talke with him of the practiſe he had with *Erginus*, and to aske him of it. *Dionyſius* taking the matter vpon him, & feeding on his error, returned forthwith into the citie, holding him on ſtill with talke, *Technon* miſtruſting nothing. But euen as *Dionyſius* was ready to take him faſt by the choller: his brother *Erginus* came. Who, perceyuing how *Technon* had miſtaken the matter, and the daunger he was in: beckned to him with his head to flye, and ſo they both ranne for life vnto *Aratus*, to ſaue them ſelues. Howbeit *Aratus* was nothing the more diſcoraged for this, but ſent *Erginus* ſtraight to cary his brother *Dionyſius* money, and to praye him not to be aknowen of anything: who furthermore brought him with him vnto *Aratus*. But after they had him once, they made him ſure for ſtarting: for they bound him, and locked him vp faſt in a chamber, whileſt they went about their enter- C
priſe. So when all things were ready, *Aratus* commaunded the reſt of his army that they ſhould tary behind, armed all night: and he him ſelfe, with foure hundred of the beſt men he had, (not knowing them ſelues whether they went, nor to what intent) went ſtraight to the gates of the citie, paſſing by the temple of *Iuno*. This was about the middeſt of ſummer, when the Moone was at the full, and the element very cleere without clowdes: inſomuch that they were afraid their armors would gliſter by Moone light, and bewray them. But as the formoſt of them came neare vnto the citie, there roſe clowdes out of the ſea that darkened all the citie & places thereabouts, and ſhadowed them. Then all of them ſitting downe on the ground, plucked of their ſhoes, both bicauſe they ſhould make leſſe noyſe, as alſo for that their footing ſhould be ſurer, and that they ſhould ſlippe leſſe vpon the ladders. But *Erginus*, and ſeuen other com- D
panions with him like men that trauell, came ſecretly into the gate of the citie, and ſlue the porter and warders there. At that very inſtant, *Aratus* cauſed the ladders to be ſet vp againſt the walls, and made a hundred of his ſouldiers get vp on them: and ſent alſo to commaund the reſt, that they ſhould follow him with all poſſible ſpeede. Then drawing vp his ladders after him, as faſt as he could, he went through the citie with his hundred men toward the caſtel, with ſuch a ioyfull cheere, as if he had had it already in his hand, for that he ſaw he was not diſcouered. But as he went on, he ſaw foure of the watch comming with a light againſt them. They ſaw not *Aratus* and his company, but the enemies ſaw them plainely a farre of. *Aratus* & his men therefore ſtoode vp cloſe againſt old walls to tary their comming, and at the firſt on- E
ſet, ſlue three of them: but the fourth hauing a blowe on his head with a ſworde, ranne away, making an outcry, that the enemies were in the citie. The trompets forthwith ſownded the alarom, all the citie was in an vprore, the ſtreetes were ſtraight full of people ronning vp and downe, and of lights in euery corner, both beneath in the citie, as alſo in the caſtell, and the noyſe was great euery where. *Aratus* in the meane tyme forced to get vp the hie rocks fayer & ſoftely at the firſt, and with great payne and difficultie, being out of his parhe he ſhould haue found, which he miſſed, being very deepe into the rocks, and with many crookes and crankes went to the foote of the caſtell: but ſodainely, euen as it had bene by miracle, the Moone appearing through the clowdes, when they were in their worſt way, it gaue the light, & brought them to that part of the wall where they ſhould be, and ſtraight the Moone was ſhadowed againe. Now the three hundred ſouldiers whome *Aratus* had left at the gate by the temple of F
Iuno, when they were come into the citie, being full of lights, and in vprore, and beſides could not find the path by the which their Captaine *Aratus* went before them: they ſtoode cloſe together

The error and daunger by likenes of men one vnto another.

Aratus great daunger in taking of the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe.

The happy benefit of the Moone.

A gether vnder a rocke that ſhadowed them, ſorowfully looking to heare ſome newes of *Aratus*: who was then fighting with the garriſon of the caſtell, the which made head againſt him with all the force and power they could. Vnder the caſtell there was a great noyſe heard of men that fought, but yet the noyſe was ſo confuſed by the ſound rebounding againſt the rocks and mountaine, that they could not deuiſe whence it thould come. So they being in this perplexitie, not knowing which way to turne them ſelues: *Archelaus*, Captaine of king *Antigonus* men, hauing a good number of ſouldiers with him, went vp the hill with great cryes and noyſe of trumpets, to ſet vpon *Aratus*, and his company behind. But after he was paſſed by theſe three hundred ſouldiers of *Aratus* band, they gaue charge vpon him, as if they had bene layed there in ambuſhe of purpoſe, and ſlue the firſt they encountered withall, and made the others
B ſo affrayde, and *Archelaus* him ſelfe, that they diſperſed them, and made ſome flye one way, ſome another waye. So, as they were ouerthrowen, *Erginus* came to theſe three hundred men, comming immediatly from them that fought, and brought them newes that *Aratus* and them of the caſtell, were come to the ſworde together, and valliantly defended them ſelues, luſtely fighting for the wall, and therefore it was tyme for them to helpe him quickly. Then the ſouldiers bad him bringe them thither ſtraight, and ſo he did. So they clyming vp the hill, did ſignifie by their cryes to their men, that they came to ayde him. Furthermore, the Moone beeing then at the full, and ſhining on their harnes, made their enemies in the caſtell thinke that they were a greater number then in deede they were, bicauſe of the longe waye they had to make to gette vppe vpon the rockes: and alſo bicauſe of the ſound in
C the night, that made their crye ſeeme to be of a greater number then they were. At length they ioyning with *Aratus*, they fought it out ſo luſtely, that they draue the garriſonous of the walls, and by breake of daye wanne the caſtell. So that their exployt was diſcouered by the riſing of the Sunne, and beſides, all the reſt of their armye that came from the citie of SICYONE: whome the CORINTHIANS very gladly receyued, and did ſet open their gates vnto them, and ayded them to take king *Antigonus* men. Afterwards, when they thought that all was ſafe, then *Aratus* came from the caſtell vnto the Theater of the citie, whether repayred an infinite number of people, aſwell for the deſire they had to ſee him, as alſo to heare him ſpeake vnto the CORINTHIANS. So hauing placed the ACHAIANS of either ſide, at the comming into the Theater: *Aratus* being armed, went vp into the chayer or pulpit for
D orations, hauing his face quite chaunged, both for the great paynes he had taken, and alſo for lacke of ſleepe: ſo that his body being ouerwearied, his ſpirits were euen done. Now when all the aſſembly of the people (ſeeing him in the chayer) did humble them ſelues to ſhewe him all the honor and kindnes they could poſſible: he tooke his ſpeare out of his left hand into his right, and bowing his knee and body ſomewhat, he leaned vpon it, and ſo ſtoode a great while in this manner before he ſpake, receiuing the cryes of ioy and clapping of handes which the people made, prayſing his valliantnes, and bleſſing his good happe and fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet againe, he framed his countenance, and began to make an oration vnto them in the name of all the tribe and common wealth of the ACHAIANS, moere for the enterpriſe from whence he came: and perſwaded them to ioyne to the ACHAIANS. So
E therewithall, they preſently deliuered him the keyes of their citie, the which were neuer before that tyme in their power, ſince the raigne of king *Philip*. Nowe touching the other Captaines of king *Antigonus*: *Aratus* hauing taken *Archelaus* priſoner, he let him goe, but put *Theophraſtus* to death, bicauſe he would not goe out of CORINTHE. *Perſeus* (Captaine of the caſtell) ſeeing the caſtell but loſt: he ſecretly ſaued him ſelfe, & fled vnto the citie of CENCHREES. And it is reported, that as he was afterwards in talke of Philoſophie, where one mainteyning that a man could not be a good Captaine, vnles he were a perfit wiſe man: This (ſaid he) is
one of *Zenoes* opinions rightly, the which heretofore pleaſed me beſt: but now this young SICYONIAN *Aratus*, hath made me of an other mind. Many writers doe report this ſaying of *Perſeus*. Furthermore *Aratus* wanne preſently the temple of *Iuno*, and the hauen of LECHAEVM,
F where he tooke fiue and twenty ſhippes of king *Antigonus*, and fiue hundred horſe of ſeruice for the warre, and foure hundred SYRIANS, which he ſold euery one of them. The ACHAIANS left within the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe, a garriſon of foure hundred footemen, and fiftye

Aratus taketh the Acrocorinthe.

Aratus ioyneth the citty of Corinthe vnto Achaias.

Zenoes opinion, that a man could not be a good Captaine vnles he were a perfit wiſe man.

Perſeus anſwer to Zenoes opinion.

doggs, and as many hunts, all the which were kept for the watch of the castell. Now, the Romanes wondring at the valliantnes of *Philopemen*: they called him the last of the Græcians: Euen so might I also (in my opinion) say, that this acte is the last and most famous of all the Græcians, and deserueth to be equall, aswell for valliantnes, as also good successe, with the greatest exployes of the most famous auncients: as that which followed immediatly after doth amply declare. For the Megarians reuolting from king *Antigonus*, did straight ioyne with *Aratus*: and the Troezenians also with the Epidavrians, did likewise enter into league and friendship with the Achaians. So at the first inuasion he made, he went to spoyle the contry of Attica, and crossed ouer to the Ile of Salamina, and spoyled and destroyed it, euen as if he had deliuered the power and force of the Achaians out of prison, to serue his owne turne in any thing he thought good of. Howbeit, he sent home the Athenian prisoners without paying of ransom: and all of policie to make them desirous to rebell against the Macedonians. Furthermore, he made king *Ptolomy* a friend and confederat of the Achaians, with condition, that he should be Lieuetenant generall both by sea & by lande. For these respects *Aratus* was of maruelous estimation and credit with the Achaians: insomuch that where they could not yearely choose him their general, being contrary to their law: they chose him at the least euery second yeare, but in effect, all was done by his aduise and counsell. For they saw plainly, that it was nether honor, nor riches, nor friendship of kings & Princes, nor the priuate benefit of his owne citie wherein he was borne, nor any other thing els that he preferred, before the glory & increase of the common wealth of the Achaians. For he was of opinion, that cities by the selues were but weake, & being ioyned together with the chaine of common benefit, they were a strength one to preserue the other. And in like manner, euen as the parts that are in the bodies of brute beasts haue life & sustenance, being ioyned & knit together, & straight so soone as there is any seperation of them thone from thother, they liue no more & putrifie: euen so cities also were brought to decay by them that did disperse their societie among them, & in contrary manner did then againe increase, when ioyning with any other great body & city, they were gouerned with wisedom & good counsell. So *Aratus* seing the chiefest cities thereabouts enioy their lawes and liberties: thought it a shamefull thing to leaue the Argiues in slauery & bondage. Wherefore he practised to kil the tyrant *Aristomachus* that gouerned them, both to shew him selfe thankefull to the citie for his bringing vppe there: as also to ioyne that great & mighty citie vnto the tribe of the Achaians. Now there were diuers men that had the harts and corage to vndertake to doe it, of the which the chiefest were *AEschylus*, and *Charimenes* the Soothsayer, but they had no swordes: for they were straightly forbidden by the tyrant, and grieuous punishments ordeyned for them that should be found with any swordes. *Aratus* therefore caused certen litle short daggers to be made at Corinthe for them, the which he sowed vp in packes caried on certen beasts loden with other baggage and stuffe. But the Soothsayer *Charimenes*, did impart this enterprise vnto a third man, and made him one of the conspiracie with them. *AEschylus* being very much offended with it, beganne therefore to enter into practise by him selfe, and left their company. *Charimenes* perceiuing that, tooke such a toye in his head in a mad moode, that he bewrayed them as they went about to execute their enterprise. This notwithstanding, the most parte of the conspirators saued them selues, and fled to Corinthe. So the tyrant *Aristomachus* was slaine shortly after, by his owne men. But then another tyrant, *Aristippus*, a crueller man than the first, made haste to take the tyranny before he could be resisted. This notwithstanding, *Aratus*, with all the young men of the Achaians able to serue in the field, went sodainly thither with ayde, hoping to find them of the citie very glad to recouer their libertie. Howbeit the people being acquainted, and of long time vsed paciently to beare the yoke of bondage: there was not a man of them that would once take his part. So he returned backe againe, and did nothing, sauing that thereby the Achaians were accused, bicause that in open peace they had made warre, & therfore they were put in sute before the Mantinians, at *Aristippus* request, tyrant of Argos. The matter was pleaded in *Aratus* absence, & the Achaians were condened to pay the summe of 30. Minas. After this proofe & attept of *Aratus*, *Aristippus* being affraid of *Aratus*, & hating him to the death, sought waies to kil him, with the help of *Antigonus*, who did aide him in

Philopæmen the last famous man of the Græcians.

Aratus power and authority with the Achaians.

Aratus goeth about to set Argos at libertie.

Aratus prepared litle short daggers against the tyrants decree & ordinance.

Aristippus tyrant of the citie of Argos.

Aristippus layed waite to kill Aratus.

A in it: and almoſt there were ſpialls in euery corner, that did nothing els but lye in wayte to execute *Ariſtippus* minde. Now, there is no ſuerer garde vnto a Prince, then the perfit loue and good will of his ſubiects. For, after that the nobilitie and common people haue bene vſed to feare, not him, but thoſe that for him commaund them: he then ſeeth with many eyes, heareth with many eares, and knoweth what is done farre of. Here therefore I will a litle digreſſe from my hiſtorie, to ſhewe you the manner of *Ariſtippus* life the tyrant, whereunto he was brought by this ſo much deſired tyrannical gouernment, and ſmoke of ſignioríe, ſo eſteemed of all men. Now, though *Ariſtippus* had king *Antigonus* his friend, and that he kept a great gard of ſouldiers about him for the ſafety of his perſon, and that there was not an enemy of his left aliue in all the citie: yet he made his ſouldiers watche and lye without his pallace, vn-

B der the cloiſters and galleries thereabouts, & after ſupper turned all his men out of the dores, & then ſhut his Court gates to him, and locked him ſelfe alone with his Concubine, in a litle hie chamber with a trappe dore, and ſet his bed vpon it, & ſo ſlept, as one that continually was affraid of him ſelfe. Then after he was come vp, his Concubines mother came to take vp the ladder, and locked it in an other chamber: and ſo did let it downe againe the next morning, and called this trymme tyrant, that went downe out of his chamber, like a ſnake that ſhould haue crept out of her hole. Where *Aratus* in contrary manner, not hauing obtained by force of armes, but lawfully through vertue a continuall gouernment, being ſimply apparelled with a poore gowne of ſmal price, & ſhewing him ſelf a mortal enemy vnto all ſorts of tyrants: hath left a race & noble ofspring among the GRECIANS, which remaine yet vntill this preſent day.

C Contrarily alſo, there are fewe tyrants that doe vſurpe the caſtells of free cities, that keepe ſo many ſouldiers in pay, that make ſuch prouiſion for armor and weapon, & haue ſo many gates and drawbridges for the ſafety of their perſons, that in the ende can keepe them ſelues from violent death, no more then hares: nether doe leaue alſo any poſteritie, houſe, or graue, why their memorie ſhould be honored after their death. So *Aratus* hauing diuers waies made ſundry attempts, both by open force, and otherwiſe ſodainely, to take the citie of ARGOS, and to thruſt out the tyrant *Ariſtippus*: he euer fayled of his purpoſe, but ſpecially one night among the reſt, when he entred the citie very daungerouſly, with a fewe ſouldiers with him, and ſlue the ſouldiers that came to giue ſupply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, and that the tyrant with all his forces came to ſet vpon him: the ARGIVES ſturred not at all, as if

D *Aratus* had not fought for their libertie, but as though they had bene Iudges appoynted to ſit to ſee the ſportes of the games Nemee, to iudge the game vnto the Conqueror without partiality, and with indifferency. *Aratus* in the meane tyme fighting like a valliant man, was thruſt at with a pyke, and ronne through the thighe. This notwithſtanding, at length he wanne that part of the citie where he fought, and was not thruſt out till night, what force ſoeuer the enemies made vpon him: and if he could poſſibly haue holden it out all night, he had vndoubtedly obtayned his purpoſe. For the tyrant looked for no other but to flye, and had already ſent diuers of his goods to the ſea. Howbeit no man once came to tell *Aratus* any newes of it, beſides alſo lacking water, and for that he could not helpe him ſelfe bicauſe of his wound, he was driuen to leade his men away, and fayled of his purpoſe. So, diſpayring that he could euer

E take it by ſtelth, he went thither with open warres, and ſpoyled and deſtroyed all the contry of ARGOS: and hauing fought a great battell againſt the tyrant *Ariſtippus*, by the ryuer of Chares, they blamed *Aratus* much, that he forſooke the victorie, and cowardly retyred out of the battell. For the reſt of his army doubtles had the better, and had followed the enemies farre in chaſe: when he fled, being affrayd, not compelled by his enemies, but miſtruſting his fortune, and retyred to his lodging. So, when they that returned from the chaſe of their enemies were offended, for that they hauing put them to flight, and alſo ſlayne a greater number moe of them then they had loſt of theirs, and yet for cowardlines ſhoulde ſuffer their enemies (whome they had ouercome and put to flight) to ſette vppe markes of triumphe in token of victorie: *Aratus* beeing aſhamed of it, determined to fight once agayne, for the markes of

F triumphe. Whereuppon, reſting his men but one daye, he led them agayne into the field, and ſetting his armye in battell raye, offered to fight once more. This notwithſtanding, when he ſawe a great ſupply comming to his enemye, and that the tyrants men came to fight more

No ſurer gard to a Prince, then the loue of his ſubiects.

The miſerable life of Ariſtippus, the tyrant of Argos.

Aratus gouernment obtayned by vertue.

Chares fl. Aratus gaue Ariſtippus the victorie.

luſtely, and with better corage then before: *Aratus* durſt not abyde them, but retyred, and A
ſent to demaund leaue to take away his dead men to bury them. Yet he could ſpeake ſo curteouſly, and behaue him ſelfe ſo wiſely, by the experience he had in gouernment, and alſo for the good will they bare him: that they forgat the fault he committed, and he wanne the citie of Cleones vnto the Achaians, where he cauſed the feaſtes of the games Nemee to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquitie, rather vnto the Cleonaians, then vnto the Argives. This notwithſtanding, the Argives did keepe it alſo, and then was the firſt time that the ſanctuary and priuiledge was broken, which was wont to be graunted vnto all them that came to play for the games: bicauſe the Achaians did make them priſoners that fought in Argos, as they returned through their contry, and ſold them as enemies. So maruelouſly did *Aratus* and the Achaians hate all ſortes of tyrants, without reſpect of pardon. Shortly after B
he was aduertiſed, that the tyrant *Ariſtippus* did lye in wayte to ſpye oport unitie, to take the citie of Cleones from him: howbeit that he was affrayd of it, bicauſe he remayned at that tyme in Corinthe. So *Aratus* ſtraight ſent out commaundement into euery place, to aſſemble the army of the trybe of the Achaians, and that they ſhould bring vittells with them for many dayes: and ſo craftily came downe to the citie of Cenchrees, to intiſe *Ariſtippus*, by his going away ſo farre of, that in his abſence he ſhoulde attempt to ſet vpon the Cleonians, as in deede he did. For, he fayled not preſently to goe thither with his armye. But *Aratus* returning from Cenchrees vnto Corinthe, very late in the night, and hauing layed good watche euery way: he ſodainely brought the armye of the Achaians vnto Cleones with ſuch ſpeede and quietnes, that they were not ſeene as they came, but entred into C
the citie of Cleones by night, and were ready to fight with the tyrant, before he knewe they were come. So the gates of the citie were ſet open by breake of daye, and the ſignall of battell giuen by ſound of trumpetts: and ſo ſetting vpon the tyrants men with great cryes, they ſuſpecting nothing, they were preſently put to flight. And bicauſe the place where the ouerthrowe was giuen, had many turnings: *Aratus* following the chaſe, tooke the way which he thought the tyrant fled in. The chaſe continued to the citie of Mycenes. There the tyrant was ouertaken by a Cretan called *Tragiſcus*, (as *Dinias* reporteth) who ſlue him: and there were ſlayne of his men alſo, aboue fifteene thowſand. But now *Aratus* hauing wonne ſuch a famous victorie, and loſt neuer a man: he could not yet winne the citie of Argos, nor ſet it againe at liberty. For one *AEgias*, and another *Ariſtomachus*, got into the towne with the kings D
army, and kept it. But notwithſtanding, by this noble victorie *Aratus* did race out a great part of the reproache they gaue him, and of the ſcoffes and ſlents the flatterers of the tyrants deuiſed of him. Who to pleaſe them, reported, that when they ſhould come to fight in deede, the generall of the Achaians had the winde collicke in his belly, and a dymneſſe in his eyes with a guydines in his head, when he heard but the ſound of the trumpetts. And furthermore alſo, when he had ſet his men in battell raye, and giuen them the word of battell: he asked the generalls if he ſhould neede to be there in perſon, bicauſe he was hurt in the heele, and then would get him as farre of as he could, to ſee the ende of the battel. This talke was ſo common, that the Philoſophers them ſelues diſputing of it, to wete, whether to tremble and change cuIler in preſent daunger and perill, be ſignes of a faint hart, or of an euill complexion and cold- B
nes of body: they alway vouched *Aratus*, that had bene a good and valliant Captaine, and yet when he began to fight, he was euer in that taking. So when he had ouercome *Ariſtippus*, he ſought meanes alſo to deſtroy *Lyſiadas* Megalopolitan, who as abſolute Lord and king of the contry, kept the city of Megalipolis. Notwithſtanding, he had no baſe minde in him, nether was he caried away with a cruell deſire of tyrannye to liue at his pleaſure, nor through extreme couetouſnes, as moſt Princes be: but being a young man, & pricked forward with deſire of honor & fame, & hauing vnaduiſedly cõceiued in his mind, (which was great & highly bent) the vaine reaſons he heard men talke of principality, as of a ſtate moſt bleſſed, & worthy of admiration: he found the meanes to make him ſelfe Lord of his contry. But afterwards, he P
was ſoone weary of the daungers & troubles ſuch maner of gouernmẽt bringeth with it, & deſired to follow *Aratus*, whome he ſawe proſper, and of great honor. Furthermore alſo, fearing his ſecret practiſes againſt him, he tooke holde of a noble deuiſe: firſt, to rid him ſelfe of the

malice

Aratus ſtrategeame to intrappe the tyrant Ariſtippus.

Aratus victory of the tyrant Ariſtippus.

Ariſtippus the tyrant ſlayne.

A philoſophicall queſtion whether trembling, and chaunging of culler in daunger, be a ſigne of cowardlines.

Lyſiadas, tyran of Megalipolis.

A malice and feare of the priſon and garde of his ſouldiers: and laſtly, to be a benefactor to his contry. So he ſent for *Aratus*, gaue vp his gouernment, and deliuered vp his citie to the trybe of the ACHAIANS. They ſo extolled him for this acte, that they choſe him their Lieuetenant generall of all their tribe. Wherefore, *Lyſiadas*, ſtriuing at the firſt to excell *Aratus* in honor, attempted diuers things which were not very needefull: as amonge others, to make warre with the LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Aratus* was very much againſt him in that, though ſome thinke it was for enuy. Thereuppon they choſe *Lyſiadas* generall of the ACHAIANS the ſecond tyme: although *Aratus* openly both ſpake, and made what meanes he could to the contrary, & would haue had an other to haue bene choſen. For, he him ſelfe was euery other yeare generall. So, *Lyſiadas* was choſen againe generall of the ACHAIANS the third time, with euery bodies good

B will: and *Aratus* and he had abſolute power and gouernment by turnes, one after the other. But when they ſaw that *Lyſiadas* became open enemy vnto *Aratus*, and did ſtill accuſe him in all their counſels and aſſemblies: they fell in ſuch miſliking with him, that they reiected him. For they thought his but a coũterfeate vertue, to contend with the perfitnes of *Aratus* vertue. Much like vnto one of *Iſopes* fables, ſaying that litle birdes did aunſwer the cuckow on a tyme, asking them why they did flie from her: bicauſe we are affrayd (ſayd they) thou wilt be a ſperhawke one day. Euen ſo it ſeemeth, that there was a certaine ſuſpition in mens minds of *Lyſiadas* tyranny, which made them miſtruſt that he went not from his tyrannie with good will. Now *Aratus* on thother ſide, wanne as great praiſe and honor by his doings againſt the ÆTOLIANS. For when the ACHAIANS would needes haue fought vpon the confines of the territo-

C ry of the MEGARIANS, and that *Agis*, king of LACEDÆMON, being come with his army to the campe of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, did perſwade them hardily to giue battell: *Aratus* was ſtowtely againſt it, and did abide many mocks and tawnts they gaue him, ſaying, that it was for cowardlines he would not goe. This notwithſtanding, he would not leaue his wiſe and ſafe determination, for all that open ſhame: but ſuffered the enemies to paſſe ouer the Mountaine Gerania, and to inuade PELOPONNESVS, and would neuer fight with them. But afterwards, when he ſaw that at their firſt comming they had taken the citie of PALLENA: he then chaũged his mind, and would deferre time no lenger to tary till all his power were come together, but marched forthwith againſt his enemies, with thoſe few he had, who maruelouſly weakned them ſelues by their inſolency and diſorder after their victory, keeping no watche nor warde.

D For after they had entred the citie of PALLENA, the ſoldiers ranne into euery houſe, one thruſting in an others necke, and fighting for the goods they found. The Captaines alſo fell to rauiſhing of maides, and the PALLENIANS wiues, and put their burganets and morrions vpon their heades, that none other ſhould take them, bicauſe that by the ſame the ſouldiers ſhould know whoſe they were, and to whome the women belonged. So they being in this ruffe and iolitie: newes came ſodainly that *Aratus* was come. This made them quake for feare, when they ſaw they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all vnderſtoode of the daunger by their ſodaine ſetting on them, the ACHAIANS were fighting already within the ſuburbs and gates of the citie, againſt the firſt that reſiſted, whome they ſlue. They being broken, & put to flight, made the reſt ſo affraid that were gathered together to ayde them, that they wiſt not

E what to doe. In this tumult and great hurly burly, there was one of the Ladies a priſoner, that was the Daughter of *Epigethes* one of the nobleſt men of the citie, and ſhe a maruelous goodly woman, and paſſing fayer: who being ſet in the temple of *Diana*, whether a Captaine had brought her that had choſen her for him ſelfe, and had put his burganet on her head: ſhe ſodainely ranne to the gate of the temple with the burganet on her head, when ſhe heard the noyſe of them that fought, to ſee them fight. The Citizens ſeeing her in that array, found her the goodlier to behold, and of greater maieſty, then any worldly creature. The enemies on the other ſide were ſo affraid to ſee her, thinking ſhe had bene ſome ſpirit: that not a man of them durſt once defend them ſelues. So the PALLENIANS ſay, that the image of *Diana* all the reſt of the tyme is kept locked vp, and no body toucheth it, and that when the Nunne that keepeth

F it doth cary it diſwhere, no man dare looke on it, but euery man turneth his eyes away: bicauſe the ſight of it is not onely fearefull and hurtfull vnto men, but it alſo killeth the frute of the trees it paſſeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cauſe that then troubled the Æ-

Lyſiadas, tyran of Megalipolis, leaueth the tyrannie, and yelded him ſelfe and his dominion, vnto the Achaians.

Diſſention betwixt Aratus and Lyſiadas.

One of Iſopes tales of the Cuckowes queſtion to litle birdes.

Aratus noble counſell againſt the AEtolians.

Gerania mons

Aratus ſetteth vpon his laſcinious enemies.

A womã with a Burganet of her head, ſeemed a monſtrous thing.

The ſigne of Diana with the Pallenians.

TOLIANS mindes so muche, bicause the Nunne remouing the image of the goddesse *Diane*, she turned it towards them. Howbeit *Aratus* in his commentaries maketh no mention of this at all, but onely writeth that when he had defeated the ÆTOLIANS, following them in chase, he entred hand ouer head with them that fled into the citie, out of the which he draue them, and slue seuen hundred of them. This noble victory hath bene esteemed amonge the chiefest afterwards: and the paynter *Timanthes* hath drawen and set it forth in table very liuely. This notwithstanding, bicause diuers Princes and people did immediatly prepare force against the ACHAIANS: *Aratus* presently made peace with the ÆTOLIANS by the practise of *Pantaleon*, who bare great swaye and authoritie amongest them. Furthermore, *Aratus* being desirous to set the ATHENIANS at libertie, he sodainly attempted to take the hauen of PIRÆA: for the which the ACHAIANS reproued him, bicause he had broken the peace they had made with the MACEDONIANS. But *Aratus* in his commentaries doth stowtely denye that it was he, and layeth the fault vpon *Erginus*, by whose meanes he wanne the castell of the Acrocorinthe: saying that it was he, that of his owne minde did set a scaling ladder to the wall, and that his ladder breaking vnder him, he fled vpon it, and perceyuing he was followed neare by the enemies, he styll cryed out, *Aratus*, as if he had bene there, and by this pollicye mocked his enemies, and saued him selfe. Howbeit me thinkes this aunswer is not true. For it is not credible, that *Erginus* a priuate souldier, and a SYRIAN borne, shoulde haue so greate an enterprise in his head, vnles it had bene by *Aratus* consent and commaundement, who had giuen him men, tyme, and meanes to vndertake it. And this appeared playnely afterwardes. For, *Aratus* did not attempt it twyse or thryse onely, but oftener then so (as those that extreamely desire a thinge) to take the hauen of PIRÆA on the sodaine, not giuing ouer for once fayling, but rather imboldening him selfe agayne with good hope, bicause he mist it but litle, and that he came so neare the taking of it. And another tyme also amongest others, flying through the playne of THRIASIA, he brake his legge, and was driuen to haue many incisions to heale it: so that he was a longe tyme together caryed in his lytter to the warres. After that king *Antigonus* was deade, and that *Demetrius* his sonne succeeded him in the kingdome: he attempted then more earnestly then euer before, to set the citye of ATHENS at libertye, making small accompt of the MACEDONIANS. *Aratus* therefore beeing ouerthrowen in battell neare vnto PHYLACIA, by king *Demetrius* Lieuetenant, called BITHYS: and the rumor running straight abroad, that *Aratus* was deade, or at the least that he was taken prisoner: one named *Diogenes*, Captaine of the hauen of PIRÆA, wrote a letter vnto CORINTHE, and commaunded the garrison of the ACHAIANS that kept it, to deliuer the towne, for *Aratus* was deade. But he by chaunce was at the selfe same tyme in CORINTHE: so that they which brought the letters went home with a mocke, without their purpose, and made all the companye meary. Furthermore, king *Demetrius* him selfe sent a gallye out of MACEDON, to bringe *Aratus* bound vnto him. The ATHENIANS them selues also, to please the MACEDONIANS, exceeding all lightnes of flatterye, ware garlands of their heads a whole day together, in token of common ioy, when newes was brought them of *Aratus* death. *Aratus* was so mad in his minde to heare this, that he brought his armye presently against them, euen to the very suburbes of the Academy. Notwithstanding, at their earnest requests, he did no hurt there. And afterwardes, the ATHENIANS acknowledging his valliantnes, when king *Demetrius* dyed: it tooke them in the heads to recouer their libertie againe. So *Aratus*, though that yeare another man was generall of the ACHAIANS, and that he kept his bedde, lying sicke of a longe disease: yet to further this, he was caried to ATHENS in a lytter, and so perswaded *Diogenes*, Captaine of the garrison there, that for the summe of a hundred and fifty talents (towards the which *Aratus* gaue of his owne, twenty talents) he made him deliuer the ATHENIANS the hauen of PIRÆA, the castell of MVNICHIA, the Ile of SALAMINA, and the castell of SVNIVM. After this, the ÆGINETES, the HERMIONIANS, and the moste parte of ARCADIA it selfe, did presently ioyne with the ACHAIANS: so that the MACEDONIANS beeing occupied with warres at that tyme in other places agaynst their neighbours, the power of the ACHAIANS marueilously increased, hauing also the ÆTOLIANS their confederates. Then *Aratus* to performe his olde promise,

Aratus bringeth the AEtolians in league with the Achaians.

Aratus attempteth to set Athens at libertie.

Aratus ouerthrowen by the Macedonians.

promiſe, and being angrie to ſee the citie of ARGOS (being ſo neere neighbour vnto them) yet kept in bondage: he ſent vnto *Ariſtomachus*, to perſwade him to be contented to ſet his citie againe at libertie, and to ioyne it to the tribe of the ACHAIANS, as *Lyſiadas* had done his towne of MEGALIPOLIS, and rather too like to be made a Generall with honor and praiſe of ſo great and famous a ſtate as the ACHAIANS: then tyran of one only citie, hated, and euerie hower of the night and day in daunger of his life. *Ariſtomachus* gaue eare to his perſwaſions, and ſent vnto *Aratus*, telling him that he had neede of fiftie talentes to diſcharge the ſouldiers he had about him. The money was ſtraight prepared. And *Lyſiadas* that was at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, and that maruelouſlie deſired this matter might be brought to paſſe by his meanes: he ſecretlie ſent vnto *Ariſtomachus* to accuſe *Aratus*, and ſhewed howe he had bene alway a mortall enemy vnto tyrans, and therefore counſelled him rather to put him ſelfe into his hands, as in deede he did. For, *Lyſiadas* brought *Ariſtomachus* vnto the counſell of the ACHAIANS. There all the counſell plainlie ſhewed their good wills, and the confidence they had in *Aratus*: for when he ſpake againſt it, that they ſhould not receiue *Ariſtomachus*, they reiected him with great anger. But afterwards alſo when *Aratus* was wonne, and that he began to moue the contrarie to the counſell: they ſtraight agreed to receiue the ARGIVES, and the PHLIASIANS in league with them, and alſo the next yeare following, they choſe *Ariſtomachus* Lieutenaunt generall of all their tribe. *Ariſtomachus* ſeeing him ſelfe in credit nowe with the ACHAIANS, would needes inuade the contrie of LACONIA with a maine armie, and ſent for *Aratus* being then at ATHENS. *Aratus* wrote vnto him, and wiſhed him in any wiſe not to meddle with that iorney, bicauſe he would not haue the ACHAIANS to deale with *Cleomenes*, king of LACEDÆMON, that was a coragious and ſtowt young Prince, and maruelouſlie growen in ſhort time. Howbeit *Ariſtomachus* being ſelfe willed in that poynt, *Aratus* obeyed him, and was there in perſon all that iorney. So *Cleomenes* being come to them vppon the ſodaine with his armie, neere vnto the citie of PALANTIVM: *Ariſtomachus* woulde needes fight with him. But *Aratus* diſſwaded him from it. Whereupon *Lyſiadas* afterwards accuſed him to the ACHAIANS, and the next yere following he contended with him, ſuing to be Generall: howbeit he was reiected by moſt voyces, and *Aratus* choſen Generall the twelfth time. The ſelfe ſame yeare he was ouerthrowen in battell by *Cleomenes*, neere vnto the mountaine Lycæum, and being fled, wandered vp and downe in the night, that euerie man thought he had bene ſlaine, and it ranne for good payment among all the GRECIANS. Howbeit he ſaued himſelfe, and hauing gathered his men together againe, not contenting him that he had ſcaped with life, but wiſelie taking the oportunitie and occaſion offered, no man knowing it, nor miſtruſting his comming: he ſodainlie went to aſſaile the MANTINIANS, which were confederats of *Cleomenes*, and hauing taken the citie of MANTINEA, he left a great garriſon in it, and made the ſtraungers that were there, free of the citie. Thus *Aratus* was he alone, that being ouercome wanne the ACHAIANS that, which they them ſelues could ſcarcelie haue wonne, if they had bene conquerors. Afterwards, the LACEDÆMONIANS inuading the territories of the MEGALOPOLITANS with a great armie, *Aratus* ſodainlie went thither to aide them, but would hazard battell no more, nor geue *Cleomenes* vantage, who deſired only to fight, and ſtill conſtantlie reſiſted the MEGALOPOLITANES, that prouoked him to come to the field. For beſides that in nature he was not meete for a ſet battell, at that time alſo he was the weaker in men, and had to doe with a venterous young man, that was all fire: where his corage and ambicion on the other ſide was coole, & quiet enough. Furthermore he conſidered, that as king *Cleomenes* ſought honor by valliant ventering, which he had not before: euen ſo it was his parte wiſelie to keepe that which he had long ſince gotten, and to ſtande vppon his gard and ſafetie. This notwithſtanding, the light armed men being put out into the fielde, and hauing chaſed the LACEDÆMONIANS euen into their campe, & entring in with the hand ouer head: *Aratus* would neuer bring out his citizens, but ſtayed them in a great valley that lay betwene them both, and would not let them come on any further. Whereuithall *Lyſiadas* being mad with him ſelfe, and falling out with *Aratus*: he called for the horſemen, & ſayd that he would yet helpe them that followed the chaſe, and prayed them not to loſe the victorie ſo cowardly, of the which they were ſo ſure: nor to forſake him at a pinche, fighting for defence of their

Aratus by perſwaſion, deliuered Argos from tyrannie.

The loue and faith of the Achaians vnto Aratus.

Aratus ouerthrowen in battel by king Cleomenes, hard by the mountaine Lycæum. Aratus tooke the citie of Mantinea.

contrie. So hauing gotten a great number of choyse horsemen together, he went with great furie, and gaue charge of the right wing of his enemies battell, and hauing dispersed them, and put them to flight, he vnaduisedlie followed them with great corage, into euill fauoured crooked wayes, among trees, and great broade ditches. Whereuppon *Cleomenes* came, and so lustely set on him, that he slue him dead in the place, valliantly fighting and defending him selfe. The other men of armes flying also, rushed in againe into the battell of the footemen, and so disordered their rankes, that they made all their armie flie for feare. For this cause they greatly blamed *Aratus*, bicause he had forsaken *Lysiadas*: and being forced vnto it by the Achaians that went without his leaue, he followed them at length, and fled him selfe also vnto the city of Ægivm. There the Achaians sitting in counsell, they decreed that they would furnish *Aratus* with no more money, neither would they pay his straungers any more: & bad him pay them at his owne charge, if he would enterteine them for the warre. *Aratus* perceiuing they did him great wrong, stoode euen indifferent to deliuer vp his commission of Lieutenancy, and to discharge him selfe of his office: but after he had bethought him selfe better, he bare it pacientlie, and led the Achaians directlie to the citie of Orchomene. There he valliantlie fought with *Megistonus*, king *Cleomenes* father in lawe, and had the vpper hande of him: for he slue three hundred of his men, and tooke *Megistonus* selfe prisoner. Furthermore, where before euerie second yeare they did vse to choose him their Lieutenant generall: when his turne came about againe, they called him to geue him the office, but he refused it, and *Timoxenus* was chosen in his roome. Now the cause alleaged for his refusall, was sayd to be, for that he misliked of the common people. But that foundeth like a lye: for the trueth of it, to my seming was, for that he saw the state of the Achaians to decline. For king *Cleomenes* proceeded no more fayer and softlie as he did at the first, when he was controlled and brideled by the Ephori: but hauing slaine them, and equallie deuided the landes through all Lacedæmonia, and made the straungers free citizens of Sparta, being then absolute Lorde of Lacedæmon he straight set vpon the Achaians with all the power he coulde, and sought to conquer them. And therefore *Aratus* deserueth iust reproofe, for that he forsooke his contrie in such extreame trouble & daūger, that being as the maister of a shippe he gaue an other the sterne to steare, when it had bene most honorable & meetest for him to haue taken it in hand (though they would not haue giuen it him) to haue saued his contry. Or otherwise, if he had in dede vtterly dispaired of the good successe of the Achaians, he should then haue put it rather into *Cleomenes* handes, and not to haue poysoned Peloponnesvs againe, with the maners of the barbarous people: (bringing in as he did, the garrison of the Macedonians, filling the castell of the Acrocorinthe with Gavles and Illyrian souldiers, and making them his Lordes and maisters, whom he had so often ouercomen in warres, and deceiued of their gouernment, and of whom he also spake so muche euill in his Commentaries) nor to haue put them into townes, and calling them frends and confederates, to thinke thereby to colour and disguise his wicked practise. Admit *Cleomenes* had bene a tyran, and a cruell man (if I should so reame him) yet came he of the blood of *Hercules*, and was borne in Sparta: from whence they should rather haue chosen the meaneste man Gouernor, then the greateste king of Macedon, and those specially that preferre the honor and glorie of Græce, before straungers. Yet king *Cleomenes* required no more of all the Achaians, but the name onely to be their Lieutenaunt generall: and so they woulde graunt him that honor, he promised he would be verie good vnto the cities confederats to Achaia. Where *Antigonus* notwithstanding, when they had chosen him their Lieutenaunt generall with absolute power and authoritie, both by sea and by lande, refused the charge, vnlesse they would let him haue the castell of the Acrocorinthe for his hyer. The which was euen like to *Esopes* hunter, that brideled his horse. For he would not get vp vpon the Achaians that requested him, and that by their Ambassadors and decrees of counsell did referre all to him selfe: before he had first saddled and brideled them, by the garison he made them receiue, and the pledges he caused them to geue him, and yet he spake as much as might be to cleere him selfe of the accusacion against him, bearing them in hande that he was forced to it. Howbeit *Polybius* wryteth, that long time before, he was compelled, being affrayed of *Cleomenes* valliantnes, he had secretly practised that with

Antigonus,

The death of Lysiadas.

Aratus once againe ouerthrowen by king Cleomenes.

Aratus reproch.

A Gouernor of a common weale ought no more to forsake his contry in time of daunger: then the maister of a shippe his shippe, in storme and tempest.

The meaneste man of Sparta, was to be preferred before the greateste Prince of Macedon.

Esopes hunter.

Polybius Historiographer.

A *Antigonus*, which he was openlie ſeene in afterwards: and that he had intiſed the MEGALOPOLITANS (who were the firſt that moued it to the counſell of the ACHAIANS) to call king *Antigonus* to their aide, bicauſe they were neereſt neighbours to the fire, and continually harried with *Cleomenes* warre, that alwaies knocked at their gates to come and ſpoyle them. Thus muche is affirmed by *Phylarchus* in his hiſtorie, who were hardlie to be credited notwithſtanding, had not *Polybius* confirmed it. For he loued *Cleomenes* ſo well, that it ſeemed he was raviſhed with ſome ſpirite as often as he ſpake of him: and frameth his hiſtorie, as a common counſeller that ſhould pleade a caſe in lawe before the Iudges, ſtill accuſing the one, and defending the other. The ACHAIANS loſt the citie of MEGALIPOLIS againe, the which king *Cleomenes* tooke of them, and ouercame them in a great battell, by Hecatombæon. Where-

Philarchus the Hiſtriographer, not greatly to be credited.

Cleomenes winneth the citie of Megalipolis from the Achaians.

B withall they were ſo amazed, that they ſent Ambaſſadors preſentlie vnto him, & prayed him to come to the citie of ARGOS, & there they would make him their Lieutenant generall. But when *Aratus* heard he came in deede, and that he was not farre from the citie of LERNA with his armie: being affrayed, he ſent other Ambaſſadors to tell him that he ſhould ſafelie come with three hundred men only, as vnto his frends and confederats, and yet if he miſtruſted craft and euill dealing, that then they woulde geue him pledges for the ſafetie of his perſon. *Cleomenes* aunſwered him, that was a plaine mockerie, and an iniurie they offered him. Where-

The ſpitefull letters that paſſed betwext Cleomenes and Aratus.

fore, he preſentlie departed thence, and ſent a letter before to the counſell of the ACHAIANS, full of fowle words and reproaches he gaue vnto *Aratus*. Who likewiſe replied to him againe, bitterlie taunting eache other, that they came to talke of their mariage and wiues. After this

C letter, *Cleomenes* ſent defyance by a Herauld vnto the ACHAIANS, and proclaimed open warre againſt them: inſomuche as he had almoſt gotten the citie of SICYONE by practiſe of traitors. Howbeit failing of his purpoſe, he returned ſodainly, and went vnto the city of PHLIASIANS, which he tooke, and draue out the Generall of the ACHAIANS thence, and immediatlie after he wanne the cities alſo of PHENEA, and PENTELION. After that, the ARGIVES and PHLIASIANS willinglie yeelded vnto him, ſo that of all that which the ACHAIANS had conquered, and ioyned vnto their tribe, they could reckon of nothing elſe of certeinty vnto them. Then *Aratus* was maruelouſlie troubled in his mind, to ſee all PELOPONNESVS in tumult and vprore, and that all the cities fell to open rebellion by thoſe that practiſed chaunge and alteracion. For no man was contented with the ſtate and gouernment at that time, but diuers of

D the SICYONIANS & CORINTHIANS both were bewrayed which had ſecretlie practiſed with *Cleomenes*, and that of long time maliced the gouernment of the ACHAIANS, deſiring themſelues to be Lords and Gouernors of their cities. *Aratus* hauing full commiſſion and authoritie from the counſell of the ACHAIANS, to make inquierie of them, and to put them to death, without further triall of law: he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faultie in the city of SICYONE. Furthermore, attempting to do the like at CORINTH, he made inquiry of them, & put them to death: wherby he made the common people very angry with him, who otherwiſe of themſelues were weary of the gouernment & ſubiection of the ACHAIANS. The CORINTHIANS therfore gathering together in the temple of *Apollo*, they ſent for *Aratus*, intending to make him priſoner before they would openly enter into actuall rebellion. *Aratus* went

Aratus putteth the rebells of Sicyone to death.

E thither, to ſhewe that he neither feared nor miſtruſted them, but yet he helde his horſe in his hand following of him. Then many roſe vp againſt him, and did both reproue & iniuriouſly intreate him. But *Aratus* with a ſtayed countenaunce and gentle words, prayed them to keepe their places, and not to crie out in ſuche rage vpon their feete, and withall, cauſed them alſo to come in that were at the temple dore. But as he ſpake vnto them, by litle and litle he drew backe out of the preſſe, as though he ment to haue geuen his horſe to ſome bodie to hold. So being gotten out of the preſſe, he gently ſpake without any feare vnto the CORINTHIANS he met, and bad them goe to the temple of *Apollo*. When he was come to the caſtell, he then ſodainly tooke his horſe backe, and commaunded *Cleopater*, Captaine of the garriſon of the ACHAIANS there, to looke well to the ſafe keping of the caſtell. Then he ſet ſpurres to his horſe,

Aratus conſtancie in daunger.

Aratus ſubtletie when he fled out of Corinthe.

F and gallopped towardes the citie of SICYONE for life, being followed onely by thirtie of his ſouldiers, all the reſt hauing forſaken him, and diſperſed themſelues here and there. Shortly after, the CORINTHIANS vnderſtanding that *Aratus* was gone, they followed after, but could

neuer ouertake him: whereupon they ſtraight ſent for king *Cleomenes*, and deliuered the citie of CORINTHE into his hands, the gaine whereof pleaſed him not ſo much, as he was ſorie for the loſſe of *Aratus*, whom they had let go. So king *Cleomenes* ioyning vnto him all the people dwelling alongeſt the ſea coaſt, commonlie called the riuer of CORINTHE, who yeelded vp them ſelues, holdes and townes into his hands: he then intrenched in the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe with a great trench. Furthermore, when *Aratus* came to the citie of SICYONE, many of the ACHAIANS gathered about him, and holding a counſell and aſſemblie, he was choſen their Lieutenaunt generall, hauing abſolute power and authoritie to doe what he would, and gaue him of their owne citizens to gard his perſon. So, he hauing managed the affaires of the ſtate and common wealth of the ACHAIANS, the ſpace of three and thirtie yeares together, and hauing all that time bene counted of all men, the chiefeſt man of power and authoritie in GRÆCE: he then found him ſelfe in poore eſtate, forſaken, and in great miſerie, as in the ſhippewracke of his contrie beaten with ſtorme, and in great daunger of him ſelfe. For when he ſent vnto the ÆTOLIANS for aide, they flatly denied him, and would ſend him none. Furthermore, the ATHENIANS being verie deſirous to ſend aide for *Aratus* ſake, were diſſwaded from it through the practiſe of *Euclidas*, & *Micion*. *Aratus* alſo had a houſe in CORINTHE, where all his money was: the which king *Cleomenes* at the firſt meddled not withall, neither would ſuffer any other to touche it, but ſent for his frendes and officers, and charged them to looke well to it, to geue *Aratus* a good accompt of it afterwardes. Furthermore, he priuately ſent *Trippylus* vnto him, and his father in law *Megiſtonus*, and offered him great gifts, and ſpeciallie an annuall pencion of twelue talents, which was double as much as king *Ptolomy* gaue him, who ſent him yearely ſix talents. Beſides, he only prayed the ACHAIANS that they would make him their Lieutenāt general, & alſo that the garriſon in the caſtel of the Acrocorinthe, might be deuided in common betwene them. *Aratus* made aunſwere, that he had no abſolute power in his hands, and that it was in the ACHAIANS, not in him. *Cleomenes* thinking this but a deuiſe and excuſe of *Aratus*, he preſentlie inuaded the contrie of the SICYONIANS, and deſtroyed all as he came, and continued the ſpace of three moneths. *Aratus* in the meane time ſtoode doutfull how to determine, whether he ſhould receiue king *Antigonus* or not: bicauſe *Antigonus* would not aide him, before he deliuered him the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe into his handes. So the ACHAIANS meeting at the citie of ÆGIVM to conſult vpon it, they ſent for *Aratus* thither. Howebeit it was daungerous comming thither, bicauſe *Cleomenes* campe lay hard by the citie of SICYONE, beſides alſo that the citizens kept *Aratus*, and helde him by force, ſaying that they would not let him venter him ſelfe in ſuch apparaunt daunger, their enemies being ſo neere vnto them. Moreouer, the women and litle children hong about him, weeping, and compaſſing him about, as their common father and ſauior. But *Aratus* comforting them, bad them not be affrayed, and ſo tooke his horſe, with ten of his frends (and his ſonne that was a young ſtripling growen) and went towards the ſea, and imbarked in certaine ſhippes that roade at ancker. Thence he ſailed vnto ÆGIVM, where the diet or parlament was kept: and there it was reſolued, that they ſhould ſende for *Antigonus*, and deliuer the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe into his hands. And ſo it was performed; for *Aratus* ſent thither his owne ſonne among the other oſtages. The CORINTHIANS were ſo ſore offended withall, that they made hauocke of his goods, and gaue his houſe he had in CORINTHE, vnto king *Cleomenes*. So king *Antigonus* being onwardes on his way to come into PELOPONNESVS with his armie, bringing with him twentie thowſand footemen, all MACEDONIANS, & foure hundred horſemen; *Aratus*, with the greateſt ſtates and officers of the ACHAIANS, vnwitting to their enemies, went to meete him, as farre as the citie of PEGES, hauing no great truſt nor confidence in *Antigonus*, nor the MACEDONIANS. For he remembred verie well, that he came firſt to his greatnes, by the iniuries he had offered them: and howe that the chiefeſt cauſe of his riſing, was the malice he bare vnto olde *Antigonus*. Howbeit, making vertue of neceſſitie, and weying the inſtant occaſion of their preſent extremitie: (of Gouernors, to be driuen to be ſubiects) he put him ſelfe in aduenture. So, when *Antigonus* was tolde that *Aratus* was comen in perſon to him: hauing with good countenance after a common ſort ſaluted thoſe that came in his companie: to *Aratus* ſelfe at his firſt comming he gaue him an honorable welcome and enter-

The citie of Corinth yeelded vp vnto Cleomenes.

Aratus, in great daunger for his contrie.

King Cleomenes curteſie vnto Aratus.

The Achaiās do ſend for king Antigonus.

Gouernors obey neceſſitie. Antigonus honorable enterteinment to Aratus.

A enterteinment. Afterwardes alſo, finding him a good and diſcreete man: he fell into inward frendſhippe and familiaritie with him. For *Aratus* was not onely skilfull to geue direction in matters of ſtate touching good order and gouernment: but moreouer, his companie & conuerſation was verie pleaſaunt, to entertaine a Princes leaſure with. Wherefore though *Antigonus* was but young at that time, yet ſeeing throughly into *Aratus* nature, and that he was a meete man to be well thought of, and eſteemed about a Prince: he vſed his counſell and aduiſe more then any other mans, in all matters, not onely touching the affaires of the ACHAIANS, but of the MACEDONIANS alſo. And ſo all things came to paſſe, which the goddes had promiſed in their ſacrifices. For in a beaſt that was ſacrificed, there were two galles wrapped in one ſelfe cawle: the which the Soothſayers interpreted did prognoſticate, that two which B before were mortall enemies, ſhould nowe become aſſured frendes. But *Aratus* made no account of their prediction, neither did alſo geue any credit to the ſacrifices, but truſted more to his owne determination. So, the warres afterwardes hauing good ſucceſſe, and *Antigonus* making a feaſt in the citie of CORINTHE, where he had bidden many gheſts: he would nedes haue *Aratus* lye vpon him at the table, and a litle while after, commaunded his men to bring him a couerlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a colde. *Aratus* aunſwered him, it freezed. Then *Antigonus* bad him come neerer him: & when the ſeruaunts brought a couerlet for the king, they caſt it ouer them both. Then *Aratus* remẽbring the ſacrifice, fell a laughing, and told the king what a wonder he had ſeene in the ſacrifice, & what interpretation the Soothſayers made of it. This was long after. So, *Antigonus* and *Aratus* being at that time in C the citie of PEGES, they were ſworne brethren together: and then went both with all ſpeede againſt the enemies. Thus there fell out hot skirmiſhes betwene them, hard by the citie of CORINTHE. For *Cleomenes* was verie well fortified, and the CORINTHIANS valliantly defended them ſelues. In the meane time, *Ariſtoteles* of ARGOS, (*Aratus* frend) ſecretlie ſent him word, that he would make the citie rebell, if he came him ſelfe with any number of ſouldiers. *Aratus* tolde it vnto king *Antigonus*, who gaue him fifteene hundred men, with the which he imbarked, and paſſed ouer with great ſpeede from the *Iſthmus* (or barre in the ſtraight) vnto the citie of EPIDAVRVM. Howbeit the ARGIVES taried not *Aratus* comming, but were all vp before he came, and did ſet vpon king *Cleomenes* men, and had driuen them into the caſtell. *Cleomenes* being aduertiſed of it, and fearing leaſt his enemies (keeping the citie of ARGOS) D ſhould cut of his way from returning into his contrie againe with ſafetie if he were driuen to a ſtraight: he forſooke the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe, and went his way by night to helpe his men in the citie of ARGOS. So he came thither in time, and ouerthrewe certeine of his enemies. But ſhortly after, *Aratus*, and king *Antigonus* both being comen thither with all their aide, *Cleomenes* was driuen to flie to the citie of MANTINEA. After the recouery againe of the citie of ARGOS, all the reſidue of the cities of PELOPONNESVS did againe returne to the ACHAIANS, and *Antigonus* tooke the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe. So *Aratus* being choſen Generall by the ARGIVES, he counſelled them to preſent *Antigonus* with all the tyrans goodes, and thoſe that had bene traitors to the common wealth. And after they had cruellie tormented the tyran *Ariſtomachus* in the citie of CENCHREES, in the ende they caſt him into the ſea, E and drowned him. *Aratus* was maruelouſlie reproued for his death, that he would ſuffer the poore man to be ſo vilely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him great pleaſure: who through his perſwaſion willinglie reſigned vp his tyrannie, and deliuered the city of ARGOS vnto the ACHAIANS. But beſides this, they blamed him for many other things elſe. For that the ACHAIANS through his meanes had put the citie of CORINTHE into *Antigonus* hands, as though it had bene ſome meane village: for that when they had ſacked the citie of ORCHOMENE, they ſuffered him to place a garriſon of the MACEDONIANS there: for that they had enacted by parlament, that they ſhould neither write, nor ſende Ambaſſadors any whether, without *Antigonus* priuitie and conſent: furthermore, for that they were compelled to geue pay to the MACEDONIANS: for that they made ſacrifices, feaſtes, and games F vnto *Antigonus*, as if he had bene a god, following the example of *Aratus* citizens, who were the firſt that began, and had receiued *Antigonus* into the city by the perſwaſion of *Aratus*, that lodged and feaſted him in his owne houſe. With all theſe faults they burdened *Aratus*, and

A wõder ſhewed to Aratus.

Antigonus and Aratus ſworne brethren.

The citie of Argos revolted from Cleomenes.

Ariſtomachus drowned in the ſea.

Aratus infamie for Ariſtomachus.

considered not that after they had put the reynes of the gouernment into *Antigonus* hand, *Aratus* him selfe (whether he would or not) was compelled to follow the swing of the vnbridled Prince, hauing no other meanes to stay it, but onely the libertie of speache to admonish him: and that also was not to be exercised, without apparant and great daunger. For it is most true, that many things were done greatly against *Aratus* minde, as amongest others: that *Antigonus* caused the tyrans images of ARGOS to be set vp, which he had before pulled downe: and also that he made them to be ouerthrowen, which *Aratus* had set vp for those that had taken the castell of CORINTHE, and onely left *Aratus* owne statue, notwithstanding all the earnest intreaty *Aratus* made to the contrarie, yet he could get no graunt of any thing he requested. Besides also, it appeareth that the ACHAIANS delt not so frendly with the MANTINIANS, as became GRÆCIANS one to an other. For they hauing the citie in their handes by *Antigonus* meanes, did put all the noblest and chiefest men of MANTINEA to death, others they solde as slaues, and sent the rest into MACEDON with irons on their legges, and brought the poore women & children into bondage, and sold them for slaues: and of the money they got by spoile, they deuided the third parte among them selues, and left the other two partes vnto the MACEDONIANS. Nowe surely it can not be sayd, but this was done for some cruell reuenge. For though it was an ouergreat crueltie, in rage & passion of minde, to handle people of one selfe blood and language in this lamentable sorte: yet, as *Simonides* saith, when men are driuen and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruell) thing, to ease their great stomackes inflamed with rage and malice. But for that which was done afterwards vnto the citie, no man can excuse *Aratus*, nor say that he was either driuen to it by necessitie, or that he had otherwise any honest occasion to doe it. For king *Antigonus* hauing geuen the citie of MANTINEA vnto the ARGIVES, they determined to make it a Colonie, and chose *Aratus* their Generall: who made a decree, that thenceforth the citie should no more be called MANTINEA, but ANTIGONIA, as it beareth name vnto this day. Thus it seemeth that gentle MANTINEA (for so the Poets called it) was vtterlie destroyed, and bare the name of an other citie through *Aratus* meanes, preferring the name of him that destroied the city, & did put all the inhabitants of the first to death. After that, king *Cleomenes* being ouerthrowen in a great battell by the citie of SELLASIA, he left the citie of SPARTA, and fled into ÆGYPT. So *Antigonus* hauing vsed *Aratus* with all kind of honorable curtesie, he returned againe into MACEDON. There falling sicke, he sent *Philip* that should succeede him in the kingdom (being a young strippling growen) into PELOPONNESVS, and straightly charged him speciallie to followe *Aratus* counsell, and to imploy him when he would speake vnto the cities, and become acquainted with the ACHAIANS. So *Aratus* hauing receiued him in that sorte, made him so well affected and louing towardes him, that he sent him againe into MACEDON, being throughlie determined to make warres with GRÆCE. So after the death of *Antigonus*, the ÆTOLIANS beganne to despise the careles nesse and cowardlinesse of the ACHAIANS (bicause that they being acquainted to be defended by straungers, and hauing bene altogether gouerned by the armies of the MACEDONIANS, they liued verie idlely & dissolutely) whereupon they tooke vpon them to make them selues Lords of PELOPONNESVS. So they assembled an armie, and by the way as they went, they onely tooke some pray and spoyle vpon the lands of the PATRÆIANS, and the DYMÆIANS: but inuading the territorie of MESSINA with all their armie, they destroyed the whole contrie before them. *Aratus* being angrie withall, and perceiuing that *Timoxenus* (who at that time was Generall of the ACHAIANS) did still tract and delay time in vaine, bicause he was vpon his going out of his yeare: he being appointed Generall for the yeare following, did anticipate his time fiue dayes before, to goe and aide the MESSENIANS. Wherefore, leauing an armie of the ACHAIANS, whose persons were nowe neither exercised in armes, nor yet had any desire to goe to the warres: he was ouerthrowen by the citie of CAPHYES. Nowe, bicause it was thought that he went somewhat too hottely and coragiouslie to the warres, he so extreamely cooled againe, and left things in such case, that all hope being cast a side, he suffred the ÆTOLIANS in maner to tread PELOPONNESVS vnder their feete, before his eyes, with all the insolencie and crueltie that might be possible, notwithstanding that they sundrie times gaue him great aduauntages of them. Thus were the ACHAIANS once againe forced to pray aide out of

Mantinea, called Antigonia, by Aratus decree.

Aratus ouerthrowen in battell, by the citie of Caphyes.

A of MACEDON, and to send for young king *Philippe* to make warres in GRÆCE: hoping for the loue he bare vnto *Aratus*, and the great truſt he had in him, that he woulde vſe them gently, and doe as they woulde haue him. But then firſt of all beganne *Apelles*, *Megareus*, and a few other Courties to accuſe *Aratus*: vnto whome king *Philippe* geuing eaſie eare, he procured that one *Eparatus*, of contrarie faction vnto *Aratus*, was choſen Generall by the ACHAIANS. Howebeit this newe Generall *Eperatus* beinge extreamelie hated by the ACHAIANS, and *Aratus* alſo leauinge to deale any more with matters of ſtate: no acte was done to any purpoſe. Whereuppon king *Philippe* findinge his faulte, returned againe vnto *Aratus*, and was ruled altogether by him: and when he found that his affaires proſpered in all things he went about, he then lette him alone withall, as from whome came all his honour and B greatneſſe. Thereuppon euerie man eſteemed *Aratus* a wiſe Gouernour, not onely to rule a common wealth, but alſo a whole realme and kingdome. For his manners, intent, and chiefeſt purpoſe appeared, in the deedes of this young king, as a riche colour that did ſette foorth and beawtifie them. For the clemencie this young Prince *Philippe* vſed to the LACEDÆMONIANS, that had offended him: the great curteſie he ſhewed to the CRETANS, whereby in fewe dayes he wanne all the Ile of CRETA: and the iorney he made againſt the ÆTOLIANS, which was a wonderfull great exployt: wanne the Prince great fame, for following good counſell, and *Aratus* accounted to be a wiſe Gouernour, and of deepe vnderſtanding. Nowe the kings flatterers enuying *Aratus* more then before, and perceiuing that they got no good by ſecret backebyting of him: they then beganne with open mouth verie inſoC lentlie to reuile him at the table, and with great deriſion: inſomuch as one night going home to his tent after ſupper, they pelted him with ſtones all the way as he went. King *Philippe* when he knewe it, was ſo offended therewith, that he did condemne them in the ſumme of twentie talentes: and afterwardes alſo, bicauſe they troubled his affaires, he did put them to death. But king *Philippe* in the ende being puffed vp with the good fortune and ſucceſſe of this warre, which proſpered as he woulde haue it: he then grewe to be couetous, and beganne to ſhewe his naughtie nature, and to bewray his diſſimulacion wherewith he diſguiſed him ſelfe: and by litle and litle to make his vices plainlie to appeare. For firſt of all, he abuſed young *Aratus* wife, which was kept ſecret a long time, bicauſe he lay in their houſe, and beganne dayly to growe more ſeuere and cruell to the common weales: and then the D worlde ſawe plainlie, that he cared no more for *Aratus*. For the firſt ſuſpicion and beginning of the miſtruſt he had of *Aratus*, came for that which was done at MESSINA. For the MESSENIANS being fallen together by the eares, and in great ciuill warres one with an other: *Aratus* went thither to make peace betwene them. Howebeit king *Philippe* came thither the next day following, and in ſteade of pacifying the quarrell, he ſet them further out together then they were before. Firſt he asked the Gouernours of the citie, and if they had no lawes to bridle the inſolencie and ſtomacke of the common people: and priuatelie alſo talked with the heades of the faction of the people, and asked them if they had not handes to defende them ſelues from tyrannes. So both the one and the other faction truſtinge to kinge *Philippe*, the Gouernours woulde haue layed holde of the Orators of the ciE tie: but they riſinge with the common people, ſlewe of their Nobilitie and Magiſtrates, well neere two hundred of them. *Aratus* that came ſoone after this fact, ſhewed that he was greatlie offended with king *Philippe*, and cauſed his ſonne with open mouth ſhamefullie to reproue him. Nowe it ſeemed that this younge *Aratus* was in loue with king *Philippe* before: but then he tolde him before all the people, that for this ſhamefull acte he had done, he thought him nowe no more fayer of face, but the fowleſt creature that coulde be. *Philippe* made no aunſwere to it, although euerie man looked he woulde haue aunſwered him in rage, and that oftentimes as the other reproued him, he byt it in with his teeth: but as if he had not bene offended at all with the bigge words his ſonne had ſpoken againſt him, for that he was a ciuill man, and mylde of nature, he tooke *Aratus* the father by the hande, and F caried him out of the Theater where the aſſemblie was kept, to the caſtell of Ithome, to doe ſacrifice there to *Iupiter*, and to ſee the ſorte. This ſorte was of no leſſe ſtrength then the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe: and when any garriſon is in it, it keepeth all the contrie about

The Achaiãs ſent for king Philip Antigonus ſonne.

Aratus, a wiſe counſeller. Enuy, the cõpanion of vertue.

The beginning of diſpleaſures betwext Aratus and Philip.

The deepe diſſimulacion and double dealing of king Philip.

Aratus the ſonnes words vnto Philip.

it in obedience, and beſides, it is verie hard to driue them out of it. Now *Philip* being gotten vp into that caſtell, he did ſacrifice there: and when the Soothſayer had brought him the intralls of the oxe which they had ſacrificed, he tooke it him ſelfe with both his hands and ſhewed them vnto *Aratus*, and to *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, now turning to the one, then vnto the other, and asked them what they iudged of theſe ſignes of the ſacrifice: whether he ſhoulde keepe the caſtell to him ſelfe, or elſe deliuer it to the MESSENIANS. *Demetrius* ſmyling aunſwered him: if thou beeſt of the Soothſayers minde, then thou ſhalt deliuer it vp: but if thou haſt a kinges minde in thee, thou ſhalt then holde the oxe by both hornes. (By the oxe, he ment the contrie of PELOPONNESVS, and moreouer, that if he kept both theſe caſtells of Ithome, and the Acrocorinthe, all PELOPONNESVS were wholly at his commaundement.) *Aratus* ſtill held his peace, and ſayd not a word. In the end, *Philip* praying him to ſpeake he ſaid. A B

The wiſe anſwere of Aratus vnto king Philip, touching the ſafetie of a Prince.

In CRETA, and in the contrie of the BOEOTIANS and PHOCIANS, there are many ſtrong caſtells ſcituated on high hills from the vallies. Moreouer, there are alſo many places of great ſtrength in the marches of the ACARNANIANS, both within maine land, as alſo vpon the ſea coaſt: of all the which thou haſt not taken one of them by force, and yet they all doe willinglie obey thee notwithſtanding. It is for theeues to hyde their heades in high rockes & mountaines: but a king can haue no ſtronger caſtell, then the loue, faith, and good will of men. That is it that opened the ſea of CRETA. That is it that hath brought thee into PELOPONNESVS. Thoſe are the meanes which haue made thee being ſo young a man, ſome of them to chooſe thee their Captaine, and others alſo to make thee their abſolute Lorde and Maiſter. *Aratus* going on with his tale, *Philippe* gaue the intralls againe to the Soothſayer that brought them, and taking *Aratus* by the hand, (as if by force he had caſt him out of the caſtell, and had alſo taken the citie of MESSINA from him) ſayd vnto him: come on then, lette vs euen take that courſe. But after that time, *Aratus* came as litle to the Court as might be, and ſo by litle and litle left *Philippes* companie. For when he went to make warre in the realme of EPIRVS, he was earneſtlie in hand with *Aratus* to goe that iorney with him. But *Aratus* prayed him to hold him excuſed, and ſo remained at home, being affrayed to be brought into an euill name with *Philippes* doings. For *Philippe* afterwards hauing ſhamefullie loſt his armie by ſea, againſt the ROMANES, & beſides, hauing had alſo verie euill ſucceſſe in all other his affaires: he returned againe to PELOPONNESVS, & thought once more to haue deceiued the MESSENIANS. But when they founde his practiſe, then he beganne with open force to ſpoyle their contrie. *Aratus* then flatlie fell out with *Philip*, and vtterly refuſed his frendſhip, for that he perceiued then the iniurie he had done his ſonnes wife, the which grieued him to the harte, but yet he made not his ſonne priuie to it: bicauſe he coulde gette no other amendes, then to knowe what iniurie had bene done to him, conſidering that he had no way nor meanes to be reuenged. For, king *Philip* was maruelouſly changed, and from a curteous and chaſt young Prince, becomen a vitious and cruell tyran: the which to ſpeake truely, was not a chaunge or alteracion in nature, but a manifeſt declaracion (when he was no more affrayed of any man) of his wicked and deueliſh mind, the which through feare had of long time bene kept ſecret. Now, to proue that *Philips* firſt loue and good will he bare vnto *Aratus*, was alſo mingled with feare and reuerence: that which he did afterwards vnto him did plainly ſhew it. For he being deſirous to put *Aratus* to death, not thinking him ſelfe free ſo long as he liued, neither king, nor tyran: he durſt not goe about to kill him him ſelfe, but procured one of his Captaines called *Taurion*, and commaunded him to make him away as ſecretly as he could poſſible, & ſpecially with poyſon, in his abſence. This *Taurion* fell in frendſhip with *Aratus*, and poyſoned him with no violent poyſon, but ſo tempered & qualified it, as it did by litle and litle heate the bodie, and procure a pretie coffe which brought him into a conſumption. *Aratus* knewe he was poyſoned, but bicauſe he ſawe it booted not to bewray it, he bare it pacientlie, and made no words of it, as if he had had ſome naturall diſeaſe about him. Yet on a time, one of his chiefeſt frends being in his chamber with him, who wondred to ſee him ſpit blood as he did: he told him, fred *Cæphalon* mine, this is the reward of a kings loue. So he died of this poiſon in the city of ÆGIVM, being the ſeuenteenth time choſen Generall of the ACHAIANS: who would haue had him buried in the ſelfe ſame place, and haue made ſome honorable monument for him, worthy C D E F

Aratus the father forſooke Philippe.

Philip of a curteous Prince, became a cruell tyran.

Aratus poyſoned by king Philippes meanes.

A kinges frendſhippe daungerous.

The death of Aratus.

A worthie of his noble life. But the SICYONIANS thinking them ſelues diſhonored, if his body were buried any where elſe but in their owne citie: they ſo perſwaded the counſell of the ACHAIANS, that they ſuffered them to take *Aratus* bodie with them. Yet was there an auncient law that forbad buriall within the walls of the citie, of any maner of perſon whatſoeuer: and beſides that law, they had a certaine ſuperſtitious feare in them that made them they durſt not. Whereuppon they ſent to *Apollos* temple at DELPHES, to aske counſell of his Nunne that gaue the Oracles, who made them this anſwere.

A law for buriall among the Sicyonians.

The Oracle for Aratus buriall.

Thou happie ſoile of Sicyon, Aratus native place,
VVhereas thou askeſt counſell in that noble Captaines caſe,
For keeping of a yeareminde and for making feaſtfull dayes
B *In honor of that vvorthie vvight, to laſt henceforth alvvayes:*
If any hinder your intent through fondnes or through ſpight,
Both ſea and land and heauen it ſelfe vvill punish that fame vvight.

This Oracle being brought, all the ACHAIANS were maruelous glad of it, but the SICYONIANS ſpeciallie: who preſentlie chaunging their mourning into publike ioy, they caried the bodie from the citie of ÆGIVM, & brought it home as in maner of proceſſion, in white robes, and garlands of flowers on their heades, ſinging hymnes and ſonges of ioy, and daunſing, till they came to the citie of SICYONE. And there they choſe out the chiefeſt place, and buried him as their founder, father, and ſauior of their citie: and the place is called at this preſent time, ARATIVM. There they yearely make two ſolemne ſacrifices, the one the fift of Nouem-

Arativm.

C ber, at which time he deliuered the citie of SICYONE from tyrannie, & they call this ſacrifice Soteria, as much to ſay, as the feaſt of health: and the other on his birth day, as it is reported. For the firſt ſacrifice, that was done by the Prieſt of *Iupiter* the ſauior. The ſecond ſacrifice alſo was done by *Aratus* ſonne, who was girt about with a cloth, not altogether white, but mingled with purple colour. So during the ſacrifice, they ſong hymnes vpon the harpe in praiſe of him, and the maiſter of the Muſitians made a proceſſion round about, being accompanied with boyes and young men of the citie, after whom followed the Senate crowned with garlands of flowers, and other citizens that were diſpoſed to goe a proceſſion. Howbeit the moſt part of the honors that were appointed to be done vnto him, were left of by proceſſe of time, & chaunge of things that followed afterwards. Thus you ſee what the life of *Aratus* the father

Yearely ſacrifices appointed to honor Aratus memorie.

D hath bene, as we find in hiſtories. Now *Philip* being a wicked man, and cruell of nature, cauſed his ſonne *Aratus* alſo to be poyſoned, not with a deadly poyſon, but with ſuch poyſon as troubleth a mans wits ſo, that through their deueliſh receit, he becometh a ſtarke foole without any wit at all, and maketh him to attempt ſtraunge and abhominable things, and to haue certaine ſhamefull and deteſtable deſires: inſomuch as his death (though he dyed in the pryme of his youth) could not be thought miſerable, but rather a happy deliuerance to him of all his miſeries and miſhappes. But *Philip* afterwards, ſo long as he liued, payed vnto *Iupiter* (protector of all iuſtice and friendſhip) the puniſhment his wicked life deſerued. For, after he was ouercome in battell by the ROMANES, he was compelled to yeelde him ſelfe to their mercy, by

The miſerable death of Aratus the ſonne. Straunge kindes of poiſoning.

King Philip puniſhed for his wickednes.

E whome he was depriued from all the reſt of his landes and dominions he had, and of all his ſhippes, but fiue only, and condemned beſides to pay a thouſand talents for a fine, and to giue his ſonne in hoſtage: and they only left him for pities ſake, the kingdom of MACEDON, with all the appertenaunces. And there he daily putting to death the chiefeſt of his nobilitie, and neereſt of blood vnto him: he filled his realme with crueltie and mortall hate againſt him. Furthermore, amongeſt ſuch a heape of euills, hauing but one onely ioy, to haue a vertuous ſonne: he put him to death, for ſpyte and malice that he ſaw the ROMANES honor him, & left his other ſonne *Perſeus* ſucceſſor of his realme: who, as it is reported, was not his lawfull begotten ſonne, but taken for his ſonne, and borne of a taylors wife called *Gnathenium*. It is that *Perſeus* whom *Paulus AEmylius* ouercame and led in triumphe in ROME, and at him, the race of the kings diſcended from *Antigonus*, failed. Where the iſſue and offspring of *Aratus*, conti-

Perſeus king Philippes ſonne, whom Paulus AEmylius triumphed for in Rome.

F nueth yet vntill our time, in the cities of SICYONE, and PALLENA.

THE LIFE OF *Galba.*

Iphicrates saying what maner of man a Mercenarie souldier should be.

IPhicrates the ATHENIAN Captaine sayd, that a mercenarie souldier should be couetous, a louer, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith to maintaine his pleasure, he should be the vallianter, and readier to put him selfe into any daunger. But most men thinke, that souldiers should be as one entere strong body, that sturreth not of it selfe without the mouing of the generall. And to approue this opinion, it is said that *Paulus AEmylius* ariuing in MACEDON, and finding the souldiers full of words and curiositie (euerie man meddling with the affaires of the General) he made open proclamacion, no man so hardy to medle with his office and affaires, but euery man only to keepe his sword sharpe, and to be quicke of hand against the enemy: and for the rest, to referre all to him, who would take sufficient order for things of his charge and gouernment. Therefore *Plato*, that saith it litle preuaileth to haue a good and wise Captaine, if the souldiers also be not wise and obedient, thinking it as requisite for the vertue of obedience, to haue men of a noble minde and good education, as otherwise it is meete for a Captaine to know how to direct and commaunde well, considering it is that which with lenity & mildnes doth mitigate all fury and choller: he hath diuers other examples and sufficient proofes to proue his words true, and namely, the great miseries and calamities which came to the ROMANES after the death of *Nero*, do plainly shew, that nothing is more daungerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, then a great armie liuing licentiouslie and disorderly. For *Demades* after the death of *Alexander* the great, compared *Alexanders* armie, vnto *Cyclops Polyphemus* after his eye was put out: considering howe blindly and looselie they were gouerned. Howebeit the Empire of ROME being deuided into sundrie factions at one selfe time, and rising against it selfe in many places, it fell into the like misfortunes and calamities fained of the Poets by the TITANS: not so much through the ambicionsnes of the Emperours, as by meanes of the couetousnes & insolency of the souldiers, who draue the Emperours out of their Imperiall seates one after an other, as one naile drieth out an other. And *Dionysius* also the tyrant of SICILIA, was wont to call *Pheraeus*, who had bene onely tyran of THESSALY tenne monethes space: a tyran in a play, deriding his so sodaine chaunge of state. But the Imperiall house of the *Cæsars* at ROME receiued foure Emperours, in lesse then tenne monethes space, the souldiers now putting in one, and then taking out an other, as if they had bene

AEmylius saying of souldiers.

Platoes saying of an armie.

Demades saying of Alexanders armie, after his death.

The Empire of Rome, wherein like mild.

A bene in a play on a ſcaffolde. So that, the ROMANES being thus grieuouſlie oppreſſed, had yet this comfort: that they needed not to ſeeke to be reuenged of them that did oppreſſe them. For they ſawe one of them murther an other, and him firſt and moſt iuſtlie of all other murthered, that had firſt of all corrupted the ſouldiers, in teaching them to make gaine of the chaunge of Emperours: and ſo deprauing a worthie deede of it ſelfe, which was their forſaking of *Nero*: and mingling it with briberie, made it plaine treaſon. For *Nymphidius Sabinus*, being Captaine of the Emperours gard, which are called the Prætorian ſouldiers, together with *Tigellinus*, when he ſaw *Nero* in diſpaire of him ſelfe & of his eſtate, & that he was readie to flie into ÆGYPT: he perſwaded the gard they ſhoulde call *Galba* Emperour, as if *Nero* had not bene at ROME, but fled and gone, and promiſed euerie one ſeuen thowſande fiue hundred

B Drachmas a peece. And to the reſt of the ſouldiers that were diſperſed vp and downe in garriſon vpon the prouinces, twelue hundred & fifty Drachmas a man. For the leauying of which ſumme, they could not poſſiblie doe it, but they muſt needes commit tenne thowſand times more extorcion to euery bodie, then *Nero* had done. This large promiſe made them preſently put *Nero* to death, and ſhortly after him, *Galba* him ſelfe alſo. For the ſouldiers forſooke *Nero*, for the hope they had to receiue this promiſed gift: and ſhortlie after they ſlewe the ſecond, which was *Galba*, bicauſe they receiued not their gifts in time to their contentment. Afterwards alſo, in ſeeking who ſhould ſtill feede them with like gifts, before they could obtaine their wiſhed hope, one of them deſtroyed an other by treaſon and rebellion. But nowe to ſet downe all thinges particularlie which hapned at that time, it were to wryte one whole entere

C hiſtorie: and therefore, I will content my ſelfe, not to paſſe ouer with ſilence the notableſt deedes and lamentable calamities which happened at that time vnto the *Ceſars*.

It is manifeſtly knowen to all men, that *Sulpitius Galba* of a priuate man, was the richeſt and wealthieſt that came to be in the number of the *Ceſars*: who, though he came of a verie noble houſe, deriuing him ſelfe from the race and family of the *Seruij*: yet he was honored the more, bicauſe he was a kinne vnto *Quintus Catulus*; who for vertue and eſtimacion, was one of the chiefeſt men of his time, albeit that otherwiſe, he willingly reſigned his authoritie and power vnto others. So *Galba* thereby was ſomwhat a kinne vnto *Liuia*, the wife of *Auguſtus Ceſar*, and therefore for her ſake he came out of the Emperours pallace, when he went to take poſſeſſion of his Conſulſhippe. Moreouer, it is reported, that when he had charge of the armie in GER-

D MANIE, he did valliantlie behaue him ſelfe. And in the gouernment of LIBYA alſo, where he was Viceconſul, he did as honorablie behaue him ſelfe, as any man whatſoeuer. Howbeit his meane and ſimple ordinary of dyet, voyde of all exceſſe, was imputed miſery & niggardlines in him, when he was proclaimed Emperour: bicauſe the praiſe of ſober & temperate diet which he would haue brought in vſe, was then ſo raw a thing, that it was taken for a new & ſtraunge deuiſe. He was ſent Gouernor alſo into SPAYNE by *Nero*, before he had learned to be afrayed of the citizens of great authority: howbeit, beſides that he was of a curteous & gentle nature, his age moreouer increaſed the opinion they had of him, that he was timerous and fearefull. For when the wretched officers of *Nero* did cruelly vexe & torment the prouinces, and that it lay not in *Galba* any way to help them: yet was it ſome comfort to them, which were iudged &

E ſold as ſlaues by the officers, to ſee that *Galba* did lament the miſeries & calamities they endured, as if they had bene done vnto him ſelfe. So when any ſlanderous rymes were made againſt *Nero*, which were ſong vp and downe in euerie place: he would neither forbid them, nor yet was offended, as *Neros* officers were. Therefore he was maruelouſlie beloued in the contrie, with them that were acquainted with him: bicauſe he was then in the eighteenth yere of his gouernment as Proconſul amongeſt them, at which time *Iunius Vindex* being Propretor of GAVLE, rebelled againſt *Nero*, who as it is reported, had written vnto *Galba*, before he entred into open action of rebellion. But *Galba*, did neither beleue him, nor alſo accuſe & bewray him, as diuers others which were gouernors of armies & prouinces did: who ſent *Vindex* letters written to *Nero* which he him ſelfe had written vnto them, & ſo did as much as in them lay to hinder

F the enterpriſe, who afterwards being of the conſpiracy did confeſſe they were traitors to them ſelues, as much as vnto him. Howbeit, when *Vindex* afterwards had proclaimed open warre againſt *Nero*, he wrote againe vnto *Galba*, & praied him to take the Imperiall crowne vpon him,

Nymphidius Sabine, and Tigellinus, betraied Nero.

The hope of gifts deſtroied the Empire of Rome.

The wealth and nobility of Galba.

Galbaes mildneſſe.

Galbaes chiefeſt.

Iunius Vindex rebelled againſt Nero.

and to become the head of a ſtrong and mightie bodie (which were the GAVLES) that lacked nothing but a head and Gouernor, being a hundred thowſand fighting men ready armed, and might alſo leauie a great number more of them. Then *Galba* conſulted thereuppon with his frends, & among them, ſome were of opinion that he ſhould ſtay a while, to ſee what change and alteracion would grow at ROME vpon this ſturre. Howbeit *Titus Iunius*, Captaine of the Prætorian band, ſaid vnto him: O *Galba*, what meaneth this ſo doutfull a deliberacion? Be not we wiſe men to call in queſtion, whether we ſhall allowe of *Vindex* frendſhip, or accuſe him? Yea, and with armes perſecute him, that deſired rather to haue thee Emperour, then *Nero* tyranne ouer the eſtate of ROME? Afterwardes *Galba* by bills ſet vp euerie where, appointed a day certaine, to enfranchiſe ſuche as woulde make ſute for it. This rumor flying ſtraight abroad, he gathered a great number of ſouldiers together, that were verie willing to rebell: and he was no ſooner gotten vp into the tribunall or chaire of ſtate, but all the ſouldiers did ſalute him, by the name of Emperour. Howbeit he was not content with this name at the firſt, but accuſing *Nero*, and lamenting the deathes of the nobleſt men whome he had cruellie put to death: he promiſed that he would imploy his beſt wit and diſcreſſion to the ſeruice and benefit of his contrie, neither naming him ſelfe *Cæſar*, nor Emperour, but only Lieutenant to the Senate, and ſtate of ROME. Now, that *Vindex* did wiſelie to call *Galba* to be Emperour, *Nero* him ſelfe in his doings doth witneſſe it. Who hauing alwayes made a countenance as though he paſſed not for *Vindex*, & that he wayed not the rebellion of the GAVLES: when it was told him that *Galba* was called Emperor, he being thē at ſupper, for ſpight he ouerthrew the table. Moreouer, though the Senate had iudged *Galba* an enemie, yet *Nero* to be pleaſaunt with his frends, made as though he was nothing affrayed of it, and ſaid, this newes made all for him, bicauſe he ſtoode in neede of money, & alſo that it was a happy occaſion offred him to helpe him withall. For ſayd he, we ſhall ſoone haue all the GAVLES goodes, as the ſpoyle of a iuſt warre, after we haue once againe ouercomen and conquered them: and moreouer, *Galbaes* goods alſo would quickly be in his hands, that he might ſell them, conſidering that he was become his open enemy. So he preſently commaunded *Galbaes* goods ſhould be openly ſold, to them that would giue moſt. *Galba* vnderſtanding that, did alſo by ſound of trompet ſell all *Neroes* goods he had in all the prouince of SPAYNE, and did alſo finde more men readier to buy, then there were goods to ſell. Daily men roſe againſt *Nero* in euery contry, who tooke *Galbaes* parte, *Clodius Macer* only excepted in AFRICK, and *Verginius Rufus* in GAVLE, both of them hauing charge of legions appointed for the ſafe keping of GERMANY: and both of them did follow ſeueral directions by them ſelues, varying in minde & intent. For *Clodius Macer* hauing robbed much, & put diuers men alſo to death through his cruelty & couetouſnes: he ſhewed plainly, that he ſwamme betwene two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, nor yet kept it. *Verginius* alſo on the other ſide, being Generall ouer great & mighty legions, who had ſundry times called him Emperour, & did in maner force him to take vpon him the name and Empire: he notwithſtanding did euer aunſwere them, that he neither minded to take the Empire vpon him, nor yet to ſuffer any other to do it, then ſuch as the Senate ſhould chooſe and call vnto the ſame. This at the firſt ſomwhat amazed *Galba*. But when both the armies of *Vindex* and *Verginius*, in ſpight of their Captaines (who could not ſtay nor keepe them backe, no more then cochmen can keepe backe the horſe with their bridells) were ioyned in a great battell together, where were ſlaine twenty thowſand GAVLES in the field, and *Vindex* alſo ſlue him ſelfe ſhortly after: it was geuen out, that the conquerors after ſo great a victory obtained, would cōpell *Verginius* to take vpon him to be Emperour, or elſe that they would take *Neroes* part againe. Then *Galba* being not a litle perplexed, wrote vnto *Verginius*, & perſwaded him to ioyne with him, to hold vp the Empire & liberty of the ROMANES, & thereupon fled ſtraight into a city of SPAYNE called *COLONIA, rather repēting him of that he had done, & wiſhing for his wonted peaceable & quiet life wherwith he was brought vp: then otherwiſe occupying him ſelfe about any neceſſary or proffitable thing for the furtherance of his enterpriſe. Now it was about the beginning of ſommer, and one day towards euening, there came to *Galba* one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, a SICILIAN borne, that was comen frō ROME in ſeuen daies: who vnderſtanding that *Galba* was alone, went preſently to his chamber dore & opened it, & cōming

in

In this place the Greeke is corruptly red μαινόντων for μαινόντων.

Sulpitius Galba, ſaluted by the ſouldiers, as Emperour.

Galba iudged an enemie by the Senate of Rome, and his goods ſold by the crier.

Clodius Macer, Gouernor of Africke. Verginius Rufus, Gouernor of Gaule. Verginius Rufus called Emperour.

Colonia a citie of Spayne.
** Others read Clunia.*

A in againſt the wils of the groomes of the chamber that ſtood at the dore, he told him that *Nero* being yet aliue, but ſene no more, firſt the people of ROME, & then the Senate, had proclaimed him Emperor: & that immediatly after, newes came that *Nero* was dead, the which he hardly beleuing notwithſtanding, went thither him ſelfe, ſaw his body layed out vpon the ground, & then made towards him with all ſpeede to bring him theſe newes. Theſe newes marueilouſly reuiued *Galba*, and a multitude of men thronged ſtraight about his dore, which began to be coragious, ſeing him liuely againe, although the ſpeede of the Meſſenger ſeemed incredible. Howbeit two dayes after, *Titus* alſo arriued, with certaine other of the campe, who told *Galba* perticulerly what the Senate had decreed in his behalfe. So, this *Titus* was called to great honor, and the ſlaue enfranchiſed had priuiledge giuen him to weare ringes of gold, and he was

B called *Martianus Vicellus*, who afterwards of all the infranchiſed bond men, became the chiefeſt man about his Maſter *Galba*. In the meane tyme, *Nymphidius* SABINE began at ROME, not couertly, but with open force, to take vpon him the abſolute gouernment of the Empire, perſwading him ſelf that *Galba* was ſo old, that he could hardly be brought in a lytter vnto ROME, being at the leaſt three ſcore and thirteene yeare olde: beſides alſo, that the army of the PRETORIANS which were in ROME, did beare him good will of long tyme, and then acknowledged none other Lord but him onely, for the large promiſe he had made them, for the which he receiued the thankes, and *Galba* remained the debter. So he preſently commaunded *Tigellinus*, his companion and Captaine with him of the army of the PRÆTORIANS, to leaue of his ſword: and diſpoſing him ſelfe to bancketing and feaſting, he ſent for all thoſe that had bene

C Conſuls, Prætors, or Proconſuls of prouinces, and made them all to be inuited in the name of *Galba*. So there were certaine ſouldiers gaue out this rumor in the campe, that they ſhould doe well to ſend Ambaſſadors vnto *Galba*, to praye him that *Nymphidius* might be their onely Captaine ſtill, without any companion ioyned with him. Furthermore, the honor and good will the Senate bare him, calling *Nymphidius* their benefactor, and going dayly to viſite him in his houſe, procuring him to be Author of all their decrees paſſed in Senate, and that he ſhould authoriſe them: this made him hie minded, and the bolder by much, inſomuch that ſhortly after, they that came to honor him in this ſort, did not onely hate and miſlike his doings, but moreouer he made them affrayd of him. Furthermore, when the Conſuls had giuen to commō purſeuants any commiſſions vnder ſeale, or letters pattents ſignifying the decrees

D of the Senate, to cary them to the Emperor, by vertue of which letters pattents, when the officers of the citie doe ſee the ſeale, they ſtraight prouide the purſeuants of coches and freſhe horſes to further their ſpeede and haſty iorney: *Nymphidius* was very angrye with them, bicauſe they did not alſo come to him for his letters, ſealed by him and his ſouldiers, to ſende likewiſe vnto the Emperor. But beſides all this, it is alſo reported that he was like to haue depoſed the Conſuls: howbeit they excuſing them ſelues vnto him, and crauing pardon, did appeaſe his anger. And to pleaſe the Commons alſo, he ſuffred them to put any of *Neroes* friends to death they could meete withall. Amonge other, they ſlue a Fenſer called *Spicillus*, whome they put vnder *Neroes* ſtatues, which they dragged vp and downe the citie. Another alſo called *Aponius*, one of *Neroes* accuſers, they threw him to the ground, and draue carts ouer him

E loden with ſtones. And diuers others alſo, whom they ſlue in that manner: of the which, ſome had done no maner of offence. Hereuppon one *Mauriſcus*, one of the nobleſt men of the citie & ſo eſteemed, ſayd openly in the Senate. I feare me we ſhall wiſh for *Nero* againe, before it be long. So *Nymphidius* being comen in manner to the fulnes of his hope: he was very glad to heare that ſome repyned at him, bicauſe he was the ſonne of *Caius Cæſar*, that was the next Emperor after *Tiberius*. For this *Caius Cæſar*, when he was a young man, had kept *Nymphidius* mother, which had bene a fayer young woman, and the Daughter of one *Calliſtus*, one of *Cæſars* infranchiſed bond men, whome he had gotten of a Laundres he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this *Nymphidius* was borne before *Caius Cæſar* coulde knowe his mother, and men thought that he was begotten by a Fenſer called *Martianus*, with whome his mother

F *Nymphidia* fell in fancie, for that he had a great name at that time in ROME, and in deede *Nymphidius* was liker to him in fauor, then vnto any other. So, he confeſſed that he was the ſonne of this *Nymphidia*, howbeit he did aſcrybe the glory of the death of *Nero* vnto him ſelfe, and

Nymphidius Sabine taketh vpon him to be Emperor.

Honors done to Nymphidius by the Senate, made him grow too bold and inſolent.

Neros friends ſlayne at Rome, by Nymphidius commaundements.

The parentage of Nymphidius.

thought him ſelfe not ſufficiently recompenſed with the honors they gaue him, nether alſo A
with the goods he enioyed, nether for that he lay with *Sporus* whome *Nero* loued ſo dearely,
whome he ſent for to *Neroes* funeralls whileſt his body e was yet a burning, and kept him with
him as if he had bene his wife, and called him *Poppæus*. Furthermore, all this did not content
him, but yet ſecretly he aſpyred to be Emperor, partly practiſing the matter in Rome it ſelfe,
by the meanes of certaine women and Senators which were ſecretly his friends: and partly
alſo through one *Gellianus*, whome he ſent into Spayne, to ſee how all thinges went there.
Howbeit after the death of *Nero*, all things proſpered with *Galba*, ſauing *Verginius Rufus* only,
who ſtoode doubtfull yet, and made him ſorely miſtruſt him, for that he was affrayd (beſides
that he was generall ouer a great and puiſant army, hauing alſo newly ouerthrowen *Vindex*,
and ſecretly ruling the beſt parte of the Empire of Rome, which was all Gavle, and then in B
tumult and vprore, ready to rebell) leſt he would harken vnto them that perſwaded him to
take the Empire to him ſelfe. For there was no Captaine of Rome at that tyme ſo famous, and
Verginius, a famous Captaine. of ſo great eſtimation as *Verginius*, and that deſeruedly, for that he had done great ſeruice to
the Empire of Rome in tyme of extreamitie, hauing deliuered Rome at one ſelfe tyme from
a cruell tyranny, and alſo from the daunger of the warres of the Gavles. This notwithſtan-
ding, *Verginius* perſiſting ſtill in his firſt determination, referred the election of the Emperor
vnto the Senate: although, that after the death of *Nero* was openly knowen, the common
ſort of ſouldiers were earneſtly in hand with him, and that a Tribune of the ſouldiers (other-
wiſe called a Colonel of a thowſand men) went into his tent with a ſword drawen in his hand,
and bad *Verginius* either determine to be Emperor, or els to looke to haue the ſworde thruſt C
into him. Yet after that *Fabius Valens*, Captaine of a legion, was ſworne vnto *Galba*, and that he
had receiued letters from Rome, aduertiſing him of the ordinaunce and decree of the Senate:
in thend, with much a doe, he perſwaded the ſouldiers to proclayme *Galba* Emperor, who ſent
Flaccus Ordeonius to ſucceede him, vnto whome he willingly gaue place. So, when *Verginius*
had deliuered vp his army vnto him, he went to meete with *Galba*, on whome he wayted, com-
ming on ſtill towards Rome. And *Galba* all that time neither ſhewed him euill countenance,
nor yet greatly eſteemed of him, *Galba* him ſelfe being cauſe of the one who feared him, and
his friends of the other, but ſpecially *Titus Iunius*: who for the malice he bare vnto *Verginius*,
thinking to hinder his riſing, did vnwittingly in deede further his good happe, and deliuered
him occaſion to draw him out of the ciuill warres and miſchieues, (the which lighted after- D
wards vpon all the other Captaines) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age.
Furthermore, Ambaſſadors were ſent from the Senate, and met with *Galba* at Narbona, a ci-
tie of Gavle: where after they had preſented their humble duetie, they perſwaded him to
make all the haſte he could poſſible to ſhew him ſelfe to the people of Rome, who were mar-
uelous deſirous to ſee him. *Galba* receiued them very graciouſly and curteouſly, & made them
great chere, howbeit very modeſtly notwithſtanding. For notwithſtanding that *Nymphidius*
had ſent him diuers Officers, and ſtore of *Neroes* moueables: yet he would neuer be ſerued
with any of them, at any feaſts or bankets he made, with other then his owne ſtuffe, wherein
he ſhewed his noble mind, and how he could maſter all vanitie. But *Titus Iunius* ſhortly after
told *Galba*, that this noble mind and ciuill moderation, without pride or pompe, was to lowly E
a manner to flatter the people, and that it was a certaine reſpect of honeſtie that knewe not it
ſelfe, and became not his greatnes and maieſtie. So, he perſwaded him to vſe *Neroes* money &
ſtuffe, and to be ſumptuous and princely in his feaſts, without niggardlines. To conclude, the
The condition of Titus Iunius. olde man *Galba* began plainely to ſhew that he would be ruled by *Titus Iunius*: who aboue all
other was extreame couetous, and beſides too much giuen to women. For when he was a
young man, the firſt time he went to the warres vnder *Caluiſius* Sabine, he brought his Cap-
taines wife (which liked good felowſhippe) diſguiſed like a ſouldier into the campe, into his
generalls tent (which the Romanes called Principia) and there was ſomewhat bold with her.
Wherefore *Caius Cæſar* committed him to priſon, but he eſcaped at his death. Another time,
when he ſupped with *Clodius Cæſar*, he ſtale a ſiluer pot. *Clodius* hearing of it, bad him againe to F
ſupper the next night: but he commaunded his men they ſhould giue him drinke in an ear-
then cruſe. Thus this theft (through *Cæſars* pleaſauntnes) ſeemed rather a matter of ſport, then

A of anger: howbeit the faultes which he committed afterwards through extreame couetouſ-
nes of money, (at what time he ruled *Galba*, and bare all the ſwaye about him) gaue vnto ſome
iuſt cauſe, and vnto others apparant culler of tragicall miſchieues, and greeuous calamities.
For *Nymphidius*, ſo ſoone as *Gellianus* was returned out of SPAYNE, whome he had ſent thither
to ſee what *Galba* did: he enforming him that *Cornelius Laco* was Captaine of the gard and
houſe of the Emperor, and that *Titus Iunius* did all in all about him, and that he could neuer
be ſuffred to come neare *Galba*, nor to ſpeake with him a part, bicauſe thoſe which were about
Galba did miſtruſt him, & euer had an eye to him to ſee what he did, he was marueloully per-
plexed withall. Thereuppon he called for all the Centurions, Captaines, and pety Captaines
of the campe of the PRÆTORIAN army, and perſwaded them that *Galba* touching his owne
B perſon, was a good old and diſcreete man, howbeit that he did not follow his owne aduiſe &
counſell, but was ruled altogether by *Iunius* and *Laco*, who marred all: and therefore, that it
were good before they came to be of greater power, and to haue ſuch great authoritie in ma-
neging the affayres of the Empire, as *Tigellinus* had before, to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Em-
peror in the name of all the campe, to tell him that in putting thoſe two men from about him,
he ſhould be the better welcome vnto ROME, and to all men els beſides. The Captaines vtter-
ly miſliked this deuiſe. For they thought it too ſtraunge, and beyond all reaſon, to ſeeme to
teache an old Emperor, as if he were but a child that did not know what it was to gouerne: &
to appoynt him what ſeruaunts and friends he ſhould keepe, and whome he ſhould truſt or
miſtruſt. *Nymphidius* perceiuing this, tooke another courſe, and wrote letters vnto *Galba* to ter-
C rifie him, one tyme ſending him word that he was maruelous euill beloued of many in ROME,
and that they were ready to rebell againſt him: an other tyme alſo, that the legions of GER-
MANY were reuoked, and that he vnderſtoode the like from the legions in IVRY and SYRIA.
And another tyme alſo, that *Clodius Macer* in APRICK ſtayed all the ſhippes fraighted with
corne that were bownd for ROME. But in the ende, finding that *Galba* made no accompt of
him, and that he gaue no credit to his words nor writings: he determined firſt of all to ſet vp-
on him. Howbeit *Clodius Celſus*, borne in the citie of ANTIOCH, a wiſe man, and his faithfull
friend, diſſwaded him marueloully not to doe it: declaring vnto him, that he thought there
was no one houſe nor family in ROME that would call *Nymphidius, Ceſar*. Howbeit in contrary
manner, diuers others mocked *Galba* and ſpecially one *Mithridates* of the Realme of PONT,
D that ſayd he was a bald writhen man. For the ROMANES (ſayd he) haue him in deede now in
ſome eſtimation, but when they haue once ſeene him, they will thinke it a perpetuall ſhame
and reproche to our tyme, that he was called *Ceſar*. So they thought it good to bring *Nym-
phidius* about midnight into the campe, and there openly to proclayme him Emperor. How-
beit the chiefe Tribune of the ſouldiers called *Antonius Honoratus*, gathered his ſouldiers to-
gether in the night, and before them all did firſt openly reproue him ſelfe, and then them, for
that they had ſo often turned and chaunged in ſo ſhort time, without any wit or diſcretion,
hauing no iudgement to chuſe the beſt way, but to be pricked forward and caried headlong
in that ſort by ſome wicked ſpirit, which brought them out of one treaſon into another. And
yet (ſayd he) our firſt chaunge had ſome countenaunce of reaſon, to wete, the horrible vices
E and faultes of *Nero*: but now, wherein can we accuſe *Galba*, to haue any countenaunce to fal-
ſifie our faith vnto him? hath he ſlayne his mother? hath he put her to death? hath he ſhame-
fully played the tumbler or common player vpon a ſcaffold in the Theater? And yet for all
theſe vile parts, we neuer durſt once beginne to forſake *Nero*, but gaue credit to *Nymphidius*
words, who told vs that *Nero* had firſt forſaken vs, and that he was fled into ÆGYPT. What
ſhall we doe? Shall we kill *Galba* after *Nero*? what, ſhall we kill him that is a kinne to *Liuia*, to
make the ſonne of *Nymphidia* Emperor: as we haue already ſlayne the ſonne of *Agrippina*? or
ſhall we rather kill him that hath raſhly entred into this enterpriſe, and thereby to reuenge the
death of *Nero*, and to ſhewe our ſelues faithfull ſouldiers vnto *Galba*? All the ſouldiers yelded
ſtraight to the Colonells words, and therewith went to their other companions to perſwade
F them to keepe their faith & promiſe they auowed vnto the Emperor: ſo that they made ma-
ny of them reuolt againe from *Nymphidius*. Thereuppon the noyſe and cryes beeing great,
Nymphidius ſuppoſing (as ſome thought) that the ſouldiers did call for him, or els hoping be-

Nymphidius practiſes.

The oration of Antonius Honoratus, Tribune of the ſouldiers, vnto his mutinous ſouldiers.

Nymphidius aſpireth to be Emperor.

tymes to quenche this tumult, to ſtaye ſuch as were yet wauering: he went thither him ſelfe A
with great ſtore of torche light, and caried an oration in his hand, the which *Ciconius Varro*
had made for him, and the which he had learned without booke to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers.
But when he found the gates of the campe ſhut, and ſaw diuers men armed vpon the walls, he
began to be affrayd: and comming nearer, asked them what they ment by it, and by whoſe
commaundement they had armed them ſelues as they did. A unſwer was made him by them
all, that they did acknowledge no other Emperor but *Galba*: the which he ſeemed to like of,
and alſo commaunded them that followed him to doe the like, and therewithall drew nearer.
Whereuppon certaine of the ſouldiers that warded at the gate, did open him the gate, and
ſuffred him to come in with a few men with him. Howbeit aſſoone as he was comen in, firſt
there was a dart throwen at him, the which one *Septimius* that went before him receiued vp- B
on his ſhield, & then others alſo came with their ſwords drawen in their hands to ſet on him,
Nymphidius Sabine ſlaine. and followed him as he fled into a ſouldiers cabbone, where they ſlue him. Then they layed
his body in an open place, and rayled it about, that euery man that would, might the next day
ſee it. So *Nymphidius* being ſlayne in this ſort, *Galba* vnderſtanding of his death, commaunded
The cruelnie of Galba. that all *Nymphidius* friendes and confederators that had not bene ſlayne at that tyme, ſhould
for his ſake be put to death, as in deede they were. Amongeſt them they ſlue *Ciconius* that had
made the oration for *Nymphidius*, and *Mithridates* alſo of PONT. Howbeit, though in deede
they had deſerued it, yet men thought it a very cruell part to commaund theſe men to be put
to death in that ſort, which were men of ſuch qualitie and calling as they were, without due
forme and order of lawe. For euery man ſtoode in good hope vpon the comming in of this C
new Emperor, to haue ſeene another manner of gouernment, then they had yet ſeene: how-
beit they were deceiued of their hope at the firſt choppe. But yet they miſliked this moſt of
Cornelius Tacitus calleth him Turpilianus. all, when he commaunded them to kill *Petronius Tertullianus*, that had bene Conſul, bicauſe
he was *Neroes* faithfull friend. But nowe for the death of *Clodius Macer*, whome *Trebonianus*
ſlue in AFRICK by his commaundement, and for *Fonteius* that was alſo ſlayne in GERMANY
by *Valens*: he had ſome reaſon to feare them, bicauſe they were in armes, and commaunded
great armies. But for *Tertullianus* that was an olde man, naked, and vnarmed: truely he ſhould
haue put him to his triall by law, if he would haue miniſtred iuſtice, the which he promiſed to
keepe at his firſt comming to the Imperial crowne. Herein they greatly reproued *Galba*. Now,
when he drew neare to ROME within fiue and twenty furlongs, he was compaſſed about with D
a multitude of Maryners and ſea faring men, that kept the high way on euery ſide, wandring
vp and downe in euery place. Theſe were the men whome *Nero* had gathered together into
one legion, and had taken them from the ower and made them ſouldiers. So they were come
thither to be ſuters to him, that he would allow them ſtill to be ſouldiers, and they preſſed ſo
arrogantly vpon him, that they would not ſuffer thoſe which came to the newe Emperor, to
Galba entred Rome with murder. ſee him, nor ſpeake with him: but they fell to tumult and vprore, crying out to haue enſignes
for their legion, and to be appoynted a place to lye in in garriſon. *Galba* referred them ouer to
another tyme, and bad them they ſhould then let him vnderſtand their demaund. They told
him againe, that this delay was a kind of deniall, and thereuppon fell to plaine mutinie, & fol-
lowed him with great cryes: inſomuch that ſome of them ſtuck not to draw out their ſwords. E
Then *Galba* commaunded the horſemen he had about him, to ſet vpon them. So there was
not a man of them that reſiſted, but ſome of them were ouerthrowen, and troden vnder their
horſe feete: & others alſo ſlaine as they fled. This was a very euil ſigne and preſage for him, to
enter into ROME with ſuch bloudſhed, vpon ſo many poore mens dead bodies as lay ſlayne on
the ground. Howbeit, where ſome before did deſpiſe and mock him for an old & feeble man,
euery man then was affraid of him, and quaked for feare. Furthermore, bicauſe he would ſhew
The vilenes of Galba. a great chaunge and alteracion from the vnreaſonable vaine gifts and expenſes of *Nero*: it ſee-
meth he did many vncomely things. As when one *Canus*, an excellent player on the recorder,
had played all ſupper tyme, bicauſe it was a maruelous ſweete Muſick to heare: he prayſed &
commended it maruelouſly, and commaunded one to bring him his casket, out of the which F
he tooke a few crownes, & put them into his hand, ſaying, that it was not money of the com-
mon treaſure, but of his owne. Furthermore, he gaue ſtraight commaundement that they
ſhould

A ſhould require and call backe againe the gifts *Nero* had geuen, and beſtowed vpon common players, minſtrells, wreſtlers, and people of ſuch kinde of facultie and profeſſion, and to leaue them only the tenth parte. But he got litle by this deuiſe. For the moſt parte of thoſe that had giftes geuen them, had ſpent and conſumed it all, as men that liue without any rule or order, and ſpent at night that which they get in the day: and beſides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them to reſtore it againe. But this was an endles worke, for things had bene ſo conueyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinite number of mens hands. But of all this, the ſhame and diſhonor returned to *Galba* him ſelfe, though the malice and hatred lighted on *Titus Iunius*: who only made the Emperour ſtraight laced to all others, whileſt he him ſelfe tooke vnreaſonably of all men, ma-
B king porteſale of euerie thing that came to hand. For *Heſiodus* the Poet ſayth: *Heſiodus ſaying.*

As vvell vvhen the veſſell is full that it ſpill,
As vvhen it is emptie, thirſt craueth drinke ſtill.

But *Iunius* perceiuing *Galba* to be olde and feeble, woulde wiſely take his fortune and time, while time ſerued, ſuppoſing it almoſt to be at an end, ſo ſoone as he beganne to enter into it. So in the meane time he did much diſhonor the poore old man, ouergreatlie abuſing (vnder cloke of his authoritie) the chiefeſt and waightieſt matters, in reprouing, or altogether hindering thoſe, the which the Prince him ſelfe had a good deſire to deale vprightly in, as to puniſh the officers of *Nero*. For he put ſome of them to death, among the which *Elius* was one, *Galba killeth Neroes ſeruaunts and officers.*
and certaine other, as *Polyclitus*, *Petinus*, and *Patrobius*: whereat the people maruelouſlie re-
C ioiced, and cried out as they went to execucion through the market place, that it was a goodly and bleſſed proceſſion, and required *Tigellinus* of the goddes and men, that had bene chiefe maiſter and guide of all *Neroes* tyrannie. Howbeit the trimme man had gotten the vauntage, and had largely fed *Iunius* before: for afterwards he put poore *Tertullianus* to death, who had neither betrayed nor hated *Nero*, being as he was, & had neuer offended, nor was partaker of any of his wicked parts he played, when he was aliue. Wheras he that made *Nero* worthie of death, & that afterwards had alſo betrayed him: he was left alone, & nothing ſayd vnto him, being a manifeſt proofe to all others, that they ſhould not dout to hope to obteine any thing at *Titus Iunius* hands, ſo they fed him with gifts. For the common people of Rome neuer deſired thing ſo much, as to ſee *Tigellinus* to be caried to execucion: and they neuer left crying
D out to demaund him in all aſſemblies of the Theater or ſhew place, vntil ſuch time as the Emperour *Galba* did forbid them by proclamacion, the which declared that *Tigellinus* would not liue long, bicauſe he was ſicke of a conſumption of the lungs, which by litle & litle did weare him to nothing: and *Galba* prayed the people that they would not make his Empire tyrannicall and bloodie. The people were much offended with this, but yet they ſeemed to laugh at it: and *Tigellinus* did ſacrifice to the goddes for his health & ſafetie, and prepared a ſumptuous feaſt. Where *Iunius* riſing from ſupper, being ſet by the Emperour, went vnto *Tigellinus* to be merie with him, and tooke his daughter being a widdow with him, vnto whom *Tigellinus* dranke, and offred her a gift of fiue and twentie Myriades of ſiluer: and commaunded one of his chiefeſt concubines to take a carcanet from her necke ſhe wore, and to geue it the o-
E ther, being worth fifteene Myriades. After he had handled the matter thus, thoſe things that were done vprightly and with iuſtice, were reproued and taken in euill part: as the thing that was graunted to the Gaules, bicauſe they did rebell with *Vindex*. For men thought that they were not diſcharged of the ſubſidies & taxes they were wont to pay, and that they were made free of Rome, ſo much through the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperour, as it was by *Iunius* meanes, of whom they had bought it. For theſe cauſes the people hated the Emperour *Galba*. Howbeit the ſouldiers ſtill liued in good hope, for the gift that was promiſed them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as muche as was promiſed them, they ſhould yet enioy as muche as *Nero* had geuen them. But *Galba* vnderſtanding that they com- *The noble ſaying of the Emperour Galba.*
plained of him, he ſpake a word meete for ſo noble and worthie a Prince as he was: that he v-
F ſed to chooſe ſouldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the ſouldiers, it bred a maruelous mortall hatred in them againſt him: bicauſe they thought it was not only to take the gift away from them which they hoped preſently to haue receiued, but that it was alſo a *Galba offended the ſouldiers.*

preſident to teach the Emperours that ſhould come after him, what they ſhould doe. How- A
beit the rebelling mindes of the Prætorian gard at Rome appeared not yet, but was ſecretlie
kept in for the reuerence they bare vnto the maieſtie and perſon of *Galba*, who kept them that
were deſirous to rebell, bicauſe they ſawe as yet no beginning of any chaunge or alteracion.
This did ſomwhat ſmother and keepe in the ſhew of their wicked intent. But they which had
before ſerued vnder *Verginius*, and were at that time vnder *Flaccus* in Germanie, thinking
them ſelues worthie of great reward for the battell they had won againſt *Vindex*, and hauing
nothing geuen them in recõpence: they would not be pleaſed with any thing their Captaine
ſayd vnto them, neither did they make any accompt of *Flaccus*, bicauſe he coulde not ſturre
him ſelfe, he was ſo plagued with the gowte, and beſides that, he had no maner of experience
Tumult amongeſt the ſouldiers and legions of the Romanes in Germany. in warres. So one day when certaine ſportes were made, at the bringing in of the which, the B
Colonells and Captaines (according to the maner of the Romanes) made prayers vnto the
goddes for the health and proſperitie of the Emperour *Galba*: there were diuers of them that
made a noyſe at the firſt, and afterwardes when the Captaines continued on their prayers, in
the end the ſouldiers aunſwered, if he be worthie. The legions in like maner vnder *Tigellinus*
charge, did oftentimes vſe ſuch inſolent partes: whereof *Galbaes* officers did aduertiſe him by
letters. Wherefore *Galba* being affrayed, & miſtruſting that they did not only deſpiſe him for
his age, but alſo bicauſe he had no children: he determined to adopt ſome young gentleman
for his ſonne, of the nobleſt houſe of the citie of Rome, and to proclaime him his ſucceſſor in
Othoes maners. the Empire. At that time there was one *Marcus Otho*, of a noble houſe, but euer geuen to ſen- C
ſualitie and pleaſure from his cradell, as much as any Romane could be. And as *Homer* often-
times doth call *Paris*, the husbande of the fayer *Helen*, naming him by the name of his wife,
bicauſe he had no other commendable vertue in him: euen ſo *Otho* came to be knowen in
Poppæa, Othoes wife. Rome, by marying *Poppæa*, whome *Nero* loued when ſhe was *Criſpinus* wife, howebeit bea-
ring ſome reſpect to his wife, and being affrayed alſo of his mother, he had intiſed *Otho* to be
his bawde vnto her. *Nero* loued *Otho* dearely, and muche delighted in his companie, bicauſe
he was ſo good a fellow and free of his fleſhe: and was verie glad ſometime to heare howe he
mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as *Nero* on a time was noynting him
ſelfe with pretions oyles and perfumes, he caſt a litle vpon *Otho* as he went by: who the next
day made him a feaſt in his houſe, where ſodainlie were thruſt into the hall, diuers veſſells of
gold and ſiluer full of this perfumed oyle, that ranne out of them like conduit water, and did D
wette all the hall. So *Otho* hauing firſt poſſeſſed *Poppæa*, and abuſed her vnder hope of *Neroes*
loue: he perſwaded her to be diuorſed from her husband. The which ſhe did, and he receiued
her home to his owne houſe, as his lawfull wife: not being ſo well pleaſed to haue parte, as he
was ſorie and angrie alſo to let an other enioy her. Now *Poppæa* her ſelfe (as it is reported) did
not miſlike this his gealouzie, for ſometimes ſhe woulde ſhut her dore againſt *Nero*, though
Otho were not within: either bicauſe ſhe woulde keepe *Nero* in breath, and in loue liking ſtill,
or elſe as ſome thought, bicauſe ſhe would not haue *Cæſar* to her husbande, and likewiſe that
ſhe would not refuſe him for her frend, bicauſe ſhe was wantonly geuen. But ſo it is, *Otho* was
in daunger of his life by marying of *Poppæa*: and ſo was it alſo a ſtraunge thing, that *Nero* ha-
uing put his wife and ſiſter to death, only to mary *Poppæa*, he did yet pardon *Otho*, and ſaued his E
Otho ſent Proprætor into Luſitania. life. Howebeit it was for *Senecaes* ſake that was his frende, through whoſe perſwaſion he was
ſent to the furtheſt parte of Spayne alongeſt the Ocean ſea, to be Gouernour of Lvsitania. And there he gouerned ſo wiſely, that he was nothing chargeable nor troubleſome vnto
the contry: knowing that this honorable charge was geuen him, only to mitigate and hide his
baniſhent. Afterwards when *Galba* had rebelled, he was the firſt of all the Gouernours of the
prouinces that ioyned with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both golde and ſiluer,
vnto the mynt maiſter, he gaue it him to put into bullion, and ſo to be conuerted into currant
coyne. Moreouer he gaue of his officers vnto *Galba*, thoſe which he thought the meeteſt
men to ſerue a Prince: and otherwiſe, when he was tried, he ſhewed him ſelfe as faithfull and
skilfull in matters of ſtate, as any one that followed the Emperours traine. Inſomuch as all the F
way he went many dayes iorney in coch with *Galba* him ſelfe, and did maruelouſlie currie fa-
uour with *Titus Iunius*, beſtowing great gifts vpon him, and alſo enterteining him with plea-

ſaunt

A ſant ſpeches: but ſpecially, bicauſe he willingly gaue him the vpper hād wherby he was aſſured to be the ſecōd perſon in credit about *Galba*. So in all that he did, he far excelled *Iunius*, for that he graūted mens ſutes frāckly & frely without one penny taking, & was beſids eaſy to be ſpokē with of euery man that had any ſute to him: but ſpecially of the ſouldiers, whom he did greatly help & further, & cauſed diuers alſo to be called to honorable office, he himſelf partly mouing the Emperor for thē, without any labor or ſute made vnto him, & partly alſo obteining thē at *Iunius* hāds, & of the two infrachiſed bondmē of *Galba*, *Icelus* & *Aſiaticus*. For, theſe three men did beare all the ſway & credit about the Emperor in the court. Moreouer, alwaies whē he inuited the Emperor to his houſe, he bribed the Prætorian gard that waited vpō him, & gaue euery ſouldier a crown. Now this in ſight, ſemed chiefly to be done to honor the Emperor with: *Others credit about Galba.*

Others praeſiſe, aſpiring to the Empire.

B though in deede it was a fine deuiſe to ouerthrow him, to bribe the ſouldiers in that ſort as he did. So *Galba* cōſulting whom he ſhould make his ſucceſſor: *T. Iunius* preferred *Otho* vnto him: the which he did not ſimply of himſelfe, nor without reward, but only with promiſe that *Otho* ſhould marry his daughter if *Galba* did adopt him his ſonne, & proclaime him ſucceſſor in the Empire. Howbeit *Galba* did alway ſpecially regard the cōmon wealth before his priuat liking, & ſought to adopt ſuch a one, as ſhould not ſo much pleaſe himſelf, as otherwiſe he ſhould be profitable & meete for the Empire. But ſurely in my opinion, *Galba* would not make *Otho* his heire of his goods, cōſidering what an vnreaſonable ſpēder he was, & how ſumptuous in al his things, & beſides, far gone in det: for he ought aboue fiue thouſand Myriades. So when he had heard *Iunius* cōſell about this adoptiō, he gētly without other anſwer, did put ouer his deter-

C minatiō vntil another time, & made *Otho* only Cōſul at that time, & *T. Iunius* Cōſul with him: whereby it was ſtraight ſuppoſed, that at the beginning of the new yere, he would proclaime him his ſucceſſor in the Empire. Which was the thing the ſouldiers moſt deſired of all other. But now, delaying ſtil his determination, the legions of the Romanes in Germany, did riſe & rebel againſt him al at an inſtant. For he was generally hated of al his ſouldiers, bicauſe he paid thē not the gift he had promiſed them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alleaged for their cauſe of riſing, that he had diſhonorably reiected *Verginius Rufus*: and that the Gaules which had fought againſt thē, were rewarded with great & rich priuiledges, & they that tooke not part with *Vindex*, had bene grieuouſly puniſhed & put to death. Moreouer, that *Galba* did only honor *Vindex* death after he was dead, as acknowledging his goodwil vnto him,

The legions in Germanie doe rebell againſt Galba.

D offring publike oblatiōs & funeral ſacrifices for him, as if by him only he had bene proclaimed Emperor. Now ſuch ſpeches & rumors ran through the cāpe amōgſt thē, whē the firſt day of the yere came, which the Romanes cal the calends of Ianuary, on which day whē *Flaccus* had called the ſouldiers together, to ſweare them to the Emperor according to the cuſtome: they plucked down *Galbaes* images, & ſware only in the name of the people, & the Senate of Rome. The captaines ſeing what courſe they tooke, were as much affraid of the daūger to be without a head, as they ſtood doutful of the miſchief of their rebelliō. So there ſtept vp one amōgſt thē & ſaid, My fellowes in armes, what do we meane? We neither chooſe any other Emperor, nor yet do allow of him that is Emperor at this preſent: wherby we ſhew plainly, that we do not only refuſe *Galba*, but alſo all other to be our head & Emperor that may commaund vs. Now for

The ſouldiers doe rebell againſt Galba.

E *Flaccus Ordeonius*, that is but *Galbaes* ſhadow and image: I would wiſh we ſhould let him alone there as he is. And for *Vitellius*, gouernor of the lower Germanie, he is not farre from vs, but one daies iorney only, whoſe father was Cenſor at Rome, and thriſe alſo Conſul, and that was in a maner a Peere and companion of *Clodius Ceſar* in the gouernment of the Empire: whoſe pouerty if any man miſlike in him, is a manifeſt proofe of his goodnes and magnanimity. Him therefore let vs chooſe, & let the world know that we can tell how to chooſe an Emperor, better then the Spanyards or Lvsitanians. Some of the ſouldiers that ſtoode by, confirmed theſe words, but others alſo miſliked of thē: inſomuch that amōg the reſt there was an enſigne bearer that ſtale ſecretly out of the cāpe, to cary *Vitellius* newes hereof, who that night made a great ſupper, & had great ſtore of good cōpany with him. Theſe newes rūning ſtraight through

F his cāpe, *Fabius Valēs*, colonel of a legiō, came the next morning with a great nūber of horſemē, & was the firſt mā that named *Vitellius* Emperor, who before ſemed to refuſe that name, as one that was affraid to take the charge of ſo great an Empire vpon him: but after dinner, being full

Vitellius accepted the name of Germanicus, but not of Cæsar. Vitellius named Emperor by the souldiers.

of wine & meate, he came out amõg thẽ, & accepted the name of *Germanicus* which they gaue him, & refused the name of *Cæsar*. But therewithal incõtinently after, *Flaccus* souldiers leauing their goodly popular oth which they had sworne in the name of the people & Senate, they all then tooke their othes faithfully to doe what it should please the Emperour *Vitellius* so commaund them. Thus *Vitellius* was chosen Emperor in GERMANY. So *Galba* hearing of this new chaũge, thought it not good to deferre time any lẽger for the adoptiõ he had intended, wherfore certainly vnderstanding that those whom he trusted most about him, were parties in this matter, some taking part with *Dolabella*, & the most part of thẽ with *Otho*, he neither liking the one nor the other, sodainly without any word spokẽ to any man, he sent for *Piso*, (that was the yoũger sonne of *Crassus* & *Piso*, whom *Nero* had put to death) a yoũg man faier condicioned, & shewed by his graue & modest countenance he had by nature, that he was indued with many noble vertues. *Galba* came downe presently frõ his pallace, & went straight to the cãpe to proclaime *Piso Cæsar*, & his successor in the Empire. Howbeit at his setting out of his pallace, there appeared many great signes in the firmamẽt which followed him. And moreouer, whẽ he was also come into his cãpe, & that he began to say without booke part of his oratiõ, & partly also to read it: it lightned al the while he spake, & there fel such a great shower of raine vpon it, & a maruelous thick mist in the cãpe, & ouer al the city, that mẽ might easely se the gods did not like this adoptiõ, & that it would not prosper. The souldiers thẽ selues shewed their discõtentment by their heauy looks, & the rather, bicause at that time there was no speech of reward or liberality. And furthermore, they that were present also, maruelled much (for that they could gather by the coũtenance & words of *Piso*) that *Piso* nothing reioiced at this great fauor, although he lacked not wit & vnderstanding otherwise to acknowledge it. And on the other side also, they found easely by *Othoes* lookes, many signes & proofes that he was maruelously offended in his mind, to see that he was thus deceiued of his hope. For he being the mã that was first spokẽ of, & thought most worthiest of all other, & being comen also so nere vnto it: now to see himselfe thus wiped out of it, he supposed that it was a plaine proofe that *Galba* had no good opinion of him, & that he maliced him in his hart, so that after that time he stil stood in feare of his life. For he being affraid of *Piso*, hating also *Galba*, & being grieuously offended with *T. Iunius*: he wẽt his way ful of diuers thoughts in his mind. For the Soothsaiers, Astronomers, & Chaldeans which he euer kept about him, they did perswade him not to be discoraged for this, & to cast all hope aside: but specially one *Ptolomy*, in whom he had great cõfidence, bicause he had oftẽtimes before foretold and assured him, that *Nero* should not put him to death, but contrarily, that *Nero* should die first, & he himself suruiue him, & should become Emperor of ROME. Wherby *Ptolomy* hauing proued his first prediction true vnto him, he bad him be bold, & feare not that to come. But now besides him, those that secretly cõplained vnto him, did prick him forward the more, sighing to see him so euil delt with by *Galba*, & diuers of thẽ chiefly, which bare great authority & credit about *Tigellinus* & *Nymphidius*: who being thẽ cast of, & discoũtenãced, came all vnto him, & stirred him vp the more. As amongst others, *Veturius* & *Barbius* chiefly, of the which the one had bene *Optio*, and the other *Tesserarius*: (for so the ROMANES call those that be their messengers, spials, & officers to the Captaines) who with an infranchised bondman of his called *Onomastus*, went vnto the campe, and there corrupted some souldiers with ready money, & other some with faire words, being of them selues euil inclined, & expected but occasion to vtter their malice. For otherwise, had the souldiers bene all of one mind, it had not bene an enterprise to haue bene brought to passe in foure dayes space (being no more betwext the adoption and murther) to make a whole campe rebell in that sorte. For they were slaine the fifteenth day of Ianuarie, on which day *Galba* did sacrifice in the morning within his pallace, before his frends. But at that time the Soothsaier called *Ombricius*, when he had the intralls of the beasts sacrificed in his hands, & had looked vpon them: he spake not doutfully, but plainly, that he saw signes of great tumult and rebellion, and that the Emperour was in present daunger of great treason. Whereby it plainly appeared, that the goddes had put *Galba* into *Othoes* hands: for he stood at that time behind *Galba*, & both heard & saw all that the Soothsayer did. So he seeming to be grieued withall in his minde, and his colour chaunging oft for the feare he was in: his infranchised bondeman *Onomastus* came and tolde him that the masons and

Galba adopteth Piso his successor.

Euill signes appeared vnto Galba.

Ptolomyes prediction of Othoes Empire.

Optio, and Tesserarius, why so called by the Romanes. Otho bribed the Prætorian souldiers.

The presage of Ombricius the Soothsayer, touching the treason practised against Galba.

chiefe

A chiefe carpinters were come to ſpeake with him, and taried for him. This was the watch word agreed vppon betwene them, at which tyme *Otho* ſhoulde then goe vnto the ſouldiers. Then *Otho* ſayd, that he went to looke to an olde houſe he had bought, which was falling downe, and in decay, and that he would ſhewe it vnto the workemen. So he went his way, and came from the pallace, by the place they call *Tiberius* houſe, into the market place, where the golden piller ſtandeth, where alſo the greateſt high wayes of all ITALIE doe meete together. There certaine met him that firſt called him Emperour, which were not in all aboue three & twentie perſons. Thereupon, though *Otho* was not vnconſtant as it appeared, notwithſtanding he was ſo fine and effeminate a man, but rather reſolute and ſtout in inſtant daunger: yet feare ſo oppreſſed him at that time, that he would faine haue left his enterpriſe. Howbeit the

Otho called Emperour.

B ſouldiers would not ſuffer him, but compaſſing his litter rounde about with their armes, and their ſwords drawne in their hands, they commaunded the litter men to go forward. So *Otho* as he went haſtening on his driuers, he often muttered to him ſelfe, I am but dead. Some hearing him as they paſſed by him, rather wondred, then that they were otherwiſe troubled, to ſee ſuch a ſmall nũber of men about him, that they durſt venter vpon ſo hard an enterpriſe. Now as he was caried through the market place, he was met withall by certaine others, and afterwards by others, by three & by foure in a company: all the which came and ioyned with him, & cried *Cæſar, Cæſar*, hauing their ſwords drawen in their hands. Now the Colonell appointed for that day to gard the field of *Mars*, knew nothing of this conſpiracy, but being amazed and affraied with their ſodaine comming, he ſuffred them to come in. So when *Otho* was come in,

Otho receiued of the Prætorian ſouldiers.

C he found no man that reſiſted him. For they that knew nothing of the practiſe, being compaſſed in with thoſe that were made priuy to it, & had knowen it of long time: being found ſtragling here and there, by one & by two, they followed the reſt for feare at the firſt, & afterwards for good wil. This was brought ſtraight to *Galba* to the pallace, the Soothſayer being yet buſie about his ſacrifice: inſomuch that they which before gaue no credit to thoſe diuinations, began then to maruell much at this heauenly ſigne. Then there ran immediatly a great number of people from the market place, vnto the pallace. Therupon *Iunius* & *Lacon*, & certaine other of *Galbaes* infranchiſed bondmen, ſtoode to gard *Galbaes* perſon with their ſwordes drawen in their hãds. *Piſo* alſo went out to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers that garded the Emperours perſon. Moreouer, bicauſe the ILLYRIAN legion lay out of the campe in a place called Vipſanus: they

D diſpatched away *Marius Celſus* with all ſpede, a very honeſt man, to get that place. *Galba* in the meane time ſtood in dout whether he ſhould come out of the pallace or not: for *Iunius* would not let him goe, but *Celſus* and *Lacon* perſwaded him to go out. Inſomuch as they fell at great words with *Iunius*, that went about to diſſwade him from it. In this ſturre, there ranne a rumor that *Otho* was ſlaine in the field. Immediatly after came *Iubius Atticus*, one of the nobleſt ſouldiers of all the Emperours gard, & ſhewed his ſword drawen, crying that he had ſlaine *Cæſars* enemie: and thruſt through the preaſe, and got to *Galba*, and ſhewed him his ſword bloodied. *Galba* looking him in the face, asked him who commaunded him to doe it. The ſouldier aunſwered him: the faith & othe he had made vnto him. Therewith all the people that ſtoode by cried out it was nobly done of him, & clapped their handes for ioy. Then *Galba* taking his lit-

A ſhamefull lye of a ſouldier.

E ter, went out of his pallace to do ſacrifice to *Iupiter*, and alſo to ſhew him ſelfe openly. Howbeit he was no ſoner come into the market place, but he heard contrarie newes, that *Otho* was Lord and Maiſter of the whole campe, and armie. Then, as it happeneth in ſo great a preaſe of people, ſome cried out to him to returne backe againe, others would haue him to goe forward; others bad him be affrayed of nothing, and others willed him to looke to him ſelfe. So his litter being thus turmoyled to and fro, as toſt vpon the ſea, ſometime borne backe, otherwhile caried forward: firſt of all they ſaw certaine horſemen, and then footemen alſo armed, comming from *Paules* pallace, all of them together crying out with lowd voice, hence, hence, priuat man. Then all the people ſet vpon a running, not flying diſperſedly, but in heapes vpon porches and ſtalls in the market place, as it had bene to haue ſeene ſome ſight or ſport. Then

Tumult for Galba.

F one called *Attilius* * *Sartello*, ouerthrew one of the images of *Galba*, which was as it were a beginning of open warres. Others rounde about threwe dartes on euerie ſide of him againſt his litter. But when they ſawe they coulde not kill him, then they came neerer to his litter

* *Tacitus doth call him Virgilio.*

with their ſwords drawen in their hands, and neuer a man of his left with him to offer to de- A
fende him, ſauing one man onely, whom the Sunne ſawe that day, amongeſt ſo many thow-
ſands of men, worthy of the Empire of Rome: and he was called * *Sempronius*. He hauing re-
ceiued priuately no manner of pleaſure at *Galbaes* handes, but only to diſcharge his othe and
duetie: ſtepped before the litter, and lifting vp a vine braunche he had in his hand (with the
which the Romane Captaines doe vſe to beate their ſouldiers that haue offended) he fell out
with them that did ſet vpon him, and prayed them to holde their hands, and not to hurt their
Emperour. But in the ende when he ſaw they would not leaue, but that they fell to it in good
earneſt: he then drew his ſword, and bare of the blowes as well as he could, vntil they hought
him, that he fell to the ground. Then *Galbaes* litter being ouerthrowen right in the place cal-
led *Curtius* lake: *Galba* lay on the ground armed in his curaces. The traiterous ſouldiers flew B
vppon him, and gaue him many a wounde: and *Galba* holding out his necke vnto them, bad
them ſtrike hardily, if it were to do their contrie good. So he had many wounds on his armes
and his thighes, as it is reported: howebeit the ſouldier that ſlue him, was called *Camurius*, of
the fifteenth legion. Others doe reporte that it was one *Terentius*, other alſo ſay *Arcadius*:
And ſome other doe call him *Fabius Fabulus*: who hauing ſtriken of his head, wrapped it in
the lappe of his gowne, bicauſe he coulde not otherwiſe take holde of it, for that he was all
balde. Howebeit his fellowes and conſortes woulde not ſuffer him to hide it, but rather that
his notable fact he had done ſhould be ſeene. Therefore he ſet it vpon the point of his launce,
and ſo ſhaking the face of this poore olde man, (a wiſe and temperate Prince, and chiefe Bi-
ſhoppe, and Conſull) he ranne vp and downe (like madde women poſſeſſed with the ſpirite C
and furie of *Bacchus* at the feaſtes of *Bacchus*) bowing downe his launce being all of a goare
blood. When his head was brought to *Otho*, it is ſayd he cried out alowd: tuſh, my fellowes,
this is nothing: vnleſſe you bring me alſo *Piſoes* head. So not long after, they brought him his
head alſo. For the young man being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called * *Marcus*, who
ſlue him hard by the temple of *Veſta*. So did they alſo kill *Titus Iunius*: who openly confeſſed
that he was one of the conſpiracie againſt *Galba*, and cried out to them that ſlue him, that *O-
tho* did not know they did kill him. This notwithſtanding, the ſouldiers ſtrake of his head, and
Lacons alſo, and brought them both to *Otho* to receiue the reward. Howbeit, as the Poet *Ar-
chilochus* ſayth:

Of ſeuen peraduenture ſlaine dead on the ground, D
A thouſand will ſay, that they all gaue the wound.

So there were diuers men at that time, who being no partakers of this murther, had
bloodied all their handes and ſwordes, and ſo ſhewed them bloodied to haue rewarde alſo:
but *Vitellius* notwithſtanding made inquirie of them afterwardes, and cauſed them to be put
to death. There came into the fielde alſo, one *Marius Celſus*, whome diuers men accuſed to
haue perſwaded the ſouldiers to aide *Galba*, and the common people cried out, and bad he
ſhoulde be put to death. Howebeit *Otho* woulde not ſuffer them to kill him: and yet being af-
frayed to contrarie the ſouldiers mindes, he tolde them they ſhould not kill him ſo raſhly, bi-
cauſe he was firſt to learne ſome thinges more of him. So he commaunded them to binde
him, and deliuered him to be kept of thoſe he truſted moſt. Afterwards, the Senate were pre- E
ſentlie aſſembled: who, as if men had bene ſodainlie chaunged from them they were, or as if
there had bene new goddes, they all ſware by the name of *Otho*, (the which othe he him ſelfe
had before ſworne vnto *Galba*, and did not keepe it) and called him beſides, *Auguſtus*, and *Ce-
ſar*, the bodies of them that were ſlaine lying yet headles on the ground in the market place,
all in their Conſulls robes. And as for their heades, the ſouldiers after they coulde tell no
more what to doe with them, they ſolde the heade of *Titus Iunius* vnto his daughter, for the
ſumme of two thowſande fiue hundred Drachmas. And for *Piſoes* head, his wife through in-
treatie, begged it of one called *Veranius*. On the other ſide, for *Galbaes* head, they gaue it vn-
to *Patrobius* and *Vitellius* ſeruauntes: who, after they had vſed it as vilelie as they coulde de-
uiſe, they threwe it at length in a place, where their bodies are caſt, whome the *Ceſars* put to F
death, the which they call Seſtertium. Nowe for his bodie, *Heluidius Priſcus*, through *Othoes*
ſufferance, caried it away, and *Argius*, one of his infranchiſed bondemen, buried it by night.

Thus

* *Cornelius Tacitus doth call him Denſus.*

The valliantnes and fidelitie of Sempronius in diſcharge of his othe to the Emperour Galba.

The death of Sempronius.

The death of Galba: & his wordes at his death.

* *Others doe read Murcus.*

The murther of Piſo, and T. Iunius.

The Senate ſware by the name of Otho.

Citizens heades ſold at Rome.

Thus haue you heard the hiſtorie of *Galba*, a man that in nobilitie and wealth was inferiour to
few ROMANES, and in them both was the chiefeſt man of all his time, and had alway liued in
honorable fame and eſtimacion, in the raigne of fiue Emperours. So that he ouercame *Nero*
by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him: and not through his owne force
and power. For of them that ſtroue to make them ſelues Emperours at that time, ſome found
no man that thought them worthie of it: others did put foorth them ſelues, as thinking them
ſelues worthie of it. Howbeit *Galba* was called vnto it, and obeyed them that called him, vſing
his name againſt *Vindex* boldneſſe: whereby he procured, that his riſing (which before was
called innouation and rebellion) was then called ciuill warre, after that his faction came to
haue a man to be their head, thought worthy to be their Emperour. And therefore he did not
B ſo muche deſire to be Emperour for him ſelfe, as to doe good to his contrie and common
wealth. But yet he erred, in ſeeking to commaunde the ſouldiers whom *Tigellinus* and *Nym-
phidius* had ſpoyled by their flatteries: euen as in olde time *Scipio*, *Fabricius*, and *Camillus* did
commaund the ſouldiers of the Empire of ROME at that time. So he being now a verie olde
man, ſhewed him ſelfe a good Emperour and after the old ſorte, in his behauior towardes the
ſouldiers only: but in all other things elſe, being caried away with the couetouſnes of *T. Iu-
nius* and *Laco*, and of other his infranchiſed bondmen, he left none deſirous to be gouerned by
him, but many that were ſorie for his death.

C

THE LIFE OF *Otho.*

D

E

THe next morning, the new Emperour by breake of day went vnto the Capitoll, and ſacrificed, and there ſent for *Marius Celſus* to come vnto him, whom he curteouſlie ſaluted, and prayed him rather to forget the cauſe of his impriſonment, then to remember his deliuerie. *Marius Celſus* made him a wiſe and noble aunſwere againe, and ſayd that the matter for the which they would haue accuſed him vnto him, did witnes his behauiour, ſhewing him ſelfe faithfull vnto *Galba*, who neuer did him any pleaſure. Theſe words of them both did marueilouſlie pleaſe the people: & ſo did they like the ſouldiers alſo wōderfully well. Moreouer, after he had verie fauorablie and graciouſlie taken order for matters in the Senate,

Othos moderation at the beginning of his raigne.

F

the reſt of the time he had to be Conſull, he imployed partely about *Verginius Ruſus*, and did alſo eſtabliſh them Conſuls in their place and degree, which had bene called vnto that dignitie by *Nero*, or otherwiſe by *Galba*: and he alſo honored the oldeſt Senators and of greateſt eſtimacion with certaine Prieſthoodes. Beſides all this, he reſtored vnto all thoſe Senators that were baniſhed by *Nero*, and called home againe, all their goodes yet vnſold. Whereupon the chiefeſt Magiſtrats and noble men of the citie that quaked before for feare, ſuppoſing that he was not a man, but rather a deuill or furie of hell that was come to be Emperour: they all became glad men, for the good hope of this ſmiling and gracious raigne they were ſo lately entred into. Moreouer, nothing pleaſed all the Romanes together more, nor wanne him the good will of all men ſo muche, as that he did vnto *Tigellinus*. For it was puniſhment enough for him, if he had had no more but the feare of the puniſhment euerie man threatned him withall, as a thing due to the common wealth, and alſo by reaſon of the incurable diſeaſes his bodie was infected withall. Now, though the noble men thought his vnreaſonable inſolency and luſt of the fleſh, (following naughtie packes, and common ſtrumpets, burning ſtill in filthie concupiſcence) an extreame puniſhment, comparable to many deaths, and being alſo no better then a dead man in maner, ſtill following pleaſure and ſenſualitie as long as he coulde: this notwithſtanding, all men were offended with him, that they ſhoulde ſee ſuche a wicked creature as he liue, that had put ſo many noble men to death. So *Otho* ſent for him, who liued verie pleaſauntlie at his houſes in the contrie, by the citie of Sinvessa, and had ſhippes euer readie vppon the ſea coaſt, to flie if neceſſitie draue him to it. Thereuppon he firſt ſought to bribe him with money, which was ſent with commiſſion to apprehend him, and perſwaded him to let him ſcape: but when he ſaw he could not frame him to his minde, yet he refrayned not to geue him gifts, and prayed him to geue him leaue to ſhaue his beard. The other graunted him. Then *Tigellinus* tooke a razer, and did cut his owne throte. So, *Otho* hauing pleaſed the people thus well, he ſought not otherwiſe to be reuenged of his priuate iniuries. Moreouer, to currie fauour with the common people, he refuſed not to be called *Nero*, in any open aſſemblies at the Theaters. Alſo when certaine priuate men had ſet vp *Neroes* images in open ſight, *Otho* was not offended withall: but moreouer *Clodius Ruſus* writeth, that letters pattents & cõmiſſions were ſent into Spayne by poſts, ſubſcribing the goodly name of *Nero*, with the name of *Otho*. Howbeit when it came to his eares that the noble men of Rome miſliked of it: he left it of, and would wryte it no more in his letters. So *Otho* hauing begonne in this ſorte to ſtabliſh his Empire, the ſouldiers maruelouſlie troubled him. For they continually perſwaded him to take heede to him ſelfe, and to beware how noblemen and gentlemen came neere vnto him: the which they did, either for that in deede they bearing him good will, were affrayed ſome trecherie or treaſon would be ſecretlie practiſed againſt him: or elſe it was ſome fained deuiſe to ſet all together by the eares, and to bring it to ciuill warre. For when *Otho* him ſelfe had ſent *Criſpinus* with his ſeuenteenth legion to bring him certaine priſoners, and that *Criſpinus* was ready before day, going to performe the effect of his commiſſion, hauing loden carts with armor and weapon for his ſouldiers: the deſperateſt and boldeſt men among them, began to crie out, and ſayd that *Criſpinus* ment no good in his hart, and that the Senate went about to make ſome chaunge and ſturre, and that his armor and weapons were not for *Cæſar*, but againſt him. Theſe wordes moued many mens conſciences, and made them to rebell: ſo that ſome layed hold vpon the carts to ſtay them, others ſlue two Centurions out of hande, and *Criſpinus* him ſelfe alſo that woulde haue ſtayed them. Thereuppon all of them together, one incoraging an other, went directly to Rome, as meaning to aide the Emperour. But when they came thither, vnderſtanding that there were foure ſcore Senators at ſupper with the Emperour, they ranne ſtraight to the pallace, crying out that it was a good occaſion offered them to kill all *Cæſars* enemies at a clappe. Hereupon all Rome was ſtraight in armes, looking immediatly after to be ſacked and ſpoyled of all that euer they had: and the people ranne vp and downe the pallace, here and there, *Otho* him ſelfe alſo being in great feare and diſtreſſe. For men might eaſelie ſee he was affrayed, bicauſe of his gheſtes he had bidden, not for him ſelfe, ſeeing them all amazed with the matter for feare, not ſpeaking a word vnto him, but ſtaring on him ſtill, and ſpeciallie thoſe that came and brought their wiues with them to ſupper.

Tigellinus killeth him ſelfe.

Otho at the beginning of his raigne, tooke vpon him the name of Nero.

Tumult amongeſt the Prætorian ſouldiers.

The death of Criſpinus.

So

A So *Otho* sodainly sent the Captaines vnto the souldiers & commaunded them to speake with them, & to pacifie them as well as they could: and therewithall he made them take away the borde, and conueyed his ghestes out of his pallace by secret posternes. So they saued themselues, passing through the souldiers, a litle before they entred into the hall where the feast was kept, crying out, and asking, what was become of *Cæsars* enemies. So the Emperour rising from his bedde, he pacified them with gentle wordes, the teares standing in his eyes, and thereby at length he sent them all away. The next morning he liberallie bestowed vpon euery souldier, a thowsande two hundred and fiftie Drachmas: and then he went into the market place, & there gaue great commendacion to the common people for their readie good wills they had shewed vnto him: howbeit, he said there were some among them, that vnder colour
B and pretext of honestie, did commit many lewde partes, and made his goodnesse and grace towards them to be euill spoken of, and their constancie and faith also to be misliked of, and prayed them his griefe might be theirs, and that the offendors might be punished. They all confirmed his words, and bad him alowde he should doe it. So *Otho* thereuppon caused two of them only to be apprehended, supposing no man would be greatlie offended with the punishment of them, and then went his way. Those that loued and trusted him, marueled much to see this chaunge. Other were of opinion, that it stoode him vpon to doe so, to winne the souldiers hartes, bicause of the warre at hand. Now newes came flying to him out of all partes, that *Vitellius* had taken vpon him the authoritie to be Emperour, and posts came to him one in an others necke, to tel him that numbers of people came in daily to submit them selues vn-
C to *Vitellius*. Others tolde him also, how the legions remayning in Panonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, had chosen *Otho*. Immediatly after, frendly letters were brought him also from *Mutianus* and *Vespasianus*, the one of them being in Syria, and the other in Iudea, with great and mightie armies. Whereuppon *Otho* geuing credit vnto them, wrote vnto *Vitellius*, and bad him beware how he meddled with any deeper enterprise, then became a priuate souldier: and that he would geue him golde and siluer enough, and a great citie, where he might liue quietly, and take his pleasure. *Vitellius* gently aunswered him at the first, and sported with him: but afterwards they falling out one with an other, spiteful letters were sent betwext either parties, one of them reproaching an other, not falsely but fondly, and foolishly detecting eche others vices. For in deede it was hard to iudge, which of them two was most licentiously geuen, most
D effeminate, least skilfull, poorer, or most indetted before. Nowe at that time they talked of wonderful signes that had bene sene: howbeit they were but flying tales, & there was no man to iustifie them. But in the Capitoll there was the image of Victorie set vppon a triumphing chariot: the which euery bodie saw did let slacke the reynes of the bridles of the horses which she had in her handes, as though she could not stay them any more. The statue of *Caius Cæsar* also within the Iland, which standeth in the middest of the riuer of Tiber at Rome, without any earthquake or storme of winde, turned of it selfe from the West to the East: the which (as it is reported) chaũced about the time that *Vespasian* began to take vpon him to be Emperour. Many also tooke the ouerflowing of the riuer of Tiber for an euil signe. For in deede it was at that time of the yeare when riuers do swell most, yet was it neuer so great before, neither had
E it euer done so much hurt as it did at that time. For it had ouerflowen her bankes, and drowned the most parte of the citie, and specially the corne market: insomuche that they suffered famine many dayes after in Rome. In all this sturre, newes came that *Cecinna* and *Valens*, (two of *Vitellius* Captaines) had taken the mountaines of the Alpes: and moreouer in Rome, *Dolabella* a noble man, was suspected by the Prætorian souldiers, that he practised some treason. Now *Otho*, either bicause he was affrayed of him, or of some other: he sent him to the citie of Aquinum, promising him he shoulde haue no other hurte. Then choosing the choycest gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he tooke *Lucius*, the brother of *Vitellius*, and did not depriue him of any iot of his honor and dignitie. Moreouer, he was verie carefull to see his wife and mother safe, that they shoulde not be affrayed of them selues. Be-
F sides all this, he appointed *Flauius Sabinus*, *Vespasians* brother, Gouernour of Rome in his absence: and did it for *Neroes* sake, who had affore geuen him the same honor and authoritie the which *Galba* had taken from him: or els to make *Vespasian* see, that he loued & trusted him.

Othoes liberalitie to the souldiers.

Vitellius rebellion.

Small difference betwext Otho and Vitellius maners of life.

Wonders seene at Rome.

The wonderfull ouerflowing of the riuer of Tiber.

So he taried behinde at BRESSELLE, a citie ſtanding vpon the riuer of Po: and ſent his armie A
before vnder the conduct of *Marius Celſus*, of *Svvetonius Paulinus*, and of *Gallus* and *Spurina*; all
noble and great perſonages, howbeit they could not haue their wills to rule the armie as they
woulde, bicauſe of the inſolencie and ſtubbornes of the ſouldiers, who would haue no other
The frowardnes of Otho and Vitellius ſouldiers. Captaines but the Emperour only, ſaying that he, and none other, ſhould commaund them.
In deede, the enemies ſouldiers alſo were not muche wiſer, nor more obedient to their Cap-
taines, but were braue and luſtie vpon the ſelfe ſame occaſion: howbeit they had this aduan-
tage ouer the other, that they could tell how to fight, and were all well trained in the warres,
and could away with paines and hardnes, and neuer ſhronke from it. Whereas the Prætorian
ſouldiers that came from ROME, were fine mealed mouthed men, bicauſe they had bene long
from the warres, & had liued at eaſe in ROME, and taken their pleaſure in banketing & playes B
and therefore in a brauery and iolity, they would needes haue men thinke that they diſdained
to do what their Captaines commaunded them, as men that were too good to do it, and not
that they were fine fingered, and loth to take paines. So that when *Spurina* would haue com-
pelled them, he was in daunger of death, and ſcaped verie narowly that they ſlue him not. For
they ſtucke not to reuile him, and geue him as fowle words as they could: calling him traitor,
and curſing him, ſaying that he marred all *Cæſars* affaires. Yea and there were ſome of them
that hauing their full cuppes went in the night to his tent, to aske him leaue to depart, ſaying
that they would go to the Emperour, and complaine to him of him. But the flowte they had
Placentia: the fertileſt towne of all Italie. geuen them by their enemies about that time, hard by the city of PLACENTIA, did ſtand *Spu-*
rina and his affaires to great purpoſe. For *Vitellius* ſouldiers comming hard to the walls of the C
citie, did mocke *Othoes* men that were at the cranewes of the ſame, and called them fine daun-
ſers, and goodly ſtage players, that had ſeene nothing but playes and feaſts: and that for feats
of armes, and battells, they knewe not what it ment: and that the greateſt act they euer did,
was for that they ſtrake of the head of a poore naked olde man, meaning by *Galba*: and that to
come to fight a battell in the fielde before men, their hartes were in their heeles. Theſe vile
words galled them to the hart, and made them ſo mad withall, that they came of them ſelues
to pray *Spurina* to commaund them what he thought good, promiſing that from thence forth
they would neuer refuſe any paines or daunger he would put them to. Thereupon, there was
a hotte aſſault geuen to the city of PLACENTIA, with great ſtore of ſundry engines. Howbeit
Spurinaes men had the better, and hauing with great ſlaughter repulſed the aſſailants, they ſa- D
ued one of the goodlieſt, the greateſt, and moſt floriſhing cities of all ITALIE. So *Othoes*
Captaines were farre more familiar, curteous, and ciuill to deale with cities and priuate men,
The praiſe of Othoes Captaines, and diſpraiſe of Vitellius Captaines. then *Vitellius* ſouldiers were. For, of *Vitellius* Captaines, *Cecinna*, was neither for perſon nor
maners accompanyable for the people, but ſtraunge, monſtruous, & troubleſome to ſee him
only, a mightie made man wearing gallie gaskons, and coates with ſleeues, after the facion of
the GAVLES, and ſpake in this attire vnto the enſigne bearers, and Captaines of the RO-
MANES. Furthermore, he had his wife alway with him brauely mounted a horſebacke, gal-
lantlie apparelled, and accompanied with a troupe of the choyceſt men of armes of all the
companies. The other, *Fabius Valens*, he was ſo couetous, that no ſpoyle of enemies, no pol-
Fabius Valens. ling of ſubiects, nor bribes taken of their frends and confederats, could quenche or ſatisfie his E
vnſatiable couetouſnes: whereby it ſeemeth that was the let, that comming on ſo ſlowly, he
was not at the firſt battell. Howbeit others do blame *Cecinna* for it, that made too much haſt,
for the deſire he had to haue the only honor of the victory to him ſelfe: & this was the cauſe,
that beſides his other light faultes, he alſo made this, that he gaue battell out of due time and
ſeaſon, and when it came to the poynt in deede, yet he fought it not out valliantly, ſo that he
Cremona a goodly citie. had almoſt caſt all away. For when he had the repulſe from PLACENTIA, he went vnto CRE-
MONA an other great citie. And *Annius Gallus* going to aide *Spurina*, who was beſieged in the
citie of PLACENTIA: when he heard by the way that the PLACENTINES had the better, and
that the CREMONENSES were in great daunger and diſtreſſe: he marched thither with his ar-
my, and went and camped hard by the enemies. After that alſo, the other Captaines of either F
ſide came to aide their men. Howbeit *Cecinna* hauing layed a great number of his beſt ſoul-
diers well armed in ambuſhe, in certaine thicke groues and woddes: he commaunded his
horſemen

A horſemen to march forward, and if the enemies came to charge them, that they ſhould retyre litle and litle, making as though they fled, vntill they had drawen them within his ambuſh. So there were certaine traitors that bewrayed the ambuſh vnto *Marius Celſus*, who came againſt them with his choyce men of armes, and did not followe them ouerrafhly, but compaſſed in the place where the ambuſh lay, the which he raiſed, and in the meane time ſent to his campe with all poſſible ſpeede to his footemen to make haſt thitherward: and it ſeemeth, that if they had comen in time, they had not left one of their enemies aliue, but had marched vpon the bellies of all *Cecinnaes* armie, if they had followed the horſemen in time, as they ſhould haue done. But *Paulinus* being comen too late to aide them, for that he came ſo ſlowly: he was burdened that he did not the duetie of a Captaine, that bare the name and countenaunce he ca-

B ried. Furthermore, the common ſouldiers accuſed him of treaſon vnto *Otho*, and ſtirred vp their Emperour againſt him, and ſpake verie bigge words of them ſelues, ſaying, that they had ouercomen for their owne partes, had not the cowardlines of their Captaines bene, who put them by the victory. So *Otho* did not truſt him ſo much, that he would not make him beleue but that he miſtruſted ſomwhat. Therefore he ſent his brother *Titianus* to the campe, and *Proclus* with him, Captaine of the Prætorian garde, who in deede commaunded all, but in ſight *Titianus* had all the honor, as bearing the name of the Emperours Lieutenaunt. *Marius Celſus*, and *Paulinus* followed after, bearing name of counſellers and frends only: howbeit otherwiſe they meddled with nothing, neither had any authoritie geuen them. On the other ſide, the enemies were in as much trouble as they; and thoſe ſpecially, whom *Valens* led. For when

C newes was brought of the conflict that was betwene them in this ambuſhe, they were angrie with him, bicauſe they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to helpe their men that were ſlaine: inſomuch that he had much a doe to pacifie and quiet them, they were ſo readie to haue flowen vpon him. So *Valens* at length remoued his campe, & went & ioyned with *Cecinna*. Howbeit *Otho* being comen to his campe at the towne of Bebriacvm, which is a litle towne hard by Cremona: he conſulted with his Captaines whether he ſhould geue battell or not. So *Proclus* and *Titianus* gaue him counſell to fight, conſidering that the ſouldiers were verie willing to it, by reaſon of the late victorie they had wonne, and wiſhed him not to deferre it: for thereby he ſhoulde but diſcorage his armie, which was nowe willing to fight, and alſo geue their enemies leaſure to tarie for their Chiefetaine *Vitellius*, who came

D him ſelfe out of Gavle. But *Paulinus* in contrarie manner alleaged, that the enemies had all their force and power preſent, with the which they thought to fight with them, and alſo to ouercome them, and that they wanted nothing: whereas *Otho* looked for an other armie out of Mysia and Pannonia, as great an armie as his enemies had alreadie, ſo that he could tary his time, & not ſerue his enemies turne: and alſo, that if the ſouldiers being now but a few in number were willing to fight, they ſhoulde then be much more incoraged, when they ſhould haue greater companie, and ſhould alſo fight with better ſafetie. Furthermore he perſwaded them, that to delay time was for their auaile, conſidering that they had plentie and ſtore of all maner of prouiſion: where the enemies on thother ſide being alſo in their enemies contrie, their vittells would quickely faile them. *Marius Celſus* liked verie well of theſe perſwaſions.

E And ſo did *Annius Gallus*, who was not preſent at this counſell (but gone from the campe, to be cured of a fall he had from his horſe) but he was wrytten to by *Otho* to haue his opinion alſo. So *Annius Gallus* returned aunſwere, that he thought it not beſt to make haſt, but to ſtay for the armie that came out of Mysia, conſidering they were onwardes on their way. Howbeit *Otho* woulde not hearken to this counſell, but followed their mindes that concluded of battell: for the which were alleaged diuers occaſions. But the chiefeſt and likelieſt cauſe of all was, that the ſouldiers which are called the Prætorian gard (being the dayly gard about the Emperours perſon) finding then in effect what it was to profeſſe to be a ſouldier, and to liue like a ſouldier: they lamented their continuing in Rome, where they liued at eaſe & pleaſure, feaſting and banketing, neuer feeling the diſcommodities and bitter paines of warre, and did

F therefore ſo earneſtly crie out to fight, that there was no ſtaying of them, as if they ſhould at their firſt crie and ſetting forward, haue ouerthrowen their enemies. Moreouer, it ſeemed alſo that *Otho* him ſelfe could no more away with the feare and doute of the vncertaine ſucceſſe

Paulinus, Othoes Captaine, accuſed for a coward.

Bebriacum a towne by Cremona.

Othoes conſultation of geuing battell.

Freſhwater ſouldiers lamens their pleaſaunt life at Rome, feeling the paines and ſmart of a ſouldier.

to come, neither could any lenger abide the grieuous thoughts of the daunger of his eſtate, A
he was ſo effeminate, and vnacquainted with ſorowe, and paines. This was the cauſe that caried him on headlong, as a man that ſhutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and ſo to put all at aduenture. The matter is thus reported by *Secundus* the Orator, and *Othoes* ſecretarie. Others alſo doe report, that both armies had diuers determinations and mindes: as to ioyne all together in one campe, and ioyntly to chooſe among them, if they could agree, the worthieſt man of all the Captaines that were there: if not, then to aſſemble the whole Senate in a place together, & there to ſuffer the Senators to chooſe ſuch a one Emperour, as they liked beſt of. And ſure it is verie likely it was ſo, conſidering that neither of them both which were then called Emperours, was thought meete for the place they had: and therefore that theſe counſells and conſideracions might eaſely fall into the ROMANE ſouldiers heades, (who were B
wiſe men and expert ſouldiers) that in deede it was a thing for them iuſtly to miſlike, to bring them ſelues into the like miſerable time and calamitie, which their predeceſſors before them had cauſed one an other to ſuffer, firſt for *Sylla* and *Marius* ſakes, and afterwards for *Ceſar* and *Pompey*, and now to beſtow the Empire of ROME either vpon *Vitellius*, to make him the abler to follow his dronkennes and gluttony: or elſe vpon *Otho*, to maintaine his wanton and licentious life. This was the cauſe that moued *Celſus* to delay time, hoping to end the warres without trouble and daunger: and that cauſed *Otho* alſo to make the more haſt, being affrayed of the ſame. Howbeit *Otho* returning backe againe to BRESSELLES, he committed an other faulte, not only bicauſe he tooke his mens good wils from thē to fight, the which his preſence, and the reuerence they bare vnto him did put in them: but bicauſe alſo he caried away with C
him for the gard of his perſon, the valliantеſt ſouldiers & moſt reſolute men of all his hoſt. About that time there chaunced a skirmiſh to fall out by the riuer of Po, bicauſe *Cecinna* built a bridge ouer it, & *Othoes* men did what they could to hinder them. Howbeit when they ſaw they preuailed not, they laded certaine barges with faggots and drie wodde, all rubbed ouer with brimſtone and pitche, and ſetting them a fire, they ſent them downe the ſtreame. When the barges were in the middeſt of the ſtreame, there ſodainlie roſe a winde out of the riuer, which blewe vppon this woddeſtake they had prepared to caſt among the enemies workes of this bridge, that firſt made it ſmoke, and immediatly after fell all on a great flame, which did ſo trouble the men in the barges, that they were driuen to leape into the riuer to ſaue themſelues: and ſo they loſt their barges, and became themſelues alſo priſoners to their enemies, D
to their great ſhame and mockerie. Furthermore, the GERMAINES vnder *Vitellius*, fighting with *Othoes* fenſers, which of them ſhould winne a litle Iland in the middeſt of the riuer: they had the vpper hand, and ſlue many of the fenſers. Thereuppon *Othoes* ſouldiers which were in BERRIACVM, being in a rage withall, and would nedes fight: *Proclus* brought them into the fielde, and went and camped about fiftie furlong out of the citie, ſo fondly, and to ſo litle purpoſe, that being the ſpring of the yeare, and all the contrie thereabout full of brookes and riuers, yet they notwithſtanding lacked water. The next morning they raiſed their campe to meete with their enemies the ſame day, and were driuen to march aboue a hundred furlong. Now *Paulinus* perſwaded them to go fayer and ſoftly, and not to make more haſt then neded, and would not ſo ſoone as they ſhould come, (being wearied with their iorney and trauell) ſet E
vpon their enemies that were well armed, and beſides had leaſure & time enough to ſet their men in battell ray, whileſt they were cōming ſo long a iorney with all their cariage. Now the Captaines being of diuers opinions about this matter, there came a horſeman from *Otho*, one of thoſe they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which *Otho* commaunded them to make all the haſt they could, and to looſe no time, but to marche with all ſpeede towards the enemie. So when theſe letters were red, the Captaines preſently marched forward with their armie. *Cecinna* vnderſtanding of their comming, was aſtonied at the firſt, and ſodainlie forſooke the worke of his bridge to returne to his campe, where he founde the moſt parte of his ſouldiers alreadie armed, and *Valens* had geuen them their ſignall & word of battell. And in the meane time, whileſt the legions were taking their places to ſet them ſelues in F
battell ray: they ſent out before the choyceſt horſemen they had, to skirmiſh. Now there ran a rumor (no man knew how, nor vpon what cauſe) that *Vitellius* Captaines would turne on

Othoes

Secundus the Orator, ſecretarie vnto Otho the Emperour.

Vitellius: a dronkard and glutton. Otho: a wanton and licentious liuer.

** The towne of Breſſelles is hard by the riuer of Po.*

A *Othoes* side in battell. Insomuch that when these men of armes came neare to meete with the
vward of *Othoes* armie: *Othoes* men did speake very gently to them, and called them compa-
nions. *Vitellius* men on the other side tooke this salutacion in euill parte, and aunswered them
againe in rage, as men that were willing to fight. Insomuch that those that had spoke to them,
were quite discouraged: and the residue also beganne to suspect their companions which had
spoken to them, and mistrusted them to be traytors. And this was the chiefest cause of all their
disorder, being ready to ioyne battell. Furthermore, on the enemies side also, all was out of or-
der: for the beasts of carriage ranne in amongest them that fought, and so did put them mar-
uellously out of order. Besides that also, the disaduantage of the place where they fought, did
compell them to disperse one from another, because of sundry ditches and trenches that were
B betwene them, whereby they were compelled to fight in diuers companies together. So there
were but two legions onely, the one of *Vitellius*, called the deuowrer: and the other of *Otho*,
called the helper: which getting out of these holes and ditches a part by them selues, in a good
plaine euen ground, fought it out so a long time together in good order of battel. *Othoes* soul-
diers were men of goodly personages, strong, and valliant of their handes, howbeit they had
neuer serued in the warres, nor had euer foughten battell but that. And *Vitellius* men on the
other side, were olde beaten souldiers, and had serued all their youth, and knew what warres &
battells ment. So when they came to ioyne, *Othoes* men gaue such a lusty charge vpon the first
onset, that they ouerthrew, & slue all the first rancke, and also wanne the enseigne of the eagle.
Vitellius men were so ashamed of it, and therewith in such a rage, that they tooke hart againe
C vnto them, and ranne in so desperately vpon their enemies, that at the first they slue the colo-
nell of all their legion, and wanne diuers ensignes. And furthermore, against *Othoes* fensers,
(which were accompted the valliantest men, and readiest of hande) *Varus Alphenus* brought
his men of armes called the Battavi, which are Germaines in the lower parte of Germa-
ny, dwelling in an Iland compassed about with the riuer of Rhein. There were few of his Fen-
sers that stucke by it, but the most of them ranne away towards the riuer, where they founde
certeine ensignes of their enemies set in battell ray, who put them all to the sworde, and not a
man of them scaped with life. But aboue all other, none proued more beasts & cowards, then
the Prætorian gard. For they would not tary till the enemies came to giue them charge, but
cowardly turned their backs, and fled through their owne men that were not ouerthrowen:
D and so did both disorder them, and also make them affrayd. This notwithstanding, there were
a great number of *Othoes* men who hauing ouerthrowen the vward of them that made head
against them, they forced a lane through their enemies that were Conquerors, and so valli-
antly returned back into their campe. But of their Captaines, nether *Proclus*, nor *Paulinus*, durst
returne backe with them, but fled another way, being affraid of the furye of the souldiers, that
they would lay all the fault of their ouerthrow vpon their Captaines. Howbeit *Annius Gallus*
receiued them into the citie of Bebriacvm, that came together after this ouerthrow, & told
them that the battell was equall betwixt them, and that in many places they had had the bet-
ter of their enemies. But *Marius Celsus* gathering the noble men and gentlemen together that
had charge in the army, he fell to consultacion what they should do in so great a calamitie, &
E extreame slaughter of the Romane Citizens. For if *Otho* him selfe were an honest man, he
should no more attempt fortune: considering that *Cato* and *Scipio* were both greatly blamed,
for that they were the cause of casting away many men in Africk to no purpose, (though
they fought for the libertie of the Romanes) and onely of selfe will, for that they would not
yeld to *Iulius Cæsar* after he had wonne the battell of Pharsalia. For though fortune in all o-
ther things haue power ouer men: yet extremities happening to good men, she can not pre-
uent them to determine the best for their safetie. These perswasions straight caried away the
Capteines, who went presently to feele the mindes of the priuate souldiers, whom they found
all of them desirous of peace. So *Titianus* perswaded them to send Ambassadors vnto the e-
nemies to treate of peace: and *Celsus* and *Gallus* tooke vpon them the charge to goe thither,
F to breake the matter vnto *Cecinna*, and *Valens*. But by the way they met with certen Centuri-
ons, who told them how all the army of the enemies were comming onwards on their way, to
come directly to the citie of Bebriacvm, and that their chieftaines had sent before to offer

Battell betwixt the Othonians and Vitellians.

Legions called by pretty names: Deuowrer, Helper.

The valliantnes of the Battauij in warres

Note the trim seruice of Fensers, and what souldiers they be.

The Othonians ouercomen in battell by the Vitellians.

The cowardlines of the freshwater souldiers.

Marius Celsus oration to Othoes souldiers perswading them to goe to Vitellius.

Othoes Captaines doe yeld them selues vnto Vitellius.

treaty of peace. *Celsus* and his companion *Gallus* being glad of this, prayed the Centurions A
that they would returne with them vnto *Cecinna*. But when they were come neare vnto him, *Celsus* was in great daunger of his life: bicause the men of armes which he had ouerthrowen certen dayes before in an ambushe, comming before, when they spyed him, they flew vpon him with great showtes. Howbeit the Centurions that were in his company, stepped before him, and closed him in: and so did the other Capteines that cryed vnto them, that they should do him no hurt. *Cecinna* vnderstanding what the matter was, roade thither, and pacified the tumult of these men of armes: and then saluting *Celsus* very curteously, he rode with him towardes BEBRIACVM. But nowe *Titianus* in the meane time, repenting him selfe that he had sent Ambassadors vnto the enemies, he placed the desperatest souldiers he had vpon the walls of the citie, and incoraged the rest also to doe the like, and to stand to the defense. But B
Cecinna came to the wal, & being a horseback, held vp his hand vnto them. Then they made no more resistance, but those that were vpon the walles, saluted the souldiers: and they that were within the citie opened the gates, and thrust in amongest *Vitellius* men, who mette with them, and did no man any hurt, but curteously imbraced them, and saluted eche other. Then they all sware and tooke their othes to be true to *Vitellius*, and so yelded the mischiefs vnto him. So doe the most part of those that were at this battell, report the successe thereof: graunting notwithstanding, that they knew not euery thing that was done, bicause of the great disorder among them. But as I trauelled on a time through the field where the battell was striken, with *Metrius Florus* that had beene Consul: he shewed me an olde man that when the field was fought in that place, was younge, and against his will was at the same battell on *Othoes* parte. C
Who told vs, that after the battell was fought, he came into the field to survey the number of those that were dead: and he found the dead bodies piled on a heape, of the height of those that came to view them. And sayd moreouer, that he made inquierie of the matter, but he nether could imagine it him selfe, nor be satisfied by others. Now in deede it is likely, that in ciuil warres betwene contry men of one self citie, where one of the two armies is ouerthrowen, that there should be greater slaughter among them, then against the other enemies, bicause they take no prisoners of either side: for those they should take, would serue them to no good purpose. But after they were slaine, one to be layed on heapes so by another, that is a hard thing to iudge. But now to the matter. The newes of this ouerthrowe came first but obscurely vnto *Otho*, a common thing in a matter of so great importance: but afterwardes, when some D
that were hurt came and brought him certen newes of it, it was no maruell then to see *Othoes* friendes and familliers to comfort him, who prayed him to be of good cheere, and not to be discoraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderfull great loue and good will which the priuat souldiers shewed vnto him at that time, did passe and exceede all speech and education. For they forsooke him not, nether went they to submit them selues to their enemies the conquerors, nether tooke they any regard of them selues, to see their Emperour in that dispayre: but all of them ioyntly together went vnto his lodging, and called him their Emperour. Then he came out, and they fell downe at his feete, as men represented in a triumphe lying on the ground, & kissed his hands, with the teares ronning downe their cheekes, and besought him not to forsake and leaue them to their enemies, but to commaund their persons whilest they had one E
droppe of blud left in their bodies to doe him seruice. All of them together made this petition to him. But amongest others, there was a poore souldier drawing out his sword, sayd vnto him: know, O *Cæsar*, that all my companions are determined to dye in this sort for thee, and so slue him selfe. But all these lamentable things did neuer melt *Othoes* hart: who looking with a stowte countenaunce round about him, and casting his eyes euery where, spake vnto them in this maner. I thinke this a more happy day for me, my fellowes, then that in the which you first chose me Emperour: to see you loue me so well, and doe me such honor, with so great shew of loyaltie. But yet I beseech you not to deny me of a greater fauor, which is: to dye valliantly, and honorably, for the safetie of so many honest men as you be, and so good Citizens
" of ROME. If by your election you made me worthy to take vpon me the Imperiall crowne: I F
" must now needes shewe my selfe an Emperour, not sparing to spend my life, for your and my
" contries safetie. I am certen that the victorie is not altogether myne enemies. For newes are

come

Mē that fight a battell, know not all things that are done at the battell.

The great fidelitie of the souldiers, vnto the Emperor Otho.

The wonderfull corage of a souldier of Othoes.

The noble corage of Otho before his death, & his oration to the souldiers.

A 'come vnto me, that our armies of MYSIA and PANNONIA are in their way comming to vs, "
and that they are not farre of from the Adriatick ſea. ASIA, SYRIA, and ÆGYPT, and the le- "
gions that make warre in IVRY, are all ours. The Senate taketh our parte, and our enemies "
wiues and children be in our handes. But this warre is not againſt *Annibal*, nor *Pyrrhus*, nor a- "
gainſte the CIMBRES, to fight who ſhould be owners of ITALY: but it is againſte the RO- "
MANES them ſelues. For in this ciuill warre, both the Conqueror and vanquiſhed doe offend "
their contrye: for where the Conquerors haue benefit, the contry and common wealth al- "
wayes receyueth loſſe. Aſſure your ſelues I had rather dye, then raigne Emperour: conſi- "
dering alſo that my life with victorie can not ſo much benefit the ROMANES, as the ſacrifice "
of the ſame may doe my contry good, for the peace and quietnes of my contry men, keeping "
B ITALY thereby from ſeeing ſuch another battell, as this hath bene. So when he had made
this oration vnto them, and put thoſe by, that would haue diſſwaded him the contrary: he
commaunded all the Senators and his friendes that were preſent, to auoyde. Then he wrote
letters to them that were abſent, and alſo vnto the cities wherethrough they paſſed, to vſe
them very curteouſly, and to ſee them ſafely conueyed. Then came his Nephewe *Cocceius* *The Emperor Othoes words to his Nephew Cocceius.*
to him, who was yet but a younge boye, and he did comfort him, and bad him not to be af-
frayd of *Vitellius*, for he had ſafely kept his mother, wife, and children, and had bene as care-
full of them, as if they had bene his owne: and that he would not yet adopt him for his ſonne,
though he was deſirous to doe it, vntill ſuch tyme as he ſawe the ende of this warre: to thend
that if he ouercame, he ſhoulde quietly raigne Emperour with him: and if he were ouer-
C come, that for adopting of him, he woulde not be cauſe of his death. But this one thinge
onely, I commaunde and charge thee, my ſonne, euen as the laſt commaundement that I
can giue thee: that thou doe not forget altogether, nether ouer much remember, that thyne
Vncle hath bene Emperour. When he had tolde him this tale, he heard a noyſe at his dore:
they were the ſouldiers that threatned the Senators which came from him, and woulde kill
them, if they did not remayne with him, but would forſake their Emperour. Vpon this oc-
caſion he came out once againe among them, being affrayd leaſt the ſouldiers would doe the
Senators ſome hurt, and made the ſouldiers giue backe, not by intreating of them, nor ſpea-
king curteouſly to them, but looking grymly on them, and in great rage: inſomuch that they
all ſhroncke backe, and went away for feare. So when night came, he was a thirſt, and dranke
D a litle water: and hauing two ſwordes, he was prouing a great while which had the beſt edge.
In the ende, he put by the one, and kept the other in his armes. Then he began to comfort his
ſeruaunts, and liberally to giue out his money amonge them, to ſome more, to ſome leſſe, not
prodigally throwing it away without diſcretion, as being another mans money: but diſcreete-
ly gaue to euery man according to his deſert. Then after he had diſpatched them away, he laid *Otho in his death, ſeemed to follow Cato Vticen.*
him down to ſleepe al the reſt of the night, that the groomes of his chamber heard him ſnort,
he ſlept ſo ſowndly. In the morning he called one of his infranchiſed bondmen, whom he had
commaunded to helpe to ſaue the Senators, and ſent him to ſee if they were all ſafe, & gone.
So when he vnderſtoode that they were all gone, and that they had all they would: come on,
ſaid he then vnto him, looke to thy ſelfe I reade thee, and take heede the ſouldiers ſee thee not,
E if thou wilt ſcape with life, for ſure they will kill thee, thinking thou haſt holpen me to kill my
ſelfe. So aſſoone as his infranchiſed bondman was gone out of his chamber, he toke his ſword *Otho ſlue him ſelfe.*
with both his hands, and ſetting the poynt of it to his breſt, he fell downe vpon it, ſeeming to
feele no other payne, ſauing that he fetched a ſighe: whereby they that were without, knewe
that he had done him ſelfe hurt. Thereuppon his friendes made ſtraight an outcry, and all the
campe and citie was incontinently full of teares and lamentacion. The ſouldiers ſodainly ran
with a great noyſe to his gates, where they bitterly bewayled, and lamented his death, falling
out with them ſelues that they were ſuch Villaines ſo ſlenderly to haue garded their Empe-
rour, that they kept him not from killing him ſelfe for their ſakes. So there was not a man of
them that left his body, though the enemies were hard at hand: but hauing honorably bury- *The funeralls of Otho the Emperour.*
F ed him, and prepared a great ſtacke of wodde, they conueyed him armed to the fire of his
funeralls, euery man thinking him ſelfe happy, that coulde firſt ſet his ſhoulders to the cof-
fyn to helpe to cary him. Others comming to it, kneeled downe on their knees, and kiſſed his

wound. Others tooke and kiſſed his handes. Others that could not come neare him, honored him, and did reuerence him a farre of, and ſome there were alſo that after the ſtacke of woode was ſet a fire, ſtue them ſelues hard by the fire: who had neuer receiued benefit by him that was dead, (at the leaſt to any mans knowledge) nether had they any occaſion to be affraid of him, that was Conqueror. And truely me thinkes, neuer king nor tyrant was ſo ambitiouſly giuen to raigne, as they vehemently deſired to be commaunded by *Otho*, and to obeye him: conſidering that their deſire left them not euen after his death, but was ſo liuely rooted in their mindes, that in the ende, it turned to a deadely hate vnto *Vitellius*. But of this we will ſpeake more hereafter in time and place. Now, when they had buried *Othoes* aſhes, they did ſet vp a tombe for him, nether for magnificence of building, nor for glorious epitaphe, ſubiect vnto enuy. For I haue ſeene his tombe in the citie of BRESSELLES, a meane thing, and the epitaph vpon it tranſlated out of Latine, ſayeth no more but this: This is the tombe of *Marcus Otho*. He dyed being but ſeuen and thirty yere olde, and was Emperor but three moneths: & there were as many famous men that commended his death, as they that reproued his life. For though he liued not much more honeſter then *Nero*, yet he dyed farre more honorably. Furthermore, when *Pollio* one of the Captaines would haue compelled his ſouldiers preſently to haue taken their othes to be true to *Vitellius*, they fell out with him: and vnderſtanding that there were yet remayning ſome Senators, they would not medle with them, but onely troubled *Verginius Rufus*. For they came to his dores armed, and called him by his name, & commaunded him to take charge of them, and to goe as Ambaſſador to intreate for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were already ouercome, conſidering he refuſed it when they had ouercome: and alſo he was affraid to goe Ambaſſador to the GERMAINES, bicauſe he had compelled them to doe thinges againſt their willes. Therefore he went out at his backe dore, and ſaued him ſelfe. So when the ſouldiers heard of it they were at length contented to be brought to be ſworne vnto *Vitellius*, and ſo ioyned them ſelues with *Cecinnaes* ſouldiers, ſo they might be pardoned for all that was paſt.

The Emperor Othoes tombe in the citie of Breſſelles. Othoes age and raigne.

THE

THE LIVES OF ANNIBAL AND SCIPIO AFRICAN,

Translated into French by *Charles de la Sluce*, and englished by *Thomas North*.

Annibal.

IF we doe call to mind the first PVNICK warre the CARTHAGINIANS had with the ROMANES: we shall find many Captaines, who by the glorye of their noble deedes, haue left great fame and renowme vnto their posteritie. Howbeit amongest all the Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, none are found more worthy of fame, and so commended of all Greeke and Latine Authors, then *Hamilcar, Annibals* father, otherwise surnamed *Barcha*, a valliant man doubtles, and in his time a skilfull souldier as any was. The same *Hamilcar* first of all made warre with the ROMANES, a longer tyme in SICILIA then was looked for, who had done greate hurte to his contrye and common wealthe. After that also in the warres of AFRICK (at what tyme the mercenarye souldiers through their rebellion did put the contrye of CARTHAGE in greate daunger) he did so valliantly appease the insurrection: that to euery mans iudgement, he was reputed the onely preseruer of his contrye. Then he was sent Gouernor and Captaine into SPAYNE, and caryed with him at that tyme, (as it is reported) his sonne *Annibal*, beeing but a younge boye, where he did noble seruice. In fine, in the nynth yeare of his aboade there in that prouince, he dyed fighting vallyantly agaynste the VETHEONS. After his deathe, *Hasdrubal* his Sonne in lawe,

The parentage of Annibal.

(whom the CARTHAGINIANS through the ayde & friendſhip of the BARCINIAN faction had made generall of all their armye) remayned gouernor there the ſpace of eight yeares. This *Haſdrubal* ſent for *Annibal* into SPAYNE, after his father *Hamilcars* death, againſt the minds of the chiefe of the contrary faction, to thend that as he had bene trayned from his youth in the diſcipline of warres, in his father *Hamilcars* life: euen ſo in like manner, that now being come to mans ſtate, he ſhould the better harden his body, to away with the paines and daungers of the warres. Now although at the firſt, the remembraunce of his father was a great helpe vnto him to winne the loue and good will of the ſouldiers: Yet he him ſelfe afterwards, through his diligence and induſtrie ſo handled the matter, that the olde ſouldiers forgetting all other Captaines, they onely deſired to chooſe him (and none other) for their gouernor. For they found in him all the perfections that could be wiſhed for, in a noble Captaine or generall. He had a preſent and ready wit to giue counſell what was to be done, in moſt greateſt attempts: & beſides, he lacked nether manhood nor induſtry to put it in execution. He had a valiant and inuincible mind, euen in greateſt daungers and aduerſities of bodye: the which are wont to ſtaye others from performing their indeuors and duety. He would watche and warde as any priuate ſouldier, and was quicke and ready to doe any kind of ſeruice, either like a valiant ſouldier, or a good Captaine. In this ſort *Annibal* continued in ſeruice in the warres, the ſpace of three yeares, vnder the conduct of *Haſdrubal*. In that time he ſo wanne the hartes of all the army, that immediatly after *Haſdrubals* death, he was choſen to be Lieuetenant generall, with the common conſent of all the ſouldiers: & this honor was layed vpon him without contradiction of any of the CARTHAGINIANS, through the friendſhip and good will of the BARCINIAN faction. *Annibal* was now ſix and twenty yeare olde, when the ſouldiers made him their Lieuetenant generall. For at what time his father *Hamilcar* brought him into SPAYNE, he was then but nyne yeare olde: & from that time vnto *Haſdrubals* death (according to *Polybius* declaration) it was ſeuenteene yeares more. So he was no ſooner made Lieuetenant generall of all the campe, and his contry: but he bent him ſelfe to make warre with the ROMANES, hauing long before determined it. For firſt of all, he chiefly mainteyned almoſt a common hate of all the CARTHAGINIANS againſt the ROMANES, bicauſe of the loſſe of SICILIA and SARDINIA. Beſides alſo, he bare them a ſecret malice in nature, as a thing inheritable from his father *Hamilcar*: who, of all the Captaines the CARTHAGINIANS euer had, was the mortalleſt enemye vnto the ROMANES. And it is written alſo, that at what time *Hamilcar* made his preparation to goe into SPAYNE, he compelled *Annibal* being but a boy, to ſweare in a ſacrifice he made, that he would be a mortal enemy to the ROMANES, aſſoone as euer he came to the ſtate of a man. So, the remembrance of theſe things were ſtill freſh in the young mans minde, as the Idea (or image) of his fathers hate, and ſtill prouoked him to ſpie out all the meanes he could, how to deſtroy the Empire of ROME. Beſides alſo, the BARCINIAN factiō neuer left to prick him forward vnto it, bicauſe by wars he might raiſe him ſelf to greatnes, & ſo increaſe his eſtate. Theſe cauſes, aſwell common as perticuler, inticed *Annibal* to attempt warre againſt the ROMANES, and gaue the ſtowt young man occaſion by theſe meanes to practiſe innouation. There was a people at that time called the SAGVNTINES, who confyned indifferently betwixt the ROMANES and CARTHAGINIANS: and were left free by the former peace concluded. Theſe SAGVNTINES euer after tooke part with the ROMANES: and by meanes of the league that was made betwixt them, the ROMANES alwayes found them very true and faithfull to the Empire of ROME. *Annibal* therfore thought with him ſelf, he could not deuiſe to make a better match to anger the ROMANES withall, and to kindle the fire of his malice alſo againſt them: then to make warre with the SAGVNTINES, their confederats. Howbeit, before he would be openly ſeene to ſet vpon them, he firſt determined to leade his armye againſt the OLCADES, and other people on the other ſide of the riuer of Iberus: and after he had ouercomen them, then to finde occaſion to moleſt the SAGVNTINES, to make it appeare that the warre was rather begonne by them, then purpoſely intended by him. So after he had ouercome the OLCADES, he did ſet vpon the VACCEIANS, ſpoyled their contry, beſieged many cities, and tooke HERMANDICE, and ARBOCOLE, greate and riche cities. Nowe he had in manner ouercome all the whole contrye, when diuers fugitiues from the citie of HERMANDICE,

The ſharpe wit and diſpoſition of Annibal.

Annibal choſen Lieuetenant generall after the death of Haſdrubal: being but 26. yeare olde.

Diuers cauſes of Annibals mortall hate to the Romanes.

The Barcinian faction.

Iberus fl.

A one straight againſt another, conſpired againſt him, leuied men, and incited the Olcades that were next, to take the like part. Then they ſent to the Carpetanians their neighbours, that they would all agree ſodainly to ſet vpon him at his returne. They being a people that deſired nothing more then to fight, & conſidering all that they had receiued iniuries by *Annibal*, did eaſily harken vnto that counſell: and ſo ſet vpon him laying a great number of men, to the number of a hundred thouſand, they went to aſſaile *Annibal* at his returne from the Vaccheans, by the riuer of Tagus. Where the Carpetanians diſcouered their army, they ſtaied vpon it, & were maruelouſly afraid. And doubtles, they had had a great ouerthrow, if they had fought with thoſe ſo fierce people, being affraid of their ſodaine coming, & alſo loden as they were with ſo great ſpoyles: the which *Annibal* deeply conſidering, like a wiſe

The conſpiracie of the Spanyards againſt Annibal.

Tagus fl.

B Captaine as he was, he would not fight, but lodged his campe in the place where they were. Then the next day following, he paſſed his army ouer the riuer with as little noiſe as he could, leauing the paſſage where the enemies might eaſilieſt come ouer, vnguarded: becauſe vnder pretence of diſſembled feare, he might inuite the barbarous people to paſſe ouer the riuer, to take the opportunitie & occaſion offred them. Now in deede as he was the doubtelleſt captaine, & had the fineſt ſtratagemes of any other captaine of his time: ſo his policy was not in vaine, and his purpoſe to good effect, in abuſing of the enemy. For the wild barbarous people repoſing too great truſt in the multitude of their men, ſuppoſing the Carthaginians had ben affraid, with great fury entred the riuer to paſſe it ouer. So they being greatly troubled, & out of order by this meanes, & ſpecially before they could paſſe all ouer the riuer, they were let vp-

Annibal's ſtratagemes.

C on by the Carthaginians: firſt by certen horſemen, & afterwards with the whole army, ſo that there was a great number of them ſlaine, and the reſidue were put to flight. After this victory, all the people inhabiting about the riuer of Iberus, yelded themſelues vnto him, ſuing the Sagontines: who, though they ſaw *Annibal* at hand comming towards them, yet truſting to the friendſhip of the Romanes, they prepared to defend themſelues againſt him: and therewithall ſent Ambaſſadors preſently to Rome, to ſhew the Senate in what great daunger they were, & alſo to pray aide againſt ſo great enemye, that made warres ſo hotely with them. The Ambaſſadors that were ſent to Rome, were ſcant gone out of Spayne, when *Annibal* made open warre on them, with all his army, & pitched his campe before the citie of Sa-

The Iberians yeeld themſelues vnto Annibal.

guntus. When this matter was reported at Rome, & conſulted of for the wrongs that had

Annibal layeth ſiege to the citie of Saguntus.

D bene done to their confederats: the Senators did but ſlackly in it, & by decree onely ſent *P. Valerius Flaccus*, & *Quintus Bebius Pamphilus* vnto *Annibal*, to will him to raiſe his ſeege from Saguntus: & if they found he would not harken to them, that then they ſhould thence repaire to Carthage, & to pray them to deliuer their generall *Annibal* vnto them, becauſe he had broken the peace. *Polybius* writeth, that *Annibal* did heare theſe Ambaſſadors, howbeit that he made them a ſlender anſwer. *Liuius* writeth in contrary manner, that they were neuer heard, nor came at any time to his campe. Howbeit they both agree thus far, that they came into Spayne, & afterwards went into Affrike, & from thence came to Carthage: where after they had deliuered their meſſage vnto the counſel, the Barcinian faction were ſo much againſt them, that they diſhonorably returned to Rome, & obtained not their deſire. Now, in

Two contrary factions in the Senate of Carthage: the Barcinians, & Hannians.

E the Senate of Carthage, there were two contrary parts & factions: of the which, the firſt tooke his beginning from the gouernment of *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcha*, & ſo diſcended as it were by ſucceſſion to his ſonne *Annibal*, & grew afterwards vnto ſuch greatnes, that that faction (aſwel abroad, as at home) ruled all matters iudiciall. The ſecond faction came of *Hanno*, a graue man, & of great authoritie in the ſame common wealth: howbeit a man more giuen to embrace peace & quietnes, then otherwiſe diſpoſed to warre & trouble. It is he onely (as it is reported) who at that time when the Ambaſſadors of the Romanes came to Carthage, to complaine of the iniuries done to their confederats: that did then in manner againſt the will of all the whole Senate, counſell them to keepe peace with the Romanes, and to beware of warres, the which one day might peraduenture vtterly deſtroy their contry. Doubt-

Hamilcar Barcha.

Hanno a graue counſeller and gouernor in peace.

F les, if the Carthaginians would haue followed the graue counſell of *Hanno*, rather then to haue giuen place to their deſires, and had followed the Author of peace, and not to haue bene ruled by them that gaue counſell to make warres: they hadde not taſted of

A happy thing to follow good counſell.

all:

those miseries which their contry afterwards came vnto. But giuing place to the furie & ambitious mind of a young man, they heaped such misfortunes on their heads, as afterwards fell out vpon them. Therefore it is very meete for wise Magistrats & gouernours of cõmon weales, alwaies rather to haue an eye to the beginning of any matters, then to the ende: & ether to decyde all matters by aduise & counsel, before they should take any warre in hand. Now the SAGVNTINES seing themselues beseeged by *Annibal*, & that against all reason & equitie he made warres vpon them: they notwithstanding valiantly defended the seege, many monethes together. Yet in fine, though *Annibal* had many more men then they (hauing a hundred & fifty thowsand men in his campe) & that the most part of their rampars were battered & ouerthrowen: they liked rather to abide the sack of their citye, then to yeld themselues to the mercy of their mortall enemie. So some doe report, that SAGVNTVS was taken the eight moneth after seege was layed vnto it: But *Liuie* seemeth not to agree to that, nether to set downe any certen time of the continuance of the seege. Nowe, the taking of this so wealthie a citie, was a great furtherance diuers wayes to *Annibals* enterprises. For many cities taking example of the sacke of SAGVNTVS, who before misliking to be subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, were ready to rebell: they kept themselues quiet, and the souldiers also waxed lusty and coragious, seeing the rich spoyles that were deuided in the campe. So *Annibal* sent great presents of the spoiles of the SAGVNTINES vnto CARTHAGE, whereby he wanne the chiefest men of the citie, and made them like the better of warres: whome he determined to leade with him against the ROMANES, not in SPAYNE, as many suppose, but into ITALY it selfe. Whilest these matters were in hande, the Ambassadors returned from CARTHAGE to ROME, and declared in open Senate, the slender answer they had receiued, in manner at the selfesame time when they had intelligence of the sacke of SAGVNTVS. Hereuppon the ROMANES greatly repented them selues, (though somewhat too late) for that they ayded not their friendes and confederats in so great a daunger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very sory for it, and therewith also maruelously offended, they deuided the prouinces vnto the Consuls, to wete: SPAYNE vnto *Publius Cornelius*, and AFRICK and SICILIA also vnto *Titus Sempronius*. Afterwards, certen of the noblest men of the citie were sent ambassadors vnto CARTHAGE, to make their complaints in open Senate for breache of the peace, and also to denownce vnto them the cause of the warre to come, and therewith boldly to proclaime open warre against them, after they had declared the occasion thereof to come of them selues. This was as brauely receiued of the CARTHAGINIANS, as lustely offred vnto them: but therein they were not so wel aduised, as the successe of that warre in the ende sufficiently proued it to them. Now *Annibal* being aduertised how things were concluded in the Senate at CARTHAGE, and thinking with him selfe that it was time to goe into ITALY, as he had determined from the beginning: he made all the possible speede he could to prepare his shippes and things ready, and so required ayde of the cities that were his best friends and confederats, and commaunded that all the bands should meete him at newe CARTHAGE. So when he came to GADES, he appoynted good garrisons in places most conuenient, in AFRICK and SPAYNE, which he thought aboue all things els to be most necessary: bicause that when he should goe into ITALY, the ROMANES should not winne it from him. Therefore he sent into AFRICK, twelue hundred horsemen, & thirteene thowsand footemen, all SPANYARDS: and besides, he brought out of diuers parts of AFRICK foure thowsand souldiers, and placed them in garrison in CARTHAGE, obteyning both hostages and souldiers by this meanes. So he left the gouernment of SPAYNE to his brother *Hasdrubal*, and gaue him an army of fiftye shippes of warre, two thowsand horsemen, and twelue thowsand footemen. These were the garrisons he left in both these prouinces. Nowe he thought them not sufficient to withstande the power of the ROMANES, if they bent their warres into SPAYNE, or AFRICK: but bicause he thought them stronge inough to stay the enemy from ouerrunning of the contry, vntill that hauing brought his armye by land, he had set foote in ITALY. Moreouer, he knewe that the CARTHAGINIANS were stronge inough to leady a new army if they lysted, and if neede so required, to send him ayde also into ITALY. For, after that they had driuen away this so daungerous a warre, procured against them through the spight of the mercenary souldiers, hauing euer after obteined victorie first vnder

the

Wise counsell for gouernors to preuent things at the beginning

Annibal wan the citie of Saguntus.

P. Cornelius, and T. Sempronius Consuls.

Warres proclaymed by the Romanes, with the Carthaginians.

A the conduct of *Hamilcar*: secondly, vnder *Hasdruball*: and lastlie, vnder *Annibal*: they were growen to such greatnes & strength, that at what time *Annibal* came into ITALIE, their Empire & dominions were maruelously enlarged. For they had all the coast of AFFRICKE, which lyeth ouer against the sea Mediterraneum, from the aulters of the Philenians, which be not farre from the great Syrte, vnto *Hercules* pillers: and conteineth in length two thowsande paces. So, after they had passed the straight which deuideth AFFRICKE from EVROPE, they possessed almost all SPAYNE, to the mountaines Pyrenei, which doe deuide SPAYNE from GAVLE. Thus order being taken for all things in AFFRICKE, and SPAYNE: *Annibal* returned againe to new CARTHAGE, where his armie was readie for him, and well appointed. So, meaning to delay time no longer, he called his men together, and incoraging them with great and

B large promises, he greatly commended the commodities of ITALIE: & made great accompt vnto them of the frendshippe of the GAVLES, and in the end he bad them be of good corage, and set lustely forward. Thereuppon, the next day following he departed from CARTHAGE, and brought his armie all alongest the coast, vnto the riuer of Iberus. It is reported, that the next night following, *Annibal* dreamed he saw a young man, of a maruelous terrible looke & stature, who bad him follow him into ITALIE: but afterwards, that he saw a snake of a wonderful greatnes, making a maruelous noyse: & being desirous to vnderstand what the same might signifie, it was told him that it betokened the destruction of ITALIE. It is not to be maruelled at, though the great care & thought he tooke in the day time for the warre of ITALIE, made his mind to run of such fansies in the night, as dreaming of victory or destructiō, or such other

C calamities of warre. For they are things that happen often, as *Cicero* the Orator saith: that our thoughts & words do beget such things in our dreame, as *Ennius* the Poet wryteth of *Homer*: to wit, like to those his minde most ran on, or that he talked of most. Now, after *Annibal* had passed ouer the mountaines Pirenei, and that he had also won the GAVLES harts with bountifull gifts: in few dayes he came to the riuer of Rhone. The head of the riuer of Rhone, is not farre from the heades of the riuers of the Rhein and Danuby, and running eight hundred furlongs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at GENEVA. Then it runneth from thence towardes the West, and deuideth the GAVLES a pretie way: and then being increased by the riuer of Arar (called in French, Saone) and with other riuers in the ende it falleth into the sea with diuers heades, betwext the VOLCES, and the CAVARIANS. The VOLCES, at that time inhabited

D both the sides of the riuer of Rhone, and were full of people, and the richest of all the other GAVLES. They hauing vnderstanding of *Annibals* comming, passed ouer the riuer, and armed them selues, & prepared on the other side to stoppe the CARTHAGINIANS, that they should not passe ouer. Now, though *Annibal* had wonne all the other GAVLES, yet those he coulde neuer winne neither by gifts, nor threats, to cause them rather to proue the frendship of the CARTHAGINIANS, then their force. Therefore *Annibal* perceiuing he was to handle such enemies rather by policy, he commaunded *Hanno* the sonne of *Bomilcar*, secretly to passe ouer the riuer of Rhone, with parte of the armie, and so to set vpon the GAVLES on the sodaine. Thereupon *Hanno* as he was commaunded, made a long iorney, and hauing passed ouer the riuer at passable fords: he shewed him selfe hard by the enemies campe, before they saw him,

E or that they knewe what it was. The GAVLES hearing their showtes and cries behinde them, and hauing their handes full of *Annibal* before them, who had many botes ready to passe ouer his men: they hauing no leasure to consult of the matter, neither to arme them selues to stande to defense, left their campe, and fled for life. So they being driuen from the other side of the riuer, the rest of the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS passed ouer it with safetie. In the meane time, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, that but a litle before was comen vnto MASSILIA, still heard newes of *Annibals* armie. Wherefore, to be more assured of the matter, he sent a bande of choyce horsemen to discouer what the enemies intent was: who making great speede as they were commaunded, met by chaunce with fiue hūdred horsemen of the NVMIDIANS, whom *Annibal* had also sent to bring him word of the ROMANES armie. So, they first sodainly gaue

F charge vpon the NVMIDIANS, and after a hotte and valliant conflict betwene both the parties, in the end the ROMANES ouercomming them, they made them flie, but with great losse of their men: howbeit the greatest losse and slaughter fell vpon the enemies. So *Annibal* by

The greatnes of the dominion of Affricke.

** This place is false.*

Annibal determineth to inuade Italy.

Annibals dreame at the riuer of Iberus.

The head & course of the riuer of Rhone.

Arar fl.

The Volces, people that inhabited on both the riuers of Rhone.

P. Cornelius Scipio Consul sent against Annibal, and arriued at Massilia.

this meanes founde where the ROMANES lay, and stoode in a great doute with him selfe, whither he shoulde keepe on his way into ITALIE, or else lead his armie against the Consul that then was, and so to proue his happe & successe. At length, debating many wayes in his mind, and vncertaine which way he would determine: the Ambassadors of the BOIANS perswaded him to leaue all other deuises, and to goe on into ITALIE. For before that *Annibal* had passed ouer the mountaines Pirenei, the BOIANS hauing by craft taken the ROMANES Ambassadors, and done great mischiefe vnto *Manlius* the Praetor, and intised the INSVBRIANS also: they were reuolted from the ROMANES, and tooke parte with *Annibal*, and onely bicause the ROMANES had replenished the cities of PLACENTIA, and CREMONA with people, and had made them Colonies to ROME. So *Annibal* being ruled by their counsell, raised his campe, and keping the riuers side, still going against the ruen in few dayes he came to the place which the GAVLES doe call the Iland, the which the riuer of Arar and Rhodanus comming from diuers mountaines doe make there. So at this present, there is the famous citie of LION in GAVLE, which they say was built long time after, by *Plancus Munatius*. From thence he came to the contrie of the ALLOBROGES, and hauing pacified the variance betwext two brethren for the realme, he came through the contrie of the CASTENIANS and VOCONTIANS, to the riuer of Durance. The head of this riuer commeth from the Alpes, and from thence running with a swift streame, falleth into the riuer of Rhone: & as it oftentimes chaungeth her course, so hath it in manner no passable forde. Yet *Annibal* hauing past it ouer, he led his armie vnto the Alpes, through open and plaine contries, as farre as he coulde: howebeit as he passed through them, he had great losses, as it is reported. Insomuche that some which were liuing at that time, did affirme, that they heard *Annibal* him selfe say, that he had lost aboue thirtie thowsand men, and the most parte of his horsemen. For he was forced not only to fight with the inhabitants of the mountaines, but also compelled to make wayes through the straights: so that in certaine places of the highest rockes, he was driuen to make passages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had passed the Alpes in fifteene dayes space, he came downe into the valley, not farre from the citie of TVRINE. Whereby it seemeth to me, that he passed ouer the mountaine they commonly called Genua, the which on the one side of it hath the riuer of Druentia, and on the other side it goeth downe to the city of TVRINE. Now it is hard to say truly, what number of men he had when he was comen into ITALIE: bicause of mens diuersities of opinions. For some wryte, that he had a hundred thowsand footemen, and twentie thowsand horsemen: others also write, that he had twentie thowsand footemen, and sixe thowsand horsemen, all AFRIKANS and SPANYARDES. But others, reckoning the GAVLES and LIGVRIAS, doe count foure score thowsande footemen, and renne thowsande horsemen. Yet it is not credible, that his armie was so great, as the first men report, and specially hauing passed through so many contries, and also receiued such losse as he had: neither also could his number be so small, as the second reporters doe make it, if a man will consider the famous exploytes and great enterprises he did afterwardes. So that I like their opinions best, which keepe the meane betwene them both: considering that he brought into ITALIE, the better parte of foure score thowsand footemen, and renne thowsand horsemen, the which he had leauied in SPAYNE: as it is manifestly knowen also, that a great number of the LIGVRIANS and GAVLES came to ioyne with him, for the great malice they bare vnto the ROMANES, that gaue no place nor grounde vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. So *Annibal* being comen from TVRINE, into the contrie of the INSVBRIANS: he was met withall by *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who marching with wonderfull speede from MASSILIA, and hauing passed the riuers of Po and Tesin, he camped not farre from the enemie. So shortly after, both the Generalls being comen into the field to view eche others campe, the horsemen of either side grew to skirmish, which continued long, and was not to be discerned which of them had the better. Howbeit in the end, the ROMANES seeing the Consul hurt, and also that the horsemen of the NVMIDIANS, by litle and litle came to compasse them in: they were driuen to geue ground, and so pretily retyred, defending the Consul the best they could to saue him, and so at length recouered their campe. It is reported that *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, was saued at that time through his sonnes helpe, who afterwardes was called AFRICAN, and at that time was

but

The Boians & Insubrids, reuolt from the Romanes, & take parte with Annibal.

Lugdunum, built by Plancus Munatius.

Druentia fl.

Annibal made waies through the rockes of the mountaines, by force of fire and vineger.

The valley of Taurinus.

Annibals comming into Italie by Piedmont, not farre from Turine.

Anniballs army in Italie.

Annibals first conflict with the Romanes, and victorie.

P. C. Scipio Consul hurt, and saued

A but a young ſtripling: whoſe praiſe though it was wonderfull in ſo greene a youth, yet is it likelie to be true, bicauſe of the famous and valliant actes he did afterwardes. Nowe *Scipio* hauing proued how much his enemie was ſtronger then him ſelfe in horſemen: he determined to place his campe ſo, as his footemen might be in beſt ſafety, & alſo fight with greateſt aduantage. And therefore the next night following he paſſed the riuer of Po, and made as litle noyſe as he coulde, and went vnto PLACENTIA. The like ſhortlie after did *T. Sempronius Longus*, who had bene reſtored from baniſhment by the Senate, and ſent for out of SICILIA: bicauſe both the Conſuls ſhould gouerne the common wealth by one ſelfe authoritie. *Annibal* alſo followed them both with all his armie, and pitched his campe neere vnto the riuer of Trebia: hoping that bicauſe both campes lay ſo neere together, ſome occaſion would be of-

B fred to fight, the which he chiefly deſired, both bicauſe he coulde not long maintaine warre for lacke of vittells, as alſo that he miſtruſted the fickelnes of the GAVLES. Who, like as they ſoone fell in league and frendſhip with him, drawen vnto it with hope of chaunge, and with the fame alſo of his victorie obtained: ſo he miſtruſted that vpon any light occaſion (as if the warre ſhould continue any long time in their contrie) they would turne all the hate they bare vnto the ROMANES, againſt him, as the only author of this warre. For theſe reſpectes therefore, he deuiſed all the meanes he could to come to battell. In the meane time, *Sempronius* the other Conſul, met with a troupe of the enemies, loden with ſpoyle, ſtragling vp and downe the fieldes, whom he charged, and put to flight. So imagining the like ſucceſſe of all the battell, by this good fortune he had met withall: he had good hope of victorie, if once both the

C armies might come to fight. Therefore being maruelous deſirous to doe ſome noble enterpriſe before *Scipio* were recouered of his hurt, and that the new Conſul ſhould be choſen: he determined to ioyne battell againſt the will of his other colleague and fellowe Conſul *Scipio*, who thought nothing could be to leſſe purpoſe, then to put all the ſtate and common wealth in ieopardie, ſpeciallie hauing all the whole GAVLES in maner in the field againſt him. Now, *Annibal* had ſecret intelligence of all this variance, by ſpialls he had ſent into the enemies campe. Wherefore, he being politike and ſuttle as he was, found out a place ſtraight betwene both campes, couered ouer with buſhes and briers, and there he placed his brother *Mago* to lye in ambuſh, with a companie of choſen men. Then he commaunded the horſemen of the NVMIDIANS, to ſcurrie to the trenches of the ROMANES, to intiſe him to come to battell: and

D thereupon made the reſidue of his armie to eate, and ſo put them in verie good order of battell, to be readie vpon any occaſion offered. Now the Conſul *Sempronius*, at the firſt tumult of the NVMIDIANS, ſodainly ſent his horſemen to encounter them, and after them put out ſix thowſande footemen, and in the ende, came him ſelfe out of his campe with all his armie. It was then in the middeſt of winter, and extreame cold, and ſpeciallie in the places incloſed about the Alpes, and the mountaine Appenine. Nowe the NVMIDIANS as they were commaunded, intiſed the ROMANES by litle and litle on this ſide the riuer of Trebia, vntill they came to the place where they might diſcerne their enſignes: and then they ſodainlie turned vpon the enemies which were out of order. For it is the manner of the NVMIDIANS, often-times to flie of ſet purpoſe, and then to ſtay vpon the ſodaine when they ſee time, to charge

E their enemie more hottely and fiercely then before. Whereuppon *Sempronius* incontinently gathered his horſemen togither, and did ſet his men in battell ray, as time required, to geue charge vpon his enemie, that ſtayed for him in order of battell. For *Annibal* had caſt his men into ſquadrons, readie vpon any occaſion. The skirmiſh beganne firſt by the light horſemen, & afterwards increaſed hotter by ſupplie of the men of armes: howbeit the ROMANE Knights being vnable to beare the ſhocke of the enemies, they were quickelie broken. So that the legions maintained the battell with ſuch furie & noble corage, that they had bene able to haue reſiſted, ſo they had fought but with footemen onely. But on the one ſide, the horſemen and Elephants made them affraied, and on the other ſide the footemen followed them verie luſtely, and fought with great furie againſt famiſhed and frozen men. Wherefore the ROMANES

F notwithſtanding, ſuffring all the miſeries that vexed them on euerie ſide, with an vnſpeakable corage and magnanimitie, ſuch as was aboue their force and ſtrength, they fought ſtill, vntill that *Mago* comming out of his ambuſh, came and ſodainly aſſailed them with great ſhowtes

from his enemies by his ſonne, who was afterwards called African. Padus fl.

P. Cornelius Scipio, and T. Sempronius Longus, Conſulls againſt Annibal. Trebia fl.

Ambuſh laied by Annibal to entrappe Sempronius.

Annibal fought with Sempronius the Conſul, at the riuer of Trebia. The Numidians craftie flying.

GVIDEM

and cries, and that the middle squadron of the CARTHAGINIANS also (through *Annibals* A
cõmaundement) flew vpon the CENOMANIANS. Then the ROMANES seeing their confederats
flie, their harts were done, and vtterly discoraged. It is sayd that there were tenne thowsande
footemen of the ROMANES got to PLACENTIA, and came through the enemies. The rest of
the armie that fledde, were most parte of them slaine by the CARTHAGINIANS. The Consul
Annibals victorie of the Consul Sempronius. *Sempronius* also scaped verie narowlie from the enemies. The victorie cost *Annibal* the setting
on also: for he lost a great number of his men, and the most parte of all his Elephantes were
slaine. After this battell, *Annibal* ouercame all the contrie, and did put all to fire and sworde,
and tooke also certaine townes: and with a few of his men made a great number of the con-
trie men flie, that were disorderlie gathered together in battell. Then at the beginning of the
spring, he brought his army into the field sooner then time required: & meaning to goe into B
THVSCAN, he was driuen backe by a great tempest at the verie toppe of the height of the Ap-
penine, and so compelled to bring his armie about PLACENTIA: howbeit shortly after he put
himselfe againe into the fields for diuers vrgent & necessary causes. For had he not saued him
selfe by that policie, he had almost bene taken tardie by the ambush of the GAVLES: who be-
ing angry with him that the warre continued so long in their contry, they sought to be reuen-
ged of him, as the only author & occasion of the warre. Therefore perceiuing it was time for
him to auoyde this daunger, he made all the hast he could to leade his armie into some other
prouince. Furthermore, he thought it would increase his estimacion much amõg straũgers, &
also greatly encorage his owne people, if he could make the power of the CARTHAGINIANS
to seeme so great, & also their Captaine to be of so noble a corage, as to dare to make warre so C
neere to the citie of ROME. All things therefore set a part, he marched with his campe by the
mountaine Appenine, and so comming through the contry of the LIGVRIANS, he came into
THVSCAN, by the way that bringeth them into the champion contry, & to the marisses about
Arnus fl. the riuer of Arnus. The riuer of Arnus at that time was very high, and had ouerflowen all the
fields thereabours. *Annibal* therefore marching with so great an army as he had, could not a-
voyde it, but that he must needes lose a number of his men & horse, before he could get out of
Annibal lost one of his eyes in the marishes, by the riuer of Arnus. those euill fauored marisses. Insomuch that he him selfe lost one of his eyes, by reason of the
great paines he had taken day & night without sleepe or rest, and also through the euill ayer:
though he was caried vpon a high Elephants back, which only was left him of all that he had
brought with him. In the meane time, *C. Flaminius* Consul, to whom the charge of *Sẽpronius* D
army was geuen: he was come vnto ARETIVM against the Senates minde, who were marue-
C. Flaminius, & Cn. Seruilius, Consuls. lously offended with him, bicause he left his cõpanion *Cn. Seruilius* at ROME, & went vnto his
prouince by stelth as it were, without the furniture of a Consul & his officers. This was a very
hasty man of nature, & one whom the people had brought to that dignity & office: so that he
was become so prowde & insolent that men might see he would hazard all things without wit
or iudgement. *Annibal* hauing intelligence hereof, thought it the best way to anger the Con-
sul, & to do what he could possible to allure him into the field, before his fellow Consul should
come to ioyne with him. Therfore, he marching forward with his campe through the contry
of FESVLA, & ARETIVM, he burnt & spoiled all the contry thereabout, & filled them all with
Montes Cortonenses. feare, neuer leauing to destroy all before him, vntil he came to the mountaines Cortonenses, E
Lacus Thrasimenus. & so to the lake called Thrasimene. When he had viewed the place, he went about to surprise
his enemy by some ambush: wherupon he conueied certen horsemen vnder the hills, hard by
the straight that goeth vnto Thrasimene, and behind the mountaines also, he placed his light
horsemẽ. Thẽ he him selfe with the rest of his army came downe into the field, supposing that
The iudgement of a souldier. the Consul would not be quiet: and so it fell out. For hot stirring heades are easely intrapped,
& fall into the enemies ambush, & oftentimes do put all in hazard, bicause they will follow no
counsell nor good aduise. *C. Flaminius* therefore, seeing their contry vtterly spoiled, the corne
destroyed and cut downe, and the houses burnt: he made great hast to lead his armie against
the enemie, contrarie to all mens minds, who would haue had him taried for his companion
Cn. Seruilius the other Consul. So euen at sunne set, when he was come to the straightes of F
the lake of Thrasimene, he caused his campe to stay there, although his men were not wea-
rie with the long iorney they had taken by the way. So the next morning by breake of day,

making

A making no view of the contrie, he went ouer the mountaines. Then *Annibal* who long before was prepared for this, did but ſtay for the oportunitie to worke his feate: when he ſaw the ROMANES come into the plaine, he gaue a ſignall vnto all his men to geue charge vpon the enemie. Thereuppon the CARTHAGINIANS breaking out on euerie ſide, came before and behinde, and on the flanckes to aſſaile the enemie, being ſhut in betwene the lake and the mountaines. Now in contrarie maner, the ROMANES beginning to fight out of order, they fought incloſed together, that they could not ſee one an other, as if it had bene darke: ſo that it is to be wondered at, how, and with what minde they fought it out ſo long, conſidering they were compaſſed in on euerie ſide. For they fought it out aboue three howres ſpace, with ſuch fury and corage, that they heard not the terrible earthquake that was at that preſent time, neither B did they offer to flie or ſtirre a foote: vntil they heard that the Conſul *C. Flaminius* going from rancke to rancke to encourage his men, was ſlaine by a man of armes called *Ducarius*. Then when they had loſt their Generall, and being voyde of all hope: they fled, ſome towardes the mountaines, and others towards the lake, of the which diuers of them flying, were ouertaken & ſlaine. So there were ſlaine * fifteene thowſand in the field, & there ſcaped about ten thowſand. Furthermore the report went, that there were ſix thowſande footemen which forciblie (at the beginning of the battell) got to the mountaine, and there ſtayed on a hill till the battell was ended, and at length came downe vpon *Annibals* promiſe: but they were betrayed, and ſlaine, euery mothers ſonne of them. After this great victorie, *Annibal* did let diuers ITALIAN priſoners goe free without raunſome paying, after he had vſed them maruelous curteouſlie: C bicauſe that the fame of his clemencie & curteſie ſhould be knowen vnto all nations, whereas in deede his owne nature was contrarie to all vertues. For he was haſtie and cruell of nature, and from his youth was brought vp in warres, and exerciſed in murther, treaſon, & ambuſhes layed for enemies: and neuer cared for law, order, nor ciuill gouernment. So by this meanes he became one of the cruelleſt Captaines, the moſt ſuttell, and craftieſt to deceiue and intrap his enemie, that euer was. For as he was alway prying to beguile the enemie: ſo thoſe whom he could not ouercome in warre by plaine force, he went about to intrappe by ſlight and policie. The which appeareth true by this preſent battell, and alſo by the other he fought againſt the Conſul *Sempronius*, by the riuer of Trebia. But let vs returne to our matter, and leaue this talke till an other time. Now when the newes of the ouerthrow and death of the Conſul *Fla*- D *minius* was reported at ROME, hauing loſt the moſt parte of his armie: there was great mone and lamentation made through all the citie of ROME. Some bewailing the common miſerie of the common wealth, others lamenting their priuate particular loſſe, & ſome alſo ſorowing for both together. But in deede it was a woefull ſight, to ſee a world of men & women to run to the gates of the citie, euerie one priuatly asking for their kinne and frends. Some do write, that there were two women, who being very ſorie and penſiſe, diſpairing of the ſafetie of their ſonnes, dyed ſodainly for the extreame ioy they had, when beyond their expectacion & hope they ſawe their ſonnes aliue and ſafe. At the ſelfe ſame time, *Cn. Seruilius*, the other Conſul with *C. Flaminius*, did ſend him foure thowſand horſemen, not vnderſtanding yet of the battell that was fought by the lake of Thraſymene. But when they heard of the ouerthrowe of E their men by the way, and therefore thought to haue fled into VMBRIA: they were compaſſed in by the horſemen of the enemies, and ſo brought vnto *Annibal*. Nowe the Empire of ROME being brought into ſo great extreamitie and daunger, bicauſe of ſo many ſmall loſſes one in the necke of an other: it was ordeined, that an extraordinarie Gouernor or Magiſtrate ſhould be choſen, who ſhould be created Dictator: an office ſpecially vſed to be reſerued for the laſt hope and remedie, in moſt extreame daunger and perill, of the ſtate and common wealth. But bicauſe the Conſul *Seruilius* could not returne at that time to ROME, all the waies being kept by the enemie: the people contrarie to their cuſtome, created *Q. Fabius* Dictator, (who afterwards attained the ſurname of *Maximus*, to ſay, verie great) who likewiſe did name *M. Minutius* Generall of the horſemen. Now this *Fabius* was a graue and wiſe counſeller, and F of great authoritie and eſtimacion in the common wealth: inſomuche as the citizens had all their hope and confidence in him onely, perſwading them ſelues, that the honor of ROME might be better preſerued vnder the gouernment and conduct of ſuch a Generall, rather then

Battell betweene Annibal and C. Flaminius the Conſul, by the lake of Thraſymene.

The Romanes were ſo earneſt in fight, that they heard not the noiſe of an earthquake.

C. Flaminius the Conſul ſlaine

* *Plutarke in the life of Fabius Maximus, addeth to as many priſoners.*

Annibals craftines to diſſemble vertue.

The naturall diſpoſition of Annibal.

Extreame ioy cauſeth ſodaine death

The office of Dictator, of what effect.

Q. Fabius Maximus, created Dictator.

vnder the gouernment of any other man whatſoeuer. So *Fabius* knowing it very well, after he had carefullie and diligentlie geuen order for all thinges neceſſarie: he departed from Rome, and when he had receiued the armie of the late Conſul *Cn. Seruilius*, he added vnto them two other legions, and ſo went vnto the enemie. Nowe *Annibal* was gone from the lake of Thraſymene, and went directly towardes the citie of Spoletvm, to ſee if he could take it at the firſt aſſault. But when he ſaw that the townes men ſtoode vpon the rampers of the walls, and valliantlie defended them ſelues: he then left the towne, and deſtroyed the contrie as he went, and burnt houſes and villages, and ſo went into Apvlia, through the marches of Ancona, and the contries of the Marsians and Pelignians. The Dictator followed him at the heeles, and camped hard by the citie of Arpy, not farre from the campe of the enemie, to thend to drawe out the warre at length. For the raſhneſſe and foolehardines of the former Captaines affore time, had brought the ſtate of Rome into ſuch miſerie: that they thought it a victorie vnto them, not to be ouercome by the enemie, that had ſo often ouercome them. Whereby all thinges were turned ſtraight with the chaunge and alteracion of the Captaine. For, though *Annibal* had ſet his men in battell ray, and afterwardes perceiuing his enemie ſturred not, went and deſtroyed the contrie, hoping thereby to intiſe the Dictator to fight, when he ſhould ſee the contrie of his confederates ſo ſpoyled, as it was before his face: the Dictator, this notwithſtanding, was not moued withall, but ſtill kept his men cloſe together, as if the matter had not concerned him. *Annibal* was in a maruelous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often remoued his campe, to the ende that going diuers wayes, ſome occaſion or oportunitie might fall out to deceiue the enemie, or elſe to geue battell. So when he had paſſed the mountaine Appenine, he came vnto Samnivm. But bicauſe ſhortlie after, ſome of Campania, who hauing bene taken priſoners by the lake of Thraſymene, had bene ſet at libertie without raunſome: they putting him in hope that he might take the citie of Capva, he made his armie march forward, and tooke a guide that knew the contrie, to bring him vnto Casinvm. Nowe the guide ouerhearing Casinvm, vnderſtoode it Casilinvm, & ſo miſtaking the ſound of the word, brought the armie a cleane contrary way vnto Calentinvm, and Calenvm, and from thence about Stella. So when they came into a contry enuironned about with mountaines and riuers, *Annibal* knew ſtraight they had miſtaken their way, and ſo did cruelly put the guide to death. *Fabius* the Dictator, did in the meane time beare all this pacientlie, and was contented to geue *Annibal* libertie to take his pleaſure which way he woulde: vntill he had gotten the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Caſilinum, where he placed his garriſon, being places of great aduantage and commodity. So the armie of the Carthaginians was in manner compaſſed in euery way, and they muſt needes haue dyed for famine in that place, or elſe haue fled, to their great ſhame and diſhonor: had not *Annibal* by this ſtratageame preuented the daunger. Who knowing the daunger all his armie ſtoode in, and hauing ſpied a fit time for it: he commaunded his ſouldiers to bring forth two thowſand oxen which they had gotten in ſpoyle in the fields, hauing great ſtore of them, and then tying torches or fire linckes vnto their hornes, he appointed the nimbleſt men he had to light them, and to driue the oxen vp the hill to the toppe of the mountaines, at the reliefe of the firſt watche. All this was duely executed according to his commaundement, and the oxen running vp to the toppe of the mountaines with the torches burning, the whole armie marched after them fayer and ſoftly. Now the Romanes that had long before placed a ſtrong garriſon vpon the mountaines, they were affrayed of this ſtraunge ſight, and miſtruſting ſome ambuſhe, they ſoorthwith forſooke their peeces and holdes. *Fabius* him ſelfe miſtruſting alſo that it was ſome ſtratageame of the enemie, kept his men within the campe, and coulde not well tell what to ſay to it. In the meane time, *Annibal* got ouer the mountaine, not farre from the bathes of Sweſſa, which the contrie men doe call the tower of the bathes, and brought all his armie ſafe into Alba: and ſhortlie after, he marched directlie as though he woulde goe to Rome, howbeit he ſodainlie turned out of the way, and went preſentlie into Apvlia. There he tooke the citie of Glerenvm, a verie riche and wealthie towne, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him harde, and came and camped by Lavrinvm, not farre from the Carthaginians campe. So he being ſent for to Rome about waightie affaires

Haſtines of Captaines of tentimes very hurtfull.

The guide cruelly put to death by Annibal.

Annibals ſtratageame in the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Caſilinum, againſt Q. Fabius Dictator.

Certaine bathes at Sweſſa, called the tower of the bathes.

Glerenum: a citie in Apulia.

affeires of the state, there was no remedy but he must needes depart thence with all the speede he coulde: howbeit before he went, he left *Atarcus Nathan* his Generall of the horsemen, his Lieutenaunt of all the armie, and commaunded him in his absence not once to fight, nor meddle with the enemie. For he was fullie bent to follow his first determination, which was not to vexe the enemy, nor to fight with him, though he were prouoked to it. How beit *M. Minutius* litle regarding the Dictators commaundement, his backe was no sooner turned, but he set vpon a companie of the enemies dispersed in the fielde a forraging, and slue a great number of them: and fought with the rest, euen into their campe. The rumor of this skirmish flew straight to Rome, and there was such great accompt made of it, that it was esteemed for a victorie: and the common people were so ioyfull of it, that they straight made the power of the Lieutenant, equall with the Dictator *Fabius*: the which was neuer heard of before. *Fabius* patiently bearing this extreame iniurie with a noble courage, hauing no way deserued it, he returned againe vnto the campe. Thus there were two Dictators at one selfe time (a thing neuer seene nor heard of before) who after they had deuided the army betweene them, either of them commaunded his army a parte, as the Consuls were wont to doe before. *Minutius* thereupon grew to such a pride and hawtie mind, that one day he ventred to geue battell, and made not his companion *Fabius* counsell withall: the which *Annibal* hauing so often ouercome, durst scantly haue enterprised. So he led his army into such a place, where the enemie had compassed them in: insomuche that *Annibal* slue them at his pleasure, without any hope left them to escape, if *Fabius* had not comen in time (as he did) to aide them, rather respecting the honor of his contrie, then remembring the priuate iniurie he had receiued. For he comming fresh with his armie to the battell, made *Annibal* affrayed, that the Romaine legions had libertie to retire with safetie. Whereby *Fabius* wanne great fame for his wilfedome and valliantnesse, both of his owne souldiers, as also of the enemies themselues. For it was reported that *Annibal* should say, returning into his campe: that in this battell he had ouercomen *M. Minutius*, but withall, that he was also ouercomen by *Fabius*. And *Minutius* selfe also confessing *Fabius* wisedom, & considering that (according to *Hesiodus* saying) it was good reason to obey a better man then him selfe: he came with all his armie vnto *Fabius* campe, & renouncing his authotity, came and humbly saluted *Fabius* as his father, and all that day there was great ioy, and reioycing among the souldiers. So both the armies being placed in garison for the winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two newe Consuls created: *L. Paulus AEmylius*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, one that of a meane man (through the fauour of the common people) was brought to be Consul. So they had libertie and commission to leauie a greater armie then the Generalls before them had done. Whereby the legions were newly supplied, and also others added vnto them, more then were before. Now when the Consuls were come into the armie, as they were of seuerall dispositions, so did they also obserue diuers manners in their gouernment. *Lucius Paulus*, who was a wise graue man, and one that purposed to followe *Fabius* counsell and facions: he did desire to draue out the warre in length, and to stay the enemie without fighting. *Varro* on the other side was a hastie man, and venturous, and desired nothinge but to fight. So it chaunced, that not longe after it was knowen, to the great cost and daunger of the citie of Rome, what difference there was betwext the modestie of *AEmilius*, and the foolehardinesse of *Varro*. For *Annibal* beinge affrayed of some sturre and tumult in his campe for lacke of victuells, he departed from Gerrenvm, and goinge into the warmest places of Apvlia, came and camped with all his armie, by a village called Cannes. So he was followed with both the Consulls, who came and camped seuerallie harde by him, but so neere one to an other, that there was but the riuer of Aufide that parted them. This riuer as it is reported, doth alone deuide the mowntayne of the Appenine, and taketh his heade on that side of the mountayne that lyeth to the sea side, from whence it runneth to the sea Adriaticum. Nowe, *Lucius Paulus* findinge that it was impossible for *Annibal* beinge in a straunge countrey to mayntayne so greate an armie of suche sundrie nations together: he was fullie bent to tracte time, and to auoyde battell, perswadinge him selfe that it was the right and onelie way to ouercome him, being as muche to the enemies disaduantage,

Two Dictators together neuer heard of before.

L. Paulus AEmylius, and C. Terentius Varro, Consuls.

The differing behauiours of Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro.

as also maruelous profitable and beneficiall for the common wealth. And sure if C. *Terentius Varro*, had caried that minde, it had bene out of all doubt, that *Annibals* armie had bene ouerthrowen by the ROMANES, without stroke striking. Howbeit he had suche a light head of his owne, and was so fickle minded, that he neither regarded wise counsell, nor *Paulus AEmylius* authoritie: but in contrarie manner would fall out with him, and also complaine of him before the souldiers, for that he kept his men penne vp, and idle, whilest the enemie did put forth his men to the field in battell ray. So when his turne came, that he was absolute to commaunde the whole armie, (for they both had absolute power by turnes) he passed ouer the riuer of Aufide by breake of day, and gaue the signall of battell without the priuitie of his companion *AEmylius*, who rather followed him against his will, then willinglie, because he could doe none otherwise. So he caused a skarlet coate of armes to be put out verie early in the morning, for signall of battell. *Annibal* on the other side as glad of it as might be possible, (that he had occasion offered him to fight, (considering that the continuall delaying of battell did alter all his purpose) he passed his armie ouer the riuer, and had straight put them in verie good order. For he had taken great spoyles of his enemies to furnish him selfe verie brauelie. Now the armie of the ROMANES stoode Southward, insomuche that the South winde (which the men of the contrie call Vulturnus) blewe full in their faces: whereas the enemies in contrarie manner had the vauntage of the winde and Sunne vpon their backes, and their battell stoode in this manner. The AFRIKANS were placed in both the winges, (and the GAVLES and SPANIARDES set in squadron in the middest. The light horsemen first beganne the skirmishe, and after them followed the men of armes: and bicause the space betweene the riuer and the footemen was verie narrow, so as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruell fight for the time, though it lasted not long. So, the horsemen of the ROMANES being ouerthrowen, the footemen came with suche a lustie courage to receiue the charge, that they thought they shoulde not haue day enough to fight. Howbeit the ouer earnest desire they had to ouercome their enemies, made their ouerthrowe more miserable, then their ioy and good happe was great at the beginning. For the GAVLES and SPANIARDES, (who as we haue sayd before kept the battell) not being able any longer to withstand the force of the ROMANES, they retired towardes the AFRIKANES in the wings. The ROMANES perceiuing that, ran vpon the enemy with all the fury they could, and had them in chase and fought with them, till they were gotten in the middest of them. Then the CARTHAGINIANS that were in both wings, came & compassed them in before they were aware. Moreouer, there were fiue hundred of the NVMIDIAN horsemen, that cullerably fled vnto the Consuls, who receiued them very curteously, & placed them in the rereward of the army. They seeing their time, shewed behind the enemies, & did sodainly geue them charge. Then the army of the ROMANES was vtterly ouerthrowen, & *Annibal* obtained victory. *Liuie* writeth that there were slaine in this battell * forty thousand footmen, and aboue two thowsand seuen hundred horsemen. *Polybius* saith, that there were many more slaine. Well, letting this matter passe, it is certaine that the ROMANES had neuer greater losse, neither in the first warre with AFRICKE, nor in the seconde by the CARTHAGINIANS, as this ouerthrowe that was geuen at CANNES. For there was slaine, the Consul *Paulus AEmylius* him selfe, a man vndoubtedlie deseruing great praise, and that serued his contrie and common wealth euen to the howre of death: *Cn. Seruilius*, Consul the yeare before, he was also slaine there, and many other that had bene Consuls, Prætors, and others of such like dignitie, Captaines, Chieftaines, and many other Senators and honest citizens, and that suche a number of them, that the verie cruelties it selfe of the enemie was satisfied. The Consull *Terentius Varro*, who was the onelie author of all this warre and slaughter, seeinge the enemie victor euerie waye, he saued him selfe by flyinge. And *Taditanus* a Chieftaine of a bande, comminge through his enemies with a good companie of his men, he came vnto CANVSIVM. Thither came also about tenne thowsande men, that had escaped from their enemies, as out of a daungerous storme: by whose consent, the charge of the whole armie was geuen vnto *Appius Pulcher*, and also vnto *Cornelius Scipio*, who afterwardes did ende this warre. Thus was the ende of that battell fought by CANNES. Newes flewe straight to ROME of this ouerthrowe, the

Battell at Cannes.

A stratagem of Annibal.

* *Plutarke in the life of Fabius saythe that there were fiftie thowsand slaine, and fourteene thowsande taken prisoners.*

Paulus AEmylius Consul, slaine at the battell of Cannes.

Great slaughter at the battell of Cannes.

A the which though they lustly filled all the citie with sorowe and calamitie, yet the Senate and people of Rome kept alwaies their countenance and greatnes, euen in this extreame miserie. Insomuch that they had not only good hope to kepe their city safe, but furthermore they leauied a new army & made young men to beare armor, & yet left not Sicilia and Spayne vnprouided in the meane time: so that they made the world to wonder at them, to consider these things how they could in so great calamity & trouble haue so noble harts, & such wise counsel. But to let passe the former ouerthrowes, & great losses they susteined at Ticinvm, at Trebia, and at the lake of Thrasimene: what nation or people could haue borne this last plague, whereby the whole force & power of the Romanes was in maner vtterly destroied and ouerthrowen: and yet the people of Rome so held it out, & that with so great wisedom & counsell: *The constancy of the Romanes in extreamities.*

The Romanes lost three great battells to Annibal, at Ticinum, Trebia, and Thrasimene.

B that they neither lacked manhood, nor magnanimity. Besides, to help them the more, *Annibal* being cõqueror, trifling time in taking his leisure, & refreshing his army, he gaue the Romanes leasure that were ouercomen to take breath againe, & to restore themselues. For doutlesse, if *Annibal* being conqueror, had immediatly after the victorie obtained, brought his armie directly to Rome: surely the Romanes had bene vtterly vndone, or at the least had bene cõpelled to haue put all in venter. So, it is reported, that *Annibal* oftentimes afterwardes repented himselfe he followed not his victory, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counsell which wished him to let his souldiers rest, then *Maharbals* aduise, generall of his horsemen; who would haue had him gone straight to Rome, and so to haue ended all this warre. But he seing *Annibals* delay, told him (as it is reported) this that is now cõmon in euery mans mouth: *Maharball generall of Annibals horsemen.*

C *Annibal*, thou knowest how to ouercome, but thou knowest not how to vse victory. But what: all things are not (as *Nestor* saith in *Homer*) geuen to men all together. For some had no skil to ouercome, others knew not how to follow their victory, & some also could not kepe that they had won. *Pyrrhus* king of the Epirotes that made warre with the Romanes, was one of the famousest Captaines that euer was: yet, as men write of him, though he was maruelous fortunate to cõquer realmes, he could neuer kepe the. Euen so in like maner, some Captaines haue bene indued with excellent vertues, & yet notwithstanding haue bene infelicit in martial affaires, deseruing praise in a Captaine: as we may read in diuers histories. Now after this battell fought by Cannes, the Atellanians, the Calatinians, the Samnites, & after this also, the Brvtians & Lvcanians, & diuers other nations & people of Italy, carled away with *Maharbals saying to Annibal.*

Pyrrhus could not kepe the realmes he conquered.

D the fame of this great victory: they al came & yelded vnto *Annibal*. And the city of Capva also, (the which *Annibal* was desirous to haue won long before) for taking their old frends & confederats, made new league & friendship with *Annibal*, the which wan him great estimacion with other nations. For at that time the city of Capva was very populous & of great power, & the chiefest city of estimacion of all Italy, next vnto Rome. Now to tel you in few words what is reported of Capva, it is certaine that it was a Colony of the Thvscanes, the which was first called, Vvltvrnvm, & after that Capva, by the name of their Gouernor called *Capius*, or otherwise, (as it is most likely) bicause of the fieldes round about it. For on euery side of it, there are goodly pleasaunt fieldes, full of all kindes of frutes growing on the earth, called in Greeke, Kepi. Furthermore, all the contry is confined round about with famous nations. Towards the *The citie of Capua, how so called.*

E sea there dwell the Svessanians, the Cvmanians, and the Neapolitans. On firme land also towards the North, are the Calentinians, and the Calenians. On the East and South side, the Davnians and Nolanians. Furthermore, the place is of a strong scituacion, and on the one side is compassed in with the sea, and on the other side with great high mountaines. Now the Campanians florished maruelously at that time: and therefore, seeing the Romanes in maner vtterly vndone by the battel they had lost at Cannes, they quickly tooke parte with the stronger, as it commonly falleth out: and furthermore, besides that they made league with *Annibal*, they receiued him into their city with great triumphe, hoping that the warre being ended, they should be the chiefest & wealthiest of all Italy. But marke how men are commonly deceiued in their expectacion. Now, when *Annibal* came into the city of

F Capva, there was a worlde of people that went to see him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talke, but of his happy victories he had wonne of the enemie. So being come into the citie, they brought him vnto *Pacuuius* house, his verie familiar frende,

who was a man of great wealth and authoritie, as any among all the CAMPANIANS. Then he A
made him a notable banket, to the which no citizens were bidden, sauing onely *Iubellius Taurea*, a stowte man, and the sonne of *Pacuuius* his hoast: who through his fathers meanes, with much a doe, was reconciled to *Annibal*, for that *Annibal* hated him as he did, bicause he followed *Decius Magius*, who alwayes tooke the ROMANES parte. But now, let vs consider a litle I pray you, how great men sometime vnwares are subiect to great daungers and misfortunes.
Conspiracy against Annibal at Capua. For this young man dissembling his reconciliacion with *Annibal*, watching time & occasion notwithstanding to do him some displeasure, in the time of this feast, while they were making merie: he tooke his father aside into a secret corner of the house, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turne, to redeeme the fauor and good will againe of the ROMANES, the which they had lost through their great wickednesse. Then he tolde him howe he was de- B
termined to kill *Annibal*, the enemy of his contrie, and all ITALIE besides. His father that was a man of great countenance, and authoritie, was maruelously amazed withall, to heare what his sonne said: wherfore imbracing him with the teares running downe his cheekes, he praied him to leaue of his sword, and to let his gheste be safe in his house. The which his sonne in the end yeelded to with great a doe. Thus *Annibal* hauing before withstoode all the force of his enemies, the ambushes of the GAVLES, and hauing brought with him also a great army from the sea, and the furdest parte of SPAYNE, through so many great and mightie nations: he scaped killing verie narrowlie by the hande of a young man, whileste he was at the table making merie. The next morning *Annibal* had audience in open Senate, where he made great and
large promises, and tolde them many thinges, which the CAMPANIANS easelie beleued, and C
therefore flattered them selues, that they should be Lords of all ITALIE: howbeit they reckoned beside their hoast. And to conclude, they did so cowardly submit them selues to *Annibal*: that it seemed they had not onely suffered him to come into their citie, but that they had also made him their absolute Lord, like men that neither remembred, nor regarded their libertie. And this appeareth plainlie by one example I will shew you amongest many. *Annibal* willed them to deliuer him *Decius Magius*, the head of the contrarie faction to him. Whereunto the Senate not only obeyed with all humilitie, but worst of all, suffered him to be brought bound into the market place, in the presence of all the people: who, bicause he woulde not forsake the auncient league and frendshippe with the ROMANES, had shewed him selfe a more faithfull citizen to his contrie and common wealth, then vnto the barbarous people. Now whileste D
these thinges passed thus in CAPVA, *Mago* (*Annibals* brother) went to CARTHAGE, to report the newes of his happie victorie to his contrie men, which they had wonne of the enemies: and with all, before the Senate to declare the noble exployes of armes done by *Annibal*, and to proue the words true he spake, he poored out at the comming in of the Senate house, the golden rings which had bene taken from the ROMANE Knightes: of the which there were (as some doe report) aboue a bushell full, and as other some doe wryte, aboue three bushells and a halfe. After that, he praied a new supply for *Annibals* army: the which was graunted him by the Senate with greater ioy, the afterwards it was sent. For the CARTHAGINIANS perswading them selues by the things present, that the warre would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was fayer: they thereuppon decreed to continue the warre, and to aide *Annibals* attempts, by E
leauying of souldiers. Now no mā withstood this new supply to be sent to *Annibal*, but *Hanno*, a perpetuall enemie of the Barcinian faction. Howbeit the CARTHAGINIANS wayed not his counsell and aduise then, though it tended to peace, and was good counsel for them, as oftentimes before he had vsed the like. So when *Annibal* had made league with the CAMPANIANS, he led his campe before the citie of NOLA, hoping they would yeeld of them selues without compulsion. And certainlie so had it come to passe, had not the sodaine comming thither of *Marcellus* the Prætor bene, who both kept the people in, pacified the sedition, & repulsed the enemy that was comming into the citie, by a saily he made vpon him at three seuerall gates, chasing & killing them euen to their campe, with great losse. This is that noble Captaine and
Marcellus victorie of Annibal at the citie of Nola. valliant souldier *Marcellus*, who with a noble corage made the world knowe that *Annibal* was F
not inuincible. *Annibal* perceiuing that there was no other way, but to let NOLA alone till an other time: he came to ACERRAS, and tooke and spoiled it without resistance. Then going on

further

A further with greater power vnto CASILINVM, a fit place to offend the CAPVANS, he went about to win them that lay there in garrison: but when he saw that neither his fayer promises, nor otherwise his threates coulde preuaile, he left parte of his armie to besiege the citie, and bestowed the residue in garrisons before the winter season. Howbeit he chose for his chiefest seate and strength the citie of CAPVA, which stoode verie pleasauntlie, and had plentie of all thinges. There it was that *Annibals* souldiers being vsed to lye hard, and easely to away with colde, hunger, and thirst, became then of valliant men, rancke cowardes: of strong men, weaklings: and of seruiceable and ready men, timerous and effeminate persons, through the daily pleasures they enioyed at will. For sweete intising pleasures, do corrupt the strength and corage of the mind, and mans disposition also vnto vertue: moreouer they spoile his wit, and
B take all good counsell from him, all which thinges are daungerous for men. And therefore *Plato* rightlie calleth pleasure, the bayte of all euils. And doubtlesse in this case, the pleasures of CAMPANIA did hurt the CARTHAGINIANS more, then otherwise the highest Alpes, and all the armies of the ROMANES did. For one onelie winter passed ouer in suche pleasure and wantonnes, was of such great force to extinguish the vehement corage in the souldiers: that when they were brought into the fielde at the beginning of the spring, sure you would rightlie haue sayd that they had forgotten all martiall discipline. Thus the winter being passed ouer, *Annibal* returned againe to CASILINVM, hoping that the citizens within would willingly yeelde vnto him, after they had abidden so long a siege. Howebeit they were bent to abide all extreamity, before they would yeeld to their so cruell an enemy, although they lacked vit-
C tells. Wherefore liuing first by spelt, or beere barley, and afterwards with nuts which they had receiued of the ROMANES by the riuer of Vulturnus: they held it out so long, that *Annibal* in the end being angry with the continuance of the siege, he was content to take the citie vpon composition, the which he had refused before. Now this warre, in the which the CARTHAGINIANS had alwayes had great victories and good fortune, and receiued any losse worthy of memorie: began at that time to decline, and to fall to great chaunge and alteracion. For the league that was made with *Philip* king of MACEDON, and the newe aide and supplie that was sent from CARTHAGE, and the taking of PETILIA, CONSENTIA, & of other cities of the contrie of the BRVTIANS, kept the CARTHAGINIANS in good hope. On the other side, the great victories which the ROMANES had won vpon the enemies in SPAYNE, & SARDINIA, did great-
D ly encorage them, and gaue them also good hope that their affaires would prosper better and better. They had also chosen three excellent Captaines, *Fabius Maximus*, *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Marcus Marcellus*, a man most worthie of praise for martiall discipline: who so wisely gouerned the affaires of the state, that *Annibal* found he should make warre with an enemie, no lesse politike and wise, then hardy and valliant. For first of all, he was driuen from the citie of CVMES, with great slaughter of his men, by *Sempronius Gracchus*, and forced to raise his siege: and shortlie after he was ouercomen by *Marcellus*, in a battell he fought at NOLA. For there were slaine about a thowsand ROMANES, & * six thowsand CARTHAGINIANS, slaine, & taken flying. Now it is easily seene what great importance that battel was of: bicause *Annibal* immediatly vpon it, raised his siege from NOLA, & went into APVLIA to winter his army there. By
E this meanes came the ROMANES to recouer againe, as out of a great sicknes, and sent a great power against the enemy: and were not content only to keepe their owne, but they durst also inuade others. So their chiefest intent was, to besiege the city of CAPVA, for the iniurie they had but lately receiued of the CAMPANIANS. For incontinently after the battel was fought at CANNES, they forsooke the ROMANES, euē in their greatest extreamity & misery, & tooke part with *Annibal* that was conqueror, forgetting the great pleasures their city had receiued in old time by the ROMANES. On the other side the CAMPANIANS, knowing they had made a fault, & being affraid of this new preparatiō of the ROMANES: they sent to *Annibal* into APVLIA, to pray him to come & aide their city (being of the number of his confederats) in their greatest necessity. *Annibal* departed out of APVLIA without delay, & came on with great iorneys into
F CAMPANIA, & cāped by TIFATA ouer CAPVA, wherby he rather deferred til another time, thē preuēted the plague hāging ouer the CAMPANIANS heades. So spoiling the cōtry roūd about NAPLES, he began to take cōceit of a new hope, that he might take the city of NOLA by treason.

Annibals souldiers marred with ease at Capua.

Pleasure, the baite of all euills.

One winters ease spoiled a souldier, and made him a coward.

The hard shifts of the Casilinians in liue, during Annibals siege.

Annibals good fortune began to faile him.

Three famous Captaines of the Romanes Fabius Maximus. Sempronius Gracchus, Marcus Marcellus.

The victories of the Romanes against Annibal.

** Plutarke in the life of Marcellus, speaketh of fiue thowsand Carthaginians slaine, and only of fiue hundred Romanes.*

Two factions in Naples.

For in NOLA, the people and Senate were at variance the one against the other, as they were likewise in diuers other cities of ITALIE. The common people desirous of chaunge, fauored *Annibal*: and the noble men, and men of authority, tooke part with the people of ROME. So when *Annibal* went to take the citie of NOLA, *Marcellus* met him with his army in battell ray, as he had often done before, and failed not to fight with him, euen at the first meeting. There the ROMANES ouercame, and draue the enemie with such manhood and readines: that if the horsemen which had taken an other way had comen in in time, as *Marcellus* commaunded them: no question the CARTHAGINIANS had bene vtterly ouerthrowen. *Annibal* after he had retired his army into his campe with great slaughter, he shortly after departed thence, & went into the contry of the SALENTINIANS. For certaine young TARENTINES that had bene taken prisoners in former battells, where the ROMANES had bene ouerthrowen, and that were afterwards deliuered free without raunsome: they to shew them selues thankeful, had put *Annibal* in hope to deliuer him the city of TARENTVM, so he would but bring his army before the city. *Annibal* intised by their promises, did what he could to obteine it, bicause he might haue some city vpon the sea in his power, the which he had desired of long time. And in deede, of all the cities vpon the sea coast, there was none so meete as TARENTVM, to bring aide out of GRECE thither, & also to furnish the cãpe with many things that were to be occupied daily. So, thogh this thing was drawen out in length, by the garrison of the ROMANES that valliantlie resisted: yet *Annibal* neuer gaue ouer his enterprise, vntill that *Nico* and *Philomenes* the authors of the treason, had deliuered him the citie into his handes. The ROMANES kept only the castell, the which is in manner enuironned with the sea on three sides: and on the fourth side, that lay vpon the firme lande, it was verie strong with rampers and bulwarkes. *Annibal* perceiuing that he coulde doe no good on that side, bicause of their great strength: he determined to shut vp the mouth of the hauen of TARENTVM, hoping that was the only way to make the ROMANES yeld, when their vittells should be cut from them. Yet the enterprise seemed very hard, bicause the enemies had all the straights of the hauen in their power, and the shippes also that should besiege the issue of the hauen, were shut vp in a litle narrow place, and were to be drawen out of the hauen, at the foote of the castell, to bring them into the next sea. But when neuer a man of the TARENTINES could deuise how to bring this enterprise to passe: *Annibal* him selfe perceiued that these shippes might be drawen out of the hauen with certaine engines, & then to cart them through the city to the sea. So hauing set cunning workemen in hande with the matter, the shippes within few daies after were taken out of the hauen, and caried into the sea, and then came and shewed before the barre of the hauen. Thus the citie of TARENTVM being won againe, after the ROMANES had kept it the space of a hundred yeares: *Annibal* leauing the castell besieged both by sea and land, he returned vnto SAMNIVM. For the Consuls of the ROMANES had spoyled and stripped the CAMPANIANS that went out to forrage, and hauing brought their army before CAPVA, they determined (if it might be) to win it by siege. Wherefore *Annibal* being very sory for the siege of CAPVA, he came with al his army against the enemy: & seeing shortly after that the ROMANES did not refuse to fight, they both marched forward. And doutlesse to fight it would haue proued a bloody battell, had not *Sempronius* army seuered them as he did, which came into CAMPANIA vnder the conduct of *Cn. Cornelius*, after they had lost *Sempronius Gracchus* in the cõtry of LVKE. For, they seeing this army farre of, before they could know who they were, the ROMANES & CARTHAGINIANS both were affraied, & so retired into their campe. Afterwards the Consuls went into seuerall cõtries, the one into LVKE, and the other towards CVMES, to make *Annibal* remoue from CAPVA: who went into LVCANIA, & foũd occasiõ to fight with *M. Centenius*, who very fondly & desperatly did hazard his army left him in charge, against a suttell and daungerous enemy. The battell being begon, *M. Centenius* was slaine valiantly fighting, & few other escaped. After this also, there hapned an other losse. For *Annibal* returning shortly after into APVLIA, he met with an other army of the ROMANES, the which *Fabius* the Prætor led, who also intrapped that army by ambushes, & slue the most of thẽ: so that of twenty thousand mẽ, two thousand scant scaped the edge of the sword. In the meane time the Consuls perceiuing that *Annibal* was gone, they came with all their army vnto CAPVA, & did besiege it roũd. This being come to *Annibals* eare, he came with his

The citie of Tarentum deliuered vnto Annibal by treason.

Tarentum wonne by Annibal.

A his army into CAMPANIA, in very good order, & wel appointed: & at his first comming, he set vpon the campe of the ROMANES, hauing first willed the CAMPANIANS at the selfe same instant to make a salye out on the. The ROMANE Consuls at the first tumult of their enemies, deuided the army betwene them, and went against them. The CAMPANIANS were easily driuen againe into the citie: howbeit against *Annibal*, the battell was very bloudy. For if euer he proued him selfe a valiant Captaine or noble souldier, that day he shewed it. He attempted also to surprise the ROMANES by some stratageame. For as his men were about to breake into the ROMANES campe, he sent one thither that had the Latine tongue excellently well, who cryed out, as by commaundement of the Consuls, that the ROMANES should saue them selues in the next Mountaines, considering they had almost lost all their campe and strength. This crye B made on the sodaine, had easily moued them that heard it, if the ROMANES being throughly acquainted with *Annibals* suttelties, had not found out his deceit. Wherefore, one of them incoraging an other, they made the enemy retyre, and compelled him in despite of his beard to flie into his campe. When *Annibal* had done what he could by all deuise and practise possible to rayse their seege from CAPVA, and perceiuing all would not serue, being sory for the daunger of his confederats: he then determined to call a counsell, the which he had passed ouer a long time, hauing reserued it for the last refuge. For he trussed vp his cariage, and marched away with his army, and as quietly as he could he passed ouer the riuer of Vulturnus, and coa- *Vulturnus fl.* sting through the contries of the SIDICINIANS, ATIFANIANS, and CASSINIANS, he came to ROME with ensignes displayed, hoping thereby he should make them rayse their seege, be- C ing so earnestly bent to winne CAPVA. This flying straight to ROME by currers, they were so affrayd there, as ROME was neuer in the like feare it stoode in then. For they saw their mortall enemy come to them with ensignes displayed, whome they had so often proued, almost to the vtter destruction of their Empire: and now they saw him present, whome they could not resist being absent, threatning to bring the Senate and people of ROME into subiection. So all ROME being in feare and tumult, it was ordeyned that *Fuluius Flaccus* (one of the Consuls lying before CAPVA) should be sent for home. And that the new Consuls, *Sulpicius Galba*, and *Sulpicius Galba, Cornelius Centimalus, Consuls.* *Cornelius Centimalus*, shoulde lye in campe out of the citie: and that *C. Calphurnius* Prætor, should put a stronge garrison into the capitoll, and also that the Citizens that had borne any office or dignitie, should be appoynted by their countenaunce and authoritie, to pacifie the D sodaine tumults that might happen in the city. So *Annibal* marched forward without staying, till he came to the riuer of Anienes, and there camped within 24. furlong of ROME: and short- *Anienes fl.* ly after that, he came with two thowsand horse so neare vnto ROME, that riding from the gate Collina, vnto *Hercules* temple, he had leysure to view at his pleasure, the situacion and walles of so great a citie. *Fuluius Flaccus* seeing that, could not abide it, but straight sent out certen *Annibal commeth to inuade Rome.* men of armes of the ROMANES against him: who comming with great furie to giue charge vpon him as they were commaunded, they easily sent him packing. The next morning, *Annibal* brought his army out of the campe, and did set them in battell raye, determining to fight presently, if he could allure the enemy to battell. The ROMANES on the other side did the like, So, both armies marched one against the other with such life and corage, that to see them, E they appeared men that feared no daunger, so they might obteine the victorie that day. For on the one side, the CARTHAGINIANS were to fight (in maner) for the Empire of the world: the which they thought depended vpon this battell, as beeing the last they should fight. The ROMANES in contrary manner, they were to fight for their contry, libertie, and their goods, to see whether they could keepe them, or that they should come to their enemies handes. How- *A wonder.* beit there fell out a thing worthy of memorie. For, as they were ready set in battell raye, tarying but for the signall of battell to giue charge: there fell such a wonderfull great shower and storme vpon them, that both of them were driuen in spight of their teethes, to bringe backe their army into their forts againe. The next day following in like manner, vnto the which it seemed the battel had bene deferred: when they had againe both of thē set their men in battel F raye, there fell the like storme vpon them, the which did as much hurt the ROMANES & CARTHAGINIANS, as the first: so that it forced them onely to looke to saue them selues, and not to thinke otherwise to fight. *Annibal* perceiuing this, he turned to his friends and told them, that

the firſt time he thought not to winne Rome, and that at the ſecond time the occaſion was A
taken from him. So there was a thinge that greatly troubled *Annibal*, and that was this. That
though he came ſo neare to Rome, with an army of horſemen and footemen: yet he heard
that the Romanes had ſent ayde into Spayne, and that they had redeemed the contry where
he had bene, at a farre greater priſe then reaſon required. Wherefore being in a rage withall,
he cauſed all the goldſmithes and banckers ſhoppes of the Romane citizens to be ſold by the
Cryer. But afterwards, caſting with him ſelfe what a hard enterpriſe it was to take the citie of
Rome, or els being affrayde to lacke vittells: (for he had ſtored him ſelfe onely but for tenne
dayes) he rayſed his campe, and remouing thence, came to the holy woode of the goddeſſe
Feronia, and rifled the riche temple there, and afterwardes went thence into the contry of the
Brvtians and Lvcanians. The Capvans hauing intelligence thereof, being left out of all B
hope: they yelded vp their citie vnto the Romanes. The citie of Capva beeing thus yelded
vp, and brought againe to the ſubiection of the Romanes, it was of great importance to all
the people of Italy, and withall brought a great deſire of chaunge. *Annibal* him ſelfe alſo fol-
lowing euill counſell, did ſpoyle and deſtroy many cities he could not keepe: whereby he did
ſturre vp the harts of diuers nations againſt him. For where before when he was Conqueror,
he had often let priſoners goe without ranſom paying, through which liberalitie he had won
the harts of many men: euen ſo at that preſent time, his barbarous crueltie made diuers ci-
ties (miſliking to be ſubiect to the Carthaginians) to rebell againſt him, and to take part
with the Romanes. Amongeſt them was Salapia, the which was yelded vp vnto the Con-
ſul *Marcellus*, by *Blacius* meanes, chiefe of all the Romane faction: and a band alſo of choyce C
horſemen which was left there in garriſon, were in manner ſlaine euery man of them. This is
Salapia, a city where Annibal fell in lone. the citie where *Annibal* fell in fancy with a gentlewoman, and therefore they greatly reproue
his immoderat luſt and laſciuiouſnes. Howbeit there are others, that greatly commending the
continencie of this Captaine, ſay that he did neuer eate lying, and neuer dranck aboue a pint
of wine, nether when he came to make warre in Italy, nor after that he returned into A-
frick. Some there be alſo that ſay, *Annibal* was cruell, and vnconſtant, and ſubiect to diuers
ſuch other vices: howbeit they make no manner of mention of his chaſtitie or incontinencie.
But they report that his wife was a Spanyard, borne in Castvlo, a good towne: and that
the Carthaginians graunted her many things, and truſted her very much, bicauſe of the
great faith and conſtancie of that nation. Now *Annibal* after he had loſt (as we haue told you) D
the citie of Salapia: he found the meanes to cry quittance, and to make the Romanes loſe
more then he had loſt. For at the ſelfe ſame time, *Fuluius* Viceconſul, lay beſeeging of Her-
donea, hoping to winne the citie without reſiſtance. And bicauſe he ſtoode in no feare of a-
ny enemy round about him, (for *Annibal* was gone into the contry of the Brvtians) he kept
no watch, and was altogether negligent in martiall affayres, contrary to the nature of the Ro-
mane Captaines. *Annibal* being aduertiſed thereof by ſpialls, would not loſe ſuch a goodly o-
portunitie: and therefore comming into Apvlia with his armye ready, he came ſo haſtely
vnto Herdonea, that he had almoſt ſtollen vpon *Fuluius*, vnprouided in his campe. Howbe-
it the Romanes valiantly receiued the firſt charge with ſuch corage, that they fought it out
lenger then it was looked for. Notwithſtanding, in the ende, as the Romanes two yeare be- E
fore that had bene ouercome not farre from thence, with their Conſul *Fuluius*: euen ſo like-
The death of Fuluius Viceconſul. wiſe vnder the conduct of this *Fuluius* Viceconſul, the Romane legions were vtterly ouer-
throwen, and their Captaine ſlaine, with the moſt part of his armye. The Conſul *Marcellus*
was at that time in the citie of Samnivm, who being aduertiſed of this great ouerthrow, de-
ſired to be euen with him: and though it ſeemed he came too late to helpe things paſt reme-
die, yet he brought his army into the contry of the Lvcanians, whether he vnderſtood *An-
nibal* was gone after his victorie, and came and camped directly ouer againſt his enemye, and
ſoone after came to battell. The which the Carthaginians refuſed not, but gaue ſuch a
fierce onſet on either ſide, that they fought it out till Sunne ſet, and no man knew who had
the better, and ſo the night parted them. The next morning the Romanes ſhewing againe in F
field in battell raye, made it knowen that the enemies were affrayd of them: For *Annibal* kept
his men within the campe, and the next night following ſtale away without any noyſe, and
went

A went into Apvlia. *Marcellus* also followed him foote by foote, and fought to put all to hasard by some notable battell: for he bare him selfe thus in hand, that of all the Romane Captaines there was none machable with *Annibal* but him selfe, either in counsell, wit, or policie: or els in martiall discipline, or warlike stratageames. Howbeit the winter following kept him, that he could not fight any set battell with the enemie: for after he had made a fewe light skirmishes, bicause he would not trouble his souldiers any more in vaine, he bestowed them in garrison for the winter time. At the beginning of the next springe, procured partly by *Fabius* letters (who was one of the new Consuls for that yeare,) and partly also through his owne disposition: he brought out his garrisons sooner then they were looked for, and came with his army against *Annibal*, who lay at that time at Canvsivm. Now it chaunced, that through the

Diuers conflicts of the Romanes with Annibal.

B nearenes of both their campes, and the good desire they both had to fight: in fewe dayes they fought three seuerall times. The first battell, when they had fought it out till night, in manner with like hope of both sides, and that it could not be iudged which of them had the better: they both of purpose retyred into their campe againe. The second day *Annibal* was conquerer, after he had slayne almost two thowsand seuen hundred enemies, and put the residue of the army to flight. The third day, the Romanes to recouer the shame and dishonor they had lost the day before: they were the first that prayed they might fight, and so *Marcellus* led them out to battell. *Annibal* wondring at their valiantnes, sayd vnto his people: that he delt with an enemy that could nether be quiet Conquerer, nor conquered. So the battell was more bloudy and cruell then any that was before: bicause the Romanes did their best to be reuenged

Annibals wordes of Marcellus.

C of their losse, and the Carthaginians on the other side were mad in their mindes, to see that the vanquished durst prouoke the vanquishers vnto battell. In the ende, the Romanes being sharpely reproued, and also perswaded by *Marcellus* to sticke to it valliantly like men, that the newes of their victorie might come to Rome, before the newes of their ouerthrowe: they flue in among the presse of their enemies, and neuer left fighting, till that after they had thrise broken their enemies, they made them all flie. At the selfe same time *Fabius Maximus* tooke the citie of Tarentvm againe, almost after the selfe same sort it was lost. This being reported vnto *Annibal*, he sayd: the Romanes haue also their *Annibal*. The next yeare following, *Marcellus* and *Crispinus* were chosen Consuls, who preparing to put them selues in readines for warre, they led both the armies against the enemy. *Annibal* dispayring that he was not

Marcellus, & Crispinus: Consuls.

D able to resist them in battel, he sought all the wits he had to deuise some way to intrappe them by sutteltie, whome he could not ouercome by battel. So *Annibals* head being occupied thus, there was offred him a better occasion to bring this enterprise to passe, then he looked for. Betwene both campes, there was a prety groue, in the which *Annibal* layed certen bands of the Nvmidians in ambushe, to intrappe the enemies passing to and fro. On the other side, the Consuls by consent of them all, thought it best to send to view this groue, and to keepe it if neede required: least in leauing it behind them, the enemies should come, & so be vpon their backs afterwards. Now before they remoued their armye, both the Consuls went out of their campe, with a small company of horsemen with them, to view the situacion of this place: and so going on very vndiscreetely, and worse appoynted then became men of their authoritie &

Annibal layeth ambushe for the Romanes.

E place, they vnfortunatly fell into *Annibals* ambush. So, when they saw them selues in a mome̅t compassed about on euery side with enemies, that they could not goe forward, and were also fought withall behind: they defended them selues the best they could, rather by compulsion, then of any determination they had to fight. So *Marcellus* was slaine fighting valiantly: and *Crispinus* the other Consul also very sore hurt, who hardly scaped the enemies hands. *Annibal* being aduertised that *Marcellus* was slaine, who was the chiefest man of all the Romane captaines, that had most hindered the happy successe of his victories, and had besides troubled him most: he presently went and camped there where the battell was fought, and when he had found *Marcellus* body, he gaue it honorable pompe and funerall. Hereby we may see how magnanimitie, and excellent vertues, are esteemed of all men: considering that the cruell and

The death of Marcellus.

The power of magnanimitie

F most mortall enemye, gaue honorable buriall to so noble and excellent a Captaine. The Romanes in the meane time seeing one of their Consuls dead, and the other Consul very sore hurt: they drew straight to the next mountaines, and camped in a strong place. Howbeit *Cri-*

Spinus had sent to the next townes of the mountaines, to aduertise them that *Marcellus* his companion was dead, and that the enemy had gotten the ringe he sealed his letters withall: wherefore he wished them to beware of any letters written in *Marcellus* name. *Crispinus* Messenger came but newly vnto SALAPIA, when letters were brought also from *Annibal* in the behalfe of *Marcellus*, to tell them that he woulde be there the next night. The SALAPIANS knowing his craft, they sent his Messenger away, & carefully looked for *Annibals* comming. About the fourth watche of the night, *Annibal* came to the citie of SALAPIA, who of purpose had put all the ROMANES that had fled, in the vauntgard, bicause that they speaking the Latin tongue, might make them beleue that *Marcellus* was there in person. So when the Citizens had suffred six hundred of them to come in, they shut to the gates, and with their shot and darts thrust out the rest of the armye, and then put all them to the sword they had let into the citie. Thus *Annibal* beeing in a maruelous rage he had missed of his purpose: he remoued thence, and went into the contry of the BRVTIANS, to ayde the LOCRIANS that were besieged by the ROMANES, both by sea and by land. After all these thinges, at the earnest request of the Senate and people, two new Consuls were created, both famous Captaines, and valiant souldiers, *Marcus Liuius*, & *Claudius Nero*: who hauing deuided the army betwixt them, went vnto their seuerall charge and prouinces. *Claudius Nero* went into the contry of the SALENTINIANS, and *M. Liuius* into GAVLE, against *Hasdrubal* BARCINIAN, who was come ouer the Alpes, & made haste to ioyne with his brother *Annibal*, bringing with him a great army both of footemen and horsemen. Nowe it chaunced at the same time, that *Annibal* had receyued great losse by *Claudius* the Consul. For first of all, he ouercame him in the contry of the LVCANIANS, vsing the like policies and fetches that *Annibal* did. Afterwardes againe, meeting with *Annibal* in APVLIA, by the citie of VENVSIA: he fought such a lustye battell with him, that many of his enemies lay by it in the fielde. By reason of these great losses, *Annibal* sodainely went to METAPONT, to renew his army againe. So hauing remayned there a few dayes, he receiued the army from *Hanno*, the which he ioyned vnto his, & then returned vnto VENVSIA. *C. Nero* lay not farre from VENVSIA with his campe: who hauing intercepted letters of his enemies, he vnderstoode by them that *Hasdrubal* was at hand with his armye. Thereuppon, he bethought him selfe night and day, what policie he might vse to preuent the ioyning of two so great armies together as these. So after he had taken aduise of him self, he followed in sight, a daungerous determination: but peraduenture necessary, as the time required. For, leauing the campe vnto the charge of his Lieutenant, he tooke part of the armye with him, and making great iorneyes, came to PICENVM (being the marches of ANCONA) so that on the sixt day he came to SENA. There both the Consuls ioyned their forces together, and setting vpon *Hasdrubal* by the riuer of Metaurum, they had very good lucke at that battell. For, as it is reported, there were six and fifty thowsand of the enemies slayne on that daye: so that they almost had as great an ouerthrow, as the ROMANES had receiued before at the battell of CANNES. Now *Claudius Nero*, after this famous victorie, returning as speedily vnto VENVSIA as he went thence, he set vp *Hasdrubals* head, where the enemies kept their watche: and did let certen prisoners goe, to carye newes to *Annibal* of this great ouerthrow. For afterwardes it was knowen, that *Annibal* knew nothing yet of *Claudius* secret enterprise, nor of the speedy execution and great slaughter he had made. Whereat sure I can but wonder, that so suttill a Captaine as *Annibal*, could be deceiued by *Claudius*, considering both their campes lay so neare together: so that he first heard the newes of the ouerthrow of his brother, and all his armye, before he vnderstoode any thing of the Consuls departure, or heard of his returne againe to the campe. Now *Annibal* hauing not onely receiued a generall, but also a perticular great losse by the death of his brother: he sayd then he plainely saw the chaunge & alteracion of the CARTHAGINIANS good fortune, and shortly after remoued his campe, and went thence into the contry of the BRVTIANS. For he knew that this great ouerthrow giuen by the riuer of Metaurum, was a maruelous incoragement to the ROMANES, and would also be a great logge in his way, for the succesſe of all this warre. This notwithstanding, he gathered together all his power he had left in ITALY, after so many great battells and conflicts, and so many cities taken: and mainteyned the warre with an inuincible courage. But the most straungest thinge in *Annibal*

Marcus Liuius, and C. Nero: Consuls

Sena, a citie of Apulia. Metaurum fl. M. Liuius, & C. Nero Consuls: ouercame Hasdrubal, & slue 56000. of his men.

The chaunge and alteration of the Carthaginians good fortune.

was

A was this, that through his authoritie & wisedom, he kept all his army in peace and amitie together, (being a medley of SPANIARDS, AFRICANS, GAVLES, and of diuers other nations) and neuer man heard that there was any brawle or tumult amonge them. Howbeit the ROMANES themselues, after they had ouercome SICILIA, SARDINIA, and SPAYNE againe, they could neuer vtterly ouercome him, nor driue him out of ITALY, before they had sent ouer *Scipio* into AFRICK: who making warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, he brought them to such great extremitie, that they were driuen to send for *Annibal* home out of ITALY. *Annibal* at that time, (as I haue sayd before) was in the contry of the BRVTIANS, making warre by inrodes and sodaine inuasions, rather then by any fought battell: sauing that once there was a battell fought in haste betwixt him and the Consul *Sempronius*, and immediatly after he came

B and set vpon the same *Sempronius* with all his armye. At the first battell, *Annibal* had the victorie: but at the second, *Sempronius* ouercame him. Since that time, I can finde in no Greake nor Latyn Author, that *Annibal* did any famous acte in ITALY worthy memorie. For being sent for into AFRICKE by the CARTHAGINIANS, he left ITALY, sixteene yeares after this AFRICK warre was begonne, greatly complayning of the Senate of CARTHAGE, and of him selfe also: Of the Senate, bicause that all the time he had been in his enemies contry so long, they had allowed him so litle money: and so scanted him besides with all other thinges necessary for the warres: And of him selfe, bicause that after he had so often ouercome the ROMANES, he had alwayes delayed time after the victorie, and had giuen the enemy libertie to gather force

C againe. It is reported also, that before he imbarked and tooke sea, he set vp a triumphing arche or piller, by the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, in the which were briefly grauen his noble victories, both in the Punick and Græke tongue. So when he was departed out of ITALY, the wind serued him well, that in few dayes he arriued at LEPTIS, and landing all his army, he first came to ADRVMENTVM, and afterwards vnto ZAMA. There receiuing aduertisement how the affayres of the CARTHAGINIANS prospered: he thought it best to deuise some way to end this warre. For this cause he sent vnto *Scipio*, to pray him to appoynt him some conuenient place where they might both meete, and talke together, of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainely knowen, whether *Annibal* did this of his owne head, or by commaundement from the Senate. *Scipio* refused not to come to parley. Wherefore at the day appoynted, there met two

D famous generalls of mighty nations, in a great plaine together, either of them hauing his Interpreter, to talke together of diuers matters touching peace and warre. For, *Annibal* was altogether bent to peace: bicause he saw the affayres of the CARTHAGINIANS ware worse & worse euery day: that they had lost SICILIA, SARDINIA, and SPAYNE: bicause the warre was brought out of ITALY into AFRICK: bicause *Syphax* (a mighty king) was taken prisoner of the ROMANES: and also bicause that their last hope consisted in the army he had brought into AFRICK: which was the onely remayne and reliefe of so long a warre as he had made in ITALY: and also bicause that the CARTHAGINIANS had so small a power left (both of straungers, and also of Citizens) that there were scarse men enough to defende the citie of CARTHAGE. So he did his best to perswade *Scipio*, with a long oration he made, rather to agree to peace, then to resolue of warre. Howbeit *Scipio* that liued in hope to bring this warre

E to a good ende, he would not seeme to giue eare to any peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either side, in the ende they brake of, and made no agreement. Shortly after, was this famous battell striken by the citie of ZAMA, in the which the ROMANES obtayned victorie. For first of all, they made the CARTHAGINIANS Elephants turne vpon their owne army, so that they did put all *Annibals* horsemen out of order. And *Lelius* and *Masinissa* who made both the winges, increasing their feare, gaue the horsemen no leysure to gather them selues in order againe. Howbeit the footemen fought it out a long time, & with a marueilous great corage: insomuch that the CARTHAGINIANS (trusting in their former victories) thought that all the safetie and preseruation of AFRICK, was all in their handes, and therefore they layed about them like men. The ROMANES on the other side had as great harts

F as they, and besides, they stoode in the better hope. Howbeit one thing in deede did the ROMANES great seruice to helpe them to the victorie: and that was, *Lelius* and *Masinissa* returne from the chase of the horsemen, who rushed in to the battell of the enemie with great

The praise of Annibals great wisedom in the gouernment of his army.

P. C. Scipio inuaded Carthage.

The last battell Annibal fought in Italy was that Sempronius, in the which he ouercame Annibal.

Annibal sent for to returne into Africk, after he had warred 16. yeares in Italy.

Annibals arche of triumphe.

Annibal departeth out of Italy.

Annibal and Scipioes meeting, & talke.

Scipioes victory of the Carthaginians at the battell of Zama.

furye, and did put them in a maruelous feare. For at their comming, the CARTHAGINIANS harts were done, and they saw no other remedie for them, but to hope to scape by flying. So it is reported, that there were slayne that day, aboue twenty thowsand CARTHAGINIANS in the field, and as many more prisoners: *Annibal* their generall, after he had taryed to see the ende of the battell, fled with a few of his men out of the great slaughter. Afterwardes when he was sent for to CARTHAGE, to helpe to saue his contry: he perswaded the Senate not to hope any more in warres, but did counsell them, that setting all deuises a part, they should send vnto *Scipio* the ROMANE Captaine, to make peace with him vpon any condicion. When the same Ambassadors had brought the capitulacion and agreement vnto CARTHAGE of the articles of peace: it is reported that there was one *Gisgo*, who misliking to heare talke of peace, he made an oration, and perswaded all he could to renew warre against the ROMANES. Wherefore *Annibal* perceiuing that diuers men confirmed his opinion, and being much offended to see such beasts, and men of no vnderstanding, to dare to speake of such matters, in so daungerous a time: he cast him downe headlong, whilest he was yet in his oration. So when he sawe that the Citizens, and all the whole assembly, thought this too presumptuous a part of him, & vnmeete altogether for a free citie: he him selfe got vp into the pulpit for orations, and sayd. Let no man be offended, if a man that from his youth hath bene alway out of CARTHAGE, & brought vp all his life time in warres, be ignoraunt of the lawes and ordinaunces of the citie. After that, he spake so wisely to the articles of peace, that the CARTHAGINIANS being immediatly moued by the authoritie of so great a person: they all agreed to accept the condicions which the vanquisher, & the necessitie of time offred them. The articles out of dout were very extreame, and such as the vanquished are wont to receiue with all extreamitie by the conquerors. But besides all other things, the CARTHAGINIANS were boūd to pay the ROMANES an annuell tribute, vntill a certen time were ronne out. So when the daye came that the first pencion was to be payd to the ROMANES, and that euery man grudged when the subsedy was spoken of: some saye that *Annibal* being offended with the vaine teares of the CARTHAGINIANS, he fell a laughing. And when *Hasdrubal Hedus* reproued him bicause he laughed in such a common calamitie of all the citie, he aunswered: that it was no laughture nor reioycing from the hart, but a scorning of their fond teares, that wept when there was lesse cause (and onely bicause it touched euery priuate mans purse) then before, when the ROMANES tooke from the CARTHAGINIANS their shippes, armor, and weapons, and their spoyles of the great victories which they had wonne before, and now gaue lawes and ordinaunces vnto them that were vanquished. I know some Authors write, that *Annibal* immediatly after he had lost the battell, fled into ASIA, for that he was affrayde they woulde deliuer him into *Scipioes* hands, that perhaps might demaund him of them. But whether that was done sodainely, or some time after the battel was lost at ZAMA, it makes no great matter: considering that all the world knoweth, that when he sawe things brought to extremitie, he presently fled into ASIA vnto king *Antiochus*. So is it most true, that king *Antiochus* receiued him with great curtesie, and vsed him very honorably: insomuch as he made him of counsell with him all in all, both in priuate and publike causes. For the name of *Annibal* caried great reputacion with all men: besides that, he had a common and mortal hate to the ROMANES, which was a pricking spurre still to moue warre against them. And therefore it seemeth that he came in happy hower into that contry, not onely to pricke forward the courage of the king against them, but also to set warres at libertie against the ROMANES. So he tolde him, that the onely way to make warre with the ROMANES, was to goe into ITALY to leauy ITALIAN souldiers, by whome onely, that victorious contry of all other nations might be subdued. He requested of the king a hundred shippes, sixteene thowsand footemen, and a thowsand horsemen onely. With this small army he promised to inuade ITALY, and that he would maruelously trouble the ITALIANS, whome he knew yet to stand in no small feare of him, for the very sound of his name onely: bicause of the late warres he had made there, so freshe yet in memorie. Futthermore, he tooke hart againe vnto him to renew the warres of AFRICK, if the king would licence him to sende men vnto CARTHAGE, to stirre vp the BARCINIAN faction, whome he knew hated the ROMANES to death. When he had gotten the king to graunt him his request, he called *Ariston*

The flying of Annibal.

Annibal could not abide to heare fooles talke of warre.

Annibal in his misery, fled vnto king Antiochus into Asia.

TYRIAN

A Tyrian vnto him, a fine ſuttell fellowe, and meete for ſuch a purpoſe: to whome he made large promiſes, and perſwaded him to goe to Carthage to his friends, and to cary them letters from him. Thus *Annibal* being a baniſhed man, and fled out of his contry, rayſed warre in all partes againſt the Romanes. And ſurely his counſell had taken good effect, had king *Antiochus* rather followed his aduiſe, as he did at the firſt, then the vaine perſwaſions of his fine Courtiers. But enuy, a common plague frequenting Princes Courts, bred *Annibal* great enemies. For they beeing affrayd that by his counſells he ſhould growe in great fauor with the king, (for he was a wiſe and politike Captaine) and that thereby he ſhould beare great ſway and authoritie: to preuent it, they lacked no deuiſe to bringe him in diſgrace with the king. And it ſo chaunced at that time, that *P. Villius*, who came Ambaſſador vnto Ephesvs, he

Enuy, the common plague and poyſon of Princes Courtes.

B had often conference with *Annibal*. Hereuppon his priuie enemies tooke occaſion to accuſe him, and withall, the king him ſelfe became ſo ielous of it, that from thence forth he neuer more called him to counſell. At the ſelfe-ſame time alſo, as ſome doe report, *P. Cornelius Scipio* African (who was one of the Ambaſſadors ſent vnto king *Antiochus*) talking familliarly with *Annibal*, prayed him amongeſt other thinges to tell him truely, whome he thought the worthieſt Captaine of all others. *Annibal* aunſwered him. Firſt he thought *Alexander*, king of Macedon the chiefeſt: next vnto him, *Pyrrhus* king of the Epirotes: and thirdly, him ſelfe. Then *Scipio* African ſmyling, asked him: what wouldeſt thou ſaye, *Annibal*, if thou haddeſt ouercome me? Truely ſayd he, then I would be chiefeſt my ſelfe. This aunſwer pleaſed *Scipio* maruelous well, bicauſe he ſaw he was nether diſpiſed, nor yet brought

Scipio Africa̅ met with Annibal at Epheſus.

Annibals iudgement of the moſt famous Captaines.

C to be compared with the other, but left alone as peereles, by ſome ſecret flattery of *Annibal*. After theſe things, *Annibal* found occaſion to talke with king *Antiochus*, and beganne to lay open his life vnto him from his youth, and to bewray the malice he had alwayes borne vnto the Romanes: whereby he ſo ſatisfied the king, that he was againe receiued into his grace and fauor, which he had almoſt vtterly loſt. Thereuppon the king was determined to haue made him Admirall of his armye by ſea, the which he had put in readines for Italy, and alſo to make proofe of his great corage and ſeruice, whome he knewe to be a worthy man, and a mortall enemy to the Romanes. But one *Thoas*, Prince of the Ætolians, thwarting this opinion, either for malice, or els for that his fancye was ſuch: he altered the kinges minde, and cleane changed his purpoſe, the which was a matter of greate importance for the warre he

D pretended to make. For he gaue counſell vnto *Antiochus*, that he ſhould goe him ſelfe into Græce, and direct his owne affayres: and that he ſhould not ſuffer another to cary away the honor & glory of this warre. So king *Antiochus* ſhortly after went into Græce, to make warre with the Romanes. Within fewe dayes after, when he conſulted whether he ſhoulde make league with the Theſſalians, *Annibals* opinio̅ was ſpecially asked: who ſpake ſo wiſely touching the ſtate of the Theſſalians, & the chiefeſt matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, and gaue their conſents vnto it. Now his opinion was, that they ſhould not neede much to care for the Theſſalians, but rather to make all the meanes they could, to get king *Philip* of Macedon to take their part: or els to perſwade him to be a Newter, and to take nether parte. Furthermore, he gaue counſell to make warre with the Romanes in their

Annibal counſelleth king Antiochus to make warre with the Romanes.

E owne contry, & offred him ſelfe to ayde him the beſt he could. Euery man gaue good eare to his words, but his opinion was rather cōmended, then followed. Wherefore euery man maruelled, that ſuch a Captaine as he, that had ſo many yeares made warre with the Romanes (who had in maner cōquered all the world) ſhould then be ſo light ſet by of the king, when it ſpecially ſtood him vpon, to haue ſuch a mans help & coūſel. For, what captaine liuing could a man haue foūd more skilful or politike, or meeter to make war with the Romanes, then him? Howbeit the king made no reckoning of him, at the firſt beginning of this warre: but ſhortly after, diſdaining al their coūſell, he cōfeſſed that *Annibal* only ſaw what was to be done. For after the Romanes had obtained victory in the war he made in Græce: *Antiochus* fled out of

King Antiochus iudgement of Annibal.

Evrope into Ephesvs, where making mery, & there following pleaſure, he hoped to liue in

F peace, litle thinking the Romanes would come with any army into Asia. Now, theſe flattering courtiers ſtil fed his humor: a perpetual plague to kings & Princes, that ſuffer them ſelues to be flattered, & are cōtēted to be deceiued, bicauſe they giue good eare to that that pleaſeth

them. But *Annibal*, who knewe the power and ambition of the ROMANES, perſwaded the king to hope for any thing rather then peace, and bad him truſt to it, that the ROMANES would neuer ſtay, till they had proued whether they could enlarge the dominions of their Empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in AFRICK, and EVROPE. *Antiochus* perſwaded by the authority of ſuch a man, ſtraight commaunded *Polyxenidas*, a very ſeruiceable man, and skilfull in ſea ſeruice, that he ſhould goe meete with the army of the ROMANES that was comming thither. Then he ſent *Annibal* into SYRIA, to leauy a great number of ſhippes together, and afterwards made him, and *Apollonius*, (one of his fauored Courtiers) generalls of this armye by ſea: who notwithſtanding that *Polyxenidas* was put to the worſt by the ROMANES, they went and ſet vpon the RHODIANS, that were confederats with them. *Annibal* in this battell aſſayling *Eudamus* the Captaine of the RHODIANS, that led the left wing: he had already compaſſed in the Admirall galley, and doubtles had obtayned the victorie, but that the other wing came in to reſcue, after they had followed *Apollonius* in chaſe, and tooke the victorie from him, that was his owne. After this battell by ſea, which had no great good ſucceſſe: we doe not find that *Annibal* did any thing worthy memorie. For king *Antiochus* being ouercome, beſides other condicions, the ROMANES offred him: they deſired that *Annibal* (the mortall enemy of their contry) ſhould be deliuered vnto them. *Annibal* foreſeeing this long before, he ſodainely ſtale from *Antiochus*, after this notable battell that was fought by MAGNESIA, where the kings power was ouerthrowen. So, after *Annibal* had wandred vp and downe a long time, he fled at length vnto *Pruſias*, king of BITHYNIA, for ſuccor. Nowe he did not ſo much truſt to his friendſhippe, but bicauſe he ſought for the meeteſt place he coulde come by, as alſo for the ſafeſt, the which he moſt deſired: conſidering that the ROMANES had the moſt part of the ſea and land in their ſubiection. Some ſay, that after king *Antiochus* was ouercome, *Annibal* went into CRETA vnto the GORTYNIANS: and that the rumor ranne immediatly, he had brought a great maſſe of gold and ſiluer with him. Wherefore being affrayd leaſt the CRETANS ſhould offer him ſome violence, he deuiſed this ſhifte to ſcape the daunger. he filled earthen pots with lead, gilt, and ſent them into the temple of *Diana*, ſayning that he was maruelous carefull for them, as though all his treaſure had bene there. On the other ſide he had hid all his gold in images of braſſe, the which he had left carefly lying on the groūd in the houſe. In the meane time, whileſt they watched the temple carefully, that theſe earthen pots ſhould not be caried away without their priuitie: *Annibal* hoyſed ſayle, and fled into BITHYNIA. In BITHYNIA there is a village vpon the ſea ſide, which the contry men call LIBYSSA, of the which by ſome mens ſaying, there ranne an olde oracle and prophecy in this ſort.

Annibal made generall of Antiochus army by ſea, together with Apollonius.

Annibal fled to Pruſias king of Bithynia.

The land of Libyſſa ſhall couer vnder mouulde
The valliant corps of Annibal, vvhen he is dead and colde.

There *Annibal* lay, not ſpending his time idely, but paſſing it away in exerciſing of the maryners, riding of horſes, and trayning of his ſouldiers. Some Authors alſo do write, that at that time *Pruſias* made warre with *Eumenes*, king of PERGAMVM, who was a confederate and friend of the ROMANES: and that he made *Annibal* his Lieuetenant generall of his army by ſea: who aſſayling *Eumenes* with a new found and vnknowen deuiſe, wanne the victory of the battell by ſea. For before they began to fight, it is reported that *Annibal* had gotten an infinite number of ſnakes into earthen pots, and when the battell was begonne, and they buſily tending their fight: he threw thoſe pots with ſnakes into the enemies ſhippes, and that by this fearefull and ſtraunge deuiſe he made them flie. Now whether this was true or not, the olde chronicles do make no manner of mention, but onely *AEmylius* and *Trogus*. And therefore I report me to the Authors. So, the newes of the diſſention betwixt theſe two kings, (*Pruſias*, and *Eumenes*) being brought to ROME: the Senate ſent *T. Q. Flaminius* Ambaſſador into ASIA, whoſe name was famous for the noble victories he had obtayned in GRÆCE, to the ende (as I coniecture) to make peace betwixt theſe two kings. *Flaminius* being come vnto king *Pruſias*, he was maruelouſly offended, and ſory in his mind to ſee *Annibal* yet aliue, (that was the mortalleſt enemy of the ROMANES) after the cōqueſts of ſo many nations, & the ſacking of ſo many people: therfore, he was very earneſtly in hand with king *Pruſius*, to deliuer him *Annibal*. *Annibal* from the firſt beginning miſtruſted king *Pruſias* inconſtancye very much, and therefore had digged

Annibal, king Pruſias generall by ſea, againſt Eumenes, king of Pergamum. A ſtraunge deuiſe of ſnakes put in earthen pots, and throwen into the enemies ſhippes. Titus Quintius Flaminius ſens Ambaſſador into Aſia.

diuers

A diuers vaults in his house, and made seuen seuerall vents to flie out at, if he were sodainely taken. The report of *Flaminius* cõming did encrease his suspition the more, for that he thought him the greatest enemy he had in ROME: both generally for the hate he bare vnto all the ROMANES, as also perticularly for the remembraunce of his father *Flaminius*, that was slayne in the battell fought by the lake of Thrasymene. So *Annibal* being full of care and griefe (as it is reported) he found deuises to escape, the which stood him to no purpose against such a great power. For when the kings gard which were sent to take him, had cõpassed his house about, *Annibal* thought to flie at their first comming, and to saue him selfe by the secretest vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the gard, then he determined to rid him selfe out of the ROMANES handes, by destroying him selfe. So, some doe report, that he was

B strangled by one of his men, whome he had commaunded to helpe to dispatche him. Others write againe, that he had droncke bulles bloud, and when he had droncke it, dyed, as *Clitarchus*, and *Stratocles* doe falsely report of *Themistocles*. Howbeit *Titus Liuius*, that famous Historiographer writeth, that *Annibal* called for the poyson he had ready for such a mischiefe, and that holding this deadly drinke in his hand, before he dranke he sayd: Come on, let vs rid the ROMANES of this payne and care, sith their spight and malice is so great, to hasten the death of a poore old man that is halfe dead already. The auncient ROMANES aduertised *Pyrrhus* king of the EPIROTES, who came with enseignes displayed to the very walls of the citie of ROME, that he should looke to him selfe, and beware of poysoning: and these ROMANES nowe doe make a friende forgetting his kingly state and faithfull promise, vilely to betraye his

C poore ghest. After he had sayd, bitterly cursing king *Prusias*, he poysoned him selfe, being three score & tenne yeare olde, as some writers doe testifie. His body was buried in a tombe of stone by LIBYSSA, on the which was ingrauen no more but this: *Here lyeth Annibal*. The ROMANES

A beeing aduertised of his death, euery man sayde his opinion, as his fancye serued him. Some greatly blamed *T. Q. Flaminius* crueltie, who to make him selfe famous by some notable acte, (as he thought) made a poore olde man put him selfe to death, that was in manner half dead by age, and besides, was past doing the state of ROME any more hurt, they being Conquerors in manner of all the world. But some againe on the other side, commended *Flaminius* for it, & sayd it was a good deede of him, to rid the ROMANES of their mortall enemye: who though he had but a weake body, yet he lacked no wit, wise counsell, and great experience in warres,

D to intise king *Prusias* to make warre, and to molest all ASIA besides with newe warres. For at that time, the power of the king of BITHYNIA was so great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, *Mithridates* king of the same BITHYNIA, did marueilously molest the Ro-

B MANES both by sea and by land, & moreouer fought battells with *L. Lucullus*, and *Cn. Pompey*, famous Captaines of the ROMANES. And so the ROMANES might also be affrayd of king *Prusias*, and specially hauing *Annibal* his Captaine. So some iudge, that *Q. Flaminius* was specially sent Ambassador vnto king *Prusias*, secretly to practise *Annibals* death. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that *Q. Flaminius* was not so desirous to haue *Annibal* so sodainely put to death, as he would haue bene glad otherwise to haue brought him againe to ROME, that had done such mischiefe to his contry: and this had bene a great benefit for ROME, and much honor also vn-

E to him selfe. Such was the death of *Annibal* the CARTHAGINIAN, a famous man doubtles, & highly to be commended for martiall prayse, setting his other vertues a side. So we may easily iudge, of what power and force his noble mind, his great wisedom and corage, and his perfit skill of martiall discipline was in all thinges. For in all the warre the CARTHAGINIANS had so vehemently, and with such great preparation enterprised: they neuer thought them selues ouercome, till *Annibal* was ouerthrowen at that great battell by ZAMA. So it appeareth, that all their strength and skill of warres began, & also ended, with

F *Annibal* their Captaine.

Annibal poysoned him selfe, being 70. yeare old.

Annibals tombe by Libyssa.

The praise of Annibal.

THE LIFE OF
Scipio African.

The parentage of Scipio.

Publius Scipio a PATRICIAN, of the familye of the *Cornely*, who was the first ROMANE Captaine against whome *Annibal* fought in ITALY: was the father of *Cornelius Scipio* afterwards surnamed AFRICAN, the first so called, bicause he had conquered that nation. The same *Scipio*, after he had obtayned many great victories in SPAYNE, and done notable feates of armes: was in the ende slayne with a wound he had in a battell against his enemies, as he was plying and incoraging of his men from place to place, thronging in the greatest daunger and fury of the battell. Shortly after did his brother *Cn. Scipio* also ende his life, much after one selfe manner, and was slayne valiantly fighting. So these two Captaines, besides the fame they achieued by their noble deedes, left behind them great prayse of their faithfulnes, modestie, and corage: the which made them not onely wished for of their souldiers that were then liuing, but also of all the SPANYARDS besides. *Cn. Scipio* had a sonne called *P. Cornelius Nasica*, one that had bene Consul and had also triumphed: who being but a younge man, was thought the meetest man of all the citie of ROME to receyue *Idea*, the mother of the goddes. This *Publius* had two sonnes, the so famous *Scipioes*: of the which the one was called ASIAN, bicause he conquered ASIA: and the other AFRICAN, bicause he subdued AFRICK at that famous battell of ZAMA, where he ouerthrewe *Annibal* and the CARTHAGINIANS; as we sayd before. Whose life we purpose nowe to write, not so much to make the glory of his name (so famous by all the Græke & Latyn Authors) the greater by our history: as for that we would make all men know the order of his noble deeds, & moral vertues, so thend that all Princes & noble Captaines in reading it, should behold the liuely image of perfit vertue, which may moue an earnest desire in the to follow the example of *P. Cornelius Scipioes* life, who from his childhod gaue great hope & shew of a noble nature, & excellent vertue, after he followed the instruction of martiall discipline, vnder the conduct of his father. He was caried into the field at the beginning of the second warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, followed the campe being but seuenteene yeare old, & in a very short time grew so toward, & forward in al things, in riding, in watching, in taking all maner of paynes like a soldier, that he wan great cõmendacion of his own father, & besides, great estimation also of all the army. Furthermore, he shewed such tokens of a sharp wit, & noble corage: that it made him beloued, & also feared of his

The first souldierfare of P. Cor. Scipio, being but seuenteene yeare olde.

A his enemies. For this *Scipio* was present at the battell of the horsemen, where *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul fought with *Annibal*, by the riuer of Thesin: & some writers doe affirme, that *Cornelius* the father being hurt, was almost taken by the enemye, had not his sonne *Scipio* saued him, who had then but a litle downe on his beard, he was so young. After that also, at the battel that was fought by CANNES, to the great losse, & in maner vtter destruction of the Empire of ROME, when the ten thowsand men that fled to CANVSIVM, had all together with one cōsent referred the gouernment of the army vnto *Appius Pulcher*, that had bene Ædilis, and vnto *Cornelius Scipio*, that was yet but very young: the same *Scipio* shewed then by his deedes, what noble mind and corage was in him. For when he saw certen young men consulting together betwene them selues to forsake ITALY: he thrust in among them, & drawing out his sword, made
B them all sweare they would not forsake their contry. These, and such like deedes done by him with a liuely corage & noble mind, being then but a young man: wanne him such fauor with the ROMANES, that not respecting his young yeares, nor their auncient custō, they called him forward, & laid offices of great charge & gouernment vpon him. Insomuch that when he sued for the office of Ædilis before his due time, notwithstanding that the Tribunes of the people were against his sute, bicause he was so younge a man: yet the people suffered him to be brought from tribe to tribe, & so was presently chosen Ædilis with the most voyces. So after his father & Vncle, (both famous and noble Captaines) had bene slaine one after the other in SPAYNE, & that the ROMANES were in consultacion to appoynt some worthy captaine in the
C roome: they could finde no man that durst vndertake this so daungerous warre, considering the losse of two so great captaines before. Wherfore the whole assēbly being called to choose a Viceconsul, all the other Princes & peeres of the Realme being silent at so worthy a motion: *Scipio* onely of all the rest, being but foure & twenty yeare old, stoode vp in the middest of thē, & said, with a good hope & confidence he would willingly take the charge vpon him. He had no sooner offred this promise, but he was presently made Viceconsul of SPAYNE, with the wōderful good wil & fauor of the people, who gaue him all their voyces. Howbeit the Senators afterwards considering better of the matter, against what captaines & natiōs he should make warre: they thought it vnpossible so younge a man coulde performe so waighty a charge. Wherefore mens minds were wonderfully chaunged againe on the sodeine, as if the wibes of the people had repented them of their voices & election. *Scipio* perceiuing it, called an assem-
D bly presently, & made such an oration of his age, and discipline of warres, that euery man that heard him wondred at him, & the people began againe to renew the good hope they had of him for the warres. For he had not only a noble corage in him, beeing indued with many singuler vertues, but he was also a goodly gentleman, & very comly of person, and had besides a pleasaunt countenaunce: all which things together, are great meanes to winne him the loue and good will of euery man. Moreouer, euen in his gesture and behauior, there was a certaine princely grace. Now, the glory of martiall discipline, being ioyned vnto those his rare gifts of mind and nature: it was to be doubted, whether his ciuil vertues made him more acceptable vnto straungers, then wonderful for his skil in warres. Furthermore, he had filled the common peoples harts with a certen superstitious feare, bicause he did daily (after he had take the mans
E gowne) vse to goe vp to the Capitoll, & so into the church without any company: insomuch that all men began to thinke that he learned some secret thinges in the temple, which others might not know, as they were perswaded long before, that *Numa Pompilius* was taught by the Nymphe *AEgeria*. Furthermore, it seemeth that some had the like opinion of *Scipio*, as in olde time they had of *Alexander* king of MACEDON, to wete: that oftentimes there was a snake seene in his mothers chamber. But let these things go. *Scipio* departing out of ITALY with ten thowsand footemen, & a fleete of thirty gallies, euery one of the hauing fiue owers to a bank he sailed into SPAYNE, & in few dayes arriuing at EMPORIA, he landed his men, and marched by land to TARRACON. There he kept a counsell, and many Ambassadors of the cities their confederats came thither, who being curteously receyued, returned to their lodgings with
F such answer as they liked. After this, *Scipio* beeing carefully bent to prosecute the warre he had taken vpon him, he thought it best to ioyne the remayne of the olde bandes with his army, which had bene saued through the manhood and valiantnes of *Lucius Martius*. For after

P. Scipio rescued his father from being taken of the enemies.

Honors done to Scipio, being but a young man.

Scipio Viceconsul at 24. yeares of age.

Scipios great mind and goodly personage.

Scipios iorney into Spayne.

both the *Scipioes* were slayne, and both SPAYNES almost lost, and the ROMANE legions also A
ouerthrowen and put to flight: *L. Martius* a ROMANE Knight, hauing gathered together the
remnant of both armies, resisted (beyond all hope of man) the enemies puffed vp with glory
of the victorie they had gotten, and with great valiantnes, and vnspeakeable industry he main-
teyned warre in SPAYNE, against three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS. Now *Scipio* being
comen to this army that lay in garrison for the winter time, euery man did certainly perswade
them selues that the warre should prosper: and when they sawe him, they remembred their
old Captaines, insomuch that there was neuer a souldier could haue his fill, with looking vp-
on this young man. Howbeit, after he had commended the souldiers for their noble corage,
not dispayring for the calamitie of their contry: he greatly honored *Lucius Martius*, to shewe,
that who so trusteth in his owne vertues, neede not enuy the glory of another man. So winter B
being past, he tooke the old and newe bands out of the garrisons, and first of all determined to
goe and lay siege vnto new CARTHAGE. For of all the cities of SPAYNE it was the wealthiest,
and none more meeter to make warre both by sea & land, then that. Moreouer, the captaines
of the CARTHAGINIANS had bestowed in this citie all their munition, and greatest treasure:
and left a strong garrison, both in the citie, and castel. But the Captaines them selues were de-
uided in diuers contries, to the end that they three might kepe the whole region from spoile,
least of all looking then that CARTHAGE should be beseeged. So *Scipio* hauing put all in rea-
dines, he came to beseege new CARTHAGE with all his army both by sea and land. This semed
to be a maruelous hard enterprise, and would continue long, both bicause the citie was very
strong of it selfe, and also for that the men within it were so coragious: that they did not one- C
ly thinke them selues able to defend the citie, but their harts serued them also to make salyes
out vpon the enemie, and to skirmish with them, euen to the very trenches of the ROMANES
campe. Howbeit it happeneth often, that what a man can not attaine by force, he may winne
by industrie. Now *Scipio* knew, that the lake or mer which is not farre from the walls of CAR-
THAGE, did ebbe and flowe with the tyde, and that it was passable by forde on that side where
they might easliest come to the walles: So, he thinking to imbrace this occasion, and that he
could not possibly meete with a better deuise to take CARTHAGE: when he saw his time, he set
his men in battell ray, and hauing deuided them into seuerall squadrons, gaue a more desperat
assault vnto the citie, then he had done before. In the meane time, he chose out a band of the
valianteste men he had, and commaunded them to wade ouer the lake, and to scale the walles D
on that side, where they within the towne made least accompt of it. So, these souldiers that
were commaunded to giue this attempt, after they had passed ouer the lake without any let
or trouble: they found that part of the wall without any watche or garde, bicause the greatest
fury of the fight, was on the other side of the citie. Therefore they easily getting vp on the wal,
came and assayled the enemies behind them. The citizens, and those of the garrison, percey-
uing they were vnwares fallen into that great daunger: they immediatly forsooke the walles,
and seeing them selues charged on euery side, betooke them to their legges, and fled. The RO-
MANES pursued them so hottely, that they wanne the citie, and sacked it: where they found a
wonderfull great spoyle, and aboundance of all things necessary for warre. *Scipio* greatly pray-
sed his souldiers, & did reward them, for that they had done so valiant seruice. Howbeit when E
he should come to giue the scaling crowne of the wals, vnto the first man that got vp vpon the
wall: there were two souldiers at such variance for the matter, that all the army was in daun-
get of diuision and mutinie vpon that occasion. Thereuppon *Scipio* called his men together,
and in open assembly told them, that he knewe they both got vp on the wall together, and so
gaue them both a scaling crowne: & by this meanes their tumult was presently pacified. Af-
terwards he sent vnto all the cities of SPAYNE, the hostages that were found in the city, which
were a maruelous number: the which wanne him great fame for his curtesie and clemency,
whereby he allured many nations to yeld them selues vnto the ROMANES, and to forsake the
CARTHAGINIANS. But one thinge aboue all the rest, chiefly increased his prayse, and wanne
him great loue and good will, as a myrror and example of all vertue. There was a young Lady F
taken prisoner, that in beautie excelled all the women in CARTHAGE: whome he carefully
caused to be kept, and preserued from violence and dishonor. And afterwards when he knew
that

The valiantnes of Lucius Martius a Romane knight.

Scipio beseegeth new Carthage in Spayne.

Scipio wanne the citie of new Carthage by assault.

The great chastitie of Scipio.

A that ſhe was maried vnto *Luceius*, Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: he ſent for her husbande that was a verie young man, and deliuered her vnto him, vntouched, or diſhonored. *Luceius* not forgetting his noble curteſie vnto her, did let all his ſubiects vnderſtand the great bounty, modeſtie, and rare excellencie of all kinde of vertues that were in this ROMANE Generall: and ſhortly after he returned againe to the ROMANES campe, with a great number of horſemen.

Mago, Haſdrubal Barcinian, Haſdrubal Giſgo, the three famous Captaines of the Carthaginiās.

The three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS (*Mago*, *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN, and the other *Haſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Giſgo*) knowing that the loſſe of new CARTHAGE did them great hurt, as well in the impairing of their credit with other ſtraunge nations, as alſo by the coniecture diuers made of the ſucceſſe of this warre: they firſt practiſed to diſſemble the loſſe of it, and then in ſpeach to make light of it as much as they could. *Scipio* hauing ioined vnto him diuers

B nations and Princes of SPAYNE, (among the which were the two litle kings, *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*) vnderſtanding where *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN lay: he marched towards him with his armie, to fight with him, before *Mago* and the other *Haſdrubal* came to ioyne with him. *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN lay in campe by the riuer of Beſula, & was verie deſirous to fight, truſting wholly to his ſtrength and army. But when he heard that *Scipio* was at hand, he left the valley, and got to a hill of pretie ſtrength. The ROMANE legions followed him, and gaue him no reſpit, but purſued ſo neere, that they came and aſſaulted his campe at their firſt comming. So they fought it out vpon the trenches and rampers, as if they had bene at the aſſault of a citie. The CARTHAGINIANS truſting to the ſtrength of the place, and driuen vnto it of neceſſitie, (the which maketh cowards moſt deſperat) they valliantly reſiſted their enemies the beſt they

Beſula fl.

C could. The ROMANES in contrarie maner, being valliant, and full of good hope, fought it out luſtely like men, and the fight was ſo muche more cruell, for that it was in the ſight of their Generall *Scipio*, and of all the armie beſides: inſomuch that their valliant ſeruice there could not be hidden. Therefore they neuer gaue ouer the aſſault, vntill that hauing done their vttermoſt endeuor, they got vp vpon the rampers, and entred in diuers places into the enemies campe, and made them flie. *Haſdrubal*, Captaine of the CARTHAGINIANS, ſaued him ſelfe by flying, with a few with him, before the ROMANES entred into their fort. After this battell, *Scipio* according to his maner, cauſed all the ſpaniſh priſoners to be brought before him, and then gaue them libertie to depart, without paying of raunſome. Among the priſoners, there was a young gentleman of the kings blood, and nephew vnto *Maſiniſſa*, whom when he had

Scipios liberalitie to his enemies.

D vſed verie honorably, he ſent vnto *Maſiniſſa*, with great and rich gifts: to ſhew thereby, that a Generall of an army ſhould be as bountifull & full of ciuill vertues, as otherwiſe skilfull & expert in martiall diſcipline. For the ende of warre is victorie: the benefit whereof conſiſteth in bountie, and clemencie. From thence commeth the glorie and all other praiſes due to Captaines: as it happened in thoſe things whereof we now treate. For a great number of SPANYARDS being preſent, wondering at the great clemencie of the Generall of the ROMANES: they coulde doe no leſſe but call him king, to honor and recompence his vertue. But *Scipio* ſtrake that word dead ſtraight, the which was no common ſound to the ROMANES eares, and therefore he would by no meanes allow that title, which he knewe to be hateſull to the noble men of his contrie, and alſo vnmeete for the libertie of the ROMANES. He onely prayed the SPA-

Vertues meete for a General.

Scipio called king, by the Spaniards.

E NYARDS, that if they had any mind & deſire not to ſhew them ſelues vnthankefull to him: that then they would be faithfull and louing to the people of ROME. So whileſt theſe things were done by *Scipio*, the other two Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, (*Mago*, and *Haſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Giſgo*) after they vnderſtoode of the ouerthrowe of their men by the riuer of Beſula: they made all the ſpeede they could to ioyne together, and ſhortly after came and met with *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN, to conſult together, and to take order for the warre. So after they had layed their heades together, and conſidered all thinges, they concluded thus: that *Haſdrubal*

Haſdrubal ſendeth his brother to his brother Annibal with an army.

BARCINIAN ſhould go into ITALIE to his brother *Annibal*, where the warre was greateſt: and that *Mago*, and the other *Haſdrubal* ſhoulde remaine in SPAYNE, ſhoulde ſende for aide from

F CARTHAGE, & ſhould not fight with the ROMANES vntill all their forces looked for were aſſembled, and ſo might make a great and puiſant armie. When *Haſdrubal* was gone into ITALIE, *Hanno* was ſent from CARTHAGE in his place. But practiſing in his iorney to make the CELTIBERIANS to rebell, *M. Syllanus* came and ſet vpon him by *Scipios* commaundement,

Hanno, the chiefe of the contrarie faction vnto Hasdrubal Barcinian, ouercomen in battell, and take prisoner.

and was so fortunate, that he ouercame him in battell, and tooke him prisoner. Nowe there A
was a citie which the contrie men called ORINGE, the which was verie wealthie, and meete
to renewe the warre. *Lucius Scipio* was sent thither with parte of the armie to besiege it: but
finding it a verie strong scituacion, and too well manned to take it at the first assault, he enui-
ronned the towne, and within few dayes tooke and sacked it. Winter came on a pace, and the
time of the yeare made them both to retire into their garrisõs, for the winter. So *Scipio* hauing
had so good fortune in this warre, he went vnto TARRACON: *Mago*, and the other *Hasdrubal*,
the sonne of *Gisgo*, went to the sea side. The next sommer, warres growing more bloody and
cruell then before in the lower SPAYNE, the ROMANES and CARTHAGINIANS met, and ioyned battell by the riuer of Besula, and fought set battells. After they had fought a long time
together, *Scipio* at length got the victorie, & made the enemies flie: (of the which there were B
slaine a great number in the field) and geuing them no leasure to gather together againe, and
to make head against him, he fought with them, and followed the chase so hottely, that *Hasdrubal* and *Mago* were driuen to leaue the maine land, and to flie to GADES, after they had lost
all their armie. In the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS, there was a young man of a noble corage, and verie wise, called *Masinissa*, who finding meanes to haue secret conference with
Syllanus, he was the first man that offred him frendshippe, either being brought to it through
Scipioes liberalitie, or else bicause he thought the time was come, that it was the sureste way to
take part with the ROMANES, which were the conquerors. It is that *Masinissa* that afterwards,

Masinissa offereth his frendshippe vnto the Romanes.

(through the goodnes of the ROMANES) became the great and mighty king of NVMIDIA, and
in deede he was diuers wayes a profitable frende vnto the ROMANES. Furthermore, the selfe C
same yeare, (which was the fourteenth of the seconde warre with the AFRICANS) SPAYNE
was the first nation and people of the vpland men dwelling in the hart of the realme, that was
conquered vnder the happie conduct of the Viceconsul *Scipio*: howbeit it was the last realme
that was made a prouince long time after, by *Augustus Cæsar*. Now *Scipio* not contenting him
self with the great victories he had obteined, in verie short time in SPAYNE (for he had an imagination & good hope also to cõquer AFRICKE) he thought that his best way, to make all the

Syphax king of the Masæsylians.

meanes he could possible to get *Syphax*, king of the MASÆSYLIANS, a frend to the ROMANES.
Wherefore after he had felt the kinges minde, perceiuing that he was well inclined to make
league with the ROMANES: he presently set all his other affaires aside, and sailed into AFRIKE
with two gallies onely, at fiue owers to a bancke. At the selfe same time also came *Hasdrubal*, D
the sonne of *Gisgo* thither, from GADES: so that both these valliant & lusty Captaines came of
purpose to the king, enuying one the other, to craue the kinges good will, vnto their contrie
and common wealth. *Syphax* welcomed them both into his Court, and did vse them verie honorably and curteouslie, and appointed that they should both eate at one table, and lye
in one selfe chamber, bicause the one shoulde not thinke his enterteinment better then the other. It is reported, that *Hasdrubal* wondering at the magnanimity and great wisedom of *Scipio* that was present, he considered with him selfe the great daunger the citie of CARTHAGE

Hasdrubals iudgement of Scipio.

and all AFRIKE besides was in, through that mans meanes: for he saw him yet a young man,
quicke, and excellent in all manner of great vertues, and that had continuallie obtained such
victories, and therefore considering the lustie youth of this gentleman, he imagined that it E
was vnpossible to perswade him to imbrace peace, rather then warre. Besides, he was affraied
also that *Syphax*, moued by the personage and authoritie of him that was present, would take
parte with the ROMANES: and in deede his minde gaue him rightlie, for so it happened. For
though *Syphax* at the first shewed him selfe indifferent to them both, and had moued talke to
end the warre betwext the ROMANES and the CARTHAGINIANS: yet afterwards when *Scipio*
tolde him he coulde conclude no peace without consent of the Senate of ROME, he reiected

Syphax, king of the Masæsylians, maketh league with the Romanes.

Hasdrubal, and inclining to *Scipioes* requeste, he made league with the people of ROME. So *Scipio* being returned againe into SPAYNE, him selfe partely by force, and partely also by *L. Martius* meanes, conquered ILITVRGIVM, CASTVLO, and certaine other places that refused to
yeeld them selues vnto the ROMANES. And to the end nothing should be lacking for all kinde F
of sports and pleasures, after he had so fortunatelie obtained so many famous victories: when
he was come to newe CARTHAGE, he caused the fensers to prepare them selues to fight with

great

A great pompe, where there were many great eſtates, not only to ſee that paſtime, but alſo they themſelues to handle the weapons in perſon. But amongeſt other SPANYARDES of noble houſes, there were two called, *Carbis*, & *Orſua*, which were at ſtrife together for the kingdom; but that day they ended their quarrell, the one being ſlaine by the others hand. The fight was verie lamentable & grieuous to the beholders: but the death of him that was ſlaine, troubled them much more, for they were both couſin germaines. After all this, *Scipio* hauing his mind ſtill occupied in matters of greater waight and importance, then thoſe which he had already brought to paſſe: he fell ſicke. His ſickenes being caried through all SPAYNE, and as it happeneth often, his diſeaſe being reported to be muche greater and daungerous then it was in deede: thereuppon, not only the nations of SPAYNE beganne to riſe in hope of chaunge, but

The vnfortunate fighte of two couſin germanes.

B the armie ſelfe alſo of the ROMANES, the which he had left at SVCRO. Firſt of all, martiall diſcipline was corrupted, through the abſence of the Generall. Afterwardes alſo, the report of his ſickenes, and daunger of his life being ſpred abroad in the armie, raiſed ſuche a rebellion among them: that ſome of them litle regarding the authoritie and commaundement of the head Captaines of the bands, they draue them away, and choſe two meane ſouldiers for their Captaines, who preſumptuouſlie tooke vpon them the name geuen vnto them by men of no authority, and yet with more arrogancie, made the bundells of roddes and axes to be caried before them. Such follie doth furie and vaine ambicion oftentimes worke in mens minds. On the other ſide, the SPANYARDS ſlept not, and ſpecially *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: who aſpiring to the kingdom of SPAYNE, came to *Scipio* when he was conqueror, after he had taken newe

The rebellion of the Romane ſouldiers againſt their Captaines, in Scipios ſickenes.

Mandonius, Indibilis, two kinges of Spayne.

C CARTHAGE. But afterwards, being offended to ſee the power of the ROMANES increaſe daily, they ſought occaſion to make ſome alteracion. So after they had heard, not onely of *Scipios* ſicknes, but alſo how he was at deathes dore, and did beleue it: they preſentlie leauied an armie, and went and made warre with the SVESSITANS which were confederates of the ROMANES. But *Scipio* being recouered againe of his ſickenes, like as vpon the falſe rumor of his death euery man beganne to riſe: euen ſo after the truth was knowen in deede of his recouerie, they were all put downe againe, and not a man of them durſt proceede any further in their rebellion. *Scipio* being more skilfull in martiall diſcipline, then acquainted with ſedition and

Scipios wiſedome ſuppreſſing his anger.

rebellion: although he was marueiouſly offended with the ſouldiers that had committed this follie, yet in the end, leaſt following his anger, men ſhould haue thought him to haue exce-

D ded all boundes of reaſon in puniſhing of them, he referred all vnto the counſell. The moſt parte of them gaue aduiſe, that the authors of the rebellion ſhoulde be puniſhed, and all the reſt pardoned: for by this meanes ſayd they, the puniſhment ſhall light vpon a few that haue deſerued it, and all the reſt ſhall take example by them. *Scipio* followed that aduiſe, and preſently ſent for all the ſeditious bands, to come to new CARTHAGE to receiue their pay. The ſouldiers obeyed his commaundement, ſome of them making their fault leſſe then it was, as men doe often flatter themſelues: others alſo trofting to the Captaines clemencie, as knowing him not to be extreame in puniſhment. For *Scipio* was wont to ſay, that he had rather

Scipios great wiſedome in puniſhing the offendors.

Scipios care of his countrimen.

ſaue the life of one ROMANE citizen, then to kill a thouſand enemies. The rumor ranne alſo, that *Scipio* had an other armie readie, the which he looked for to ioyne with them, and then

E to ſerue vpon the kings, (*Mandonius* & *Indibilis*) who made warre with the SVESSITANS. Theſe ſouldiers departing frō SVCRO, with good hope to obtaine pardon, came vnto CARTHAGE. How beit the next day after they were come into the towne, they were brought into the market place: where their armor and weapons being taken from them, they were enuironned with all the legions armie. Then the ROMANE Generall ſitting in place of iudgement, ſhowed him ſelfe before all the compani in as good health & good diſpoſition of bodie, as euer he was in all his youth. Then he made a ſharp & bitter oration, full of grieuous complaints: inſomuch as there was not one of all the ſouldiers that were vnarmed, that durſt caſt vp their eyes, or looke their Generall in the face, they were ſo aſhamed. For their conſciences did accuſe them for the fault they had committed, and the feare of death did take their wits and ſences from

F them, & the preſence of their gratious Captaine, made them bluſh as well that were innocent, as the parties that were offendors. Wherefore there was a generall and ſorow full ſilence of all men. So after he had ended his oration, he cauſed the chiefe authors of this rebellion to be

bnt

Scipio did put the authors of the rebellion to death.

brought forth before the whole assembly, who, after they had bene whipped according to the maner, were presently beheaded, the which was a fearefull and lamentable sight to the beholders. These matters thus pacified, *Scipio* made all the other souldiers to be sworne againe, and then went and proclaimed warre against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*. For they considering with them selues, howe the ROMANE souldiers that had rebelled in the campe, were put to death: they were out of hope to obtaine any pardon. Therefore they had leauied an army of twentie thowsand footemen, & two thowsand horsemen, and came downe with them against the ROMANES. *Scipio* hauing intelligence thereof, before that the kings could increase their army, & that other nations could rebel: he departed from CARTHAGE, & went with as great speede as he could to meete with the enemy. The kings were camped in a very strong place, and trusted so to their army, that they were not determined to prouoke the enemy, nor also to refuse the battel if it were offred them. Howbeit it chaunced by the nerenes of both campes, that within few dayes, they being prouoked by the ROMANES, came downe & set their men in battell ray, & ioyned battell with *Scipio*: so that a good while together, the fight was very bloody & cruel. But at length the SPANYARDS seeing them selues compassed in behinde, and being driuen to fight in a ring to defend the enemy on euery side, they were ouercome: so that the third parte of them scarcely saued them selues by flying. *Mandonius* & *Indibilis* seeing them selues vtterly vndone, & that there was no hope nor remedy left: they sent Ambassadors vnto *Scipio*, humbly to pray him to receiue them to mercy, and to pardon them. But *Scipio* knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the ROMANES, yet thinking it more honorable to ouercome the enemie by curtesie and clemency, then by force: he did pardon them, and only cõmaunded them to geue him money to pay his souldiers. In the meane time *Masinissa* came from GADES, & landed: bicause he would him selfe in person confirme the frendship he had offered *Scipio* in his absence, by the meanes of *M. Syllanus*, and also speake with him face to face, whom he iudged to be a worthie man, for the famous victories he had obteined. And in truth *Masinissa* was not deceiued in the opinion he had of the valliantnes & vertues of *Scipio*, but found him the selfe same man whom he before had imagined him to be in his minde: the which but seldom happeneth so notwithstanding. For besides the great rare giftes of nature that *Scipio* had aboue all others, there was in him also a certaine Princely grace and maiestie. Furthermore, he was maruelous gentle & curteous vnto them that came to him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a passing gift to winne euerie man. He was verie graue in his gesture and behauiour, and euer ware long heare. *Masinissa* being come to salute him, when he sawe him, he had him in suche admiration as it is reported, that he could not cast his eyes of him, nor haue his fill of looking on him. So he thanked him maruelously for sending his Nephewe vnto him, and promised him that his deedes shoulde confirme and witnesse the frendshippe agreed vpon betwene them: the which he euer after inuiolablie kept vnto the ROMANES, euen to the hower of his death. So all the nations of SPAYNE became subiect to the Empire of ROME, or at the least their confederates: whereupon those of GADES also following the example of others, came and yeelded them selues vnto the ROMANES. This is a verie auncient nation, and if we may credit the reporte of it: as CARTHAGE was in AFRIKE, and THEBES in BOEOTIA, so was GADES vpon the sea, a Colony of the TYRIANS. *Scipio* after he had conquered all SPAYNE, and driuen out the CARTHAGINIANS, considering that there remained nothing more for him to doe: he left the gouernment of the prouince vnto *L. Lentulus*, and to *Manlius Acidinus*, and returned to ROME. When he was arriued at ROME, the Senate gaue him audience out of the citie, in the temple of *Bellona*. There, when he had particularly told the of the things he had valliantly, & fortunately brought to end: & further, that he had ouercome foure Captaines in diuers fought fields & also put to flight foure armies of the enemies, & driue the CARTHAGINIANS out of both SPAYNES, & that there was no nation left in all those parts, but was subdued to the ROMANES, the Senate gaue iudgement, that all these things were worthy of a noble triumphe. But bicause neuer man yet was suffred to enter into ROME in triũphe, for any victories he had obtained, whileft he was only but Viceconsul, and had not yet bene Consul: the Senators thought it not good, and *Scipio* him selfe also made no great sute for it, bicause he would not be an occasion to bring in any newe custome,

A noble thing to ouercome the enemie by clemencie. Masinissa cometh vnto Scipio.

A Princely Maiestie in Scipioes personage.

The antiquitie of those of Gades.

Scipioes noble deedes.

Scipioes returne out of Spayne to Rome.

and

A and to breake the olde. So when he came into the citie, he was afterwardes declared Consul, with the great good will and consent of the whole assemblie. It is reported that there neuer came such a world of people to Rome, as were there at that time, not only for the assemblies sake, but more to see *P. Cor. Scipio.* Wherefore, not the Romanes onely, but all the straungers also that were there, all their eyes were vpon *Scipio*, and sayd both openly and priuately: that they should send him into Afrike, to make warre with the Carthaginians, at home in their owne contrie. *Scipio* also being of the same opinion, said, that he would aske aduise of the people, if the Senate would be against such a worthie enterprise. For amongest the peres and Senators, there were some that vehemently inueyed against that opinion, and among the rest, *Fabius Maximus* speciallie, a man of great fame and authoritie. *Scipio* went forward with
B the matter, and thwarted him, and shewed many reasons that there was no way to ouercome the Carthaginians, and to driue *Annibal* out of Italie, but that only: and that all other counsells were in vaine, and vnproffitable. After this matter was long debated in counsell, Sicilia was appointed vnto *Scipio*: and the whole Senate gaue him commission to go with all his armie into Afrike, if he thought it meete and proffitable for the common wealth. The decree of the Senate being published, euerie mans minde ranne of so great enterprises, that they perswaded them selues Afrike was alreadie their owne, and had great hope to end this warre. Howbeit *Scipio* saw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this iorney, bicause of the pouertie of the common treasure, and for lacke of young men: the flower and choyce of the which was vtterlie gone, by the former great losses and ouerthrowes *Annibal* had geuen
C them. Howebeit to satisfie euerie mans expectacion of him, he made all the possible speede he could, to prepare thinges necessarie for the warres. So diuers people of Thvscan, and of the Vmbrians, offered to helpe him to their best power: some of them gaue him timber to builde his shippes, others holpe him with armor, and others also furnished him with corne, and all other kinde of vittells and munition for his armie. The shippes being built, and all the armie by sea put in readines, in the space of fiue and fortie dayes, a thing incredible to many: *Scipio* departed out of Italie, and sailed towards Sicile. But when he came to take muster of his armie, he speciallie chose those that had serued long time in the warres, vnder the conduct of *M. Marcellus*, the which were all esteemed for verie expert souldiers. And for the Sicilians, he partely wanne them by curtesie, and partely by compulsion compelled them to
D geue him aide for the warre he tooke in hand, the which he ment to make in Afrike, when the time of the yeare should serue for it. Among other things, it is reported that *Scipio* chose out of diuers cities, three hundred young gentlemen of the noblest houses of all the sayd prouince, and commaunded them to meete at a certaine day appointed, euerie man with horse and armor. Then comming at the day appointed, according to his commaundement: the Consul bad them choose whether they would followe him in the warres of Afrike, or else deliuer vp their armor & horse, to as many other Romanes as they were in number. So when they all prayed they might be dismissed from the warre, *Scipio* appointed three hundred other young Romanes in their places, whom he had brought out of Italie with him vnarmed, bicause he would mount and arme them at the Sicilians cost, as in deede it chaunced. Af-
E terwards, they did him great seruice in Afrike, in many great battells. Now time was come on for *Scipio* to put his armie in garrison for the winter time, when he came to Syracvsa, taking order not only for the preparation of warre, but also for the affaires of Sicilia. There when it was tolde him by complaint of diuers, that there was a great companie of Italian souldiers in that citie, who would not restore the spoiles which they had gotten in the warres, but kept them stil in their hands, notwithstanding that the Senate had enioyned them by speciall commaundement to make restitution to the Syracvsans: he straight compelled them by proclamation, to accomplishe the Senates commaundement. Whereby he wanne all the peoples hartes of Sicilia, and was reported to be a iust and vpright Consul. In the meane time he was aduertised by *Caius Lælius*, that returned out of Afrike with great spoyle: howe
F king *Masinissa* was very desirous of his comming thither, and that he instantly prayed him he would come into Afrike, as soone as he coulde possible, so it were without the preiudice of the common wealth. Moreouer, that diuers nations and people of Afrike had the like de-

Scipio made Consul.

Scipio prepared his armie and nauy by sea, in 45. dayes.

Scipioes policie in Sicilia.

sire: who hating the gouernment of the CARTHAGINIANS, desired nothing more, then some good occasion to rebell. Nowe this iorney was not deferred through *Scipioes* fault or negligence, considering that such a Captaine could hardly be founde that was more carefull and diligent in his charge then he. Howbeit the affaires of SICILIA, and the oportunitie he had to recouer LOCRES againe, did hinder him that he coulde not bring his purpose to passe according to his minde. Furthermore, his Lieutenaunt *Pleminius* disorder grieued him much: bicause that hauing left him at LOCRES, he fell to all sortes of insolencie, as to deflowre women, and to spoyle the poore citizens: insomuch that they being maruelously offended with these infinite troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, then to be subiect to the gouernment of so vile & wicked a man. So the Ambassadors of LOCRES being arriued at ROME, and exhibiting their complaintes in open Senate of the great wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* did them: the noble men tooke the matter so grieuously, that they made bitter decrees, not only against the same *Pleminius*, but also against *P.C.Scipio* himselfe. Wherupon *Scipioes* enemies hauing gotten matter enough to accuse him, they were then so bold to affirme, that he was acquainted with the iniuries offred the LOCRIANS, with the licentiousnesse of *Pleminius*, and with the rebellions of his souldiers also: and that he had suffred all these things more negligently, then became the office or duety of a Consul. They added thereto moreouer, that his army he had in SICILE was altogether vnruly & vnseruiceable, & regarded not the ordinances of the campe: and that the Captaine him selfe was careleſſe, & altogether geuen ouer to pleasure and idlenes. But aboue all others, *Fabius Maximus* was his heauy enemy, and so vehement against him in his words, that he exceded the bounds of all modesty and reason, and thought good to call him presently home out of SICILIA, and to dismisse him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very straight, & extreame. Wherefore following *Quintus Metellus* counsell, the Senators appointed ten Ambassadors to go into SICILIA, to make diligent inquiery, whether the accusations obiected against *Scipio* were true: and if they found him in fault, that then they should commaund him in the name of the Senate presently to returne into ITALY. And on the other side, if they foūd that he was vniustly accused, and only through the procurement of his malicious enemies & detracters: then that they should send him to his armie, and encorage him valliantly to go forward with this warre. So when the Ambassadors were arriued in SICILIA, after they had made diligent inquiery according to the articles of their commission: they coulde not finde that *Scipio* was faultie in any thing, sauing that he had too lightly passed ouer the wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* had done vnto the LOCRIANS. For *Scipio* was verie liberall in rewarding of his men, and exceeding curteous and mercifull also in punishing of them. But when they saw his army, his shippes, and all his other furniture and munition for warre: it is reported that they wondred so much to see the great aboundance and good order taken for all thinges, that when they returned to ROME, they greatly commended *Scipio*, and reiecting all the accusations of his accusers, they did promise the Senate and people of ROME, assured hope of victory. So when all these home troubles at ROME were taken away, there chaunced other outward troubles a broad that grieued him much. For the Ambassadors of king *Syphax* came and told him that their maister had made new league with the CARTHAGINIANS, & was become frend to *Hasdrubal*, whose daughter he had maried: and therefore that he wished him if he ment to do his contry good, to make no attempt vpon AFRIKE, for he was determined to reckon the CARTHAGINIANS frends his, & also to set vpon them whom the CARTHAGINIANS account their enemies. *Scipio* quickelie returned the Ambassadors againe vnto *Syphax*, bicause the effect of their comming should not be blowen abroad in his campe: & gaue them letters, in the which he praied king *Syphax*, that remembring his league and faithfull promise, he should beware he attempted nothing vnworthy the name of a ROMANE, and faith of a king. Afterwards calling his men together, he told thē, that the Ambassadors of king *Syphax* were come into SICILE, to complaine of his long tarying, as *Masinissa* had done before. Therefore he was to hasten his iorney to goe into AFRIKE, and thereupon cōmaunded all his souldiers to put them selues in readines, and to prouide all things necessary for their iorney. The Consuls commaundement being published through all SICILE, there repaired immediatlie vnto *Lilybea* a multitude of people

P.C.Scipio accused.

Q. Fabius Maximus, a great aduersary vnto Scipio.

Scipioes nature.

King Syphax reuolteth frō the Romanes.

A people,not only of thoſe that were to ſaile into AFRIKE,but of others alſo that came to ſee the fleete & army of the ROMANES: bicauſe they neuer ſaw an army better furniſhed, nor ſet out with all things neceſſary for warre, nor better repleniſhed with ſouldiers,then that. So *Scipio*, all things being ready,imbarked at LILYBEA with ſo earneſt a deſire to paſſe ouer the ſea,that neither owers nor wind did content his minde. Yet he was brought in few daies ſailing, to the promontory or mountaine called ſayer, and there he put all his men a land. The newes of his arriual flying ſtraight to CARTHAGE,all the city was preſently in ſuch an vprore,that ſodainly they ſounded the alarom,and garded the gates & walls,as appeareth by teſtimony of ſome in writing. For from *M. Regulus* time,vnto that preſent day,it was almoſt fifty yeares ſpace ſince any ROMANE Captaine euer entred AFRIKE with force of armes. And therefore it was no
B maruell though they were affrayed,and grew to vprore. The name of *Scipio* did encreaſe their feare the more, bicauſe the CARTHAGINIANS had no Captaine matchable with him. *Haſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſgo* had the name at that time of a luſty Captaine, whom they knew had notwithſtanding bene ouercome, and driuen out of SPAYNE by *Scipio*. Howbeit putting all the hope & ſafety of their contry in him,& in king *Syphax* that mighty king:they neuer left intreating the one,nor perſwading the other, to come & helpe the affaires of AFRIKE, with all the ſpede they could poſſible. So,whileſt they two were preparing to ioyne both their armies together, *Annibal* the ſonne of *Hamilcar*, being appointed to kepe the next contry adioyning to it,came againſt the ROMANES. *Scipio* after he had deſtroyed the contry, & enriched his army with great ſpoyle:he camped by the city of VTICA,to ſee if it were poſſible for him to win
C ſo noble and wealthy a city, and being beſides ſo commodious for the warres both by ſea and land. At the ſelfe ſame time *Maſiniſſa* came to the ROMANES campe, and was inflamed with a vehement deſire to make warre againſt king *Syphax*, by whom he had before bene driuen out of his kingdom & inheritance. *Scipio*, that had knowen him in SPAYNE, a young Prince of an excellent wit, and quicke & valliant of his hand: he ſent him to diſcouer the army of the enemies, before the CARTHAGINIANS could gather any greater power, and willed him to vſe all the deuiſe and meanes he coulde poſſible to intiſe *Hanno* to fight. *Maſiniſſa* as he was commaunded,began to prouoke the enemy,and drawing him out by litle & litle, he brought him where *Scipio* lay with all his legions armed, looking for a good hower to fight. The armie of the enemies was nowe wearied, when the ROMANES came to ſet vpon them with their freſhe
D army. *Hanno* at the firſt onſet was ouercomen, & ſlaine, with moſt of his men: and all the reſt fled,and diſperſed them ſelues here and there,where they thought they might beſt ſcape. After this victory, *Scipio* returning backe againe to beſiege the city of VTICA: the ſodaine comming of *Haſdrubal* and king *Syphax*,made him to leaue of his enterpriſe,for that they brought with them a great army both of footemen & horſemen,and came and camped not farre from the ROMANES. *Scipio* perceiuing that, raiſed his ſiege immediatly, and came and fortified his campe vpon a hill,from whence he might go & fight with the enemy,and moleſt them of VTICA,and alſo keepe his ſhippes ſafe that road at ancker. Howbeit the time of the yeare being comen, that both armies were to diſpoſe their men in garriſons for the winter ſeaſon: he determined to ſend vnto king *Syphax* to feele his minde,and to make him leaue the frendſhippe
E of the CARTHAGINIANS if it were poſſible. For he knew well it was his mariage with *Sophonisba*, that through her flattering perſwaſions had brought him to that furie, that he had not only forſaken the frendſhippe of the ROMANES,but alſo ment to deſtroy them,contrary to his faith and promiſe: and that if he had once ſatisfied the heate of his loue with her, he thought then he might be called home againe. *Syphax* hauing vnderſtoode *Scipioes* meſſage ſent him, he anſwered,that in dede it was time not only to leaue the league with the CARTHAGINIANS, but alſo to geue vp all thought of warre: and ſo promiſed, that he would be a good meane to make peace. *Scipio* gaue good eare vnto it, and caught holde of an excellent fine deuiſe. He choſe the valliantеſt ſouldiers in his army, apparelled them like ſlaues, and made them waite vpon the Ambaſſadors, and gaue them inſtructions what they ſhoulde doe. Theſe fellowes,
F whileſt the Ambaſſadors and king *Syphax* were in talke together,about the articles and condicions of peace, and that the conſultation helde lenger then it was wont to doe: they went and walked vp and downe through the enemies campe, to ſee all the wayes and entries into

The ready & faithfull good will of Maſiniſſa to the Romanes.

Hanno ouercomen and ſlaine.

Sophonisba, king Syphax wife.

Scipioes craft.

it, according vnto *Scipioes* inſtructions. After they had done this diuers times, they came a- A
gaine to *Scipio*. Truce was taken for a time, the which being expired, *Scipio* ſeemed to make preparation for warres, (as being out of hope of any peace) & to make his army ready by ſea, preparing engines of batterie to returne to beſiege VTICA, as he had done before. He gaue out this rumor through all the contry, to perſwade his enemies that it was true: howbeit hauing called the Captaines & pety Captaines of his army together, he made them priuy to his intent & enterpriſe. He told them that both the enemies campes lay not farre a ſunder, of the which, the one of them had all their tents & cabbons of wodde: and the building of the other campe was all of reedes, ſo that they were both eaſie to be burnt. Wherupon hauing ſent for *Maſiniſſa*, and *Caius Lælius* to come vnto him, he gaue them charge about midnight to geue alarom vnto *Syphax* campe, and to ſet it a fire: and that he him ſelfe on the other ſide, would ſet B
vpon the CARTHAGINIANS campe. They two obeying *Scipioes* commaundement, performed his will without delay, & came at the hower appointed thē to aſſaile the NVMIDIANS campe, and ſo did ſet the houſes of reedes afire, which tooke fire in ſuch ſort, as the flame was immediatly rounde about the campe. The NVMIDIANS at the firſt, thinking the fire had comen by misfortune, ranne thither ſtraight vnarmed to quench it. But when they found them ſelues among the legions of the ROMANES, and that there was nothing but killing downe right, ſeeing them ſelues ſo compaſſed in on all ſides, they ſaw their beſt remedie was to flie. On the other ſide alſo, where *Scipioes* army was: the CARTHAGINIAANS campe was almoſt all burnt,
A maruelous great ſlaughter of the Carthaginiās. an the enemies put to flight with ſuch cruell ſlaughter, that ſome wryters affirme there were ſlaine that night about fortie thowſand men, as well CARTHAGINIANS as NVMIDIANS. This C
great ouerthrow and ſlaughter being caried to CARTHAGE, did put the citizens there in ſuch a feare and terror, that ſome thought beſt to ſend for *Annibal* out of ITALIE: and others gaue aduiſe to make peace with *Scipio*. Howbeit the BARCINIAN faction which was rich and wealthy, & altogether againſt the peace makers: they ſo preuailed, that they leauied a new power to begin warre againe. King *Syphax* and *Haſdrubal*, hauing leauied a great multitude of footemen and horſemen againe, renewed their armie ſooner then was looked for, and came againe to pitche their campe directly ouer againſt the enemies. *Scipio* hauing vnderſtanding of that, would not tary, but determined to geue them battell, whileſt his men were in good hart, and willing to fight. So it chaunced at the firſt, by the neerenes of both their campes, that there were certaine skirmiſhes: but in the end, the armies came to ioyne battell, and the ROMANES D
fought with ſuch corage & terror, that at the firſt onſet, they made the NVMIDIANS & CARTHAGINIANS flie, and ſlue the moſt part of them. *Haſdrubal* and *Syphax* ſcaped, by flying out of the ſlaughter. *Scipio* ſent *Maſiniſſa*, & *Caius Lælius* with the light horſemen to giue them chaſe. *Syphax* being comen into NVMIDIA, & from thence into his owne realme & kingdom he leauied an army in haſt, of all ſorts of people, & came to meete with *Maſiniſſa* & *Caius Lælius*, and was not affrayed to geue them battell. But it was a fond parte of him, conſidering that he was nothing like ſo ſtrong as his enemy, neither for nūber of fighting men, nor yet in likelyhood of ſouldiers. For neither the ſouldiers, nor Captaines of his army were matchable with the ſouldiers & Captaines of the ROMANES cāpe: & therfore king *Syphax* was eaſily ouercome by ſuch
Syphax, king of the Maſeſylians, ouercome, & takē in battell. skilful ſouldiers, & moreouer was him ſelfe taken in battel, with many other great noble men, E
whom *Maſiniſſa* wold hardly haue looked for: & thē they were brought vnto *Scipio*. At the firſt there was a maruelous ioy amōg thē, when it was told thē that king *Syphax* ſhould be brought priſoner vnto the cāpe: but afterwards when they ſaw him bound, they were al ſory to ſee him in ſuch pityfull ſtate, remēbring his former greatnes & regall maieſty. For they called to mind how famous the name of this king had bene but a litle before, what wonderful great wealth he had, & alſo the power of ſo great a realme & kingdom. Howbeit *Scipio* the ROMANE Conſul, receiued him very curteouſly, & gently asked him what he ment to chaunge his mind in that ſort, & what moued him to make warre with the ROMANES. Then the king remēbring his former frendſhip & faithful promiſe broken, he boldly told him, that it was the loue he bare to his wife *Sophonisba*, who only had procured him to deale ſo diſhonorably with the ROMANES: how- F
beit, that he had ſo ſmarted for it, as all others might take example by him, and beware how they breake their promiſe. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extreame miſery,

A fery, to see that his mortall enemy *Masinissa* was also taken with that frantic and mad humor, wherewith he before was possessed. For after *Syphax* was ouercome and taken, *Masinissa* went vnto CYRTHA, the chiefe city of the realme, the which he wan, and found *Sophonisba* there, with whom he fell in fancy: who after she had finely wrapped him in with her deceitfull flatteries and kindnes, he promised her also to deliuer her out of the ROMANES handes: & bicause he might the better performe his promise made, he tooke her to his wife, & married her. Whe *Scipio* was informed of these things, it grieued him maruelously. For it was knowen to all men, that *Syphax* was ouercome vnder the conduct, & through the ROMANES meanes: and therefore all that was belonging to *Syphax*, was at the disposition of the ROMANES. Wherefore if *Masinissa* had without *Scipioes* consent, vndertaken to defend *Sophonisbaes* quarrell: then it appeared plainly, he despised the authority of the Consul, & the maiesty of the people of ROME. Furthermore, his filthie lust did agrauate his fault the more, the which seemed so much more intollerable, by how much the continency of the ROMANE Consul was the greater, the which *Masinissa* saw daily before his eyes, and might haue bene a paterne and example vnto him. For *Scipio*, besides many other proofes and shewes of his vertues, in all places where he obtayned victory, he alwayes kept the women vndefiled, which were taken prisoners. So, *Scipio* being much offended with *Masinissa*, (though he shewed it not before company) receiued him very louingly at his returne to the campe: yet afterwards notwithstanding, taking him aside, he so sharply reproued him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and also a seuere Captaine. Whereupon *Masinissa* went into his tent and wept, & could not tell what way he should take: howbeit shortly after, perceiuing that it was vnpossible for him to keepe promise with *Sophonisba*, which grieued him to the hart: he sent her poyson, & a message withall, the which she dranke immediatly, & so willingly made her selfe away. Furthermore the CARTHAGINIANS after they had receiued such wonderfull great losses and ouerthrowes, one after an other, perceiuing that their affaires were brought to suche a straight and extreamitie, that they were no more to looke after the inlarging of their dominions, but only to cõsider which way they might keepe their owne contry: they sent for *Annibal* to come out of ITALIE. Who returning with great speede into AFRIKE, before he did any thing else, he thought good first to talke with *P. Scipio* about peace: either bicause he was affrayed of the good fortune of this young man, or else for that he mistrusted he coulde not otherwise helpe his contrie and common wealth, which he saw decaying, & like to be destroied. Wherfore a place was appointed, where they might meete according to his desire: where when they were both met, they had long talke together about the ending of this warre. In the end, *Scipio* offred *Annibal* such condicions of peace, that by them it appeared the ROMANES were not wearie of warre, and that *Scipio* him selfe being a young man, had better hope to obtaine victorie, then great desire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being set aside, they brake of their talke, and the next morning two famous and worthie Captaines of the most noble nations that could be, prepared them selues to battell, either to geue or take away in short time from their cõmon weales, the seigniorie and Empire of all the worlde. The place where they imployed all their force, and where this famous battell was fought, as it is reported, was by the citie of ZAMA: in the which the ROMANES being conquerors, did first make the Elephants flie, then the horsemen, and in the ende brake so fiercely into the footemen, that they ouerthrew all the armie. It is reported that there were slaine and taken by the ROMANES, aboue fortie thowsande CARTHAGINIANS. *Annibal* fled out of the fury of the battell, & saued him selfe, though that day he had shewed him selfe like a valliant and famous Captaine. For at this battell he had set his armie in better order then euer he had done before, and had strengthened it, both with the commoditie of the place, and relefe besides: and euen in the verie furie and terrur of the battell he so bestirred him selfe among his souldiers, that the enemies them selues did commend & praise him, for a noble Captaine. After this victory, *Scipio* meeting with *Vermina* king *Syphax* sonne, that brought aide to the CARTHAGINIANS: he put him to flight, and came and brought his army to the walls and hauen of CARTHAGO, thinking (as in deede it fel out) that the CARTHAGINIANS would sue to him for peace. For, as the CARTHAGINIANS before had bene very good souldiers, & readie to make warres: so were they now become timorous & faint harted,

Masinissa wan the citie of Cyrtha, where he fell in loue with Sophonisba, king Syphax wife.

The great & rare continency of Scipio.

Sophonisba poysoned her selfe, through Masinissaes procurement.

Annibal sent for into Italy, to returne ouer to Afrike.

Battell at Zama, and Scipios victorie of the Carthaginians.

The flight of Annibal.

specially when they saw their Generall *Annibal* ouercomen, in whom they chiefly repoſed all A
their hope and truſt, for defenſe of their contrie. Wherefore they being (as I haue ſayed)
out of hart, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Scipio*, to pray him that according to his accuſtomed cle-
mencie he woulde graunt them peace. Nowe was great ſute made at ROME, to haue the go-
uernment of the prouince of AFRIKE, and one of the newe Conſuls made haſt to come and
make warre, with ſuch charge and preparation as was meete for his dignitie and calling: and
therefore *Scipio* doubting that an other ſhoulde carie away the glorie for ending of ſo great a
warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the CARTHAGINIAN Ambaſſadors requeſtes.
So, the capitulaciō of the articles of peace was offred vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, according
to the conquerors mind: and beſides all other things, the whole fleete of all their ſhippes and
gallies (in the which conſiſted much their hope) were taken from them. For when the whole B
fleete was burnt, it was ſuch a lamentable ſight vnto them all, that there was no other thing
but weeping and lamenting through the whole city, as if CARTHAGE had bene deſtroied and
raſed to the very ground. For as ſome doe write, there were fiue hundred ſhippes burnt of all
ſortes. Theſe things therefore ſhould make vs all beware of humaine frayeltie, the which we
often forget in our proſperitie. For they that before perſwaded them ſelues to conquer the
world, after they had wonne ſo many great battells and victories of the enemie, and in maner
conquered all ITALIE, and ſo valliantly beſides beſieged the city of ROME: were in ſhort time
after brought to ſuch miſery and extreamity, that all their power and force being ouercome,
they had left them no more but the walls of CARTHAGE, and yet they were not ſure to keepe
them, but through the ſpeciall grace and fauor of the enemie. After theſe things were done, C
Scipio by decree of the Senate, did not only reſtore king *Maſiniſſa* to his realme againe, but alſo
adding thereunto the beſt part of all king *Syphax* contrie, they made him one of the mightieſt
kings of all AFRIKE: and afterwards he gaue honorable gifts vnto euery man as he had deſer-
ued. In fine, after he had ſet all the affaires of AFRIKE at good ſtay, he brought his army backe
againe into ITALIE: at what time there came to ROME a world of people, to ſee ſo great and
famous a Captaine, returning from ſuch wonderfull great victories. So he entred into ROME
with pompe of triumphe, *Terentius Culeo* following of him with a hatte on his head, bicauſe
that through his fauor and frendſhip he was taken out of bondage. *Polybius* wryteth, that king
Syphax was led in triumphe: howbeit ſome ſay he dyed before *Scipio* triumphed. In deede di-
uers that did triumphe, ſome before him during the warres of the CARTHAGINIANS, and o- D
thers afterwards in the warres of MACEDONIA & ASIA, they made greater ſhew of plate, both
of gold and ſiluer in their triumphe, and led alſo a greater number of priſoners: howbeit one
onely *Annibal* that was ouercome, and the glorie of ſo great a warre ended, did make the tri-
umphe of *P. Scipio* ſo excellent and famous, that it farre paſſed all the golde and magnificent
pompe of all others triumphes. For after AFRIKE was conquered, no nation then was aſha-
med to be ouercome by the ROMANES. For he made this prouince, as it were a bridge and o-
pen paſſage to increaſe and enlarge the Empire of ROME, both in MACEDON, and alſo in A-
SIA, and in other parts of the world beſides. Now *Scipio* (whom I may rightly call AFRICAN,
after the conqueſt of AFRIKE) being returned to ROME, he lacked no temporall dignities nor
honors. For in the counſell holden for the election of Cenſors, although there were diuers o- E
thers of the nobleſt houſes of ROME that ſued for that office: yet he him ſelfe, and *AElius Pe-
tus* were preferred before all the reſt, and after they were created Cenſors, they did gouerne
in their office like good men, and with good quietnes. Afterwards the Cenſors that followed
them, did ſtill one after an other chooſe *Scipio* AFRICAN Prince of the Senate: the which di-
gnitie was wont to be geuen to them only, that obtained the type of all honor, through their
great conqueſts and benefits done to their contry. Shortly after, he was againe choſen Con-
ſul with *Sempronius Longus*, the ſonne of that *Sempronius* whome *Annibal* ouercame in that
great ouerthrow, at the battell by the riuer of Trebia. They two were the firſt (as it is repor-
ted) that deuided the noble men and Senators from the people, in the ſhowe place to ſee paſ-
time. This ſeparation was verie odious to the people of ROME, and they were marueilouſlie F
offended with the Conſuls for it: bicauſe they tooke it, that increaſing the honor of the ſtate
of the Senators, they thereby did diſcountenaunce and imbaſe them. Some ſay alſo, that

Scipio

Fiue hundred ſhippes of the Carthaginiās, burnt by Scipio.

Scipioes returne to Rome.

Scipioes triumphe at Rome, for the Carthaginians.

Scipio, and AElius Petus, choſen Cenſors.

Scipio Prince of the Senate.

Scipio and Sempronius Longus choſen Conſuls.

A *Scipio* AFRICAN afterwardes repented him ſelfe that he had taken away the olde cuſtome, and brought in a newe. At that time there fell out greate variaunce betweene *Maſiniſſa* and the CARTHAGINIANS touching their borders and confines. Whereupon the Senate ſent *Scipio* thither with two other commiſſioners: who after they had heard the cauſe of their quarrell, they left the matter as they founde it, and would proceede no further in it. And this they did, bicauſe that the CARTHAGINIANS being troubled with ciuil warres at home, ſhoulde take vpon them no other warres abroade, neither ſhoulde haue leaſure to attempt any alteracion otherwiſe. For the ROMANES had great warre with king *Antiochus*, & *Annibal* CARTHAGINIAN was there with him, who ſtill ſtirred vp the olde enemies againſt the ROMANES, and practiſed to raiſe vp new enemies againſt them, & in all thinges to counſell the CARTHAGI- *The craftie counſell of Scipio.*

B NIANS to caſt away the yoke of bondage, which the ROMANES had brought them into vnder the title of peace, & to proue the frendſhip of the kings. Howbeit ſhortly after, the ROMANES hauing obtained victorie, and driuen king *Antiochus* out of GRÆCE, they intended alſo to conquer ASIA: and therefore all their hope was in *Scipio* AFRICAN, as a man that was borne to ende warres of great importaunce. Howbeit *Lucius Scipio*, and *Caius Lælius* were Conſuls, & either of them made ſute for the gouernment of ASIA. The matter being conſulted vpon, the Senate ſtoode doubtfull what iudgement they ſhould geue, betweene two ſo famous men. Howbeit, bicauſe *Lælius* was in better fauour with the Senate, and in greater eſtimacion: the Senate beganne to take his parte. But when *P. Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN, the elder brother of *Lucius Scipio*, prayed the Senate that they would not diſhonor his houſe ſo, and tolde them

C that his brother had great vertues in him, and was beſides verie wiſe, and that he himſelfe alſo woulde be his Lieutenaunt: he had no ſooner ſpoken the wordes, but the Senators receiued him with great ioy, and preſentlie did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordayned in open Senate, that *Lucius Scipio* ſhoulde goe into GRÆCE to make warre with the ÆTOLIANS, and that from thence he ſhoulde goe into ASIA, if he thought good, to make warre with king *Antiochus*: and alſo that he ſhoulde take his brother *Scipio* AFRICAN with him, bicauſe he ſhoulde goe againſt *Annibal*, that was in *Antiochus* armie. Who can but wonder at the loue and naturall affection of *Publius Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN, the which he firſt *The naturall loue of Scipio African to his brother L. Scipio.*

D ſhewed from his youth vnto his father *Cornelius*, and afterwardes alſo vnto his brother *Lucius Scipio*, conſidering the great thinges he had done? For, notwithſtanding he was that AFRICAN by name that had ouercomen *Annibal*, that had triumphed ouer the CARTHAGINIANS, and excelled all others in praiſe of martiall diſcipline: yet of his owne good nature he made him ſelfe inferiour to his younger brother, bicauſe he might haue the honour of obtayninge the gouernment of that prouince from his fellowe Conſul *Lælius*, that was ſo well beloued, and of ſo great eſtimacion. *Lucius Scipio* the Conſul brought great honor to his contrie by that warre, for that he followed the ſownde and faithfull counſell of his brother. For firſt of all goinge into GRÆCE, he tooke truce for ſixe monethes with the ÆTOLIANS, through the aduiſe of his brother AFRICAN: who counſelled him, that ſetting all thinges a parte, he ſhoulde ſtraight goe into ASIA, where the warre was ryfeſt. Afterwards alſo he wanne *Pruſias* king of BITHYNIA from *Antiochus* frendſhippe, who before

E was wauing vp & downe, doubtfull which ſide to take, and all through his brother AFRICANS meanes and practiſe. So the authoritie of the AFRICAN was verie great, and all thoſe that woulde obtaine any thing of the Conſul, came firſt to the AFRICAN to be their meane and interceſſor. Nowe when he came into ASIA, *Antiochus* Ambaſſador, and *Heraclides* BIZANTINE, came vnto him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly tolde their meſſage, perceiuing that they could not obtaine reaſonable condicions of peace: they priuately talked with *Scipio* AFRICAN, as they were commaunded, and practiſed the beſt they coulde to make him king *Antiochus* frende. For they tolde him, that *Antiochus* would ſende him his younger ſonne which he had taken, and furthermore that he woulde willinglie make him his companion in the gouernment of all his realme, only reſeruing the name and title of the king.

F Howbeit *P. Scipio*, excelling no leſſe in faithfulneſſe and bountie, then in many other vertues, after he had aunſwered them to all other matters, he tolde them, that for his ſonne he woulde take him for a maruelous frendlie gifte: and that for a priuate good turne, *The fidelitie and loue of P. Scipio to his countrie.*

he would doe the best he could to requite him with the like. Howbeit, that he would counsell A
the king aboue all things to leaue of thought of warre, and to receiue those offers and condi-
cions of peace, which the Senate and people of ROME would offer him. Shortly after, *Antio-*
chus sent *P. Scipio* his sonne according to his promise: who (as it is reported) had bene taken
prisoner from the first beginning of the warre, as he went from CHALCIDE, vnto ORICVM:
or as other wryters say, as he passed by in a pinnase. Yet some holde opinion, that he was ta-
ken as he went to discouer the counsell of the enemies, and that he was then sent againe vn-
to his father, lying sicke at the citie of ELEA. This great curtesie of king *Antiochus* was mar-
uelous well thought of of the AFRICAN, and not without cause: for to see his sonne after
he had bene away so long, it did greatlie lighten his spirites, and diseased bodie. But *P. Scipio*,
to shewe some token of a thankefull minde, prayed the Ambassadors that came vnto him, B
greatlie to thanke king *Antiochus* for the exceeding pleasure he had done him, to sende him
his sonne. Afterwardes he gaue *Antiochus* aduise also that he should not geue battell, till he
vnderstoode of his returne from ELEA to the campe. So *Antiochus* being perswaded by the
authoritie of so worthie a man, he kept close in his campe for a certaine time, and determi-
ned to drawe the warre out at length, hoping in the ende that he might come to speake with
the Consul, by the AFRICANS meanes. But afterwardes, the Consul camping hard by MA-
GNESIA, did so vexe and prouoke the enemie, that the king came out to battell, and sette his
men in battell raye. It is reported that *Annibal* him selfe was present at the battell, being one
of the Generalls for the king. So *Antiochus* being ouercome, and his armie discomfited,
perceiuing that there was no helpe in his affaires: he came vnto the AFRICAN, (who being C
newlie recouered of his sickenes, came to the campe within a litle after the field was wonne)
and by his meanes obtayned of the Consul to be contented to talke of peace. When *Antio-*
chus Ambassadors were come to the campe, and that they had humblie craued pardon in the
behalfe of their king, and also prayed that they would geue them suche condicions of peace,
as they best liked of. *Scipio* AFRICAN with the consent of them all aunswered them, that it
was not the manner of the ROMANES to yeeld to aduersitie, neither also to be prowde in pro-
speritie: and therefore that he nowe made him the selfe same offers and condicions of peace,
which he did before the victorie. That the king shoulde not meddle with EVROPE, that he
should surrender vp all he had in ASIA from the mountaine Taurus, vnto the riuer of Tanais:
that he shoulde pay tribute twentie yeres together: that he shoulde also put in suche ostages D
as the Consul would choose out: and that specially aboue all the rest, they should deliuer *An-*
nibal CARTHAGINIAN vnto the Consul, who was the only author and procurer of this warre.
But he, as we haue wrytten in his life, perceiuing that king *Antiochus* armie was ouerthro-
wen both by sea and by lande, escaped the ROMANES handes, and went vnto *Prusias* king of
BITHYNIA. *Antiochus* hauing accepted the offers and condicions of peace, sayd, that the RO-
MANES vsed him verie fauourablie, to ridde him of so great care, and to appoint him so
small a kingdome. For great kingdomes, and ouermuch wealth which euerie man coueteth,
are full of great and sundrie troubles: insomuch that *Theocritus* wordes are as true, as other-
wise excellently written.

Antiochus being ouercome, accepteth condicions of peace.

Great kingdomes and wealth are ful of troubles.

The things I wish are nother wealth, nor Scepter, Robe, nor Crouvne, B
Nor yet of swiftnes and of strength to beare away renouvne:
But singing vvith a mery hart in simple shed, to looke
Aloofe vpon the troublous seas, that are so hard to brooke.

So when the mightie king of ASIA was ouercomen, and that so great a warre was so ea-
sylie ended beyonde all mens opinion: the Consul *L. Scipio* returned to ROME, and made his
entrie into the citie, shewing a great and honorable triumphe. He also deserued the sur-
name of the prouince and contrie subdued by him. So that as his elder brother before was
called AFRICAN, for that he had conquered AFRICKE: euen so was *Lucius Scipio* surnamed
ASIAN, for conquering ASIA vnto ROME. And *P. Scipio*, through whose counsell his bro-
ther *Lucius* had brought his warres to happie ende, he went not cleere without honor also. F
For shortlie after, two noble Censors, *T. Q. Flaminius*, and *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* chose
him Prince of the Senate the thirde time. Nowe at that time, the house and familie of the

L. Scipio surnamed Asian, for his cõquest of Asia, T. Q. Flaminius, M. C. Marcellus Censors.

Scipioes

A *Scipioes* and *Cornelians* floriſhed, with ſupreame degree of honor: and the authoritie of *Scipio* AFRICAN was growen to ſuch height and greatnes, as no priuate man could wiſhe to be any greater in a free citie. Howbeit the ſecret malice of wicked harts, which could no longer abide this greatnes and authoritie, began at length to burſt out, and to light vpon thoſe that were the authors of ſo great things. For two Tribunes of the people, ſuborned (as it is reported) by *Porcius Cato*: they accuſed *P. Scipio* AFRICAN for keeping backe king *Antiochus* money, and bicauſe he brought it not into the common chamber or treaſurye. *Scipio* AFRICAN knowing his innocencie, being called by the Magiſtrate, ſhewed him ſelfe obedient, and came into the market place with a bold countenaunce, and there made an oration, declaring what thinges he had done for the benefit and commoditie of his contry and common wealth. The reherſal
B of theſe thinges did not miſlike the common people that were preſent: bicauſe he did it rather to auoyd the daunger prepared for him, then otherwiſe for any vaine glory or oſtentation. Howbeit the Tribunes not being ſo contented, were vehement againſt him, and ſpared no iniurious words, but accuſed him as though he had in deede bene in fault, howbeit vpon ſuſpition, rather then of any due proofe. The next morning being commaunded to come before them againe, he appeared at the hower appoynted, and being well accompanied with his friends, he came through the whole aſſembly, and went vp to the pulpit for orations. When he ſaw that euery man kept ſilence, then he ſpake in this manner. I remember my Lordes, that on ſuch a day as this, I wanne that famous victory of *Annibal* and the CARTHAGINIANS, and therefore leauing aſide this contention, I thinke it good we go vnto the Capitol to giue God
C thankes for the victorie. So he departed thence, and all the whole aſſembly followed him, not onely to the Capitoll, but alſo to all the other temples of the citie, leauing the two Tribunes all alone with their Sergeaunts. That daye was the very laſt daye of all the AFRICANS good fortune, for the great aſſembly and multitude of people that wayted vpon him, and for the great good will they bare him. For from that day forward he determined to get him into the contry, farre from all ambition, and the company of people: and ſo went vnto LINTERNVM in a maruelous rage, that for reward of his ſo great ſeruice, and ſo ſundry benefits as he had brought vnto his contry, he receiued but ſhame and reproache: or els, for that in deede being as he was of a noble minde, he thought it more honor willingly to giue place to his enemies, then to ſeeke to mainteyne his greatnes by force of armes. So when the Tribunes did accuſe
D him of contempt, and that his brother *Lucius* did excuſe his abſence by reaſon of his ſickenes: *Tiberius Gracchus*, one of the Tribunes that was againſt the AFRICAN, tooke his excuſe (beyond all mens opinions) for good payment, and did ſo well defende *Scipioes* cauſe, ſometime honorably praiſing him, another time alſo threatning his enemies that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were maruelouſly offended for the great iniurie they did him. Some doe write, that *P. Scipio* him ſelfe, before he went vnto LINTERNVM, did with his owne hands teare the booke his brother had brought vnto the Senate, to deliuer the accompt of his charge: and that he did it not for any deceit nor pride, but with that ſelfe boldnes of mind he had aforetime vſed to the treaſurers, when he did againſt the lawe require the keyes of the common treaſure, to ſupply the preſent neede of the ſtate. Howſoeuer there be
E alſo that ſaye, it was not the AFRICAN, but *Scipio* ASIAN that was accuſed before the Tribunes: and that *Scipio* AFRICAN was ſent in commiſſion at that time into TVSCIA. Who, vnderſtanding of his brothers accuſation at his returne to ROME, and finding his brother *Lucius* condemned, and the Sergeaunts waiting on him to carry him, being bound, into priſon: he was in ſuche a rage withall, that he reſcued his brother by force out of the Sergeaunts hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report beſide, that *Tiberius Gracchus* one of the Tribunes, complayning firſt that the authoritie of the Tribuneſhip was troden vnder feete by a priuate perſon: he afterwardes letting fall all the malice and enuy he bare vnto the *Scipioes*, defended their cauſe, bicauſe the Tribunes ſhould rather ſeeme to be ouercome by a Tribune, then by a priuate perſon. They ſayd moreouer, that the ſelfe ſame daye the Se-
F nate ſupped in the Capitoll, he perſwaded the AFRICAN to let *Tiberius Gracchus* marry his younger Daughter. This promiſe was no ſooner made, but *P. Scipio* comming home to his houſe, tolde his wife that he had beſtowed their Daughter: Whereuppon ſhe being angry,

The time of the floriſhing of the Cornelij

The inconſtancy of theſe worldly things. Great men moſt enuied.

The laſt fortunate day of the Africans good fortune.

The voluntary baniſhmēt of P. Scipio from Rome.

T. Gracchus Tribune.

Diuerſe opinions touching the accuſation of the Africā.

told him againe, that he should not haue married her without consent of her mother, though he could haue bestowed her vpon *Tiberius Gracchus*. This aūswer liked *Scipio* maruelous wel, when he saw that his wife was of his mind, touching the mariage of their Daughter. I knowe it is thought of some, that it was attributed to *Tiberius* the sonne, and to *Appius Claudius* his father in lawe. For *Polybius*, and other auncient writers affirme, that *Cornelia*, the mother of *Caius* and *Tiberius Gracchi*, was maried vnto *Gracchus* after the AFRICANS death. For *Scipio* AFRICAN was maried vnto *AEmylia* the Daughter of *L. Paulus AEmylius* Consul, that was slayne at the battell of CANNES. By her he had two Daughters, of the which the eldest was maried vnto *P. Cornelius Nasica*, and the younger vnto *Tiberius Gracchus*, either before, or after the death of his father. Nowe towching his sonne, there is litle mention made of him in writing, that a man may write of certainty to be true. We haue spoken of his younger sonne that was taken by king *Antiochus*, and afterwards franckly sent vnto his father: of whome notwithstanding afterwards I find no mention in writing, sauing that some say he was afterwards Prætor, and that he came to this office by meanes of *Cicereius* his fathers Secretary. There appeareth in writing also, that the younger AFRICAN was adopted by the sonne of *P. Scipio. Cicero* in his booke intituled *Cato Maior* sayth, how weake (sayd he) was the sonne of *P.* AFRICAN that adopted thee his sonne? And in his sixth booke also *de repub. AEmylius* the father exhorteth *Scipio* his sonne, to follow iustice and piety, as his grandfather *Scipio* AFRICAN had done. And touching the death of *P. Scipio* AFRICAN, writers doe diuersly varye: for some say that he dyed, and was buryed at ROME. And for proofe thereof they doe bringe forth the monument that was set vp for him by the gate Capena, ouer the which stoode three statues or images, two whereof were the images of *P.* and *Lucius Scipio*, and the third was of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. And surely that which *Cicero* wrote, seemeth to confirme it true: our *Ennius*, sayd he, was maruelously beloued of AFRICAN the great, and therefore it is thought that he was buryed in *Scipioes* tombe. Other authors write also (and surely they agree best with the common report) that *Scipio* AFRICAN dyed at LINTERNVM, and that there he was buried at his owne appoyntment: bicause his contry so vnthankfully acknowledging his seruice, should do him no honor at his death: and that there they set him vp a tombe, and his statue vpon that, the which afterwards was blowen downe by a tempest of wind, and the which *Liuie* him selfe witnesseth he saw. Furthermore, by CAIETA this Epitaphe was grauen in a plate of copper, set in a marbell tombe.

The man that vanquisht Annibal and conquerd Carthage touvne,
And eke increast the Romanes both in Empire and renouvne,
Lyes heere a heape of dust and earth hid vnderneath this stone:
His deedes, his prouvesse, and his life, are altogether gone.
VVhom nother Europe could vvithstand, nor Africk in time past,
(Behold mans frailtie) heere he lyes in litle roome at last.

Now touching the time of his death, hauing made great searche for it, I haue found in certaine Greeke Authors, that the AFRICAN liued foure and fifty yeares, and dyed shortly after. Furthermore, he was a noble Captaine, and worthy of all commendacion for martiall discipline, and besides excelled in all other vertues: the which did so delight his mind, that he was wont to say, he was neuer lesse idle, then when he tooke his ease: nether more solitary, then when he was alone. For some times he would withdraw him selfe out of the assembly, & from all mens company, and thought him self safe when he was alone. The fame of his noble deedes was so great, that whersoeuer he went, all sortes of people would come and see him. The common report went, that when he was at LINTERNVM, there came certaine rouers vnto him to see so famous a man, and to kisse that so faithfull and victorious a hand. For vertue hath great force and power with all sortes of people: bicause it doth not onely make the good but the euil also to loue and honor it.

The Africans wife, & children.

Diuers opinions touching the death of P. Scipio.

Statues of the two Scipioes and Ennius the Poet, by the gate Capena at Rome.

Scipio African dyed at Linterman.

The Epitaphe of Scipio African.

Scipio African 54. yeare old at the time of his death.

The power of vertue.

THE COMPARISON OF *Annibal with P. Scipio African.*

NOW let vs compare *Annibal* and *Scipioes* deedes together, as touching their ciuill discipline. First, if we remember their deedes in warres, it is manifest that both of them haue bene great and famous Captaines in warre, and that they haue not onely bene comparable with the noblest Kinges and Princes in their time (being also in that age when warres florished most) but with those also that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder much at them, that they hauing great and heauy enemies in their contry, (who fought to ouerthrow all their doings and enterprises) could possibly goe thorough with so great matters, and to obtayne such happie and famous victories in straunge and forreyne warres. Therefore passing ouer all other matters, what a doe had *P. Scipio*, before he could obtayne to be sent into AFRICA, to make warre with the CARTHAGINIANS? *Fabius Maximus*, and other noble men of the citie being greatly against it? Againe, what enemy had *Annibal* of *Hanno*, who was Prince and head of the contrary faction against him? Now, they both hauing ouercomen such great troubles at home, did notwithstanding bringe thinges to end worthy perpetuall memorie: not by chaunce, as it hapneth vnto many, but through their industrie, great wisedom, and counsell. So, diuers doe wonder greatly at *Annibals* corage and noble mind: who after he had sacked the citie of SAGUNTUS, came boldly from the furdest part of the world into ITALY, and brought with him a great army of footemen and horsemen, and came to make warre with a great state and common wealth, the which his predecessors alwayes dreaded: and after he had wonne many battells, and slayne sundry Consuls and Captaines of the ROMANES, he came and camped hard by the citie of ROME itselfe, and procured straunge kings and farre nations to make warre with the ROMANES. He that was able to doe so great things as these, men can not otherwise thinke of him, but that he was a great and valiant Captaine. Others also speaking of *Scipio*, doe greatly praise and commend him for the foure Chieftaines he ouercame, and for the foure great armies which he defeated, and put to flight in SPAYNE, and also for that he ouercame and tooke that great king *Syphax* prisoner. In fine, they come to praise that famous battell in the which *Scipio* ouercame *Annibal* at ZAMA. For if *Fabius* (sayd they) were praised, because he was not ouercome by *Annibal*: what estimation will they make of the AFRICAN, that in a pitched battell ouercame that so famous & dreadfull Captaine *Annibal*, and also did ende so daungerous a warre? Besides also, that *Scipio* did alwayes make open warre, and commonly fought with the enemy in plaine field. Where *Annibal* in contrary maner did alwayes vse craft and subtelty, and was full of stratageames & policie. And therefore all Authors, both Greake and Latyne, doe count him very fine and subtell. Furthermore, they greatly commend *Annibal* for that he mayntayned his army of so sun-

dry nations, so long time in peace, as he had warre with the ROMANES: and yet that there was neuer any mutinie or rebellion in his campe. On the other side they blame him againe, bicause he did not follow his victory, when he had ouercomen the ROMANES at that famous battell of CANNES: and also bicause he spoyled his souldiers with too much ease, and the pleasures of CAMPANIA and APVLIA, whereby they were so chaunged, that they seemed to be other souldiers then those that had ouercomen the ROMANES, at the sundry battells of TREBIA, THRASYMENE, and CANNES. All writers doe reproue these thinges in *Annibal*, but specially his crueltie. For amongest other thinges, what crueltie was it of him to make a woman with her children to come from ARPI to his campe, and afterwardes to burne them aliue? What shall a man say of them whome he cruelly put to death, in the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, when he departed out of ITALY? For *Scipio* AFRICAN on the other side, if we shall rather credit the best authors that write, then a number of other detracters and malitious writers: we may say he was a bountifull and temperate Captaine, and not onely liuely and valiant in fight, but also curteous and mercifull after victorye. For oftentimes his enemies proued his valiantnes, the vanquished his mercy and clemency, & all other men his faithfulnes. Now therfore, let vs tel you what his continency & liberalitie was, the which he shewed in SPAYNE vnto a young Lady taken prisoner, and vnto *Luceius* Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: doth it not deserue great prayse? Nowe for their priuate doings, they were both vertuously brought vp, and both of them imbraced learned men. For as it is reported, *Annibal* was very familiar with *Sosilus* LACEDÆMONIAN, as the AFRICAN was with *Ennius* the Poet. Some saye also, that *Annibal* was so well learned in the Græke tongue, that he wrote an historie in Græke touching the deedes of *Manlius Volso*. Now truely I doe agree with *Cicero*, that sayd in his booke *de Oratore*, that *Annibal* heard *Phormio* PERIPATETICIAN in EPHESVS, discoursing very largely of the office and duety of a Chieftaine and generall, and of the martiall lawes & ordinaunces: and that immediatly after being asked what he thought of that Philosopher, he should aunswer in no very perfit Græke, but yet in Græke, that he had seene many old doting fooles, but that he had neuer seene a greater doterd then *Phormio*. Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talke, & *Annibal* had a sharpe tawnting wit in his aunswers. When king *Antiochus* on a time prepared to make warre with the ROMANES, and had put his army into the field, not so well furnished with armor and weapon, as with gold and siluer: he asked *Annibal*, if he thought his army sufficient for the ROMANES? yea (Sir) q. he, that they be, were the enemies neuer so couetous. This may truely be sayd of *Annibal*, that he obtayned many great victories in the warres, but yet they turned to the destruction of his contry. *Scipio* in contrary manner did preserue his contry in such safetie, and also did so much increase the dominions thereof, that as many as shall looke into his desert, they can not but call ROME vnthankefull, which liked rather that the AFRICAN (preseruer of the citie) should goe out of ROME, then that they would represse the fury and insolency of a few. And for myne owne opinion, I can not thinke well of that citie, that so vnthankfully hath suffred so worthy and innocent a person to be iniured: and so would I also haue thought it more blame worthy, if the citie had bene an ayder of the iniurye offred him. In fine, the Senate (as all men doe report) gaue great thankes vnto *Tiberius Gracchus*, bicause he did defend the *Scipions* cause: and the common people also following the AFRICAN, when he visited all the temples of ROME, and left the Tribunes alone that accused him, did thereby shewe how much they did loue and honor the name of the *Scipioes*. And therefore, if we should iudge the Citizens harts and good wills by those things, men would rather condemne them for cowards, to haue suffered such outrage, then vnthankfull for forgetting of his benefits: for there were very few that consented to so wicked a deede, and all of them in manner were very sory for it. Howbeit *Scipio*, that was a man of a great minde, not much regarding the malice of his enemies: was content rather to leaue the citie, then by ciuill warres to destroy it. For he would not come against his contry with ensignes displaied, neither would he solicite straunge nations and mighty kings to come with force, and their ayde, to destroy the citie, the which he had beautified with so many spoyles and triumphes: as *Martius Coriolanus*, *Camillus*, and diuers others did, by record of auncient stories. For we may easily perceiue how carefull he was to preserue the libertie

Phormio Peripatetician reading Philosophie in Ephesus.

Annibals witty aunswer, vnto king Antiochus.

of

A of Rome, bicauſe when he was in Spayne, he refuſed the title and name of king which was offred him, and for that he was maruelous angry with the people of Rome, bicauſe they would haue made him perpetuall Conſul and Dictator: and conſidering alſo that he commaunded they ſhould ſet vp no ſtatue of him, nether in the place of the aſſembly, nor in the iudgement ſeate, nor in the Capitoll. All which honors afterwardes were giuen by the Citizens vnto *Cæſar*, that had ouercomen *Pompey*. Theſe were the ciuill vertues of the African, which were great and true prayſes of continency. Now therefore, to deliuer you the ſumme and effect of all theſe thinges: theſe two ſo famous Captaines are not ſo much to be compared together in their ciuill vertues (in the which *Scipio* chiefly excelled) as in the diſcipline of warres, and in the glory of their famous victories. To con-

B clude, their deathes were ſomewhat a like: for they both dyed out of their contries, although *Scipio* was not condemned by his contry as *Annibal* was, but would by voluntary baniſhment dye out of the citie.

The ende of the whole volume of Plutarkes liues.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautrollier, dvvelling in the Blacke Friers by Ludgate.